

'National airs' in the life and works of William Shield (1748-1829)

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It seems only right to thank William Shield himself, for living a life and composing music so richly worth investigating. Lacking any university association, Shield would never be addressed as 'Doctor', yet unfailingly applied the title to fellow musicians who held that degree. I hope he might have been gratified to know that his achievements would lead to another Swalwell musician bearing that title on his behalf.

Finally, Mum and Dad – thank you for *everything*.

“... apart from me you can do nothing.” John 15. 5

Abstract

William Shield (1748-1829) was a successful and respected composer of vocal, chamber and theatre music who performed alongside the greatest musicians of his day, and became Master of the King's Music, yet has received little scholarly attention. This thesis is the first to present detailed musical analysis of Shield's compositional approach contextualized by in-depth exploration of his family background, cultural heritage, professional development and social networks.

In Chapter 1 I review extant literature and introduce key sources, before extrapolating insights from Shield's treatises into his professional interests, particularly his ideological and practical approach to 'national airs'. Chapter 2 demonstrates how I have cross-referenced archival materials to provide a more rigorous, nuanced narrative of Shield's early life, and identifies musical indicators of his formative experiences in early compositions. Chapter 3 builds on this background with cultural and technical analysis of Shield's 'national air' arrangements, comparing and contrasting his compositional techniques with those of contemporaries.

In Chapter 4 I follow a comparative structural overview of Shield's theatrical works with in-depth analysis of one piece, *The Highland Reel*, reviewing elements of the published score and wordbook in light of contemporary cultural trends and political events. Chapter 5 expands on the political context for Shield's career, exploring his relationships with influential, sometimes controversial figures, and analysing how his music reinforced or subverted text to convey overt and hidden reflections of contemporary issues and debates. In Chapter 6 I discuss mechanisms for posthumous transmission and performance of Shield's compositions, how he has been memorialised, and whether and how his theatre works might be revived and reinterpreted today, concluding with thoughts on potentially fruitful areas for future research.

Introduction and Reflexivity Statement

Every researcher brings their own perspective to their topic. I grew up in the same Tyneside community as William Shield, living and attending school and church within a two miles radius of his birthplace until I was 18; otherwise, I would probably never have heard of him, much less developed a strong enough interest in his life and music to write a thesis about him.

Only when a primary school local history project brought up his name did I learn that Shield was born less than two hundred yards from my first home, a redbrick terraced 'Tyneside flat' in Ridley Gardens, Swalwell. We were not christened in the same font, only because Swalwell was served by the Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Whickham, until my home church, Holy Trinity, was built in 1905.¹ Later, as a chorister at St Mary's, I learned from a churchyard memorial that Shield had been Master of the King's Music and was buried in Westminster Abbey. As a member of Gateshead Youth Orchestra I played movements from his *Rosina* arranged by John Treherne, but at that time I was busy discovering Bach, Shostakovich and Miles Davis, and felt little inclination to find out more about Shield.

I did not knowingly cross paths with Shield again until, freelancing as a baroque cellist alongside my Masters degree, I was hosted by Peter Holman's family while performing under his direction in a Suffolk festival, and confronted over the dinner table by an engraved portrait of William Shield. I was astonished when Peter received my questions with great enthusiasm for Shield's music, regretting that he was so little-known and inviting me to take copies from facsimiles of his chamber music and treatises. I was intrigued to find these contained skilful, charming and unusual writing for stringed instruments, alongside obvious enthusiasm for Northumbrian traditional music, matching some of my own interests. It soon seemed inevitable that I would undertake further research into a composer I began to feel had been undeservedly neglected.

¹ 'Holy Trinity Church Swalwell: A Brief History', <<https://holytrinitychurchswalwell.org/a-brief-history/>>, 2023.

In researching Shield's life and music, I have applied insights from my own experiences both of studying and performing eighteenth-century repertoire, and of growing up in northeast England, seeking to corroborate these with documentary evidence wherever possible. As a child I often heard our mutual birthplace described as 'rough', with an unspoken question echoing the attitude of Jesus' disciple Nathanael towards Nazareth ("Can anything good come from there?").² While learning and teaching predominantly in working-class urban communities, I often encountered assumptions that remoteness from the 'establishment' (especially combined with proximity to heavy industry) made engagement with so-called 'high' culture or 'classical' music unlikely, even impossible. Finding indications in contemporary sources that Shield faced similar attitudes strengthened my desire to understand how his environment and circumstances enabled, threatened or otherwise shaped his development; to ensure the implications of his origins were fully explored and appreciated; and to contribute to inspiring new generations with his story.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that, given the opportunity, people from socioeconomically disadvantaged or 'working class' backgrounds have the capability and desire to engage with sophisticated forms of music-making. Many examples are already well-documented; moreover, were that not the case, I would not be writing this.³ However, having learned the hard way that it is possible (indeed, to overcome prejudice and disadvantage, often essential) to be more than one thing at the same time, I was not surprised to find Shield's story transgressing received social and genre boundaries, and insights from my own experience complicating the binary categories around which much previous analysis of his biography and compositions has been based. Rather than attempting to shoehorn

² John 1. 46, *The Holy Bible*, New International Version Anglicized edition (London: Biblica Hodder & Stoughton, 2011), p. 1064.

³ Matt Pickles, 'The orchestra fine-tuning the performance of school students', BBC News, <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-32381815>>, 22 April 2015; 'OAE move into Acland Burghley School', <<https://oae.co.uk/abs>>, 14 September 2020; Peter Lathan, 'County Durham community opera now online', <<https://www.britishtheatreguide.info/news/county-durham-community-opera-12745>>, 18 December 2020.

him into one space or another, my thesis holds apparent contradictions in tension and explores the complexities they reveal.

Researching Shield's childhood while revisiting my own reinforced my awareness that professional musicians, however talented and motivated, do not arise in a vacuum. The organisations and people who provided the tuition, inspiration, resources, encouragement and opportunities that enabled me to pursue a musical career through sometimes challenging circumstances, are listed in my Acknowledgments; thanks to them, post-industrial Tyneside gave me a better start than prejudice might otherwise assume. A key goal of my research has been to identify individuals and networks who played equivalent roles in Shield's early life, while acknowledging his undoubtedly exceptional talent, and interrogating the economic and social interplay between local culture and industry that laid the foundation for his achievements.

However, many aspects of my family, educational and professional background are, inevitably, fundamentally unlike Shield's; and I have heeded historian Amanda Foreman's warning that,

integrity becomes jeopardised when [...] a biographer mistakes his own feelings for the subject's, ascribing characteristics that did not exist and motives that were never there.⁴

Between Shield's lifetime and mine Britain was transformed by industrial development and decline, and by vital social improvements like free access to state education (including instrumental tuition, patchy as that provision has become), the opening up of higher education and professions to women, and the growth of local cultural institutions and organisations; without which I could never have hoped to follow in his footsteps (albeit unknowingly at first, and while never approaching his level of talent or success). My quest to learn not merely what Shield did when, but why, and how, has been informed by keeping such differences in mind and exploring their implications.

⁴ Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London: HarperCollins, 1999), pp. xiii-xiv.

I am also keenly aware of potential tensions between fundamental academic values and a force that, by virtue of its positive power to inspire and inform, sometimes feels hard to resist: the pride many in my birth region feel in Shield as a rare example of a 'local lad made good' within the sphere of so-called 'high' culture, rather than the more celebrated fields of industry or sport. Foreman's further warning against 'the temptation to suppress or ignore unwelcome evidence' applies here. Much of what I have learned about Shield's life and work inspires my enthusiasm and respect, but my research also confirms his association with people and institutions whose stories are stained by historical, and continuing, social inequalities and injustices. Where historical records or my own professional judgment challenge often-repeated claims, or new information complicates the local legend, I aim to address difficult questions and present the balance of probabilities with integrity and grace. Digging deeper into conflicting or confusing details has only affirmed the ongoing relevance and fascination of Shield's story.

Prior publications

Limited elements of this research have appeared in print or online as follows:

Amélie Addison, 'William Shield in Whitby: insights from a collection of Georgian playbills', *Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society Annual Report* (2016), 37-44.

Amélie Addison, 'What makes a song "national"? William Shield and Thomas Holcroft's "Down the bourn and thro' the mead", alias "Johnny and Mary: A favourite Scots song"', Romantic National Song Network, <<https://rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk/what-makes-a-song-national/>>, 24 February 2019.

Amélie Addison, 'William Shield: A Lifelong Relationship with 'National Airs'', *Folk Music Journal*, 11.5 (2020), 27-51.

Amélie Addison, 'William Shield's *A Collection of Favourite Songs* (c. 1775)', in *Music in North-East England 1500-1800*, ed. by Stephanie Carter, Kirsten Gibson and Roz Southey (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 241-60.

Contents

Intellectual Property Rights Statement	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Abstract	v
Introduction and Reflexivity Statement	vi
Contents	x
List of Figures	xiii
List of Musical Examples.....	xiv
List of Library and Archive Sigla.....	xvii
List of Abbreviations.....	xvii
Notes on References and Dates	xix
Chapter 1 An English National Composer?	1
Literature review: biography and background	1
Literature review: ‘national airs’	13
Shield the harmonist	22
National airs and national identities in Shield’s treatises.....	30
Chapter 2 Life before London: 1748-1778	43
The Shield family in Swalwell and South Shields	43
In the company of comedians and concert artists	54
Looking towards London.....	67
<i>Favourite Songs</i> : examples and analysis.....	71
North-eastern Networks	81
Chapter 3 Living (and Learning) on the Edge	103
Echoes of Border history	103
Border Tunes	114
The Keel Row	116
The Black and the Grey	124
The Running Fitter	132
Gan to the Kye wi’ me my love.....	137
The Little Lambs; ‘Esperance en Dieu’	139
Scots Songs.....	142
Conclusions	165

Chapter 4 : Staging ‘National’ Airs	167
Musicological analysis: sources and considerations	167
Topical themes and inspirations	176
National airs in <i>The Highland Reel</i>	185
Tonality and orchestration: means of organisation and expression	208
<i>The Highland Reel</i> in print and on tour.....	235
Chapter 5 At Home and Abroad in Interesting Times.....	237
Early influences, in the North East and on the road	239
Election culture on the stage.....	247
Political circles in London	252
Chamber music at court; propaganda and censorship in theatres	262
Shield in Europe	271
Musical themes reflecting class and race	278
Comparisons and conclusions.....	293
Chapter 6 Tracing and Furthering Shield’s Legacy	299
Success: long-lived and far-reaching	299
Memorials in music and marble	303
Scotching myths	307
Song survival, in print, manuscript and oral tradition	309
Theatrical revivals: challenges and possibilities	321
Future directions.....	327
Biography	327
Tune-hunting	328
In-depth studies or editions of theatre works.....	329
Pantomime and melodrama	329
Chamber music.....	330
Conclusion.....	331
Bibliography	333
Printed musical sources.....	333
Scores, collections and treatises	333
Printed text sources.....	344
Books, plays and pamphlets	344
Journal articles, papers and theses	359

Historical reviews and periodicals.....	365
Online sources.....	367
Dictionaries, databases and indexes	367
Web pages and blogs.....	374
Audio and visual media	377
Table of Archival Source References	378

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Shield family tree	52
Figure 2.2 Concert advertisement, <i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> , 30 December 1775 (image courtesy Newcastle City Library)	69
Figure 2.3 Map showing spread of subscribers across north-east England	81
Figure 3.1 Keys used in Shield's arrangements for Napier	151
Figure 3.2 Chords used in Shield's arrangements for Napier	152
Figure 3.3 Inversions in Shield's arrangements for Napier	153
Figure 4.1 Proportion of composed, arranged and borrowed numbers in Shield's most popular works	170
Figure 4.2 Template of Shield's 'imitation' songs	173
Figure 4.3 Percentage of classical, imitation and traditional airs in Shield's most popular theatre works	174
Figure 4.4 Structure of Shield's overture to <i>The Highland Reel</i>	189
Figure 4.5 Style categories of characters' songs in <i>The Highland Reel</i>	209
Figure 4.6 Movements (and sections) in various keys throughout surveyed works	210
Figure 4.7 Movements (and sections) in various keys across surveyed works, showing style categories	211
Figure 4.8 Movements (and sections) in each key in <i>The Highland Reel</i> ..	211
Figure 4.9 Movements (and sections) in each key in <i>The Highland Reel</i> , showing style categories	212
Figure 4.10 Key to Figure 4.11	219
Figure 4.11 <i>The Highland Reel</i> , movements in score order showing character, key and style categories	220
Figure 4.12 Distribution of keys between singing roles in <i>The Highland Reel</i>	222
Figure 4.13 Playbill dated 25 October 1790 (image courtesy Whitby Museum)	236
Figure 5.1 References to Shield in Godwin's diary	252
Figure 5.2 Meetings between Godwin and Shield 1788 to 1798	253
Figure 6.1 Selected examples showing transfer of Shield works from London to northern circuits	300
Figure 6.2 Total performances of popular Shield works indexed in <i>The Yorkshire Stage</i> (1778 to 1804)	301
Figure 6.3 Shield Memorial, Brightling (photograph: Judy Tarling)	305
Figure 6.4 Shield Memorial, Whickham	306

List of Musical Examples

NB where melodies from works by Shield are compared with other versions, examples taken from other sources are transposed into the same key and metre as Shield's for ease of comparison, unless otherwise stated. I have retained his practice of reducing theatre scores to a topmost stave representing the violin or harmony part, with the treble keyboard stave carrying the vocal or melody line and the bass the continuo part; orchestral cues appear in small notes.

Example 2.1 'Lovely Peggy', bars 8 ⁴ to 16 ³	72
Example 2.2 'Lovely Peggy', bars 18 ⁴ to 30 ³	73
Example 2.3 'Gentle Cupid', bars 5 to 12	74
Example 2.4 'Gentle Cupid' bars 43 to 50	74
Example 2.5 'Gentle Cupid', bars 89 to 104	75
Example 2.6 <i>Allegro Moderato</i> , bars 1 to 16.....	76
Example 2.7 <i>Allegro Moderato</i> , bars 25 to 36 ¹	77
Example 2.8 'Scots Air'	78
Example 2.9 <i>Rondo Non troppo Allegro</i> , bars 1 to 8, 13 to 16 and 25 to 32..	79
Example 2.10 <i>Rondo Non troppo Allegro</i> , bars 49 to 52, 55 to 60	79
Example 2.11 <i>Rondo Non troppo Allegro</i> , 'Minore' bars 73 to 88.....	80
Example 2.12 'Eulogium on Masonry', bars 24 ³ to 32 ² and 44 ³ to 56 ²	84
Example 2.13 'Eulogium on Masonry', bars 76 ³ to 96 ²	85
Example 2.14 'The Sportsman's Rhapsody', bars 8 ³ to 16 ²	94
Example 2.15 'Country Dance by Shields'	100
Example 2.16 <i>Fontainebleau</i> 'Indeed I'll do the best I can', melody bars 8 ⁴ to 24 ³	101
Example 2.17 John Bell MS, 'Morpeth Rant'	102
Example 3.1 variations on 'The Keel Row' attributed to Shield.....	117
Example 3.2 'The Keel Row', simple version.....	119
Example 3.3 'The Keel Row', pianoforte variation	120
Example 3.4 'The Keel Row' harp variations, bars 1 to 8, 17 to 24, 33 to 40	121
Example 3.5 'The Keel Row', dance variation	122
Example 3.6 John Smith MS, 'The Keel Row', variations 5 and 9	122
Example 3.7 'The Black and the Grey'	125
Example 3.8 Nine-note Border bagpipe scale	126
Example 3.9 John Smith MS, 'English Black and Grey' variation 6.....	128

Example 3.10 range of Peacock's pipes	129
Example 3.11 'The Black and the Grey', opening phrase	130
Example 3.12 'The Black and the Grey', variations	130
Example 3.13 'The Black and the Grey', penultimate phrase	131
Example 3.14 'The Black and the Grey', closing phrase	131
Example 3.15 'The Running Fitter'	132
Example 3.16 'The Running Fitter', first strain	133
Example 3.17 'The Running Fitter', second strain	134
Example 3.18 'The Running Fitter', variations	135
Example 3.19 'Gan to the kye'	137
Example 3.20 'Gang to the Kirk'	139
Example 3.21 'The Little Lambs', bars 8 ³ to 24 ³	139
Example 3.22 'Esperance en Dieu'	140
Example 3.23 Alexander Reinagle, 'A little love', from <i>A Collection of The Most Favorite Scots Tunes</i>	141
Example 3.24 'Peggy I must love thee', bars 8 ⁴ to 16 ³	146
Example 3.25 'I'll never leave thee', bars 1 to 8	147
Example 3.26 'Thro' the Wood Laddie', bars 0 ³ to 4.....	147
Example 3.27 'Tweed Side', bars 12 ³ to 24 ²	148
Example 3.28 Oswald, 'Rosline Castle'	149
Example 3.29 Roslin Castle	150
Example 3.30 Arnold, 'Tak' your auld Cloak about ye', bars 1 to 8 ²	156
Example 3.31 'De'il tak' the Wars', bars 9 to 32	158
Example 3.32 Barthélemon, 'Mary Scott the Flower of Yarrow', bars 17 to 32	160
Example 3.33 Carter, 'Ettrick Banks'	161
Example 3.34 'Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament'	164
Example 4.1 'Down the bourn, or thro' the mead' (first half).....	172
Example 4.2 'Down the bourn, or thro' the mead' (second half)	173
Example 4.3 <i>The Highland Reel</i> Overture, bars 1 to 13	190
Example 4.4 transition from 'De'il tak the war' to 'Rothiemurchus Rant'	191
Example 4.5 opening of 'Dumbarton Drums'	191
Example 4.6 Linley, 'Hooly and fairly'	192
Example 4.7 Shield, 'Hooly and fairly'	192

Example 4.8 ‘Corn riggs’, first strain	196
Example 4.9 ‘Bessy Bell and Mary Gray’	197
Example 4.10 Finale, Introduction (strain 1)	198
Example 4.11 Finale, Chorus (strain 2)	199
Example 4.12 Shelty’s solo, Act I [‘Foots vagaries’ / ‘Green grow the rushes’]	200
Example 4.13 Shelty’s solo, Act II [‘Fairly shot of her’]	201
Example 4.14 Finale, verses 1 and 2	202
Example 4.15 ‘Rothiemurchus Rant / Grants of Strathspey’	204
Example 4.16 ‘Oh had I Allan Ramsay’s art’, bars 1 to 2, 12 to 13, 21 to 22	223
Example 4.17 ‘What rapture’, bars 5 to 30	225
Example 4.18 ‘The bleak wind’, bars 15 to 25	227
Example 4.19 ‘The bleak wind’, bars 35 to 54	228
Example 4.20 ‘The bleak wind’ bars 63 to 78	229
Example 4.21 ‘The bleak wind whistles’ bars 78 to 85	230
Example 4.22 ‘Old England’, bars 9 to 20	233
Example 4.23 ‘Tho’ I am now a very little lad’, (‘The White Cockade’) bars 8 to 26	234
Example 5.1 Catch	268
Example 5.2 ‘The Maid of Lodi’, verses 1 and 2	277
Example 5.3 ‘Adam Bell’, compared with ‘Over the hills and far away’ ..	281
Example 5.4 <i>Marian Overture</i> , bars 9 to 14, compared with ‘Bobby Shaftoe’	282
Example 5.5 ‘Irish Tune Sung by Mr Edwin in the Character of an Otaheitean Traveller’	286
Example 5.6 ‘Came ye o’er frae France?’, Hogg’s <i>Jacobite Relics</i> (1819) ...	289
Example 5.7 variants (first two strains) of traditional tune in <i>Omai</i>	291
Example 6.1 Shield, <i>Hartford Bridge</i> , ‘The Heaving of the Lead’	315
Example 6.2 William Calvert MS, ‘The Heaving of the Lead’	316
Example 6.3 Henderson MS, ‘Bright Chanticleer’ / Shield, ‘Old Towler’	317
Example 6.4 Henderson MS ‘The Maid of Lodi’	318
Example 6.5 Henderson MS, ‘The Heaving of the Lead’	319
Example 6.6 ‘The Ploughboy’	320

List of Library and Archive Sigla

GB-AS	Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn [holds the collections of
GB-NTsa	Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne]
GB-DRcro	Durham County Record Office
GB-DRu	Durham University Library
GB-En	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
GB-Lbl	British Library, London
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music Library, London
GB-Lcs	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London
GB-LEbc	Brotherton Library, University of Leeds
GB-Lna	National Archives, London
GB-NTp	Newcastle City Library
GB-NTu	Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
GB-Y	York Minster Library
NYcro	North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton
SLH	Sunderland Local History Library
TWA	Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
WML	Whitby Museum & Library

List of Abbreviations

BDA	Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans (eds), <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800</i> (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).
BND1781	W. Bailey, <i>Northern Directory, or, Merchant's and Tradesman's Useful Companion</i> (Warrington: Ashton, 1781).
CCEd	<i>The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835</i> , < https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/ > (King's College London, 2013).
EFDSS	English Folk Dance and Song Society
EPH	Ed Pope History, < https://edpopehistory.co.uk >
FARNE	<i>Folk Archive Resource North East</i> , < www.farnearchive.com >, Gateshead Council, 2003.
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i> < https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic > (Oxford University Press, 2023).
HMS	McGuinness, David, Karen McAulay and Aaron McGregor, <i>Historical Music of Scotland</i> < https://www.hms.scot >.

- HOP *History of Parliament Online*, <www.historyofparliamentonline.org> (The History of Parliament Trust, 1964-2020).
- ISECS International Society for Eighteenth Century Studies
- LMF Library & Museum of Freemasonry, London
- MGL-M: *Moderns' Grand Lodge, Register of Members, c. 1755-1770*
- MGL-A: *Moderns' Grand Lodge, Register of Admissions, Country and Foreign, 1768-1813*
- LS5 C. B. Hogan (ed), *The London Stage, 1660-1800 [...] Part 5: 1776-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968).
- LSInd Ben Ross Schneider, Jr. *Index to the London Stage, 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, [1979]).
- NC *Newcastle Courant*
- NChr *Newcastle Chronicle*
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://www.oxforddnb.com>> (Oxford University Press, 2023).
- ORO *Oxford Reference Online*, <<https://www.oxfordreference.com>> (Oxford University Press, 2023).
- REP/A1-D4 John Rain, *An Eye Plan of Sunderland and Bishopwearmouth 1785 - 1790*, repr. and ed. by Michael Clay, Geoffrey Milburn and Stuart Miller [c. 1985] (Sunderland: Living History North East, 2014) [in footnotes, A1 etc. denotes map sections, page numbers refer to editors' notes].
- RJD/A-U Ralph Jackson's Diary: Teesside Archives, MS U/WJ, Books A-U
- RJDweb transcriptions and associated resources by Ralph Jackson Research Group <greatayton.wikidot.com/ralph-jackson-diaries>, (2005).
- SMM James Johnson (ed.), *The Scots Musical Museum*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Johnson, [1787- 1792]).
- TTA Traditional Tune Archive, <<https://tunearch.org/wiki/TTA>> (2023).
- VMP Village Music Project, <<https://www.village-music-project.org.uk>>.
- WGD Myers, Victoria, David O'Shaughnessy, and Mark Philp (eds), *The Diary of William Godwin*, <<http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>> (Oxford: Oxford Digital Library, 2010).
- YS Linda Fitzsimmons and Arthur W. McDonald (eds), *The Yorkshire Stage 1766-1803 [...]* (Metuchen, NJ / London: Scarecrow Press, 1989).

Notes on References and Dates

Direct quotations retain original spelling and punctuation throughout.

Full URLs and/or DOIs for online sources are provided in the Bibliography. All online sources accessed / checked 28 February 2023 unless otherwise stated.

Where an edition number is given, all subsequent references are to the same edition unless otherwise stated. I refer to the first edition of Shield's theatre scores, except when citing annotations added to a copy of a later edition; in such cases I provide a library catalogue reference.

English parish registers used the 'old style' calendar commencing on 25 March (Lady Day), until Parliament decreed the year began on 1 January from 1753.⁵ I have followed the practice of using split dates 1 January to 24 March in years preceding the calendar change, reflecting the date as given in original sources and according to the new calendar; e.g. Shield's birth date becomes 5 March 1748/9.

⁵ 'Calendar (New Style) Act 1750', Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, 1750 Chapter 23 (Regnal. 24 Geo 2), <<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/apgb/Geo2/24/23>>.

Chapter 1 An English National Composer?

Literature review: biography and background

The earliest 'Biographical Sketch' of William Shield appeared in a theatrical magazine in 1798, to be expanded two years later in Thomas Busby's biographical collection 'Public Characters'.⁶ In 1825 Busby précised his earlier article in *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*; it also provided the basis for Shield's entry in John Sainsbury's *Dictionary of Musicians*.⁷ Following Shield's death, obituaries combined biographical material from these sources with critical commentary from newspaper reviews of his works.⁸ Claims repeated in these accounts concern Shield's birth in Swalwell, Tyneside; his family's relocation to the coast during his childhood; the reputation and early death of his music-teacher father; an apprenticeship to a local boatbuilder; training received from Newcastle organist and composer Charles Avison; engagements to perform concertos and lead orchestras for subscription concerts in Newcastle, and theatres and assemblies in Durham and Scarborough; a commission to compose an anthem for a new church in Sunderland; encounters with touring musicians who recommended him for positions in London orchestras; his subsequent distinguished career there as performer and composer; and his character and personality.

Shield's first biographers knew him personally, so probably obtained information directly from him (Busby also published facsimiles of several manuscripts Shield owned, and *Harmonicon* obituarist William Ayrton was a fellow founding member of the Royal Philharmonic Society).⁹ However, in comparing their articles with primary

⁶ Anon., 'Biographical Sketch of William Shield, Esq.' *The Monthly Mirror: Reflecting Men and Manners, with Strictures on their Epitome, the Stage*, 5 (1798), 7-11; Thomas Busby, 'William Shield, Esq.' in *Public Characters for 1799-1800* (London: Phillips, 1799), 401-09.

⁷ Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern*, 3 vols (London: Clementi, 1825), II, pp. 184-7; Sainsbury (ed), 'Shield, William', in *A Dictionary of Musicians*, 2 vols (London: Sainsbury, 1824), II, 433-35.

⁸ Ayrton, 'Memoir of William Shield Esq.', *The Harmonicon*, 7.1 (1829), 49-52; 'Obituary', *NC*, 30 January 1829; Anon., 'William Shield Esq.', *Annual Biography and Obituary*, 14 (1830), 86-103.

⁹ Clare Brown and Peter Holman, 'Thomas Busby and his "FAC-SIMILES OF CELEBRATED COMPOSERS"', in *Early Music Performer*, 12 (2003), 3-12; John Warrack, 'Ayrton, William (1777-1858), impresario and writer', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); GB-Lbl, RPS MS 272, fol. 1;

sources I uncovered inaccuracies and misrepresentations which confuse the likely progression of his early career (explained in Chapter 2), and are inevitably perpetuated in encyclopaedia entries and heritage websites which rely substantially on these accounts.¹⁰ Following his relocation to London, Shield's performing and composing career is relatively well-documented in theatre ledgers, playbills, reviews and advertisements, and directories and databases compiled from those sources by concert and theatre historians; including Hogan's *The London Stage, 1660-1800*, Highfill, Burnim and Langhan's *Biographical Dictionary of Stage Personnel*, and Simon McVeigh's 'Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800'.¹¹

Shield made his mark as a London theatre composer in 1778. He experienced failure with *The Crisis, or Love and Fear*, a comic afterpiece for the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, but *The Flitch of Bacon*, with author Henry Bate Dudley, achieved considerable success at the Little Theatre, Haymarket. This romantic pastoral afterpiece became a recurrent favourite, enjoying similar popularity at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden from January 1780.¹² From 1779 to 1781 Shield contributed songs or movements to new productions and revivals of farces, interludes and pantomimes at all three principal London theatres. About half of these failed so complete scores were never published, but well-received single songs were printed separately, allowing him to profit whether or not the production proved commercially viable.¹³

'Founding the Philharmonic', online video recording, <<https://royalphilharmonicsociety.org.uk/rps-since-1813/key-moments/founding-the-philharmonic>> (Royal Philharmonic Society, 2014).

¹⁰ Linda Troost, 'Shield, William', *GMO* (20 January 2001); R. H. Legge, rev. by Bennett Mitchell Zon, 'Shield, William (bap. 1748/9, d. 1829)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); 'William Shield: Musician and Composer', <<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/william-shield>> (Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 2023).

¹¹ *LS5*; *LSInd*; *BDA*; McVeigh, 'Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800' (Version 2, accessed 27 June 2017), <<http://research.gold.ac.uk/10342/>> (Goldsmiths, University of London) [henceforth 'Calendar'].

¹² *The Flitch of Bacon* (London: Napier, [1778]); *LS5*, I, pp. 168, 187, 310; W. Hazlitt (ed.), *Memoirs of the late Thomas Holcroft*, 2 vols (London: Longman et al, 1816); I, pp. 266-69.

¹³ *The music in Henry and Emma* (London: Bland, [1779]); *The Songs in the Deaf Lover* (London: Napier, [1780]); *The Catch Songs and Finale in the Election* (London: Bland, [1780]); *Two Favourite Songs in The Divorce* (London: Bland, [1781]); *The Overture, Songs, Duett, Glees, &c. in the Pantomime of the Lord-Mayor's Day [...]* (London: Bland, [1782]).

Shield's most enduringly popular theatre works were first performed during Covent Garden's 1782 to '83 season. He compiled and composed scores for *Rosina*, a pastoral romantic afterpiece by Frances Brooke which opened on New Year's Eve, and in April for Irish actor John O'Keeffe's comic afterpiece *The Shamrock, or The Anniversary of St Patrick*. The latter, originally staged in Dublin, was reintroduced in November 1783 as *The Poor Soldier*, which became the most popular of all Shield's works. His reputation established, Shield was engaged as house composer by Covent Garden manager Thomas Harris, remaining in post for the next fourteen years; except the 1791 to '92 season, when he took a sabbatical tour of France and Italy.¹⁴ By 1784 Shield was entrusted with scoring the comic operas which formed the mainpiece of an evening's programme. Measured by repeat performances in London theatres up to 1800, his most successful works from then were *Robin Hood, or Sherwood Forest* (1784, by Leonard Macnally), and several further productions with O'Keeffe: *Fontainbleau, or Our Way in France* (1784); the pantomime *Omai, or a Trip Round the World* (1785); *Love in a Camp, or Patrick in Prussia* (a sequel to *The Poor Soldier*, 1786); *The Farmer* (1787) and *The Highland Reel* (1788). Two other mainpieces, *Marian* (author Mrs Brooke, 1788) and *The Woodman* (Bate Dudley, 1791) also did fairly well.¹⁵

None of Shield's later works achieved the fame of his earliest successes. In the 1790s the most-repeated work associated with him was *Oscar & Malvina* (1791), a ballet pantomime based on traditional Scottish airs; the score was completed by William Reeve after Shield left for Europe, so it is unclear which elements were his contribution.¹⁶ His last notable success was *The Lock and Key* (with Prince Hoare,

¹⁴ Troost, 'Shield, William', *GMO*; Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 453; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'O'Keeffe, John (1747-1833)', *ODNB* (21 May 2009); *LS5*, I, p. 582, II, pp. 602, 656.

¹⁵ *Robin Hood, or Sherwood Forest* (London: Bland, [1784]); *Fontainbleau* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1784]); *Omai, or a Trip Round the World* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1786]); *Love in a Camp* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1786]); *The Farmer: a Comic Opera* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788]); *Marian* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788]); *The Highland Reel* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788]); *The Woodman* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1791]). *LS5*, II, pp. 696, 850, 863, 1017, 1067, 1108, 1326.

¹⁶ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 546-47; Reeve, *The Overture, Favourite Songs, Duets & Chorusses in [...] Oscar and Malvina* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1791); *LS5*, III, p. 1495.

February 1796), though *Hartford Bridge* (1792), *Sprigs of Laurel* (1793), *Netley Abbey* (1794) and *Abroad and At Home* (1796) were moderately well-received and several pantomimes also remained popular.¹⁷ After Shield's last season as house composer at Covent Garden from 1796 to '97, he published only one further complete theatre score, for Thomas Dibdin's *Two Faces Under a Hood* (1807), and contributed two songs to *Yours or Mine?* (1815).¹⁸ However, he continued composing songs and chamber music (notably two interesting and original sets of string trios), and performing in prestigious concerts. He also published a pedagogical, technical and aesthetical treatise in two volumes, *Introduction to Harmony* and *Rudiments of Thorough Bass*.¹⁹ In 1817, he was appointed Master of the King's Music.²⁰ Shield's will, the auction catalogue from the sale of effects after his death, scholarly articles on musicians' banking and insurance records, and the comprehensive *London Lives* database, provide details of his accommodation and lifestyle in the capital.²¹

¹⁷ *The Overture, Songs, Duets &c. in [...] The Lock and Key* (London: Preston & Son, [1796]); *Hartford Bridge, or the Skirts of a Camp* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1792]); *Sprigs of Laurel* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1793]); *Netley Abbey* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1794]); *Abroad & At Home* (London: Longman & Broderip [1797]); *LS5*, III, pp. 1494, 1498, 1508, 1546, 1606, 1636, 1714-15, 1747, 1786, 1915.

¹⁸ *Two Faces under a Hood* (London: Clementi et al [1807]); 'The Pilgrims, trio, [...] in [...] *Yours or Mine* (London: Clementi [1815]); 'The parting and meeting of lovers. Duett' (London [1816]).

¹⁹ *Six Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1796); *Three Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello* (London: Clementi, [1811]); *An Introduction to Harmony* (London: G. R. & R. Robinson, 1800), 2nd edn. (London: J. Robinson, [c. 1812]), [henceforth *Introduction*]; unless otherwise noted references are to 2nd edn, as Shield's 'Advertisement' stated 'many new articles have been added, and none of the old ones omitted'; *Rudiments of Thorough Bass for Young Harmonists* (London: J. Robinson, [1815]), [henceforth *Rudiments*], 'Biographical Sketch', pp. 8-9; Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 404-05; Sainsbury, II, p. 433; McVeigh, 'Calendar'.

²⁰ GB-Lna, LC 3/68, Royal Household Records, Lord Chamberlain's Department Appointment Books Series II, 'Warrant of Appointment as Master of His Majesty's Band of Musicians in Ordinary 20 July 1817', p. 183.

²¹ GB-Lna, PROB 11/1753/461 'Will of William Shield, Master of His Majesty's Band of Musicians, Gentleman of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'; Musgrave, *A Catalogue of the Music, [...] &c. late the property of William Shield [...]* (London: Watson, 1829); Lance Whithead and Jenny Nex, 'The insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *Galpin Society Journal*, 67 (March 2014), 181-216; Ann van Allen Russell, 'Cultural Economics and Music Business: The Bach-Abel Subscription Concerts, 1773-1775' unpublished paper at ISECS 15th International Congress on 'Enlightenment Identities', Edinburgh, 15 July 2019; Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Sharon Howard, Jamie McLaughlin et al., *London Lives, 1690-1800* <www.londonlives.org> (Version 1.1, 24 April 2012) [henceforth *London Lives*].

Though Eric Cross and John Treherne have recently directed concert performances of Shield works for Newcastle Early Music Festival and Community Music Whickham and Swalwell's William Shield Festival, respectively, Shield's works have long been neglected for both practical and historiographical reasons. The topicality which often ensured their initial success also limited their longevity, as fashions, concerns and attitudes became outdated. Vocal ranges and techniques familiar to Shield's soloists may challenge singers trained according to modern practices, while the autograph scores and original orchestral parts for his stage works were all lost in theatre fires within his working lifetime.²²

The principal sources for these works are published keyboard and vocal reductions, sometimes including instrumental cues; facsimiles of these first edition scores were reprinted by some American and English music publishers during the 1970s and 1990s.²³ No complete scholarly performing edition of any Shield theatre work exists, so before performance can be attempted a full score and orchestral parts must be extrapolated and reconstructed. Virtually the only commercial recording is of Richard Bonyngne directing the London Symphony Orchestra in *Rosina*, with Margreta Elkins in the title role, in 1966.²⁴ In 1998 John Drummond published a *Rosina* score reconstructed from the published vocal score and the British Library's set of manuscript orchestral parts copied for a provincial theatre company in the 1830s; Robert Hoskins and David Vine also recreated selections from *Omai* and *Fontainbleau* in 2008 to '09.²⁵

²² Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 271, 581-82; *The Caledonian Mercury*, 22 June 1789; *The Gentleman's Magazine & Historical Chronicle*, 59.2 (August 1789), 755-56; Warren Oakley, *Thomas 'Jupiter' Harris: Spinning dark intrigue at Covent Garden theatre, 1767-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 125, 129-30.

²³ *The Poor Soldier*, ed. by William Brasmer and William Osborne (Madison, Wis: A-R Editions, [1978]); *The Woodman / The Farmer / Rosina / Fontainbleau* ([Smithsonian Institution]: Belwin Mills, 1977); *The Choleric Fathers* (Wyton: King's Music, 1991).

²⁴ William Shield, *Rosina*, Ambrosian Singers, London Symphony Orchestra cond. Richard Bonyngne (Decca, SXL 6254, 1966).

²⁵ Shield, *Rosina* (London: Dale, [1783]); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33815; Drummond (ed.), *Rosina: A Comic Opera*, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1998), pp. xvii, xxi, xxviii; Shield, *Search all the wide creation round [from Fontainbleau]*, ed. by Robert Hoskins and David Vine, realized by Vine (Wellington: Massey University Music, 2008), and *Ode to Captain Cook: from Omai, or, A trip round the world*, ed. by Hoskins, orch. by Vine (Auckland: Artaria Editions, [2009]).

The only publication wholly dedicated to Shield's life and works is a 2005 project by Peter Smith of Ryton, near Swalwell.²⁶ Peter invested considerable time and effort in researching Shield and sought advice from professional musicians and academics with expertise in eighteenth-century history and repertoire, so although his work was not published to academic or commercial standards, his compilation of source references provides a useful preliminary bibliography. While emphasizing the world of difference between William Shield's Tyneside birthplace and his prestigious final resting-place, Smith's research left many practical details of Shield's journey from apparently inauspicious origins to fame and fortune unexplained, and by characterising him as a 'Geordie Dick Whittington', lent his story an intriguing but ultimately unsatisfactory fairy-tale quality.²⁷

To analyse Shield's music Smith drew heavily on the work of Roger Fiske, whose *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* was the first substantial scholarly investigation into that topic. Fiske's discussion of playhouses, orchestras, singers and publications provides detailed background on Shield's working environment, and his evaluation of works by Shield's British predecessors and contemporaries establishes precedents for features of his style, including orchestral representations of natural phenomena or traditional instruments, and the combination of traditional airs with overtures and arias in the *galant* style. Fiske also highlighted cultural and historiographical reasons for the long-presumed insignificance of eighteenth-century English composers, including the predominance of skilled foreign musicians in London, lack of patronage leading to financial dependence on commercial theatre, and the subsequent musicological fixation on Austro-German composers.²⁸

However, Fiske also seemed unwilling to renounce that very prejudice. He concluded that most eighteenth-century English repertoire was musical dross, popular only because undiscerning audiences were dazzled by theatrical spectacle; undermining his own analysis highlighting Shield's imaginative orchestration, and

²⁶ P. Smith, *From Tyneside Village To Westminster Abbey: The Life, Times and Music of William Shield 1748-1829* (Gateshead: Gateshead Schools' Music Service, 2005).

²⁷ P. Smith, p. 1.

²⁸ *English Theatre Music*, pp. v-vi, 252-301, 397-411, 433-73.

his argument that such works often succeeded on the strength of their music, rather than plot or dialogue. Far from being motivated by appreciation of their works, he professed a duty to research composers like Shield only because 'bad music is as much a part of history as good'.²⁹ In a work of such scope it is understandable that his biographical sketch of Shield merely summarises rather than probes available secondary sources, and his discussion of literary and political background to plot themes and author-composer relationships is brief. However, to find suppositions regarding Shield's compositional approach based only on personal opinion (for example, that he disliked writing overtures) is disappointing.³⁰ References in Fiske's published works, and annotations in scores he owned (now in the Brotherton Library), show that he spent time tracing potential sources of national airs used by Shield; yet he concluded that Shield's arrangements 'showed little skill', and his capacity to gauge and write for popular taste declined during the 1790s.³¹

Paul Rice's *British Music and the French Revolution* offers a different perspective, suggesting Shield's fading theatrical career reflected a changing cultural environment, rather than diminishing ability or energy. While Rice acknowledges an erosion of theatrical quality in that decade, he delineates from primary sources how domestic and international politics impacted the creative and technical processes of staging musical drama through heightened government censorship and increasing public rejection of continental influences. His approach of cross-referencing surviving scripts and musical scores with press reviews, to highlight and explain revisions and revivals, results in a far more comprehensive and nuanced appraisal of composers' circumstances and capabilities.³² An essay collection on melodrama edited by Hambridge and Hicks, while focused towards later repertoire, also traces the evolving role of music in stage works during Shield's lifetime, elucidating the

²⁹ *English Theatre Music*, pp. 580-82.

³⁰ *English Theatre Music*, pp. 405-06, 428-29, 435, 457-61, 540-56, 611-12.

³¹ GB-LEbc, FISKE-PLATT SHI; *English Theatre Music*, pp. 503-05, 557.

³² Paul F. Rice, *British Music and the French Revolution* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. ix-xii, 25-35, 52-53, 192-204, 212-48, 355-60, 372-77.

influence of pan-European cross-cultural exchanges on both repertoire and reception.³³ Their work has informed my interpretation of scores and reviews.

Rice and Fiske both mention Shield's connections and likely sympathy with fellow theatre professionals known to hold republican or 'radical' views, and through them with political philosopher William Godwin. I have consulted the database of Godwin's appointment books and referred to literary scholarship on ideas and activities of key figures in his circle, to explore Shield's likely opinions and motivations in light of these relationships.³⁴ My investigations prove Shield to be connected with philosophies, movements and campaigns, my understanding of which has been enriched by researchers into their historical basis and impact on British election history and culture, particularly in the north-east of England and Ireland.³⁵ Warren Oakley's biography of Covent Garden manager Thomas Harris illuminated political and commercial pressures on theatrical enterprises and professional relationships, raising the possibility of an extra-musical, political agenda to Shield's European sabbatical, while Kate Horgan's discussion of political connotations, interpretations and usage of popular songs including 'Chevy Chase' and 'God Save the King' informed my analysis both of Shield's adaptations of traditional tunes, and the repurposing of his compositions by others.³⁶

³³ Katherine Hambridge and Jonathan Hicks (eds), *The Melodramatic Moment: Music and Theatrical Culture 1790-1820* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

³⁴ *English Theatre Music*, pp. 429, 488-91; Rice, pp. 37-38, 134-61; WGD; EPH; Miriam L. Wallace and A. A. Markley (eds), *Re-Viewing Thomas Holcroft, 1745-1809. Essays on His Works and Life* (London / New York: Routledge, 2016); Sally Ledger, *Dickens and the Popular Radical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³⁵ Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jon Mee and David Fallon (eds), *Romanticism & Revolution: a Reader* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Jon Mee, *Print, Publicity and Radicalism in the 1790s: The Laurel of Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Kendra Packham, 'Literature and the Culture of Elections and Electioneering in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 72.303 (2020), 104-28; Sue Ward, 'A Decade of Newcastle Parliamentary Elections, 1774-1784', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th ser., 46 (2017), 123-46; Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen: Popular Politics In Ulster and Dublin, 1791-1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

³⁶ Oakley, pp. 9, 38-41, 98-111; Horgan, *The Politics of Songs in Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1723-1795* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

I have applied both my own practical experience of performing similar repertoire on period instruments, and insights from Hertz, McClelland and Steblin's work on aesthetic and theoretical approaches of contemporary and earlier European baroque and *galant* composers, to analysis of their influence on Shield's works.³⁷ Discussion by Estelle Joubert and R. J. Arnold of the political context, agenda and impact of popular songs by Hiller and Grétry also offered instructive comparisons with Shield.³⁸ My focus on Shield's use of 'national' airs inevitably spotlights representations of national and racial identity in his theatre works; here, social histories by David Olusoga and Eric Richards, and articles interrogating depictions of 'the other' in eighteenth-century music, literature and drama, directed me to testimonies, records and debates referencing racial and colonial issues, and enabled comparisons with other contemporary repertoire.³⁹

In recent decades scholars (many Newcastle-, Durham- and Yorkshire-based) have undertaken significant research into eighteenth-century professional and amateur

³⁷ 'Musician of the Month: The Akenside Players', <<http://handelhendrix.org/the-akenside-players/>> (1 April 2013); Akenside Players: University of Leeds International Concert Series, online video recording, <<https://livestream.com/uol/akenside>> (10 June 2016). Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720 – 1780* (New York: Norton, 2003); Clive McClelland, 'Ombra and Tempesta', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Danuta Mirka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 279-300; Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 1996).

³⁸ Joubert, 'Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller's Comic Operas and the Public Sphere', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 3.2 (2006), 213–30; R. J. Arnold, *Grétry's Operas and the French Public: From the Old Regime to the Restoration* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).

³⁹ Richards, *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (London: Pan Books, 2017); Julie A. Carlson, 'New Lows in Eighteenth-Century Theater: The Rise of Mungo', *European Romantic Review*, 18.2 (2007), 139-47; Bernth Lindfors, 'Ira Aldridge at Covent Garden April 1833', *Theatre Notebook*, 61.3 (2007), 144-69; Joice Waterhouse Gibson, 'A Musical and Cultural Analysis of Inkle and Yarico from England to America, 1787–1844' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Colorado, 2011); David Irving, 'The Pacific in the Minds and Music of Enlightenment Europe', *Eighteenth Century Music*, 2.2 (2005), 205-229; Ciara Conway, 'Postcolonial pantomime: John O'Keeffe and William Shield's *Omai, or a trip round the world* (1785)', in *Handbook for Studies in 18th-century English Music*, ed. by Colin Coleman and Katharine Hogg, 22 (2018), 26-46; Ralph P. Locke, 'A Broader View of Musical Exoticism', *The Journal of Musicology*, 24.4 (2007), 477–521, and 'Doing the Impossible: On the Musically Exotic', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 27.4 (2008), 334-58; Lisa Lowe, 'Rereadings in Orientalism: Oriental Inventions and Inventions of the Orient in Montesquieu's "Lettres persanes"', *Cultural Critique*, 15 (Spring 1990), 115-43.

music-making activity in north-east England. While their publications contain few direct references to William Shield, they provide valuable context for his career, detailing probable mentors, colleagues, patrons and performance opportunities that invite further investigation. The work of Brian Robins, Roz Southey, Margaret Maddison, Simon Fleming, Brian Crosby, Kirsten Gibson, Stephanie Carter and Chris Roberts led me to local primary sources including newspapers, Freemasons' records, trade directories, estate papers and diaries, enabling me to identify subscribers to William Shield's first publication and extrapolate the context for his contact with them.⁴⁰

I found further background to Shield's early employment in *North Shields Theatres* by Robert King, who drew on playbills, newspapers and published recitations to discuss touring schedules, actors and managers' careers, the development of permanent theatres and composition of audiences, players' living, travelling and worked conditions, the role of music in provincial theatres, and local theatrical responses to current affairs.⁴¹ Fitzsimmons and McDonald's *The Yorkshire Stage 1766-1803* is an invaluable aid to tracing relevant playbills and assessing the performance

⁴⁰ Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals: The life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1998); Rosemary Southey, 'Commercial Music-making in Eighteenth-century North-east England: a Pale Reflection of London?', 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, 2001); Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c. 1750-c. 1790', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 34 (2001), 1-118; Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (eds), *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Fleming, 'Harmony and Brotherly Love: Musicians and Freemasonry in 18th-Century Durham City' *The Musical Times*, 149.1904 (Autumn 2008), 69-80; Southey, Maddison and David Hughes, *The Ingenious Mr. Avison: Making Music in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2009); Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Christopher Simon Roberts, 'Music in Eighteenth Century Yorkshire' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2014); Southey and Cross (eds), *Charles Avison in Context: National and International Musical Links in Eighteenth-Century North-East England*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Fleming and Martin Perkins, *Dataset of Subscribers to Eighteenth-Century Music Publications in Britain and Ireland*, <<https://www.musicsubscribers.co.uk>> (Version 1.2, December 2022) [henceforth *Dataset*].

⁴¹ King, *North Shields Theatres [...]* (Gateshead on Tyne: Northumberland Press Limited, 1948).

history of Shield's works in the region, and Elizabeth Cheyne pointed me to uncatalogued playbills in Whitby Museum Library, covering tours missing from collections at York Minster and Newcastle City Library.⁴² These sources helped me trace, visualize and understand Shield's activity and networks, while Sybil Rosenfeld's history of Richmond's Georgian Theatre provided career and family background for some of Shield's early colleagues.⁴³

Unfortunately Shield left no diary and few letters, but contemporary memoirs, particularly those of his theatrical colleagues Thomas Holcroft, John O'Keeffe and William Parke, and Prince Hoare's memoir of abolitionist Granville Sharp, contain anecdotes of Shield's character and relationships, his professional and social life and the reception of his work; highlighting noteworthy aspects of his compositional technique and reputation, and dating his involvement with theatres, concert series and patrons. Other contemporary writings illuminate specific aspects or periods of his life, for example antiquarian scholar Joseph Ritson's letters relate to his song-collecting and travel, and engraver Thomas Bewick's memoir discusses Tyneside social and political life during Shield's youth.⁴⁴ I also found context for his performing and teaching engagements in biographies of notable families and individuals who were friends or patrons, if not of Shield himself then of colleagues and acquaintances; including Bewick, Ritson, Fanny Burney, Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, Mary Eleanor Bowes, Admiral Lord Nelson, and the Sharp family.⁴⁵

⁴² Linda Fitzsimmons and Arthur W. McDonald (eds), *The Yorkshire Stage 1766-1803* (Metuchen, New Jersey / London: Scarecrow Press, 1989); Cheyne, *Whitby in the Limelight*, 2nd edn (Guisborough: Westgate Publishing, 2007).

⁴³ Sybil Rosenfeld, *The Georgian Theatre of Richmond Yorkshire* (London: Society for Theatre Research / York: Sessions, 1984).

⁴⁴ W. Hazlitt (ed.); *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe* (London: Colburn, 1826); W. T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 2 vols (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1830); *The Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds*, 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1826); Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (London: Colburn, 1820); *The Letters of Joseph Ritson, Esq.*, 2 vols (London: Pickering, 1833); *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick, written by himself 1822-1828*, ed. by Edmund Blunden (London: Centaur Press, 1961); Thomas Bewick, *My Life*, ed. by Iain Bain (London: The Folio Society, 1981).

⁴⁵ Jenny Uglow, *Nature's Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006); Bertrand Bronson, *Joseph Ritson: Scholar-at-Arms*, 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938); Kate Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life* (London: Vintage, 1999); Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London: HarperCollins, 1999); Roger Knight, *The*

Shield's Tyneside origins are fortuitous, in that socioeconomic historians and archaeologists researching the region's dominance of Britain's coal and iron industries have coincidentally highlighted members of his family and aspects of their community life. Levine and Wrightson's *The Making of an Industrial Society. Whickham 1560-1765* and Flinn's *Men of Iron: the Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry* drew on parish, estate, legal and industrial records to provide detailed analysis of environmental and economic factors that shaped Shield's birthplace, offering clues to local living standards and musical activity, his likely level of schooling, and political opinions he may have encountered.⁴⁶

Histories of ship-building, and more recent articles on Swalwell's former industrial sites and their global trading links, offered background to Shield's alleged apprenticeship and the impact of political and colonial developments on his community, relating to topical themes in his theatre works.⁴⁷ Their authors also directed me to archival sources including the Strathmore estate papers, Newcastle Shipwrights' Guild records, a Swedish industrial agent's diary and local genealogy manuscripts, through which I traced Shield's relatives and subscribers.⁴⁸ Older

Pursuit of Victory: The Life and Achievements of Horatio Nelson (London: Penguin, 2006); Wendy Moore, *Wedlock* (London: Phoenix, 2010); Hester Grant, *The Good Sharps* (London: Vintage, 2021).

⁴⁶ David Levine and Keith Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society. Whickham 1560-1765* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); M. W. Flinn, *Men of Iron: the Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1962).

⁴⁷ Roger Finch, *Coals from Newcastle: The Story of the North East Coal Trade in the Days of Sail* (Lavenham: Dalton, 1973); David Dougan, *The Shipwrights* (Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1975); J. F. Clarke, *Building Ships on the North East Coast: [...] Part 1. c. 1640-1914* (Whitley Bay: Bewick Press, 1997); Jennifer Proctor, David Cranstone, Roderick Mackenzie & John Nolan, 'Archaeological Investigations at Swalwell Ironworks, Tyne and Wear', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 33.1 (2011), 18-39; Chris Evans, 'The Plantation Hoe: The Rise and Fall of an Atlantic Commodity, 1650-1850', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 69.1 (January 2012), 71-100; John Charlton, *Hidden Chains: the Slavery Business and North East England 1600-1865* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Libraries and Information Service, 2008); Sean Creighton, *The Black Indies: The North East Connections with the Slave Trade, Slavery and Abolition and People of African Descent in the North East, II* (History & Social Action Publications, 2020).

⁴⁸ GB-DRcro, D/St; TWA, GU.SH1-4; Reinhold Rucker Angerstein, *R. R. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary 1753-1755*, trans. by Torsten Berg and Peter Berg (London: Science Museum, 2001); SLH, James W. Corder, *Sunderland Pedigrees & Family Records* 623.8 COR, and *Wear Shipbuilders* 929.1 COR.

published local histories describe personalities, events and traditions which impacted Shield's early life and relate to his musical activity and interests.⁴⁹

Literature review: 'national airs'

Shield's contemporaries highlighted his exceptional ability to produce effective, sympathetic arrangements of traditional 'national airs'. Oboist William Parke recorded that he 'wrote in different styles with equal effect, and certainly none [...] were so happy in giving accompaniments to the beautiful but wild melodies of Ireland'. Parke recalled Shield showing his desk partner, violist Carl Stamitz, some Irish airs he had been commissioned to arrange, and asking 'what bass he would put to them'. Though Stamitz claimed, "they won't bear harmony", Shield orchestrated them ready for next day's rehearsal.⁵⁰ Critics also complimented his skills in this direction; one wrote, 'the airs are selected with infinite taste, and the accompaniments far beyond the style [...] attained by several modern masters' – a reference to attempts by Haydn, Pleyel and others to harmonise Scots airs.⁵¹ Shield's affinity with traditional tunes was such that, as I discussed in a blogpost for the Romantic National Song Network and revisit in Chapters 4 and 6, original songs he composed were widely accepted, and repeatedly pirated, as traditional airs.⁵²

⁴⁹ W. Hutchinson, *The History of Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 3 vols (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Hodgson, 1785-94); George Garbutt, *A Historical and Descriptive View of [...] the Port and Borough of Sunderland* (Sunderland: Garbutt, 1819); John Sykes, *Local Records: or, Historical Register of Remarkable Events [...]* (Newcastle: Sykes, 1833); William Bourn, *Whickham Parish: its History, Antiquities, and Industries* (Carlisle: Wordsworth Press, 1893; repr. Bristol: Chivers, for Gateshead Council Portcullis Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ Parke, I, pp. 265-66; Shield, *The Wicklow Mountains*, (London: Longman & Broderip, 1796), pp. 2-3, 5-7, 10-11.

⁵¹ *London Chronicle*, 6 November 1792, pp. 71, 447; Claire M. Nelson, 'Creating a notion of 'Britishness': the role of Scottish music in the negotiation of a common culture, with particular reference to the 18th century accompanied sonata' (unpublished DMus thesis, Royal College of Music, 2003), pp. 18, 77.

⁵² Addison, 'What makes a song "national"? William Shield and Thomas Holcroft's "Down the bourn and thro' the mead", alias "Johnny and Mary: A favourite Scots song"', <<https://rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk/what-makes-a-song-national/>> (Romantic National Song Network, 24 February 2019).

In his treatises, Shield used the term 'national airs' to characterise melodies that would later be classed as 'folk tunes'.⁵³ Some attempt at style and genre definition is necessary here, but existing approaches seem flawed from a practical and historical perspective. David Johnson's otherwise rigorous and illuminating *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* tabulates opposing characteristics under the anachronistic labels of 'folk' and 'classical' music before exploring 'cross-currents' between them. Despite Johnson's claim that, 'The definition of folk music is easy: the work has already been done for us by the International Folk Music Council' at its 1954 conference, Steve Roud admits, 'the definition of "folk-song" is fraught with difficulty, and many researchers even avoid the term altogether'. Both authors focus on development through oral tradition as a key element of the 'folk' concept, stressing that by contrast 'classical' music is dependent on fixed, notated compositions.⁵⁴

This presumed polarity between live or oral and score-based music-making ignores numerous historical performance practice treatises whose authors devoted significant space to methods of extemporising ornaments, divisions and cadenzas and realising chordal accompaniments, in an era when most professional musicians both composed and performed, improvisation remained an essential skill, and the score was not yet considered a comprehensive or immutable artefact.⁵⁵ The IFMC's allusions to 'variation', 're-fashioning and re-creation' of music 'from rudimentary

⁵³ *Rudiments*, p. 28.

⁵⁴ D. Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 6, 14-15; Roud, 'General Introduction' in *The New Penguin Book of English Folk Songs*, ed. by Roud and Julia Bishop (London: Penguin, 2014), pp. xii-xiii.

⁵⁵ John Playford, *The Division Violin* (London: Playford, 1684); Jacques Martin Hotteterre, *L'art de préluder sur la flûte traversière* (Paris: 1719); Michel Corrette, *Méthode, théorique et pratique pour apprendre [...] le Violoncelle [...]* (Paris: 1741); Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London: 1751); Johann Joachim Quantz, trans. by Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 2nd edn (London: Faber, 1985, rep. 2001); Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 2 vols (Berlin: 1753, 1762); Leopold Mozart, trans. by Editha Knocker, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1985); Giuseppe Tartini, *Traité des Agréments de la Musique* (Paris: Denis, [1770]); Baillot et al, *Méthode de Violoncelle et de Basse d'Accompagnement* (Paris: Conservatoire, 1804, repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1974); Judy Tarling, *Baroque String Playing for ingenious learners* (St. Albans: Corda Music, 2001), pp. 34-41, 57-58.

beginnings' could equally describe the process applied by baroque composers to ancient grounds and simple hymn tunes.⁵⁶ Moreover, having studied concert society records and playbills detailing the professional engagements of eighteenth-century Scottish fiddlers, Johnson concluded the same individuals often performed 'folk' tunes for dances and 'classical' music for concerts.⁵⁷ While distinguishing between these musics, performers were equally conversant with and competent in the skills, knowledge and techniques required by each, which were hardly mutually exclusive. Evidence of musical practice crossing genre and class boundaries is largely ignored or distorted by David Harker in *Fakesong: The manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day*. Harker presents folk songs as products of 'workers' culture', arguing that their publication by antiquarians or composers for profit, or to entertain the educated classes, constituted cultural property theft; and that musicians and poets from labouring backgrounds who acquired education and became professionals, sold out to the establishment. Actuated by his avowed Marxist agenda rather than investigation of Shield's background or professional context, Harker classes him among elite expropriators of traditional airs and characterises his promotion of national and regional tunes as fraudulent and chauvinistic.

While rightly emphasizing the process of 'mediation' involved in compiling traditional tune collections, Harker did not consider interpreting notated sources as snapshots of, or parallel strands alongside, oral transmission and evolution; surely a valid approach, where collectors or composers participated in oral practice. Though his retrospective imposition of twentieth-century class constructs on eighteenth-century repertoire is unhelpful, his critical assessment of the contexts, methods and motivations of song collectors, editors and publishers, and extensive bibliography of

⁵⁶ Arcangelo Corelli, 'Follia' in *Sonate a Violino e Violone o Cembalo*, op. 5 (Rome: Santa, [1700], repr. Florence: Edizioni Scelte, 1979), pp. 62-68; Johann Sebastian Bach, 'Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern' in Cantata [BWV] 1, *Seven Great Cantatas in Full Score* (New York: Dover, 1985), pp. 1-35.

⁵⁷ D. Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 18-19.

tune collections, proved useful for identifying those most likely to have influenced Shield's arrangements.⁵⁸

Matthew Gelbart's *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"* offers a more nuanced perspective. While cautioning against retrospective application of modern genre terms and spurious binary oppositions, he traces the evolution of concepts and movements they describe, detailing eighteenth-century approaches to history, philosophy, language, culture and the arts to explain the period's music, and literature about music, on its own terms. Gelbart observes that while earlier musicians and theorists classified music by 'function' (the purpose and context of performance), eighteenth-century scholars, motivated by increasing cultural nationalism and antiquarianism founded on Enlightenment philosophical frameworks, became increasingly concerned to establish its 'origin'. The attribution of creativity to human achievement rather than divine inspiration brought a corresponding emphasis on proprietary authorship; a composer of original music was increasingly portrayed as an 'artist-genius', while the skill of arranging was relegated to a secondary, artisan status.⁵⁹ Contemporary reviews of Shield's works combined this older understanding of the composer as a skilled craftsman, choosing the best of universally available raw materials, with the modern urge to define a personal style and oeuvre:

Shield has added another laurel to his brow by the music of *Marian* [italics added]. His original airs are delightful, and those which he has selected do honour to his taste.⁶⁰

The music is chiefly the composition of Mr. Shields, and is in his usual style, chaste, rich, and various. [...] several of the songs are compiled, a resource to which men of Shield's genius and modesty will always refer, in the composition of an opera, for the sake of diversifying its character.⁶¹

In contrast with this élite trend towards artistic individualism, Gelbart and Harker (following the IFMC) emphasize the role of a 'community' in selecting, developing

⁵⁸ Harker, *Fakesong: The manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985), pp. viii-xvi, 2, 9-78, 254-55.

⁵⁹ Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-23, 51-57, 80-81, 191-94.

⁶⁰ 'Theatrical Intelligence', *The New London Magazine*, 4.6 (June 1788), 326-27 (p. 327).

⁶¹ 'Account of Robin Hood', *The Lady's Magazine*, 15 (April 1784), 194-96 (p. 195).

and transmitting traditional music, without satisfactorily explaining who belongs to this community, how it is bounded by locality or social class, and whether those who go out from it into other contexts, or enter from outside, can continue or begin to participate in or claim its culture.⁶² Rather than wrestling with such abstract concepts, I have chosen to examine instead how Shield's compositional and (so far as it can be inferred) performance practice embodied his own understanding of his role in relation to traditional music, and its function in his various communities.

Fiske, Johnson, Harker and Gelbart all concern themselves primarily with Scottish traditional music (and its European imitations), because Scotland was the original focus of the Romantic obsession with 'primitive' cultures, believed to represent humanity in its purest, most natural state and to have been preserved in rural areas untainted by industry, commerce and fashion.⁶³ From my own preliminary list of national airs used by Shield, I note that the appearance in his works of airs from various countries roughly coincides with the gradual expansion of scholars' and collectors' interest as mapped by Gelbart, from Scotland to Ireland, Wales, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, France and Italy. Shield's interest in French and Italian traditional airs (based on practical experience rather than antiquarian or anthropological research) considerably predates their publication by collectors in those nations.⁶⁴

Many eighteenth-century 'song' publications lack tunes, leading to a frustrating lack of clarity in the literature over whether both music and text are under consideration, and if so as combined or separate entities (hence my decision to divide printed sources in my Bibliography according to whether they were designed primarily to be played and sung, or read). Both Gelbart and Harker acknowledge this problem in discussing historical sources, but their own work is also weakened, for my purposes, by its focus on writings about music, rather than on the practice of musicians.

⁶² Gelbart, pp. 2, 24-6; Harker, pp. x-xiv, 37-38, 54.

⁶³ Harker, pp. xiv, 50-51; Gelbart, pp. 27-39, 41-46, 54, 60-66, 137-38.

⁶⁴ Gelbart, pp. 228-30; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 541, 546; e.g. *The Flich of Bacon*, pp. 4, 38 [Scottish]; *Rosina*, pp. 5, 28, 35 [Scottish], 20, 25 [Irish], 11, 36-38 [French]; *Fontainebleau* pp. 2-7, 38 [French], 11-12, 42-43 [Irish], 14-15 [Italian]; *Hartford Bridge*, p. 21 [Russian].

Though Gelbart contrasts the editorial approach and reception of collections by scholars whose primary interest was literary or cultural and those with practical, musical aims, his claim that the technical focus of an early bagpipe treatise was exceptional among antiquarian collections of Scottish music, rather than comparable to contemporary instrumental tutors, misrepresents the source.⁶⁵ While Fiske's *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* references many eighteenth-century arrangements of Scottish airs, his assertions regarding authenticity and transmission of tunes often lack either authoritative documentary evidence or convincing musical analysis.⁶⁶

Claire Nelson's 2003 dissertation advanced scholarly examination of the role played by Scottish music in defining eighteenth-century British culture, by engaging in greater depth with compositional and performance practice in Scots song arrangements. Although her musical analysis deals with keyboard repertoire to which Shield did not directly contribute, her discussion of evolving opinions on performance and accompaniment highlights sources for comparison with Shield's arrangements and raises points relevant to analysing his practice; for example how professional composers' approach to traditional music diverged from that of philosophers and theorists, and which harmonic, melodic and rhythmic features distinguished traditional Scottish airs from an idealized 'Scotch style'. However, her conclusion that Scots songs arrangements increasingly abandoned simplicity (the main attraction of traditional airs) to become more complex, artificial and stylized, is not reflected in Shield's works.⁶⁷

Interpreting culture and practice around 'national airs' has required me to relate musical and theatrical developments to a broader eighteenth-century discourse on national identities. Colley's *Britons* provides an overview of political and

⁶⁵ Harker, pp. 5-7, 25-36, 52, 62, 71-74; Gelbart, pp. 5, 85-87, 100-01, 144-47, 158-59, 180-88, 196, 239-41; e.g. Hotteterre, *Principes de la flûte traversière*, op. 7 (Paris: 1707) and *Méthode pour la musette* (Paris, 1737); Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*; Corrette, *L'Ecole d'Orphée* (Paris: 1738).

⁶⁶ Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. x, 1-2, 4, 6-9, 11, 13-15, 23-25.

⁶⁷ Nelson (thesis), pp. 80-82, 97-99, 157-208.

socioeconomic factors that shaped the concept of 'Great Britain', while Gottlieb's *Feeling British* compares the perspectives of Scottish and English authors contiguous with Shield's experiences, networks and influences, exploring contemporary concerns that distinctively Scottish manners, language and tastes were declining under the English-dominated Union.⁶⁸ This discussion contextualizes Nelson's argument that 'the promotion of Scottish culture was a conscious attempt on the part of Scotland's intellectual classes to provide their homeland with the strongest possible profile within the emergent British national identity', as Scots preserved and exploited their unique heritage to resist cultural homogenisation and compensate for loss of political autonomy, with considerable commercial success. Gottlieb describes Defoe and Hume's consensus that the only definable feature of the 'mongrel' English was their absence of 'national character' (a product of internal diversity resulting from waves of settlement), while Nelson cites contemporary commentaries criticising the lack of a recognisable 'English' music.⁶⁹

Nelson rightly notes that 'the English' failed to distinguish significant differences between Highland and Lowland Scottish musical culture and practice; but her tacit converse assumption, that London society represented a homogenous English musical culture - or at least, a homogenous English attitude to national music - is equally problematic. Despite referencing Shield's inclusion of national airs in his treatises and theatre works, she did not investigate whether his approach differed from that of English contemporaries.⁷⁰ Similarly, Gottlieb demonstrates that the public conversation promoting and challenging conceptions of 'Great Britain' extended to the theatre, but does not discuss the popularity of works like Henry Carey's 1735 ballad opera *The Honest Yorkshireman*, which parodied widely-recognised differences in dialect, temperament, dress, interests and humour not only

⁶⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Evan Gottlieb, *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing, 1707-1832* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007).

⁶⁹ Gottlieb, pp. 15, 53-57; Nelson (thesis), abstract, pp. 6-8, 15, 18-19, 27-30, 49, 58-59, 82-84, 93-95, 144-48, 302-06.

⁷⁰ Nelson (thesis), pp. 34, 80-81, 89, 133, 137-38, 167, 205-06.

between national populations, but between citizens of London and the English provinces.⁷¹

Nelson highlights divergent attitudes towards traditional music among national élites, noting that while English aristocrats regarded labouring-class culture as ‘low’ and ‘vulgar’ and showed no interest in its traditional music, Scottish landowners (when in Scotland) used the same dialect, songs and dances as their servants.

Scottish traditional music was acceptable and attractive to London élites because it was perceived to embody Enlightenment ideals, and proudly endorsed by Scottish expatriate nobility. This class-related phenomenon speaks to Shield’s desire, shared with north-eastern song-collectors like Joseph Ritson and John Bell, to champion their regional traditional music as a distinct repertoire of ‘national airs’.⁷² Another factor in that focus on ‘Border Tunes’, as Shield termed them, is the geopolitical history of Tyneside and north-east England. Historians’ work on the lasting legacies of ancient boundaries, conflicts and cultural centres including the former kingdom of Northumbria and the Anglo-Scottish Border, and on traditions reflected in Shield’s works like the Border and Robin Hood ballads, helped me unravel the likely implications for his own sense of musical identity and heritage, of spending his formative years in this area.⁷³

To understand how Shield’s experience of oral traditions inspired and informed his approach to national airs, I compared his arrangements with multiple other versions in broadly contemporary or earlier manuscript and published collections, especially

⁷¹ Gottlieb, pp. 72-73; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 123.

⁷² Nelson (thesis), pp. 33-35, 38-39, 42-44, 107-09, 113-17, 123-25, 153, 302-06; D. Johnson, *Music and Society*, p. 59; *Rudiments*, pp. 35, 37; Gelbart, pp. 84-86, 90-97; Harker, pp. 24-25, 51-52.

⁷³ George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, 4th edn (London: HarperCollins, 1995); James Reed, *The Border Ballads* (London: Athlone Press, 1973); Helen M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (eds), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997); Trevor Royle, *Civil War* (London: Abacus, 2005); Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell (eds), *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300-1600* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012); Jacqueline Riding, *Jacobites*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2017); Graham Robb, *The Debatable Land* (London: Picador, 2018); Stephen Knight, *Robin Hood: A Mythic Biography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); J. C. Holt, *Robin Hood* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989; repr. 2011).

those linked to his region of origin and perhaps representative of related traditions. Though I sometimes reject his interpretation of notational and harmonic features, Border piper Matt Seattle's painstaking and extensive notes in modern editions of the Northumbrian Vickers and Dixon MSS suggested fruitful lines of enquiry.⁷⁴ These and other manuscript tunebooks held by Northumberland Archives, the National Library of Scotland and the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (many now digitised and accessible online) proved vital sources for comparison, while online indexes of the Village Music Project and Traditional Tune Archive, and the incipit search function at folktunefinder.com, also yielded useful references.⁷⁵

Many such resources use ABC notation to encode melodies, enabling digital searches and comparisons among vast datasets compiled from multiple collections.⁷⁶ While I trialled this tool to assist with initial identification of historical tune sources, I ultimately leaned away from computerised methods of analysis, finding it more productive to apply my training in historically-informed performance practice, and experience of working alongside professional traditional musicians, to the practical, aesthetic and imaginative interpretation of original sources. While it can never be an exact science, this approach confronts and explores the human implications and nuances of notational idiosyncrasies, inconsistencies and parallels, that encoding music in digital forms inevitably fails to capture.⁷⁷

Overwhelmingly, the literature demonstrates that both 'classical' musicologists and 'folk' purists have tended to dismiss Shield: attributing his borrowing of traditional tunes to laziness or lack of original genius, rather than exploring what lay behind his interest in and sympathy with this music; or accusing him of appropriating and polluting traditional tunes, while ignoring his evident familiarity with performing

⁷⁴ Seattle, *The Great Northern Tune Book* (London and Morpeth: EFDSS / Northumbrian Pipers' Society, 2008) [henceforth Seattle (Vickers)]; *The Master Piper: A Border Bagpipe Repertoire*, 3rd edn (Hawick: Dragonfly Music, 2011) [henceforth Seattle (Dixon)].

⁷⁵ GB-AS (GB-NTsa) [*FARNE*]; GB-En [*HMS*]; EFDSS, <<https://www.vwml.org>>; TTA; Joe Wass (ed.), <<https://www.folktunefinder.com/>>.

⁷⁶ Chris Walshaw, 'abc notation home page', <<https://abcnotation.com/>> (1995-2023).

⁷⁷ Cornelia Metzger, Matthew Gould, Roshan Noronha, Roshani Abbey, Mark Sandler and Caroline Colijn, 'Classification of origin with feature selection and network construction for folk tunes', *Pattern Recognition Letters*, 133 (2020), 356-64.

practice in an oral tradition. Almost every author who mentions Shield is forced to discount aspects of his musical experience that would disrupt the stylistic, socio-political or ideological categories they attempt to define. In doing so, they unfairly cloud his reputation and overlook the valuable insights his works offer into interactions between oral tradition, popular culture and professional composition and performance in his era.

Exceptions include Rice, who evaluates Shield's practice of juxtaposing and combining disparate musical influences as an artistic and commercial strength, rather than a betrayal of either his formal training or his humble origins; and Michael Burden, who in a 2017 article notes Shield's ability to showcase performers' particular talents and fluency in various styles, as talents warmly acknowledged even by rivals.⁷⁸ However, Rice's book examines only a few late works, and Burden's article a single theatrical number; a focused, thorough examination of Shield's whole output, on its own terms and according to the standards of his era and context, is long overdue. Without making it my mission to overturn prior frameworks or see Shield admitted to any 'canon', my aim here is to contribute substantially towards that work.

Shield the harmonist

Shield's two-volume treatise on accompaniment forms the most substantial piece of first-person writing he left to us and amply repays close analysis, which could form a significant project on its own. Here I provide an overview as background to forthcoming chapters, highlighting selected examples which offer insights into Shield's personality, professional interests and relationships, the theories and practices fundamental to his own training, and influences which shaped his style.

Shield comes across as a dedicated professional with an enquiring mind; an understated, wry sense of humour (as often directed towards himself as others, of

⁷⁸ Rice, pp. 156, 161, 200-04, 312-15, 377; Michael Burden, 'Counting Italian Musicians; a London Catalogue aria in context', *Early Music*, 45.3 (2017), 429-43 (pp. 430-31, 437, 439).

whom he wrote with generosity and respect); and above all, passionate enthusiasm for all good music. While confident in his capabilities, he showed no pretensions to genius, declaring that his ambition was 'rather to write an useful Book, than a learned Work'. His professed 'diffidence' appears genuine; he exercised 'compliance with friendly advice', 'referred to several great authorities for information', and even allowed readers to benefit from the inclusion of critics' opinions, without attempting to answer them or justify himself. One reviewer chastised him for bowing too readily before a more famous 'oracle':

Mr. S. was too humble and submissive to authority in adopting such an unscientific definition in preference to his own conception, which was just, short and intelligible [...].⁷⁹

A 'Doctor of harmony' endorsed Shield as 'a practical writer' who did not waste words on abstract concepts divorced from real-world applications, and his obvious familiarity with the needs of amateur music-makers reinforces otherwise limited circumstantial evidence of teaching experience (see Chapters 2 and 5).⁸⁰ He prioritised clarity and intelligibility, insisting musical examples were suitably placed within the text even at extra cost, sacrificing his own preference for alto and tenor clefs to his readers' more likely familiarity with treble and bass, and providing definitions and explanations of technical concepts, Italian terms and notational conventions. He offered practical tips on achieving good voice-leading within a comfortable hand-span when score-reading at the keyboard, and incorporated warm-up methods used by professional colleagues, including 'the daily exercises of the most accomplished Italian singer of the present age' (possibly the celebrated castrato Tenducci, a frequent soloist in the Bach-Abel series, Professional Concerts and King's Theatre oratorios).⁸¹

⁷⁹ *Introduction*, 'Dedication', 'Advertisement', pp. 16, 28-29, 107.

⁸⁰ *Rudiments*, p. 86.

⁸¹ *Introduction*, 'Advertisement', pp. 1-2, 9, 11-13, 77-78, 85-88; *Rudiments*, pp. 18-19, 32-34; 'Biographical Sketch', pp. 8-9; Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 404-05; Sainsbury, II, p. 433; McVeigh, 'Calendar'; Baldwin and Wilson, 'Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando (c. 1735-1790)', *ODNB* (29 May 2014).

Although their titles imply instruction at a basic level, both treatises cover advanced topics including counterpoint, accompaniment of recitative, tonality and chromaticism, transposition, and composition of preludes, caprices, divisions, variations and cadenzas. Shield assumed prior ability to read music and sing or play an instrument (with references to harpsichord, pianoforte, organ, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, French horn, trombone, violin, viola, cello, harp, mandolin and voice):

The reader is supposed to be capable of performing elegant melody [... and] endeavouring to acquire a knowledge of practical harmony [...]⁸²

He urged students to incorporate exercises and extracts, designed to develop technical competence alongside theoretical understanding, into a regular practice routine involving repetition and improvisation, believing this would also instil in them imagination and enthusiasm:

I would strongly recommend the young student to begin his daily exercise by accompanying the scale; for by an attentive practice of this alone, he may invent such a variety of measures, inversions, and arpeggios, that his pleasure every succeeding day will keep gradually rising to astonishment.

A reviewer praised as a 'new and useful expedient' the extension of this approach to 'performers on instruments which are chiefly confined to the melody of a single part, and incapable of playing chords', whom Shield encouraged to master the harmonic progressions 'whence that melody is derived' by demonstrating how figured bass could be converted into arpeggiated patterns. He suggested string players learn to accompany by singing the melody and realising chords underneath (a highly effective method for baroque cellists to practise *secco* recitative, as I learned from Joe Crouch at Dartington International Summer School).⁸³

In *Introduction* Shield worked systematically and concisely from the diatonic scale and intervals, through major and minor triads and inversions, figured bass and cadences to the rules of part-writing, which he laid down uncompromisingly:

⁸² *Introduction*, pp. 6-9, 18-27, 36, 40-41, 46-50, 52-54, 57, 61, 66-68, 77-80, 82, 85-86, 90, 95-100, 106-07, 110, 112-14, 116, 123-24; *Rudiments*, title page, pp. 1-3, 7, 9-19, 29, 32-35, 47, 50, 57, 64, 81-82.

⁸³ *Introduction*, pp. 25-28; Dartington Music Summer School and Festival, <<https://www.dartington.org/whats-on/programme/summer-school/>> (Dartington Trust, 2020).

the law positively says, you shall not use consecutive octaves between the lowest and highest parts, nor shall you proceed from an imperfect to a perfect concord in the similar motion.

However, he conceded that even naturally musical persons find a ‘forbidden progression’ offensive to their ear only after training, while the greatest composers sometimes break the laws of harmony; ‘for let your rules be ever so useful and extensive, men of genius will soar beyond them’. He also recognised that rules evolve in response to fashion and innovation, as when the increasing chromatic capability of instruments allowed composers new freedom to explore modulations.⁸⁴

Shield cautioned readers not to accept mere technical complexity as proof of superior musical quality, warning that taste can become ‘too much cultivated’, and excessive sophistication ‘confound the understanding, or vitiate the ear of Nature’s musician, so as to allure him from captivating simplicity’. The straightforward yet evocative language used to describe musical effects mirrors his advice that emotional expression is best achieved with few notes; he praised an organist for extemporising counterpoint to a familiar psalm ‘without frittering its melody’, and, following principles expressed in many contemporary treatises, warned against adding ornaments or cadenzas that were excessively florid or incompatible with the air’s underlying harmonic structure:

Flourishing has been censured in every age, for simplicity should never be disguised with meretricious ornament.⁸⁵

The posthumous auction catalogue of Shield’s library lists historical and contemporary treatises covering all aspects of music, from performance practice, harmony and counterpoint, to the science of pitch and acoustics. He owned copies of works by European and English theorists and composers including Rameau, Marpurg, Grétry, Rousseau, Pepusch, Fux, Zarlino, Galilei, Scarlatti, Young, Simpson, Playford, Morley and Lampe.⁸⁶ While he rarely quoted them directly, he

⁸⁴ *Introduction*, pp. 6, 8-9, 110.

⁸⁵ *Introduction*, pp. 32, 34, 84, 89-90; see e.g. Quantz, trans. by Reilly, pp. 99, 120; Tarling, pp. 35-37; Peter Holman, ‘Notation and Interpretation’ in *A Performer’s Guide to Music of the Baroque Period*, ed. by Anthony Burton, 2nd edn (Amersham: ABRSM, 2017), 21-48 (p. 47).

⁸⁶ *Introduction*, pp. 41, 51; *Rudiments*, pp. 15-16, 79, 86; Musgrave, pp. 11, 18-19.

was evidently well-read in the theories behind the practical techniques he presented to his students.

The often-repeated claim that Shield studied with Newcastle composer Charles Avison is worth addressing here. Early biographers claimed he received ‘lessons in counterpoint’, the advanced principles of formal harmony and composition set forth in these treatises, in which his own father perhaps lacked the time or expertise to fully instruct him.⁸⁷ Avison scholars confirm there is no documentary evidence that Shield was ever enrolled as his student or apprentice; no correspondence between them survives, and few of Avison’s patrons transferred their support to Shield after his death in 1770.⁸⁸ However, Avison – widely commended for his ‘amiableness’ and ‘benevolence’ – might well have mentored a talented young local musician informally, and Shield’s treatises imply some such relationship.⁸⁹ When discussing recitative Shield quotes extensively from the writings of Revd. Dr John Brown, Avison’s close friend; he also owned a copy of Avison’s *Essay on Musical Expression* and multiple volumes of his concertos.⁹⁰ Alongside musical examples by Corelli are anecdotes, perhaps communicated to Shield by Avison (who had studied with Corelli’s disciple Francesco Geminiani in London); a telling footnote relates:

an observation which one of the greatest musicians, that ever existed, made to a young man, who had taken frequent opportunities to render him little services, in hopes of being recompensed by a few lessons of composition; and was bold enough to ask this admirable master to instruct him how to set parts to some melodies that he had invented; but our voluminous composer’s time was so fully, and so nobly employed, that he had only leisure to teach him by advice in these words: “Take Correlli’s scores, and study them until you fully comprehend

⁸⁷ ‘Biographical Sketch’, p. 8; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 403.

⁸⁸ Southey, ‘Managing a musical career in the eighteenth century: The interweaving of patronage and commercialisation in the careers of Charles Avison and Edward Meredith’, in Southey and Cross (eds), 179-213 (pp. 185-86); Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 38, 45; Fleming, ‘Avison and his Subscribers: Musical Networking in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 49.1 (2018), 21-49.

⁸⁹ ‘Obituary’, *NC*, 12 May 1770; Pierre Dubois, ‘“Music... is like a conversation among friends, where the few are of one mind”: Charles Avison’s moral philosophy’, and Margaret Maddison, ‘Charles Avison, gentleman, and the Vicar of Bedlington’s will’, in Southey and Cross (eds), 35-51 (pp. 47-48), 53-68 (pp. 61, 64, 66).

⁹⁰ *Introduction*, pp. 85-86; Musgrave, pp. 3, 17-19; Brown, *Letters upon Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute / London: Elliot & Kay, 1789); Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, 3rd edn (London: Lockyer Davis, 1775).

every treatment he has given to the ninth; and then, if you have genius, you may begin to compose.”⁹¹

Whether Shield was the eager youngster and Avison the master composer, or whether Avison told Shield of his own attempts to learn from Geminiani (the application of such effusive tributes to either would not have seemed excessive to many contemporaries), this anecdote conveys respect deepened by remembrance of personal indebtedness, and reflects the informal but enduring nature of Avison’s influence on Shield.⁹²

Shield as educator emphasized practice over theory, with commentary reflecting his experience and skill as a performer, rather than abstruse aesthetic or theoretical principles. He included first-hand accounts of rehearsal processes and audience reactions, relating harmonic and stylistic features to instrumental and vocal properties and technique; and apologised to readers that publication of *Introduction* was delayed, because performing commitments

would not permit me to devote my whole time and attention to this object, and I have written many of the following pages during the still hours of the night, that I might not mislead the unwary by hasty negligence.⁹³

Shield demonstrated the application and effect of the principles he outlined through a substantial and varied ‘harmonical miscellany, which contains extracts from the compositions of those who should have written more, those who should have written less, and those who should not have written at all’. Despite this mildly brutal introduction, the criticism accompanying the musical examples (whether chosen to inspire or warn) is instructive rather than destructive. Shield rarely named the composers, offering this justification for quoting their works unattributed:

Compositions are frequently overrated and undervalued by prejudice, therefore it appeared to me the most liberal plan, to let every musical illustrative example recommend itself by its own intrinsic merit, and not by the name of its author. Beauties are often found in strains which are seldom heard, and many of the most popular compositions are not entirely free from defects; but I should have

⁹¹ *Introduction*, pp. 28-9; *Rudiments*, p. 6; Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 30-32; Southey and Cross, ‘Introduction’, 1-34 (pp. 5-7, 20); Enrico Careri, ‘Geminiani, Francesco (Saverio) [Xaviero]’, *GMO* (20 January 2001).

⁹² Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 8-9; Maddison, in Southey and Cross (eds), p. 64.

⁹³ *Introduction*, ‘Advertisement’, pp. 38, 77, 80, 88; *Rudiments*, pp. 86-88, 90.

betrayed a malignant mind, if I had made my selection to exalt a friend, to depress an enemy, or to diminish the happiness of any contented family, by an attempt to injure its supporter in his professional practice.⁹⁴

Nonetheless, many excerpts are identifiable by inference and comparison with other sources, revealing Shield's influences and inspirations. Notable among these are: Corelli's solo violin and string ensemble works; earlier English court composers such as Byrd, Croft, Greene and Boyce; Italian contemporaries including Jommelli and Pergolesi; Shield's predecessors and peers in the London theatre world, like Arne and Linley; and the operas, symphonies and oratorios of Austro-German composers, including Handel's *Joshua* and *Jephtha*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and supplementary wind parts for Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *Creation* and *Il ritorno di Tobia*, and Gluck's *Anacreon*.⁹⁵

Many extracts originate from repertoire encountered throughout Shield's performing career, or demonstrate links with European musicians; notably Haydn, whose conversation he quoted repeatedly, and with whom he exchanged valued scores.⁹⁶ As an indication of Shield's connections and discernment, Fiske highlighted his inclusion in *Introduction* of J. S. Bach's D minor keyboard Prelude, a year before the complete *48 Preludes and Fugues* were first published in Germany. Fiske assumed this was copied from a manuscript brought to London for Samuel Wesley, but Shield's accompanying comment - 'The father of a wonderful family of Harmonists produced many such masterly modulations [...] to delight and instruct his sons' - suggests his source was the youngest of them, his concert colleague Johann Christian Bach.⁹⁷

Believing that 'all who have harmonious souls, leisure, and understanding, are fond of poetry', Shield declared his intention to 'strengthen the musical definitions by allusive poetical selections', quoting with enthusiasm and insight from a range of

⁹⁴ *Introduction*, p. 32.

⁹⁵ *Introduction*, pp. 28-29, 36, 58-59, 61, 63-64, 66, 71, 80-81, 86-88, 100, 120-21; *Rudiments*, pp. 9, 18, 21, 47-49, 58-59, 61-63, 80, 84-85; Brown and Holman, pp. 4-8, 12; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 308, 404-05.

⁹⁶ Musgrave, pp. 3-19, 21, 23; McVeigh, 'Calendar'; *Rudiments*, pp. 30-31, 69, 80.

⁹⁷ *Introduction*, pp. 114-15; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 557; Christoph Wolff and Stephen Roe, 'Bach, Johann [John] Christian', *GMO*, 20 January 2001.

literary and philosophical writings by authors including Shakespeare, Dryden, Milton and Pope.⁹⁸ Most of these extol music's relationship with poetry or its emotional and spiritual power, and many form the texts of musical works within Shield's repertoire and library, including several odes for St. Cecilia's Day. Such references demonstrate that Shield encountered literature through music, rather than vice versa, and situate his writing within a broader Enlightenment and Christian philosophy of music. This is further evidenced by his ownership of Homer's *Iliad*, in Pope's English translation; several volumes of sermons and theological commentaries; translations of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the Bible and Psalms in vernacular Italian, perhaps purchased as aids for learning the language; and more numerous sacred and liturgical scores than might be expected of one who never held a church or cathedral appointment.⁹⁹

Shield's treatises display a profound respect for historical music, incorporating facsimiles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scores and lute tablature he had collected along with Renaissance instruments and books.¹⁰⁰ These manuscript extracts were apparently printed from copies engraved freehand, since (as highlighted by Brown and Holman) publication antedates the development of lithographic printing techniques which could reproduce handwritten sources exactly via tracings; Shield recognised the skilled assistance of his engraver and printer, acknowledging both by name.¹⁰¹ He also expressed a youthful enthusiasm for anything new, whimsical or remarkable, like the then 'speculative' notion that the entire harmonic series might be audible in every individual note, a game of turning music upside down to read relative keys in different clefs, and the rumoured discovery of a West Indian bird which sang in multiphonics.¹⁰² In summary, Shield's treatises reveal a thoughtful, practical musician, who studied and shared music of all

⁹⁸ *Introduction*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁹ *Introduction*, pp. 14-15, 23, 69, 72-73, 83-85; *Rudiments*, pp. 9, 75; Musgrave, pp. 4-5, 8-12, 15-19, 22-23; J. Snoj, 'Music in Homer's *Iliad*', *Musicological Annual*, 43.1 (2007), 53-65.

¹⁰⁰ Musgrave, pp. 20, 22-23; *Rudiments*, pp. 54-57.

¹⁰¹ Brown and Holman, pp. 3-12; *Introduction*, 'Advertisement'.

¹⁰² *Introduction*, pp. 3, 5.

kinds with reverence and delight. As one reviewer commented, 'the Utile et dulce are blended throughout with the most consummate skill'; while another enthused,

I never did open a book of the kind so replete with practical, useful, and elegant examples of composition, in the best taste and style of the present times, not confined to one species of instrument or voice, but to all that are in general use throughout Europe.¹⁰³

The possibility of determining to what degree Shield's treatises influenced contemporary musical theorists, critics, performers or pedagogues is limited by the absence of subscriber's lists, and I have yet to find them referenced in other sources. However, Shield claimed that he 'determined to revise, enlarge, and publish' a second edition of *Introduction*, because the first had 'been repeatedly sold at auctions for seven times its original price, and the increasing demand for it, (being without copies) was an unprofitable gratification'.¹⁰⁴ As well as demonstrating Shield's commercial sense, this suggests his method of delivering practical instruction through varied examples had popular appeal.

National airs and national identities in Shield's treatises

In *Rudiments* Shield quoted and identified with the view of a 'profound Critick and sublime Composer' on national airs, affirming the value and interest of traditional music:

It may seem necessary to apologize for having dedicated so large a portion of the work to a subject hitherto considered but of little importance; it is a subject, however which I am not disposed to view in that light; one wherein much remains to be discovered, and the study of which every lover of music may prosecute. I am aware that some of the most eminent writers on the art have been inclined to disregard this species of music, because it was preserved by tradition.¹⁰⁵

Here Shield deliberately set himself against the prejudices of the cultural establishment. The most influential contemporary English writer on music, Charles Burney, described national airs as:

¹⁰³ *Introduction*, p. 56; *Rudiments*, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰⁴ *Introduction*, 'Advertisement'.

¹⁰⁵ *Rudiments*, p. 26.

those wild and irregular Melodies [...] such as the old and rustic tunes of Wales, Scotland and Ireland [which] if not more ancient than the scale ascribed to Guido, were certainly formed without its assistance, as we may judge by the little attention that was paid to Keys, and the awkward difficulties to which those are subject who attempt to clothe them with Harmony.

Burney viewed national airs as ‘artless Music, best learned in the nursery and the street’; neither requiring nor demonstrating any skill or learning, associated with children and labourers, lacking profundity, incompatible with serious musical analysis. He preferred to concentrate on ‘*real Music*, arising from a complete scale, under the guidance of such rules of art as successful cultivation has rendered respectable and worthy of imitation’.¹⁰⁶ By contrast, Shield dedicated to ‘national airs’ significant sections of the treatises that epitomised his life’s work. He deemed their accessibility a strength, not a weakness, and presented them on an equal level with the composed works of acknowledged ‘masters’, indicating he believed that to arrange them effectively required, and merited, serious application, taste and skill.

Shield knew his approach to this material differed from most contemporaries. Joseph Ritson’s biographer wrote that,

In his dislike to altering original tunes, he was countenanced by the correct taste of his friend Shield, who in one of his notes to Ritson said, “I feel very differently from many of my brother professors; for although practice must improve my harmonical knowledge, it does not lessen the value of a simple national melody, which I hope will ever be admired by every sensible mind.”¹⁰⁷

In the preface to his 1794 collection *Scotish Song*, Ritson described himself as

indebted for original airs to the harmonious muse of [...] Shield, whose taste and science have been occasionally exerted in restoring or preserving the genuine simplicity of a corrupted melody.¹⁰⁸

This counters Fiske’s suggestion that Ritson (the educated antiquary) taught Shield (the practising musician) to respect traditional songs in their vernacular form; the opposite is far more likely.¹⁰⁹ Shield had not required formal training to appreciate traditional airs; his professional experience merely increased his technical and theoretical understanding of how such melodies communicated their beauty and

¹⁰⁶ Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols (London: 1782), II, p. 220.

¹⁰⁷ Sir Harris Nicolas, ‘Memoir of the Author’ in Ritson, *Letters*, p. xxiv.

¹⁰⁸ Ritson, *Scotish Song*, 2 vols (London: Johnson and Egerton, 1794), I, vi-vii.

¹⁰⁹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 428, 545-46.

poignancy, and how they might be adapted or imitated for various forces and contexts without compromising their essential nature. One reason for this difference in attitude, expressed in the introduction to his section on 'Border Tunes', is that Shield absorbed his local traditional airs very early in life, from friends and family (see Chapters 2 and 3). Even Ritson, who valued oral musical culture, described its participants as 'common', 'vulgar', 'illiterate' and 'ignorant', yet Shield avoided using such pejorative terms.¹¹⁰

Shield owned or contributed to several publications including extensive dissertations on the history and practice of national music, but unlike their editors, he strove not to define characteristics of national melodies or prove their authenticity, but to demonstrate a variety of possible accompaniments.¹¹¹ His notes show he selected examples from a range of oral, manuscript and printed sources, including both transcriptions from live performance, and airs edited or arranged by himself or others. The first, 'Matushka', is a simple love song, transcribed as sung by 'an accomplished Russian' Shield had travelled with; he sketched in a bass and chords himself, acknowledging that,

To those who are fond of artful variety, it will appear very monotonous, and they will not easily admit that any talents could render it effective; but the natives of every country have a characteristic manner of singing their melodies, which is difficult to describe upon paper.¹¹²

Shield's discussion of this tune reveals his technical and pedagogical diligence, but also his enthusiasm and pragmatism. He transcribed 'to the best of my recollection' its performance by an Italian 'who would undertake to vamp a bass to any composition' while his sons 'played the melody, and an arpeggio accompaniment,

¹¹⁰ *Rudiments*, pp. 35-37; Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, 3 vols (London: J. Johnson, 1783), I, pp. xviii, l, lii, lvii, lxii, lxvi, lxxi; Harker, pp. 24-25, 35; Gelbart, pp. 86-87, 94-96.

¹¹¹ Musgrave, pp. 12, 16; William Napier (ed.), *A Selection of the Most Favorite Scots-Songs Chiefly Pastoral Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin by Eminent Masters* (London: Napier, [1790]), I, pp. 1-16; Ritson, *English Songs*, I, pp. i-lxxii, *Scotish Song*, I, pp. i-cxix; George Thomson (ed.), *Fifty Scottish Songs*, arr. by Ignaz Pleyel and Leopold Kozeluch, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Thomson / London: Preston, 1801), I, pp. 1-4; Edward Bunting, *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (London: Clementi, 1809), pp. i-iii, 1-28.

¹¹² *Introduction*, p. 17.

with two violins, a mandoline, and a calascione' (a plucked, fretted instrument popular around Naples in the 1760s).¹¹³ Shield could not forbear stating that they harmonised the air in an 'incorrect manner', creating an 'inharmonious jargon [...] offensive both to the eye and the ear' by 'the unwarrantable use of [consecutive] fifths and eighths [...] one of the most unpardonable faults that a harmonist can commit'. Nevertheless, he classed the tune 'amongst the national beauties' and insisted these untrained performers 'produced a charming effect'. He also provided a homophonic vocal quartet arrangement and piano accompaniment featuring 'fashionable motion' (Alberti-style alternating triadic patterns) so his readers could enjoy the unusual melody in familiar social settings, explaining how to avoid all but the most 'trifling' or 'transitory' infringements of 'musical laws'.¹¹⁴ Shield thus demonstrated that extempore music-making could be enjoyable, interesting and worth recording. This example is one of many where he both laid down the harmonic law, and suggested that musical instinct and ingenuity could justify breaking it.¹¹⁵

Introduction also includes the Swiss *cornemuse* air 'le Rans des Vaches', featured in Rousseau's *Dictionary* and cited by Scottish Enlightenment philosopher James Beattie in his *Essay on Poetry and Music* (1776), to demonstrate the emotional power of national melody. However, Shield focused on practical music-making above philosophy; alongside Rousseau's edited, measured version of the air he included a variant transcribed 'without marking any rhythm or metre' by a European violinist, who insisted that to retain the effect of the bagpipe echoing between mountain peaks 'the melody ought to be unconfined' and the performer guided only by 'feeling and sentiment'.¹¹⁶ Nelson identified in *Rudiments* a direct quotation from Beattie's *Essay* relating Geminiani's struggle, having become enamoured of Scots airs while visiting

¹¹³ Dieter Kirsch, 'Colascione', *GMO* (20 January 2001).

¹¹⁴ *Introduction*, pp. 18-21.

¹¹⁵ *Introduction*, pp. 6-9, 11, 15-17, 21, 24, 69-70; *Rudiments*, pp. 2, 5-6.

¹¹⁶ *Introduction*, p. 119; Beattie, *An Essay on Poetry and Music, as they affect the mind*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Creech / London: Dilly, 1776), I, pp. 175-76, cited in Nelson (thesis), pp. 62-63; Musgrave, p. 18.

Edinburgh, to harmonise 'The Broom of Cowdenknows'.¹¹⁷ Geminiani's *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (1749) includes eleven accomplished and interesting Scots song arrangements for small instrumental ensembles; despite incorporating Italian practices, including elaborate divisions and the illustration of emotional crises through *recitativo accompagnato*, he showed awareness of textual content, imitated traditional ornaments and to some extent respected the melodies' modal qualities (see Chapter 4, **Example 4.9**).¹¹⁸ Geminiani visited Avison in Newcastle in 1760, so Shield might have encountered his arrangements before reading Beattie's *Essay*; Beattie also visited London in 1773, moving in social and professional circles that later overlapped with Shield's.¹¹⁹

Nelson and Gelbart describe how Beattie extended Rousseau's theory that national melodies evolved from primitive spoken languages to express the distinctive character of their people, by insisting that 'real shepherds' (rather than mythical bards or foreign minstrels in noble households) composed the traditional melodies celebrated by antiquarians; therefore, the music of the labouring classes most perfectly embodied national culture. These egalitarian ideas were later espoused by Ritson and Burns, and while Shield did not explicitly discuss them, it seems likely they reinforced his interest in vernacular music.¹²⁰ For example, he endorsed Edward Bunting's opinion that an ancient Irish air, 'Tiagharna Mhaighe-eo' (in an arrangement extracted with permission from Shield's own proof copy of Bunting's *General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*), was more likely to have been composed by a poor labourer than professional harper Turlough O'Carolan.¹²¹

In *Rudiments*, Shield arranged another Irish song, titled 'Simplicity', for three voices as requested by 'Several Ladies, who do credit to their Instructors by correct performances of Vocal harmony'.¹²² The same melody appears in O'Neill's *Music of*

¹¹⁷ *Rudiments*, p. 31; Nelson (thesis), p. 188; Gelbart, pp. 36-37.

¹¹⁸ Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: 1749), 2-30 (pp. 22-29).

¹¹⁹ Southey, Maddison and Hughes, p. 89; Nelson (thesis), pp. 101-05.

¹²⁰ Nelson (thesis), pp. 46-59; Gelbart, pp. 87-98.

¹²¹ *Rudiments*, p. 26; Musgrave, p. 16; Bunting, p. 20.

¹²² *Rudiments*, p. 27.

Ireland (1903) as ‘The Green Woods of Truigha’, but I have yet to find a source contemporary with Shield.¹²³ His arrangement retains the melody’s fluid character through imitative entries, parallel motion and occasional sustained notes, avoiding the homophonic chord-setting he applied to the less rhythmically diverse ‘Matushka’. He also included a Welsh ground ‘*Cynghan-sail Cymry*’ and air ‘Shenkin’, with notes proving he had studied versions published in 1784 by Edward Jones (‘a Professor [...] distinguished by the title of Bard’). Rather than pirating Jones’ pianoforte arrangements, Shield presented the latter as another three-part glee, declaring ‘symphonies and accompaniments for the Harp or keyed Instruments [...] of which many excellent collections have been recently published [...] to be protected property’.¹²⁴ He did, however, reproduce several published Scots air arrangements (see Chapter 3, **Scots Songs**), and a copy purchased in Italy of Tasso’s epic poem *Jerusalem Delivered* as sung by Venetian gondoliers, referenced by Rousseau and notated by Tartini.¹²⁵

One introductory note portrays Shield in action as a song-collector, suggesting his interest in gathering unfamiliar traditional tunes was so well-known that friends, possibly over-estimating his eagerness to undergo bodily discomfort in the process, instigated such opportunities on his behalf:

One of the greatest promoters of this Appendix, with an alacrity, that I shall hold in remembrance, introduced me to the Masters, and Captain of a ship bound to the Columbia River, and mann’d partly with Canadian voyagers, who sang their native Airs, while they paddled us, with astonishing velocity, from the shore to the ship, as well as up and down the Thames. During which, I pencil’d several of their monotonous Melodies...¹²⁶

This wry self-portrait, of an elderly, stout composer earnestly scribbling down shanties in the bottom of a surging barge, contrasts with the disingenuous romanticization of his own activity by Thomas Moore, whose popular ‘Canadian Boat Song’, first published in 1805 and repeatedly reprinted throughout the

¹²³ Francis O’Neill and James O’Neill (eds), *O’Neill’s Music Of Ireland* (Chicago: Lyon & Healy, 1903), p. 48.

¹²⁴ *Rudiments*, pp. 29-30; Musgrave, p. 11; Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London: 1784), pp. 75-78.

¹²⁵ *Rudiments*, pp. 30-34, 42-43; Musgrave, pp. 22-23.

¹²⁶ *Rudiments*, p. 39.

nineteenth century, Laxer characterises as the progenitor of an ‘invented song tradition [...] masquerading as tunes collected in Canada’.¹²⁷

Despite transcribing these tunes ‘in the field’, Shield did not claim to present them verbatim, acknowledging the substitution of compressed lyrics due to the ‘prolixity, and want of interest’ of the originals. The first melody consists of a circling, predominantly triadic motif which Shield set mostly over a drone, while also providing a symphony enlivened by chromatic chords. The opening phrase of the second corresponds to a seventeenth-century country dance (‘The Restoration of King Charles’), but quickly diverges into a simpler chorus.¹²⁸ It is unclear whether the oarsmen sang harmonies or Shield created additional lines, but he deliberately retained or inserted ‘mistakes’ to warn his students, commenting:

How unsatisfactory this conclusion is, for want of the key note in the Bass [...] ... the chord of the diminished seventh, [...] is followed by a too fashionable resolution, that I have heard one of the greatest Theorists of the Age censure.¹²⁹

He noted that the third lively ditty, entitled ‘*Derrière chez mon père*’ ‘has been published in a collection of *Chansons de Voyage*, but not for three voices’ (I have yet to find a source; French children’s songs with similar titles have different tunes).¹³⁰ Shield arranged it as a catch to demonstrate the care needed when translating or substituting lyrics, to ensure word stress and breaths match melodic rhythm and phrasing.

These diverse examples show that Shield’s deep appreciation for and affinity with traditional airs, though rooted in his own upbringing in north-east England, did not manifest itself in rejection of foreign music, rather increased his interest in and capacity to relate to other musical cultures. The range of traditional tunes I have so

¹²⁷ Moore, *A Canadian Boat Song, arranged for Three Voices* (London: Carpenter, 1805); Daniel R. Laxer, ‘“Row, Brothers, Row”: Canadian Boat Songs, Imperial Glee, and National Identity, 1805-67’, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 50.1 (Winter 2016), 70-99 (pp. 72, 74-76, 93-94).

¹²⁸ GB-Lbl, Music Collections K.1.b.8, *The Dancing-Master: or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin*, III (London: Pearson, Young [c. 1726-28], p. 36; Robert M. Keller, *The Dancing Master, 1651-1728: An Illustrated Compendium*, <<https://www.cdss.org/elibrary/dancing-master/Index.htm>> (Country Dance and Song Society, 2023).

¹²⁹ *Rudiments*, p. 39.

¹³⁰ *Rudiments*, pp. 40-41.

far identified across his published output displays similar diversity, suggesting jingoistic lyrics and narrative themes in many of his theatre works do not reflect any personal xenophobia. To explore this further, I have examined Shield's use of national language throughout his treatises. His application of the terms 'English' and 'British' is inconsistent and carries both positive and negative connotations, perhaps reflecting personal ambivalence or the vagaries of contemporary debate over definitions of national culture.

Shield used 'England' and 'Britain' interchangeably when he meant 'this country in which I and most of my readers live'. In *Introduction* he justified his initial focus on figured bass by referring to a prevailing national trend of domestic music-making:

as keyed instruments are so much cultivated in Britain, a few concise rules for that accompaniment [...] will certainly prove acceptable.¹³¹

However, he also complained about 'the custom in England' of printing tenor vocal parts in treble clef with octave transposition instead of in tenor clef, which he found visually misleading and 'When performed by soprano voices [...] frequently productive of false Harmony'.¹³² As a violist and cellist, C clefs held no terrors for him, and he evidently wished more of his compatriots would learn to read them. His own practical experience of performing European compositions alongside European colleagues, and travelling across Europe, qualified him to judge where continental musical practice was superior, and he was not afraid to suggest that the British could benefit from emulating foreign techniques or institutions. Elsewhere, he bluntly explained why all his examples of recitative accompaniment were set to Italian texts:

Recitative is not enough valued in England, to render it an object for British composers to excel in this grand part of musical composition [...]¹³³

This comment betrays frustration that his native country did not allow him the opportunity to compose through-sung musical drama; even his compositions entitled 'opera' had spoken dialogue, like most contemporary English theatre works.¹³⁴ In acknowledging the influence of his predecessor as Master of the King's

¹³¹ *Introduction*, p. 2.

¹³² *Introduction*, p. 71.

¹³³ *Introduction*, p. 86.

¹³⁴ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. v, 40, 142, 171, 263.

Musick, Shield implied the English court and public had historically shown less appreciation for their musicians than their European counterparts:

I likewise lie under particular obligation to my much-honoured master Sir William Parsons [...] whose merit and conduct have given a consequence to a profession which it never before experienced, at least in England.¹³⁵

In these examples 'England' denotes the location while 'British' identifies people, reflecting the ambiguity and duality of identities resulting from the incorporation of several geographical nations into one political entity.

Shield at times appears partisan in defence of compatriots like Thomas Arne, whose works had not attracted the international acclaim he felt they deserved:

I have heard the abilities of this Composer very much under rated by foreigners; but his true English Friends shall raise a Statue to his memory.¹³⁶

Similarly, while stating, 'The modern elegant Italian masters have produced, and do daily produce, many charming compositions', he also hoped that 'the liberal student will not be displeased to find a few *English* strains among the examples', quoting verses in praise of a music master by 'a British poet' (mid-seventeenth century scholar Nicholas Hookes):

We have good Musick and Musicians here,
If not the best, as good as anywhere.

The next few lines of Hookes' poem list luminaries of his Cambridge musical scene, including 'a brave old *Irish Harper*' and those who play the lute, whether '*English* or *French way*'.¹³⁷ This context implies Hookes and Shield appreciated and took pride in local musicians defined by residency, rather than origins or playing style, and valued diversity of repertoire and technique.

The implication that the harper represented Ireland's contribution to British culture, rather than a distinct national music, may reflect English colonial arrogance; but also demonstrates how far traditional music from across the British Isles had permeated literate culture, and how widespread the notion of shared origins in a common

¹³⁵ *Introduction*, p. 125.

¹³⁶ *Introduction*, p. 121.

¹³⁷ *Introduction*, pp. 13-14; Hookes, *Amenda, a Sacrifice to an Unknown Goddess* (London: Tuckey, 1653), pp. 56-58.

'ancient British' culture had become. Similarly, Shield quoted an anecdote from 'a northern Editor' (Edinburgh-based George Thomson) describing Haydn's enthusiasm for Scottish and Welsh Melodies as 'a singular compliment to our national Music', indicating a view of Britain as one nation encompassing distinct traditions.¹³⁸ Shield's comment on an air 'supposed, by many, to have been the production of Ireland although it is published in a Collection of ancient British Harmony with the Welsh title "DIFYRRWCH GWYR DYFI"', illustrates how strands of neighbouring national traditions intertwined.¹³⁹

Shield highlighted simplicity as a characteristic of 'English airs', offering an example by 'a British composer who set words so well that the accentuation and expression [...] might greatly assist foreigners who study the English language'.¹⁴⁰ His categorisation of these airs seems to rest on the language of their text rather than any definable musical style, perhaps suggesting agreement with Rousseau; though if language were the key, it seems inconsistent with this philosophy that the text of Shield's national song examples varies so widely. Some use regional or national dialects; others have newly invented lyrics or translations in standard English; sometimes he omitted text altogether.¹⁴¹ This may reflect the contemporary publishing practice (condemned by Harker) of providing bowdlerized or anglicized lyrics, alongside or replacing dialect words, for genteel audiences; but perhaps owes more to Shield's focus on accompaniment, eclectic approach to sources and flexibility in adapting to his audience.¹⁴²

Shield concluded his *Introduction* by declaring his intent to publish a serial work containing 'illustrative examples, cited from the works of our distinguished living composers in England [...] under the title of Universal Harmony'.¹⁴³ This ambition was never realised, so we cannot know which of his contemporaries he considered worthy to feature in such a project. His motivation may have been a patriotic desire

¹³⁸ *Rudiments*, p. 30; Gelbart, pp. 98, 133-34, 181, 187-88, 206-07.

¹³⁹ *Rudiments*, pp. 26-29.

¹⁴⁰ *Introduction*, p. 84.

¹⁴¹ *Rudiments*, pp. 30-41.

¹⁴² Harker, pp. 10-13, 32-37, 69-77.

¹⁴³ *Introduction*, p. 125.

to showcase the talents of hitherto neglected compatriots, but his proposed title implies the chosen works would transcend national boundaries and appeal to an international audience. Although 'England' denotes the work's geographical parameters, rather than limiting contributors to native Englishmen, Shield might have included works by resident foreigners; perhaps inspired by the obvious precedent of British enthusiasm for German-born composer Handel, whose works, despite their mingling of European influences and imperfect setting of English words, had become national favourites.¹⁴⁴

Shield clearly enjoyed performing Handel's works, and commended his fellow citizens' warm reception of imported genius, further quoting another 'ingenious Foreigner whose compositions have been repeatedly heard with delight and followed by a clamorous encore in the British Theatres'.¹⁴⁵ (Shield also judged audiences by their reaction to music he valued; he admired Nelson, before whom he performed at least once, not only as a British 'Naval Hero (whose Victories astonished the World)', but for his emotional response to a choral military funeral march heard in Palermo.¹⁴⁶) Shield expected his treatise to reach a European audience and aimed to cultivate their appreciation for Handel's works through oratorio extracts including trumpet and drum parts, as well as a skeleton score, to facilitate performance abroad:

Having heard sacred compositions well performed in foreign Cities where English oratorios are not collected [...] I became anxious to afford my distant Patrons an opportunity of transcribing and rehearsing what I had so strongly recommended to their notice.¹⁴⁷

In introducing two excerpts from the 'Dettingen' *Te Deum* (HWV 283), Shield reminisced about 'the wonderful effect that they produced in Westminster Abbey, being excellently sung and sounded, in the course of a performance that dignified human nature, and which, to the honour of England, was never equalled in any

¹⁴⁴ Anthony Hicks, '13. Personality', '15. Borrowing', '23. Handel and posterity', in 'Handel [Händel, Hendel], George Frideric [Georg Friederich]', *GMO* (20 January 2001).

¹⁴⁵ *Introduction*, pp. 48, 55, 63; *Rudiments*, pp. 9, 65-71.

¹⁴⁶ *Morning Post*, 17 May 1804, p. 1; *Rudiments*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁴⁷ *Rudiments*, p. 69.

other country'.¹⁴⁸ On that occasion, during the Handel Commemoration of 1784, Shield was one of four 'Principal Tenors' in a massed ensemble of over five hundred players and singers, featuring numerous London-based musicians originally from Italy, France, Germany and elsewhere, of whom many were his longstanding close colleagues and several became fellow signatories to the founding charter of the Philharmonic Society.¹⁴⁹ Shield knew well that his country's ability to stage the musical spectacles in which he took such pride rested on foreign as well as native musicians, often simultaneously championing the talents of both. Having noted that Gluck's Overture to *Anacreon* (an extract from which forms the final example of symphonic orchestration in *Rudiments*) was 'written in Paris, where orchestras are numerous supplied with excellent performers on every instrument', he asserted (on the testimony of a friend who had attended performances in both cities) that its innovative features 'were never so finely expressed as by the band of the Philharmonic Society in London', where 'this union of foreign with native talent has formed an assembly not to be met with in any other part of the world'.¹⁵⁰

In *The Melodramatic Moment*, Hambridge, Hicks and Saglia describe how cultural criticism became a battleground for contesting definitions of national identity and character, where those who acknowledged foreign influences found themselves branded as unpatriotic. They argue that theatrical professionals were far more open to working across geographical and stylistic boundaries than their critics; in fact, theatre in Britain and Europe evolved by 'cross-pollination' via a network of artists who collaborated within and travelled between cultural centres.¹⁵¹ Shield's treatises clearly position him among such internationally-minded performers who celebrated diversity in their profession, rather than manifesting protectionist alarm. His pride in national traditions and institutions was balanced by respect and admiration for

¹⁴⁸ *Introduction*, p. 63.

¹⁴⁹ Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon [...] In Commemoration of Handel* (London: Payne and G. Robinson, 1785; facs. Travis & Emery, 2003), pp. 18, 23; GB-Lbl, RPS MS 272, fol. 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Rudiments*, p. 85.

¹⁵¹ Hambridge and Hicks, 'The Melodramatic Moment' and Diego Saglia, 'Continental Trouble: The Nationality of Melodrama and the National Stage in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Hambridge and Hicks (eds), 1-24 (pp. 13-18), and 43-58.

European colleagues, whose influence he positively welcomed. Shield deserves greater recognition as a national composer, but we do him a disservice if we attempt to ally his works with any nationalist agenda seeking to oppose or disrupt the enriching collaborations across linguistic, cultural or political divides, that he evidently valued so highly.

Chapter 2 Life before London: 1748-1778

The Shield family in Swalwell and South Shields

Parish registers confirm that William Shield was baptised in the church of St Mary the Virgin, Whickham, on 5 March 1748/9.¹⁵² Whickham parish lay alongside the River Tyne (then the northern boundary of County Durham), twelve miles inland from the North Sea coast and five miles upstream from the medieval bridge that connected Gateshead and Newcastle quaysides, until swept away by floods in 1771.¹⁵³ In 1787, antiquarian William Hutchinson wrote:

The town of Whickham hangs on the brow of a hill, with an open eastern aspect: The chief buildings, which are many of them modern and handsome, stand on the southern side, on the brink of a steep descent [...] The prospect is remarkably beautiful [...]¹⁵⁴

These 'chief buildings' included the square-towered Norman sandstone church, the rectory and other substantial houses congregated loosely along Front Street and around its principal crossroads with Church Chare and Rectory Lane, then surrounded by cottages, glebe fields, timber plantations and coal pits.¹⁵⁵ For administrative purposes the parish was divided into quarters, comprising Whickham village; Fellside, the higher ground to the south-west falling away to the River Derwent; Swalwell, dominated by Crowley's ironworks at the foot of Whickham Bank; and Lowhand, a now obsolete name for low-lying land between the outflows of the smaller rivers Derwent and Team into the Tyne, encompassing Dunston and the area occupied since 1986 by the Metro Centre retail park.¹⁵⁶

Swedish ironmaster Reinhold Rucker Angerstein visited the locality while touring England in 1753 to '55 and noted its advantages as a manufacturing site:

Swalwell is located by the river Derwent, where it flows out into the Tyne, so that above it there are waterfalls that provide power and below there is a channel that is navigable when the tide is high. The ships that come from

¹⁵² GB-DRcro, EP/Whm 3, p. 181.

¹⁵³ Isaac Farrer, *Narrative of the Great Flood in the rivers Tyne, Tease, Wear [...]* (Newcastle: Slack, 1772); Uglow, pp. 61-63.

¹⁵⁴ Hutchinson, pp. 447-48.

¹⁵⁵ Les Turnbull, *Bygone Whickham* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council Department of Education, [1975]), pp. 1-3.

¹⁵⁶ Levine and Wrightson, p. 11; TWA, DT.BEL2/23.

Newcastle and Shields [...] can discharge their cargo inside the storehouse and load up again at the works.¹⁵⁷

The coal trade developed early and rapidly here, as rich seams of the 'black gold' ran close underground. Steep gradients provided relatively good drainage of pits and allowed for easy carriage of coals downhill by wooden-railed waggonways, employing a combination of horsepower and gravitational force, to navigable rivers, for export and supply to local industries.¹⁵⁸ Life in mid-eighteenth-century Swalwell revolved around Crowley's massive ironworks, the largest industrial complex in Britain after the naval dockyards, and largest iron manufactory in Europe.¹⁵⁹

This unprecedented industrial expansion brought great wealth to local landowners like the Bowes and Claverings, and to manufacturers like Crowley, but did not guarantee secure livelihoods for all.¹⁶⁰ Occupations in heavy industry were often dangerous, and illness or accident to a breadwinner could swiftly plunge families into destitution.¹⁶¹ Coal could not be carried by sea during stormy winter months, making miners essentially seasonal workers who, while under annual contract to a single employer (the 'pitmen's bond'), could find themselves laid off whenever pits were flooded or worked out, supply exceeded demand, or a cabal of Newcastle merchants (the 'hostmen') imposed quotas to manipulate the market for their own gain. Crowley's ironworks held lucrative contracts to supply naval and merchant ships with anchors, chains and other ironware, but this exposed the business to fluctuations in trade arising from foreign policy shifts and global events.¹⁶²

In this high-yield, high-risk context the Crowley firm sponsored progressive welfare initiatives in the local community, including housing, pensions, medical care, a benevolent fund for dependents of injured, killed or aged workers, a tribunal to

¹⁵⁷ Angerstein, pp. xv-xvi, 260.

¹⁵⁸ Levine and Wrightson, pp. vii-xi, 2-7, 9, 11-13, 35, 410; Angerstein, pp. 253-54.

¹⁵⁹ Hutchinson, p. 442; Levine and Wrightson, p. 79; Flinn, pp. 46, 55-56.

¹⁶⁰ Levine and Wrightson, pp. 22-24, 60-76, 204; Jennifer Gill, 'Bowes, George (1701-1760)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); John Brooke, 'CLAVERING, Sir Thomas, 7th Bt. (1719-94), of Axwell, co. Durham', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754-1790*, ed. by L. Namier and J. Brooke. (1964), *HOP*; GB-DRcro, D/X 35/2; TWA, DT.BEL 1/18/57, 1/18/64, 2/6.

¹⁶¹ Levine and Wrightson, pp. 9, 191-200, 251-53, 262-69.

¹⁶² Flinn, p. 190; Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, pp. 93, 96-97.

decide disputes, a chapel and a school. While perhaps pragmatic rather than purely altruistic (and partly funded through compulsory deductions from wages) these measures to improve workforce productivity also manifested egalitarian principles.¹⁶³ Crowley's Law 97 instructed the works' schoolmaster:

He is to carry it with an even hand to all his scholars, and not to despise any for their poverty, but to encourage ingenuity and virtue in all of them and not discourage any by showing more than ordinary favour or care to such children whose parents may be able to be grateful.¹⁶⁴

This provision had measurable impact: local literacy rates exceeded the national average and some skilled Crowley hands moved on to establish independent tool- or chain-making shops, improving themselves economically and socially.¹⁶⁵ Yet while Ambrose Crowley's relatively enlightened approach to labour conditions benefited Swalwell people, he also involved them in the immeasurable suffering of other human beings, by supplying and investing in the transatlantic slave trade.¹⁶⁶

Crowley's iron-plated steel hoes led the market in tools designed to withstand the poor soil, harsh vegetation and brutal labour regimes on Caribbean and American plantations; models were named for the colonies whose principal crops they were intended to farm, and manufactured in a range of sizes for use by enslaved men, women and children.¹⁶⁷ Swalwell ironworkers also mass-produced restraints used on slave ships, machinery for processing sugar, and other hardware vital to the maintenance of British colonial power by naval, military and mercantile means.¹⁶⁸

When former slave Olaudah Equiano argued that abolishing slavery would secure the economic and moral 'interest and advantage' of British manufacturers and labourers, he bluntly conceded that ironworkers, being directly 'concerned in the

¹⁶³ Flinn, pp. 201, 212, 219-32; Angerstein, p. 263; Levine and Wrightson, pp. 365-67; Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, pp. 93-96.

¹⁶⁴ Flinn, p. 228.

¹⁶⁵ Flinn, pp. 92-93; Levine and Wrightson, pp. 324-27, 432; Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, p. 101; Uglow, p. 27.

¹⁶⁶ Creighton, *The Black Indies*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁷ C. Evans, 'The Plantation Hoe', pp. 79-84; David Cranstone, 'From Slitting Mill to Alloy Steel: the Development of Swalwell Ironworks', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 33.1 (2011), 40-57 (p. 46).

¹⁶⁸ Angerstein, pp. 259-62; Charlton, pp. 100, 171; Proctor, Cranstone, Mackenzie and Nolan, p. 18; Cranstone, p. 46.

manufacturing [of ...] instruments of torture used in the slave trade', must (at least initially) lose by its cessation.¹⁶⁹ No testimony survives to indicate whether Crowley workers recognised or regretted how inextricably their livelihoods were bound to slavery, and whether their own familiarity with hard labour engendered sympathy or indifference towards Africans brutalised by Crowley wares. Even educated philanthropists of this era displayed 'moral blindness' concerning trade with slave-owners, and the temptation to ignore the human and moral cost of their industry can only have been strengthened by workers' loyalty to and dependence on a firm offering better-than-average job security and benefits.¹⁷⁰

As a child, Shield may not have recognised the global humanitarian implications of the industries dominating his birthplace, but their local environmental effects must have impacted his daily life in 'Swalwell Crowley' ward, in immediate physical proximity to the ironworks.¹⁷¹ A photograph alleged to be of the Shield home, taken during demolition in 1936, shows a three-storied Georgian brick building with large windows and a tiled pitched roof; locations and proportions of entrances suggest the building served both residential and trade purposes. This seems a spacious dwelling for a small family, so perhaps was shared with maternal relatives also living in Swalwell.¹⁷² Another photograph c. 1900 identifies stone cottages to either side as the Wherry Inn and a small shop. The 1898 Ordnance Survey confirms these stood on the corner of Long Ridge [now Longrigg] Road and the Waterside, facing towards allotment gardens across a channel cut between the mill race and the Derwent to facilitate loading (subsumed by slip roads to the A1 Western Bypass in the 1980s).¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 2nd edn (London: Wilkins, [1789]), p. 265.

¹⁷⁰ Levine and Wrightson, pp. 9, 171-72, 191-92, 230, 264-67; Grant, pp. 79, 95.

¹⁷¹ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm 3, p. 181; GB-DRcro D/X 35/6-7; Proctor, Cranstone, Mackenzie & Nolan, pp. 20 (Fig. 2 & 3), 31 (Fig. 17).

¹⁷² GB-NTp, 'Buildings Collection 012826: William Shield's House Swalwell 1936' <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/newcastlelibraries/4077574214>> (Newcastle Libraries, 25 August 2009); GB-DRcro EP/Whm3 pp. 89, 92, 99.

¹⁷³ Turnbull, pp. 28, 30; Chris Marshall, 'Motorway Database: A1 and A1(M): A1 J72 Whickham Interchange', <<https://www.roads.org.uk/motorway/a1/520>> (2001-2022).

Flinn considered it 'more than likely' the vast ships' anchors now displayed outside the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich came from Swalwell; certainly, anchors up to 5 tons in weight were forged here.¹⁷⁴ Plans show that Crowley's anchor workshops lay alongside the southern site boundary, so the cranes used for manoeuvring these monstrous objects to the wharf opposite the 'Great Gates' were surely visible from 'The Road way... to the Coal Staiths' leading past Shield's home.¹⁷⁵ Charles Dibdin's ballad 'The Anchorsmiths', probably inspired by Chatham naval dockyard, could equally well describe Crowley's works:

Like Etna's dread volcano see the ample forge
Large heaps upon large heaps of jetty fuel gorge,
While salamander like the pond'rous Anchor lies,
Glutted with vivid fire thro' all its pores that flies [...]
While as old Vulcan's Cyclops did the anvil bang,
In deaf'ning concert shall their pond'rous hammers clang [...]¹⁷⁶

William Shield needed no classical allusions to imagine such scenes. To mitigate the raging heat of the foundry, anchorsmiths began their shifts at midnight, while piece-workers producing smaller hardware started work at 5am; so roaring forges and pounding sledgehammers must have provided an inescapable soundtrack to his earliest memories.¹⁷⁷

Shield's family were not incomers or temporary residents, having been established in Whickham parish for at least three generations before his birth. The earliest legible register entry naming a direct ancestor records the christening in 1686/7 of 'Peter & Frances twinns to William Sheal'.¹⁷⁸ This William and his wife Barbara were the composer's great-grandparents.¹⁷⁹ Their fourth son Charles married Ann Arkelass in 1719; the only surviving child of that union, another William, was baptised on 25 July 1726, and married Mary Cash of Swalwell on 19 November 1748.¹⁸⁰ William and Mary's eldest son, the future musician and composer, was christened the following

¹⁷⁴ Flinn, p. 191.

¹⁷⁵ GB-DRcro, D/X 35/1/2 (1-3), numbers 96-100, 113-16.

¹⁷⁶ GB-Lcm, MS 2109 fols 30^v-32; Charles Dibdin, *Songs, Naval and National*, ed. by Thomas Dibdin (London: John Murray, 1841), pp. 234-35.

¹⁷⁷ Flinn, pp. 190-91; Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, p. 95.

¹⁷⁸ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm 2, p. 65.

¹⁷⁹ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm3, p. 327.

¹⁸⁰ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm2, pp. 15, 70; EP/Whm3, pp. 3, 89, 95; EP/Whm7, p. 2.

March.¹⁸¹ William always signed himself 'Shield' (the added 's' in many sources may have arisen from conflation with local place names, North and South Shields), but early register entries spelled 'Sheall', 'Sheald' and 'Sheild' reflect local pronunciation, and may point to a distant musical ancestor. Christopher Marsh notes that Tudor minstrel Richard Sheale or Sheill, though Tamworth-based, travelled widely, and his early transcription of 'Chevy Chase' uses spellings strongly suggestive of a Northumbrian accent, including at least one - 'chear' for 'cheer' - later used by Shield.¹⁸²

Shield's earliest biographer stated,

His father was a singing-master in that neighbourhood, a man much esteemed for integrity, and much respected in his profession [...] such was his professional repute, [that he] had an hundred scholars even in that obscure situation.¹⁸³

No records confirm this, but late seventeenth-century household inventories attached to the wills of ironworks overseers and staithe-men (quay supervisors) show they owned domestic keyboard instruments; probably played by their wives and daughters, since Crowley officials worked eighty-hour weeks.¹⁸⁴ This suggests the Swalwell community had for some time included a music-master and his pupils. That first account claims William senior 'removed to North Shields soon after the birth of his son', but later biographers corrected this to South Shields.¹⁸⁵ Parish records indicate the family relocated when William was between three and six years old; his sister Ann and brother John were christened at Whickham in May 1751 and December 1752, but his youngest sibling Mary was baptised at St Hilda's Parish Church, South Shields, in October 1755.¹⁸⁶

The reason for this move is unknown, but potentially economic or environmental. The early 1750s saw both major winter floods, likely to affect Shield's waterside

¹⁸¹ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm3, p. 181.

¹⁸² C. Marsh, pp. 140-43; Thomas Wright (ed.), *Songs and Ballads, with other short poems, chiefly of the reign of Philip and Mary*, (London: Nichols, 1860), pp. i-viii, 24, 54-56, 161-62, 181; *Rudiments*, p. 35.

¹⁸³ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 7.

¹⁸⁴ Levine and Wrightson, pp. 212, 236, 324-27; Flinn, p. 201.

¹⁸⁵ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 7; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 401.

¹⁸⁶ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm3, pp. 189, 197; EP/SSSH1/6, p. 26.

home, and a downturn in Crowley's trade which could have depressed the local market for music tuition, driving his father to seek students elsewhere.¹⁸⁷ The vicinity of Swalwell ironworks cannot have been conducive to music-making, but the operation of noisy trades in residential areas was an affliction eighteenth-century musicians had to bear. 'Canny Shields' with its shipyards, warehouses, and a gun battery on the opposite headland, was probably not much quieter; a local song described a 'busy hum' of traffic and industry, emanating from a scene of

Giddy topmasts thick as rushes,
Wherries, boats and dirty keels. ¹⁸⁸

No source mentions how William senior acquired his own musical training, corroborates his teaching career or records whether he was also a performer and composer. His son's achievements suggest he was a competent theorist and multi-instrumentalist:

William was taught the violin by his father, at six years of age, and could play Corelli's fifth work when he was seven and a half. He had also made a great progress on the harpsichord, and could sing at sight, and read every cliff [clef], at that early period. We are thus minute because it has been insinuated that Mr. Shield was a self-taught musician, and did not take up the study of his art till he had advanced considerably in life.¹⁸⁹

To master Corelli's op. 5 (the seminal violin solos of the century) at this early age, William must have been both exceptionally talented, and well-taught.¹⁹⁰ The emphasis on William senior's good character, superior abilities and dedication speaks of Shield's own determination to ensure his late father received due credit for nurturing his early promise; perhaps implying frustration with contemporaries who preferred to believe a successful composer could conjure himself into existence *ex nihilo*, rather than acknowledge he had received an excellent musical education in the 'obscure situation' of industrial Tyneside. Far from being a place of cultural darkness, remoteness and insignificance, the region's dominance of the coal trade

¹⁸⁷ Sykes, pp. 203-4; Levine and Wrightson, pp. vii, xi, 79-80, 171-73, 191.

¹⁸⁸ William Hogarth, *The Enraged Musician* (1741), print, 314 mm x 387 mm, RA Collection: Art, Hogarth's Prints, I, 17/3806, <<https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/the-enraged-musician-1>> (Royal Academy of Arts); Hutchinson, pp. 482-85; Sykes, p. 221; *Shields Song Book* (South Shields: Barnes, 1826) pp. 13-14.

¹⁸⁹ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 7.

¹⁹⁰ Corelli, *XII Sonata's or Solo's: for a Violin [...]*, op. 5 (London: Walsh & Hare, [c. 1711]).

and related industries provided a market of aspiring amateurs for musicians and music teachers to serve.

Shield senior's likely income is difficult to estimate. In 1750 Charles Avison charged half a guinea for eight twice-weekly half-hour lessons (i.e. 2s. 7½d. per hour, or approximately £4 per student per year, allowing for some absences); but as an internationally respected composer and author, his pupils came from the nobility, gentry and merchant class.¹⁹¹ Shield senior could hardly have commanded similar fees in Swalwell, where Crowley's chief director drew a salary of £100 in 1749, but colliery overmen earned around £28 a year.¹⁹² Levine and Wrightson calculated minimum annual living costs for an average Whickham household at £14 in 1756, so while an industrial supervisor might have sufficient disposable income to provide his family with higher quality essentials and a few luxuries, he would be unlikely to indulge hobbies whose monthly fee almost equalled a week's wages.¹⁹³ Moreover, Avison limited his teaching to two days per week, suggesting he had fewer than twenty regular students; that Shield senior had over a hundred indicates his fees were considerably lower, and teaching was his primary or sole occupation. To accommodate so many weekly half-hour lessons would mean teaching more than eight hours, six days a week - a busy schedule, even if some pupils attended less regularly.

Shield's first obituarist wrote that 'his early education had been rather neglected'; but a fairer description would be 'disrupted by adverse circumstances'.¹⁹⁴ Bourn believed Shield attended the school 'erected by the firm of Crowley for the children of the workmen', which provided basic instruction in 'reading, writing, and accounts'.¹⁹⁵ William was no ironworker's child, but Crowley's school increasingly admitted others; a 1793 visitor tempered praise for the firm's educational provision with the criticism that,

¹⁹¹ Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 61-62, 76; Southey and Cross, pp. ix-x, 1.

¹⁹² Flinn, pp. 200-01.

¹⁹³ Levine and Wrightson, pp. 261-62, 269-70.

¹⁹⁴ Ayrton, p. 51.

¹⁹⁵ Bourn, letter in *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 12 October 1889, p. 64; Hutchinson, p. 443.

they suffer their pedagogue to make terms with the parents of children that belong not to the works; [...] his attention was divided among more than an hundred pupils.¹⁹⁶

Although no payroll records survive to confirm this, it is likely Shield had relatives working at Crowley's in the 1750s.¹⁹⁷ A distant cousin, Thomas Longridge, later entered into partnership with ironmaster William Hawks, son of a Crowley foreman; and c. 1830 one Thomas Shield established a Swalwell workshop producing industrial shovels (a key Crowley product), which my late godparents remembered still trading almost a hundred years later.¹⁹⁸ William senior might also have looked to connections formed through his teaching practice to secure his son a school place, though any attendance presumably ceased when the family moved away.

While parish registers provide no occupational details for early generations, I have been anecdotally informed of a double bass bearing the label 'William Shield, High Street, Gateshead', whose likely construction date suggests its maker was the composer's great-uncle. Whickham parish registers record his baptism in 1696 and burial in 1737, and the baptisms of five children born from 1723 to '34.¹⁹⁹ William and his wife Sarah lived in Lowhand but were married in Gateshead, so possibly met through his business; though now blocked by motorways, railway lines and industrial estates, the three-to-four-mile riverside walk would have been a feasible commute at that time.²⁰⁰ Further corroboration for the presence of a luthier in Gateshead comes from Angerstein who, while travelling between Newcastle and the Team Valley, observed:

Strings are also produced here from intestines of sheep, for braiding to horse-whips or for the thicker strings of violins and double-bass violins.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Flinn, p. 228.

¹⁹⁷ Flinn, pp. vii-viii.

¹⁹⁸ Shield's extended family included two Thomas Longridges: 1) b. Swalwell 1741, son of William senior's cousin Mary, GB-DRcro EP/Whm2, p. 4; EP/Whm3, pp. 68, 148; 2) his cousin, b. Sunderland 1751, SLH 929.1 COR, VIII, p. 83; TWA, MF 618. Chris Evans, 'Hawks family', *ODNB* (10 February 2022); 'William Hawks', 'William Hawks, senior', 'Thomas Longridge', 'High Level Bridge, Newcastle', *Graces Guide To British Industrial History*, <<https://www.gracesguide.co.uk>> (2023); Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, p. 114; M. Makepeace, 'Swalwell', <<http://swalwelluk.co.uk/industry>> (21 September 2019).

¹⁹⁹ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm3, pp. 3, 91, 94, 100, 105, 122, 333.

²⁰⁰ GB-DRcro, EP/Ga.SM1/3, M42/145.

²⁰¹ Angerstein, pp. 250-58.

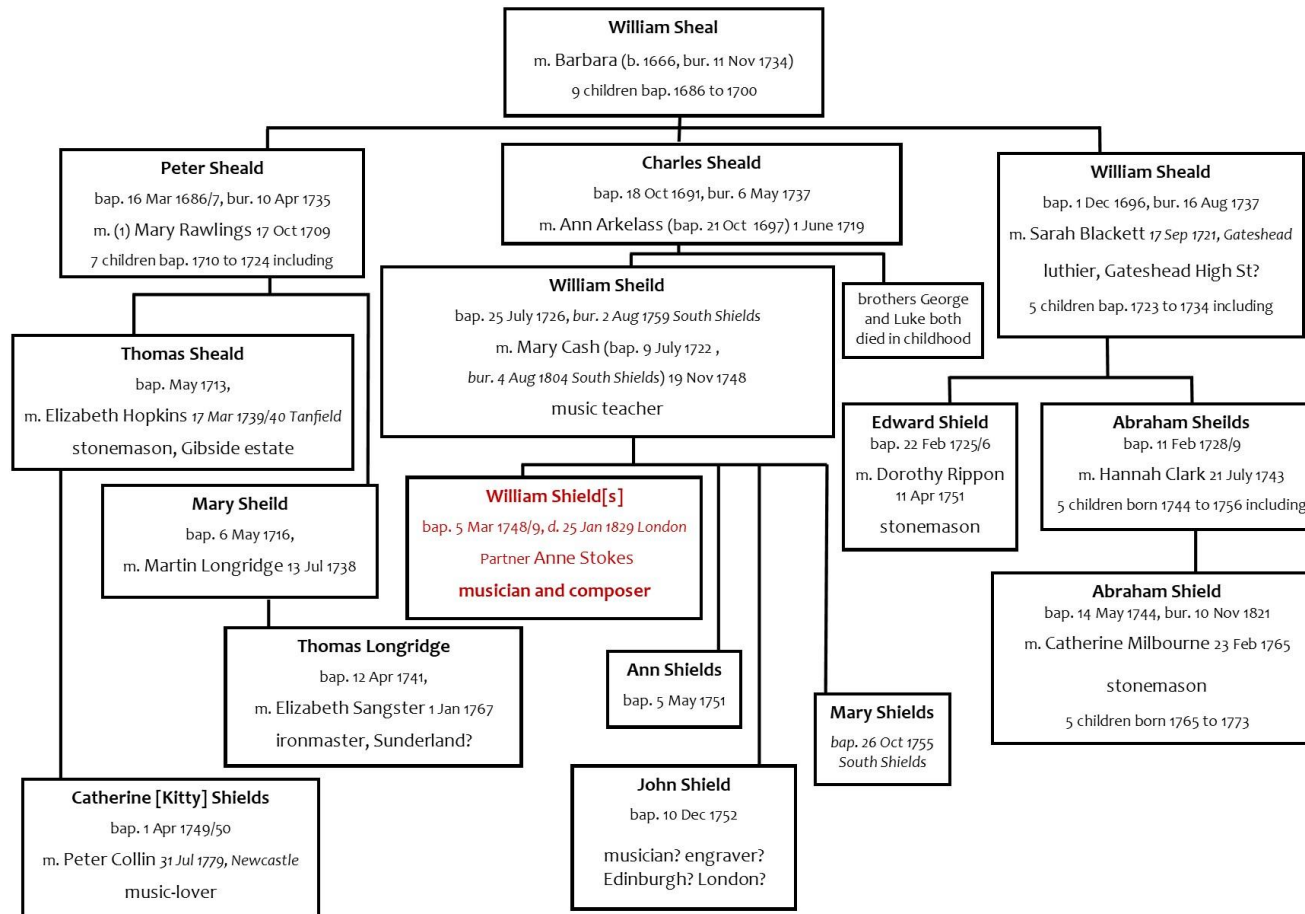


Figure 2.1 Shield family tree

No other relatives of Shield or his father's generation were known professional musicians. Tracking his siblings through parish registers is difficult as their names were common in Newcastle, Durham and London; two nieces visited him in London, but whether on his own or his wife's side is unclear.²⁰² Possibly the 'Mr John Shields' who played cello in the 1784 Westminster Abbey Handel Commemoration was his younger brother, but Doane's 1794 *Musical Directory* indicates this John was an amateur musician based in Edinburgh.²⁰³ (Tyneside grocer and songwriter John Shield was not William's brother; they may have been distantly related, but no link has been established).²⁰⁴ Two early Shield scores were 'Engraved by John Shield' in London; such inscriptions are common enough overall but rare among Shield's theatre works, possibly suggesting a personal connection.²⁰⁵ Later generations did include musicians. Bourn wrote in 1889,

Forty years ago, Thomas Shield was a distinguished player on the smallpipes, and at present another member of the Shield family is a teacher of music, and organist at one of the chapels in Swalwell.²⁰⁶

Surviving mid-eighteenth-century records show relatives following other trades. The steward of Gibside estate (seat of the Bowes family, three miles from Whickham) noted in 1753:

January 22 Paid Thos Shields walling ye Broom Pitt 5s 6d. [...]

September 28 paid Thomas Shield for days work winning stones and walling the Woodhead pitt from ye Stonehead £1.2s.²⁰⁷

This Thomas, another cousin of the composer's father, was then a forty-year-old father of five, who married and had a son while working around the Derwentside pit villages of Tanfield and Beamish, before moving back to Whickham.²⁰⁸ The cashbook entries present him as an industrial rather than architectural mason,

²⁰² GB-DRu, S.F.al.2.

²⁰³ Burney, *Commemoration of Handel*, p. 18; J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* (London: Westley et al., 1794), pp. 59, 74.

²⁰⁴ Cox-Jensen, "Canny Newcassel': Marshall's Musical Metropolis of North Britain', in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds.), 282-96 (pp. 287-94).

²⁰⁵ *Songs in the Deaf Lover*, p. 2; *Six Quartettos: Five for Two Violins, a Tenor & Violoncello and One for a Flute, Violin, Tenor, and Violoncello* (London: Napier, 1782).

²⁰⁶ Bourn, Letter.

²⁰⁷ GB-DRcro, D/St/E5/5/7.

²⁰⁸ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm 3, pp. 54, 154, 160, 167, 178, 184; EP/Ta1, p. 43.

engaged in hard physical labour on casual contracts, but relatively well-paid; Levine and Wrightson calculated he earned £5 9s. 6d. over four months in 1752, almost double the daily rate for a general labourer.²⁰⁹ By 1759 Thomas had bought (or built, perhaps assisted by fellow stonemasons, his cousin Edward and nephew Abraham) a modest property, incurring annual Land Tax of 1s. 6d. (The lowest rate was 6d.; Sir George Bowes paid £24. 9s. 6d. and Theodosia Crowley, owner of the ironworks, 10s. 6d.)²¹⁰

Gibside records also name several Shields in transactions for everyday commodities like rye and firecoal, or as casual outworkers sewing clothing for the household, and by 1780 Catherine Shield was a housemaid at the Hall.²¹¹ The 'Miss Kitty Shields' who subscribed to Avison's Op. 9 Concertos in 1766 may be stonemason Thomas' youngest daughter, then aged 16. Her marriage at St Nicholas' Church, Newcastle (where Avison had been organist) was witnessed by Thomas Longridge, and her husband rented their Whickham home from Peter Shield (an uncle or elder brother).²¹² These records portray a family network of Shields who were far from unskilled or impoverished, but worked hard to maintain a respectable living and pursue cultural interests.

In the company of comedians and concert artists

Shield senior's reputed success in South Shields was cut short by his death, aged only 33. (The description 'labourer' in his widow's burial record, forty-five years later, seems a likely error by a curate who never knew him; obituaries named Mary as 'relict of W. Shield, Singing Master, and mother to the Composer of that name'.)²¹³ Shield later told a London friend, oboist William Parke, that his father 'died of

²⁰⁹ Levine and Wrightson, pp. 244, 256.

²¹⁰ GB-DRcro, EP/Whm3 pp. 94, 160; Q/D/L 25 (M/7/22). LMF, MGL-M, 'Lodge no. 72 Dorothy Jones at Swalwell near Newcastle upon Tyne'; MGL-A, p. 24.

²¹¹ GB-DRcro, D/St/E5/5/16, D/St/E5/5/5-7, D/St/E5/5/40(8); EP/Whm7, p. 4.

²¹² Avison, *Twelve Concertos* (London: R. Johnson, 1766); Fleming and Perkins, *Dataset*; GB-DRcro EP/Whm3, pp. 103, 184; EP/Ta1. p. 43; Q/D/L 27. TWA, MF273, p. 19.

²¹³ GB-DRcro EP/SS.SH 1/5; EP/SSSH1/79, p. 146; *Morning Chronicle*, 13 August 1804; *Tyne Mercury, Northumberland and Durham and Cumberland Gazette*, 21 August 1804.

apoplexy immediately after having eaten an apple'.²¹⁴ Whether he suffered some kind of seizure or simply choked, this sudden, distressing death left his family 'with scanty means of subsistence', exposing his talented ten-year-old son to social pressures that threatened his musical development:²¹⁵

Young Shield was much inclined to pursue music as a profession, but was ridiculed by his companions from the notion of becoming a fiddler. The choice of three employments was allotted to him, and he was to become a sailor, a boat-builder, or a barber. The last calling was recommended by his mother's friends, upon a principle rather ludicrous, for it was said, that having been used to the violin, his fingers were fit for nice work. William, however, felt a sense of the dignity of manhood; he resolved at once not to be a knight of the comb, and decided in favour of boatbuilding.²¹⁶

Secondary sources agree that Shield was apprenticed to local boat-builder Edward Davison.²¹⁷ No indenture records confirm this, but minutes of the Newcastle Company of Shipwrights complain of members failing to register apprentices, and ban them from working for any other 'person that build ships or keels' or setting up shop 'outside the liberties of Newcastle', demonstrating the existence of unaffiliated Tyneside yards.²¹⁸ Potentially, Shield's apprenticeship was an informal arrangement with some such small firm, perhaps building cobsles (flat-bottomed coastal fishing boats) and keels (for transporting coal downriver) rather than seagoing ships.²¹⁹ Davison was a common surname in Whickham and Shields, so Shield's master could have been a longstanding family friend, willing to waive paperwork (and possibly fees). An early nineteenth-century firm in Sunderland (about eight miles away), described by local historian James Watson Corder as a 'curious little purely family concern', may have involved his descendants.²²⁰

An obituary claimed Shield had

often been heard to describe his feelings when he packed up his clothes, not forgetting his violin and the little stock of music left to him by his father, bade

²¹⁴ Parke, II, p. 152.

²¹⁵ Ayrton, p. 49.

²¹⁶ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8.

²¹⁷ Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 403, *Concert Room Anecdotes*, II, p. 185.

²¹⁸ TWA, GU.SH1-4, 154/6, pp. 23-24, 35, 70, 265; 154/8, *Orders*, 2 February 1644, 9 September and 28 October 1679, 24 June 1730; Clarke, p. 10.

²¹⁹ Finch, pp. 21, 25, 27-28, 114, 134; Grant, p. 182.

²²⁰ SLH, 623.8 COR, I, p. 184.

adieu to his mother, little brothers [sic] and sisters, and proceeded with a heavy heart to the place of his destination.²²¹

Though daunting for a young boy, the situation was evidently not so desperate that his father's instruments and scores had to be sold, or Shield might have been permanently lost to his profession. Fortunately, Davison was 'an honest and industrious man' and 'a kind and indulgent master' who, 'though he kept Shield to his duty [...] permitted him to cultivate his musical talents' and even, 'in the third year of his apprenticeship' (1761 to '62), helped him obtain paid performing engagements at 'the musical meetings... [and] parties of the principal families of the town'.²²²

These early opportunities stemmed from a well-established culture of domestic and social music-making among Tyneside's mercantile classes, who aspired to emulate on a more modest scale the music parties held at stately homes like Gibside.²²³ The young William Shield may have played his fiddle for dancing, accompanied amateur singers on the harpsichord, joined gentlemen in playing chamber music and entertained guests with violin solos in the homes of local music-lovers. Realising he could perform here 'with pecuniary advantage' presumably convinced him that music offered a viable living, worth defying peer pressure to pursue.²²⁴

Although apprenticeships typically lasted seven years, Shield's earliest biographer stated he was 'bound apprentice, for six years' and 'faithfully served the whole term of his indentures'.²²⁵ If taken on by Davison soon after his father's death in August 1759, he would have found himself conveniently at liberty in September 1765, when

²²¹ Ayrton, p. 49.

²²² 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 403, *Concert Room Anecdotes*, II, p. 185; Ayrton, p. 49.

²²³ Southey, 'Managing a musical career', pp. 179-81, 183-86; Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 54-58; Carter and Gibson, 'Amateur Music-Making among the Mercantile Community of Newcastle upon Tyne from the 1690s to the 1750s', and Southey, 'The Household Band of the Bowes of Gibside, County Durham, 1722-1760: Configuration, Repertoire, Training and Use', in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), 192-215 (pp. 192-209), 216-33.

²²⁴ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8; Ayrton, p. 49; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 403.

²²⁵ Carter and Gibson, p. 203; Uglow, p. 91; 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8.

Thomas Bates, manager of a 'company of comedians', opened a 'commodiously neat' new playhouse in North Shields, replacing one located on the quayside since 1754.²²⁶

Bates, originally based in Durham, had recently expanded his company's seasonal circuit to encompass Alnwick, Newcastle, North Shields, Sunderland, Darlington, Stockton-on-Tees, Scarborough and Whitby.²²⁷ Whilst building his reputation among those 'genteel and judicious' residents who formed the new theatre's opening night audience, Shield may also have caught the attention of the players, including popular Irish character actor John Cunningham, a talented pastoral poet and playwright. Having moved from Edinburgh in 1764, Cunningham found many patrons among the prosperous, literate Tyneside households where Shield undertook his first musical engagements.²²⁸ Although early biographers claimed Shield joined Bates' company at Scarborough on Cunningham's invitation, these circumstances suggest their association began at Shields. Similarly, while he is described leading theatre bands in Durham and Scarborough as if these were separate engagements, both were regular stops on Bates' tours.²²⁹

To circumvent the 1737 Licensing Act, which banned theatres with no royal patent from staging spoken drama, provincial managers like Bates would advertise 'A Concert of Music' with plays inserted 'between the Parts of the Concert', making musicians vital to their business.²³⁰ Southey has established that northern companies toured with up to four regular musicians (usually string players), recruiting additional instrumentalists from among resident music or dancing masters, waits and church musicians in towns along their route, or military bandsmen attached to local regiments; these casual players could earn up to 3s. per night.²³¹ Shield could have performed with Bates on this basis initially, perhaps playing second fiddle to an unidentified regular bandleader. The company enjoyed a successful season at an

²²⁶ *NChr*, 5 October 1765; King, pp. 11-12.

²²⁷ King, pp. 14-15, 17, 20-21; Cheyne, pp. 9, 12, 18-19, 99; *BDA*, I, p. 385.

²²⁸ Robert Bataille, 'Cunningham, John (?1729-1773)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Ritson, *Letters*, I, pp. vi-viii; Garbutt, pp. 281-83; *NC*, 18 August 1764; *NChr*, 13 March 1773.

²²⁹ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8; Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 403-04.

²³⁰ *NC*, 16 July 1763, 18 August 1764; GB-Y playbills Box SCC 1768-69, 3 June 1768; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 2; King, p. 12; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, p. 49.

²³¹ Southey (thesis), I, pp. 245-49.

‘elegant and commodious’ temporary theatre in the Moot Hall, Castle Garth, Newcastle in early 1766, whose positive reception may have confirmed Shield’s career choice and cemented his role in the company.²³²

While my outline of Shield’s route into his profession necessarily includes informed speculation, his association with Bates’ company is retrospectively well-evidenced. Actor and playwright Thomas Holcroft documented his experiences of touring with Bates and Shield, advertisements credit Shield with composing songs for the company, and later playbills claim him as a former member.²³³ Sometime before 1775 Shield became Bates’ principal musician, accompanying songs and dances during performances, adapting existing theatrical scores for available forces, and composing new music.²³⁴ Early accounts name Cunningham as an influential colleague, ‘several of whose songs he had sett to music at South Shields’ and whose punchy, jovial prologue for the North Shields opening night articulated humorously, but unequivocally, the budding theatre musician’s brief.²³⁵ It was delivered ‘in character of a sailor’ seeking entertainment ashore, who declared of the London playhouses,

I could like ‘em and their whole ‘PARATUS,
But for their fiddlers and their damned SONATAS:
Give me the merry sons of guts and rosin
That play God save the King, and Nancy Dawson. ²³⁶

‘God save the King’ originated as a propaganda ‘toast’ or psalm during the 1745 Jacobite Rising, while a jig by Thomas Arne had been known as ‘Miss Dawson’s Hornpipe’ or ‘The Ballad of Nancy Dawson’ since her breakthrough performance in John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* at Covent Garden in 1759.²³⁷ While eminently capable of performing the ‘damned SONATAS’ prized in London, to succeed here Shield

²³² *NC*, 18 January, 1, 8, 15 and 22 March 1766; *NChr*, 25 January, 1, 8, 15 and 22 February, 29 March, 5 April 1766.

²³³ Hazlitt, I, pp. 252-57; *NChr*, 2 January 1773, 29 June 1776; *WML*, 1 November 1779, 15 February, 22 March 1782.

²³⁴ Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, p. 52.

²³⁵ ‘Biographical Sketch’, p. 8; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 403.

²³⁶ King, p. 14.

²³⁷ Horgan, pp. 12-13, 85-88; ‘A Song for Two Voices. As Sung at both Playhouses’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine, and Historical Chronicle*, 15 (1745), 552; Alsager Vian, rev. by K. D. Reynolds ‘Dawson, Nancy [real name Ann Newton] (bap. 1728, d. 1767)’, *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

would need to draw on his experience of dance tunes, popular songs and traditional airs (described in Chapter 3, **Border Tunes**).²³⁸

Cunningham perhaps succeeded boatbuilder Davison as Shield's mentor and champion, compensating somewhat for his lost father. Sadly, the seasoned actor also provided a cautionary example of poor career management; ignoring advice to cultivate wealthy patrons, he craved artistic affirmation from theatrical celebrities like David Garrick, and increasingly disintegrated into emotional instability, alcoholic illness and near destitution.²³⁹

By contrast, Bates was known as a quiet but generous friend and a sensible, respectable manager. To these qualities his nephew and successor, actor and writer James Cawdell, added conviviality, flair, and a drive to court public popularity, enhance the company's repertoire and invest in new, larger theatres. Cawdell was 'in an extensive variety of dramatic characters, an excellent performer' and had 'a very happy readiness of converting the popular topics of the day into the form of songs'; later playbills show him capitalizing on local events or achievements (like the building of Sunderland's new iron bridge), and reactions to national and international events (including sea battles, and the death of Captain Cook), to create, market and adapt productions for audiences in his regular touring destinations.²⁴⁰ Shield was fortunate to begin his career in an innovative, successful and reputable company where he was well trained, and well-treated.

Shield's professional debt to Cunningham also outlived the man himself. He had several settings of Cunningham's poetry published singly, and included others in his first *Collection of Favourite Songs*, published by subscription (the eighteenth-century equivalent of crowd-funding) in 1775.²⁴¹ Several subscribers (or their relatives) had

²³⁸ GB-Y SCC Playbills, IV, 3 June, 19 December 1774; VI, 3 July 1776; X, 26 April, 5 May, 4 July 1781; Box 18/62, 9 December 1789; Box 11/7, 13 May 1800.

²³⁹ Ritson, *Letters*, I, pp. vi-viii; Hazlitt, I, pp. 255-58; *The Miscellaneous Poems of J. Cawdell, Comedian* (Sunderland: Graham, 1785), pp. 47-50; Uglow, p. 80.

²⁴⁰ C. D. Watkinson, 'Cawdell, James', *ONDB* (23 September 2004); Garbutt, pp. 280-84; King, pp. 18-21; REP/B5, pp. 54-56; WML: 23 October 1789, 6 January 1794; GB-Y, SC Playbills Box 8: 8/106, 8/107.

²⁴¹ 'A Song in the Scots Taste [...] set to Music by Mr. Shield, at the Author's Request', *The Lady's Magazine*, 5 (March 1774), between pp. 160-61; 'A New Hunting Song. [...] Jo

previously subscribed to Cunningham's *Poems*, suggesting their association helped Shield build his own networks among both theatrical professionals and local cultural investors.²⁴² Although subscribers' lists provide only limited and inconsistent personal details, cross-referencing that of *Favourite Songs* with other sources has allowed me to identify many of Shield's subscribers and build up a detailed picture of these networks.

For example, the *Favourite Songs* list suggests Bates and Cawdell were not Shield's only northern employers. Subscribers also included Joseph Austin, manager of the 'Newcastle company of comedians' based at the Bigg Market Theatre from 1769, whose circuit reached westward to Chester and Lancaster; Austin's partner (from 1773), Charles Edward Whitlock; and Christopher Smith, their regular bandleader.²⁴³ Subscriber names lacking occupation or location often match actors identifiable from playbills and directories as principal singers, like Mrs. Price, Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Wightman from Bates' company, and Mr. Jeffrys and Mrs. Bogle from Austin and Whitlock's.²⁴⁴ These colleagues clearly valued Shield's early works, while his understanding of vocal technique and song-writing developed through acting as their repetiteur (a role he later reprised for Covent Garden stars including tenor Charles Incledon, who could not read music, and comedian John Edwin, who considered Shield himself a gifted singer and actor).²⁴⁵ After Cunningham's death in 1773, Shield set lyrics by other actor-poets including Cawdell, Jeffrys, and James

Cunningham', (London: [Longman, Lukey], [c. 1775]); *A Collection of Favourite Songs, adapted for the Voice, Harpsichord, Violin, Guitar or German Flute, to which is added, a Duett for two Violins* (Durham: Thorne, / London: Longman, Lukey, and Broderip [1775]), pp. 2-6, 8, 10-13, 16.

²⁴² *Favourite Songs*, pp. 1-2; Cunningham, *Poems, chiefly Pastoral* (London: 1766), pp. v-xvi; Addison, 'William Shield's *A Collection of Favourite Songs* (c. 1775)', in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), 241-60. Henceforth footnotes present subscriber names in bold, spelled, numbered and formatted as originally listed; references aiding identification follow.

²⁴³ **FS26 Mr. Bates, FS59 Mr. Cawdell, FS12 Mr. Austin, FS321 Mr. Whitlock, FS253 Mr. Smith Newcastle**: *BDA*, I, pp. 177-78, XVI, p. 47; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 48-49; *NC* 25 February, 25 March, 1 April 1769 to 28 March, 18 April, 20 June 1778.

²⁴⁴ **FS203 Mrs. Price, FS226 Mrs. Roberts, FS310 Mrs. Wightman, FS149 Mr. Jeffrys, FS33 Mrs. Bogle**: *NC*, 30 January, 6 February, 24 April 1773; *NChr*, 18 April 1772, 2 January, 13 March 1773, 24 June 1775, 13 April 1776.

²⁴⁵ Parke, I, p. 156, II, pp. 46, 111.

Hartley, of Bates' company.²⁴⁶ He may also have worked with players from the Richmond circuit managed from 1773 by Samuel Butler, like actor-violinist William Tayleure.²⁴⁷

Rosenfeld notes that contemporary stereotypes of strolling players as 'vagabonds' were misleading; several of the Richmond company, including Tayleure, were respectable, educated men and women from a clergy background.²⁴⁸ However, despite its humour, variety and camaraderie, touring life was challenging. Although Holcroft described players as 'merry, thoughtless beings, who laugh in the midst of poverty, and who never want a quotation or a story to recruit their spirits', his editor William Hazlitt thought actors adopted 'a certain levity of manner as a resource against ennui, [...] to hide a sense of the mortifications and hardships they so often meet with'. Holcroft also observed,

The town's-people are continually railing against them, yet are exceedingly unhappy, if they fail to return at the appointed time [...] a player's six-pence does not go as far as a town's-man's groat.

Journeys between venues were often arduous; Shield and Holcroft walked together from Durham to Stockton, about twenty-three miles.²⁴⁹ One of Cawdell's comic prologues parodied the company's unpleasant experience of being 'wind-bound for near a fortnight' at sea, petitioning their North Shields audience for practical and financial support:

The north-east winds have long with-held our meeting;
kept you in Yarmouth roads, and us from eating.
[...]
Kings wrapp'd up in blankets, Queens ty'd up in sacks,
Bishops in baskets - Princesses in packs.
Becalm'd they lie, expos'd i' the open sea,
Tossing and tumbling, sick as sick can be.
[...]
Safe in your harbour now, each king and queen,
For one poor shilling, may each night be seen
[...]
The word retrench, we, one and all, despise -

²⁴⁶ Shield / [Jeffrys], 'The Repulse', *The Lady's Magazine*, 5 (October 1774), between pp. 552-53; *Favourite Songs*, pp. 2-6, 4-7, 10-16; Cawdell, 'Tis all over now; a Song Set to Music by Mr Shield, Originally sung by Mrs Price, Comedian', in *Miscellaneous Poems*, 85-86 [text only].

²⁴⁷ **FS281 Mr. Tayleure**: Sybil Rosenfeld, pp. 2-6.

²⁴⁸ Sybil Rosenfeld, pp. 2-3.

²⁴⁹ Hazlitt, I, pp. 219, 230, 252.

Our court must starve if you refuse supplies.
Grant us but those, and if we rule not right,
You're welcome to dethrone us every night.²⁵⁰

Audiences were often rowdy, and seaport playhouses were prone to deliberate disruption by agents sent in to raise a *mêlée*, from which seamen could be taken up by the pressgang. Shield must have experienced the fear and violence 'the press' brought to maritime communities before it impacted his professional life. Men were abducted from ships moored by coal staithes, even from their own beds; in 1759, Swalwell barber William Moffat killed one man and injured another while resisting impressment. The navy did not have it all their own way; employers sometimes negotiated successfully for their workers' release and on several occasions, pressed men aboard ships at anchor, or even underway, managed to overpower their captors and escape.²⁵¹ Naval officers were also enthusiastic playgoers, so eventually theatre managers brokered agreements that sailors would not be molested on 'play days', provided they were *inside* the theatre during the performance.²⁵²

Touring with Bates' theatre company significantly expanded Shield's horizons, introducing him to influential professionals and supporters who offered further performance opportunities. Among these was York-based actor and impresario Tate Wilkinson, a Cunningham admirer and frequent guest performer in Newcastle.²⁵³ Wilkinson took charge of the York theatre company in 1770, building new theatres at York and Leeds in 1774, and touring regularly to Hull, Beverley and other Yorkshire towns.²⁵⁴ In 1769 he established a Passion Week oratorio series, presenting Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus* 'with a band of upwards 100', consisting of 'the best Performers [...] that can be procur'd in the Kingdom'.²⁵⁵ Wilkinson also booked 'An Additional Band' for galas recreating Garrick's *Ode to Shakespeare* with music by

²⁵⁰ 'The Royal Cargo: or the Company's Voyage from Scarborough', *Miscellaneous Poems*, 69-73.

²⁵¹ RJD/E, 6 and 8 March 1756; RJD/F, 25 June 1757. Sykes, pp. 223, 227, 279.

²⁵² King, pp. 18-19, 24-25, 33.

²⁵³ **FS315 Tate Wilkinson Esq. York:** Cunningham, p. xv; *NC*, 10 August 1765, 28 May, 18 June 1768, 3 June 1769, 30 March, 27 April 1771; *NChr*, 27 June, 18 July 1767, 30 July 1768.

²⁵⁴ Eric Prince, 'Wilkinson, Tate (1739-1803)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); *BDA*, XVI, pp. 96-99.

²⁵⁵ *NC*, 11 March 1769; GB-Y SCC Playbills, II, 21-23 March 1769.

Arne, featuring 'the principal performers in Town'.²⁵⁶ These included Shield's subscribers Thomas Haxby, an organ-builder, instrument-maker and York Minster 'songman' or 'singing man' (an adult member of a cathedral choir), cellist Joseph Shaw and French horn player Thomas Thackray, all of whom also kept music shops.²⁵⁷

Wilkinson's initiative sparked an oratorio craze, drawing performers from across the northern region and from distant cultural centres like London and Bath, to festivals in Wakefield, Halifax, Doncaster, Beverley, Leeds, Liverpool and Durham.²⁵⁸ Shield's subscribers included musicians in those cities, notably the cathedral organists who typically directed such events. This suggests he worked with them; although John Camidge, organist of York Minster and orchestra leader for Wilkinson's oratorios, is surprisingly absent from the list.²⁵⁹

Many organists also directed and promoted local subscription concerts of orchestral, chamber and vocal music. An obituarist wrote that Shield, on finishing his apprenticeship, had

made such progress on the violin, as to be able to lead the Newcastle subscription concerts, where he repeatedly played the solo parts of Geminiani's and Giardini's concertos. His talents attracted the notice of the celebrated Avison [...]²⁶⁰

This account seems consistent with Shield's skill, but chronologically unlikely; by 1765 Avison had been directing the Newcastle series for almost thirty years, and participation could only be at his invitation.²⁶¹ Earlier sources clarify that Shield was engaged to lead the Newcastle concerts by one of Avison's sons.²⁶² Edward took over managing the series after his father's death in 1770, and his younger brother Charles junior gave concerts in 1772 and '74 at which Shield's *Favourite Songs* were

²⁵⁶ GB-Y, SCC Playbills, III, 2 May, 29 October 1770, 31 January 1771, 11 April 1772; V, 28 January 1775.

²⁵⁷ **FS135 Mr. Haxby York, FS244 Mr. Shaw York, FS286 Mr. Thackray York:** Southey (thesis), I, pp. 65, 134, 136, 139-40, 144; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 109, 222.

²⁵⁸ Southey (thesis), I, pp. 142-47.

²⁵⁹ Addison, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), p. 251; Southey (thesis), I, p. 251.

²⁶⁰ *Annual Biography and Obituary*, p. 87.

²⁶¹ Southey and Cross, 'Introduction', pp. 9-10.

²⁶² 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 404.

performed by Mrs. Bogle and Mr. Jeffrys, alongside solos by oboist and city wait Robert Shadforth, and blind violinist James Walker.²⁶³ However, Shield could have joined the rank and file of Avison senior's orchestra on a casual basis some years earlier (perhaps recommended by theatre singers, who occasionally featured as soloists), and sought Avison's compositional advice during that time.²⁶⁴

As most concert advertisements provide only minimal details of performers and repertoire, the presence of Shield's subscribers as directors or soloists is often the sole indication of his potential involvement. On that basis, other possible engagements include the 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' held regularly at 'Mr. Ridsdale's Assembly Room' in Darlington during 1765 to 1766; one such concert clashed with Bates' North Shields theatre opening, but others fell on dates when the company may have passed through Darlington between engagements in Durham and Stockton (although undocumented, in a decade when survival of playbills is patchy, this would be a logical detour).²⁶⁵ From 1760 a long summer season of *al fresco* 'Concerts, Vocal and Instrumental' had been held at Spring Gardens (Newcastle's answer to London's famous Vauxhall pleasure gardens), often employing theatre musicians; one 1764 performance was postponed, 'as the Music will be engaged on the Theatre that Evening'.²⁶⁶ The proprietor, having promised patrons 'a good Band of Music', might have booked Shield alongside Mrs Day and Mr Blanchard in September 1766, between their engagements with Bates' company at Sunderland and North Shields.²⁶⁷ In July 1771 'Mr Vary's Assembly-Room, South Shields' hosted a 'Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music [...] the recitative by Mr Price, the vocal Parts by Mrs Bogle and Mrs Price, and the instrumental Parts by the best Hands'; while a monthly series commencing November 1772 in Mr Kerr's

²⁶³ Southey, Maddison and Hughes, p. 110. **FS20 Mr. Charles Avison Organist Newcastle-upon-Tyne, FS251 Mr. R. Shadforth Newcastle, FS308 Mr. Walker Newcastle: NC**, 25 April 1772; *NChr*, 16 April 1774; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 222, 226.

²⁶⁴ Southey, Maddison and Hughes, p. 71.

²⁶⁵ *NChr*, 4 May, 1 June, 10 August, 5 October 1765, 11 January, 31 May, 28 June 1766; *NC* 14 September 1765, 3 May 1766; King, p. 17.

²⁶⁶ Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 91-93; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 26-27; *NChr*, 11 August 1764, 4 May 1765.

²⁶⁷ *NChr*, 10 May 1766; King, p. 17; Garbutt, pp. 280-81.

'large and commodious new room' above the Bee-Hive pub, North Shields, promised to feature 'the best Performers' in the region.²⁶⁸ By this time, Shield surely ranked among them.

The Durham subscription series complementing Avison's Newcastle concerts was originally run by cellist John Garth, but later taken over by cathedral organist Thomas Ebdon, who also held monthly concerts in Sunderland from October 1774, and subscribed to Shield's *Favourite Songs* along with several 'Gentlemen of the Choir' of Durham Cathedral, who sang in both series.²⁶⁹ Shield recalled attending musical gatherings held at Durham by clergyman and enthusiastic amateur cellist John Sharp, whose friendship later brought about his participation in prestigious private London concerts:

The late Archdeacon of Northumberland, Dr. Sharp, held residence in Durham at an early period of my life, and honoured me with an invitation to his weekly performances of sacred music, to which he was so partial, that, notwithstanding he had a voluminous collection of Handel's scores, he commissioned me to subscribe for Dr. Arnold's edition of his favourite author, and to forward each number to his library immediately after publication. This worthy Dignitary of our Church also desired me to be the bearer of a letter to his brother, William Sharp, the late eminent surgeon, which proved a passport to his excellent concerts in the Old Jewry, where, at the first performance of the season in 1780, I had the honour of being an auditor (only), [...] But at each succeeding concert I experienced the advantageous pleasure of accompanying all the instrumental performers of the first class then residing in London.

Shield provided these reminiscences in 1816 to the biographer of Granville Sharp, John's youngest brother, an amateur musician and prominent anti-slavery campaigner. Alongside a review of Granville's own practical, avuncular sight-singing manual, Shield summarised his contact with 'a family whose virtues were an honour to human nature, and whose memory is revered by all survivors who had

²⁶⁸ *NChr*, 6 July 1771; *NC*, 21 November 1772.

²⁶⁹ **FS82 Mr. Ebdon Organist of the Cathedral Durham:** Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 13, 16, 30-32, 81-82; Fleming, 'Compositional Activity in Durham City, 1750-1810: Its Influences and Impact', in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), 70-88 (pp. 72-73, 79). *NC*, 4 October 1766, 25 July, 3 October 1767, 16 July, 1 October 1768, 25 March, 6 May, 29 July 1769, 13 July 1771, 8 February, 8 August, 26 September 1772, 17 July, 7 August 1773, 23 July 1774, 2 August 1777; *NChr*, 27 March 1773, 15 October 1774, 27 July 1776.

the happiness to witness them'.²⁷⁰ Shield's letter, organised thematically rather than chronologically (as Crosby noted, John Sharp's introductory letter to brother William must have preceded the commission to obtain Arnold's Handel edition), recalls a relationship sustained over decades through the Sharp family's active passion for music-making and support for professional musicians.²⁷¹

By the late 1780s John Sharp was hosting Durham concerts on a grand scale, but for over twenty years had played alongside cathedral singing men in less formal musical gatherings at his Morpeth rectory. Shield's note suggests he held similar play-throughs of favourite repertoire when in Durham. (Although required residency for cathedral prebends was only three weeks each year and Sharp was often occupied by duties in Northumberland, he also held peripatetic administrative and pastoral roles requiring him to report regularly to the Bishop.)²⁷² In 1769, aged twenty, Shield composed an anthem for Durham Cathedral choir to sing at the consecration of a new chapel in Sunderland, which was warmly received. A nineteenth-century biographer plausibly claimed this commission 'led to his being invited to the tables of the Church dignitaries at Durham', who noted 'his genuine ability and excellent conduct'; so his acquaintance with Dr Sharp can reasonably be dated to this 'early period', when he was often in or near Durham.²⁷³ There is little evidence of how often or by what route Shield travelled north to visit family after 1778, but he certainly kept in touch; described as 'an attentive son', he mentioned his sisters in his will and in 1792 returned to play principal cello at Durham Musical Festival, alongside cathedral musician and subscriber George Ashton.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Grant, pp. 46, 122; Shield, 'Remarks on Mr. G. Sharp's "Short Introduction to Vocal Music,"' in Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp*, Appendix no. 6, xii-xvi, (p. xii); Granville Sharp, *A Short Introduction to Vocal Music* (London: 1767).

²⁷¹ Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water', pp. 3-4, 44-45, 59-60, 83, 94-95, 99; Grant, pp. 43-49, 117-23, 141-42, 215-20, 238, 249-55, 292-93; Martin Postle (ed.), *Johann Zoffany RA: Society Observed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 111, 258-60.

²⁷² Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water', pp. 59-60; Grant, pp. 46, 50, 53, 173-90.

²⁷³ Ayrton, p. 50; 'William Shield, Composer', *The Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*, 4 (January 1890), 14-16 (pp. 14-15).

²⁷⁴ Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 408-09; GB-Lna PROB 11/1753/461; **FS15 Mr. Ashton Gentleman of the Choir Durham**: NC, 13 October 1792; Southey (thesis), I, pp. 132, 282, and II, p. 91.

Looking towards London

Shield undoubtedly benefited from, and ultimately joined, the movement of theatre professionals between London and the North during his early career. Many *Favourite Songs* subscribers had previously worked in the capital, or went on to pursue careers there. Among the former were actor-managers Wilkinson, Austin and Whitlock, and cellist Bartholomew Johnson, who gave solo concerts in London in 1770.²⁷⁵ Among the latter were northern actors Davis, Johnson and Kipling, and several Yorkshire musicians.²⁷⁶ John Danby, of a landed Catholic family near Catterick, sang bass in the chorus of London theatres and concerts from 1776.²⁷⁷ Thackray of York performed at Marylebone Gardens that year, was appointed Musician in Ordinary to King George III in 1779, and played first violin in the 1784 Handel Commemoration Concerts.²⁷⁸

Shield also had opportunities to meet future London colleagues while still in the North. In 1769 Wilkinson's York Passion Week series boasted 'First Violin by Mr. Pinto, conductor of the bands at Vauxhall and Drury-Lane', while Tenducci appeared in York and Newcastle *en route* to Edinburgh where he learned the Scots air 'Braes of Ballenden', subsequently arranged for him by J. C. Bach and included by Shield in *Rudiments*. (Though published in 1779 as performed by Tenducci at Hanover Square Rooms, accompanied on oboe, violin, viola and cello by Fischer, Cramer, Giardini and Crosdill, Shield's note references a 1771 performance, probably in the Bach-Abel series.)²⁷⁹ London actor-playwright Robert Hitchcock was a regular winter guest at York Theatre from 1771 to '81, but may have met Shield as early as 1767 when performing at 'the Theatre near Burdon's Quay', South Shields.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ BDA, VIII, pp. 170-71; Margaret Campbell, *The Great Cellists*, 2nd edn (London: Robson, 2004), p. 23.

²⁷⁶ **FS78 Mr. Davis, FS152 Mr. Johnson, FS154 Mr. Kipling:** Addison, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), p. 249. GB-DRcro, EP/Du.SN 1/5, p. 22; EP/SuHT 1/3, p. 282. BDA, IV, p. 220, VIII, pp. 169-70, 176-7; IX, p. 46.

²⁷⁷ **FS72 Mr. John Danby Brough-Hall:** Selby Whittingham, 'Danby, John', ODNB (23 September 2004); BDA, III, p. 132.

²⁷⁸ BDA, XIV, p. 404.

²⁷⁹ GB-Y, Playbills Box 1768-1769, 21-23 March 1769; NC, 6 May 1769; Southey (thesis), I, pp. 147, 149; *Rudiments*, pp. 32-34; Fiske, *Scotland in Music*, pp. 27-29; Nelson (thesis), pp. 131-35; McVeigh, 'Calendar', e.g. 27 February 1771.

²⁸⁰ **FS137 Mr. Hitchcock York:** BDA, VII, p. 340; NChr, 31 October 1767; YS, p. 1012; Addison, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), p. 250.

In 1772 Edwin broke a summer season in Bath to join Austin's company during Newcastle Race Week.²⁸¹ From 1768 until at least 1777, Signior Giovanni Battista Noferi, ballet composer at the King's Theatre, often played first violin for concerts in Durham and Newcastle, sometimes alongside theatre singers like Mrs. Bogle.²⁸² Felice de Giardini (Noferi's teacher and a favourite virtuoso of the aristocracy), though not among Shield's subscribers, was credited with recommending, installing or promoting him within London ensembles in the 1770s. Several sources claim Shield was introduced to Giardini by violinist Luigi Borghi and oboist Johann Christian Fischer, having met them in Scarborough, but a meeting earlier and closer to home is eminently possible. Giardini had been a summer visitor to York, Durham and Newcastle since the early 1750s, regularly staying at Gibside (until his patron George Bowes died in 1760) and appearing as soloist in Avison and Garth's concerts.²⁸³ These European musicians helped Shield gain a second violin chair in the King's Theatre Italian Opera orchestra from 1771, where in 1773 the new leader Wilhelm Cramer promoted him to succeed Stamitz as principal viola.²⁸⁴

Most accounts assume Shield relocated immediately and permanently to the capital when offered these positions, but Holcroft's memoir confirms he was still touring County Durham in 1777, indicating that during a transitional phase of his career, c. 1771 to '78, he continued his earlier northern employments in between new engagements in London.²⁸⁵ The publishing credits and subscribers' list of *Favourite Songs* show that in 1775 he was still reliant on northern supporters, while also building relationships with London publishers and colleagues including theatre

²⁸¹ NC, 27 June 1772.

²⁸² **FS190 Signio Noferi:** McVeigh, 'Noferi, Giovanni Battista', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 13, 146; *NChr*, 16 July 1768, 29 July 1769, 13 July 1771, 8 August 1772, 7 August 1773, 29 July 1774, 5 August 1775, 2 August 1777; NC, 15 August 1776.

²⁸³ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8; Ayrton, p. 49; Sainsbury, I, p. 433; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 404; *Annual Biography and Obituary*, pp. 87-88; Southey, Maddison and Hughes, pp. 73-74; Margaret Wills, *Gibside and the Bowes family* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Phillimore, 1995), p. 48; Southey (thesis), I, pp. 69-70, 108, 110, 138, 147, 222; David J. Golby, 'Giardini [Degiardino], Felice (1716-1796)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Foreman, pp. 26, 58.

²⁸⁴ Parke, I, pp. 50-52, 239-44.

²⁸⁵ Legge, rev. by Zon, 'Shield, William', *ODNB*; Troost, 'Shield, William', *GMO*; Hazlitt, I, p. 252.

singer Joseph Vernon; Robert Aldridge, principal dancer, ballet-master and choreographer at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, who later toured with Wilkinson to York, Hull and Edinburgh; and author Charles Stuart.²⁸⁶ To capitalise on his growing reputation, in December 1775 Shield published a special invitation to his northern patrons in the *Newcastle Chronicle* (Figure 2.2):

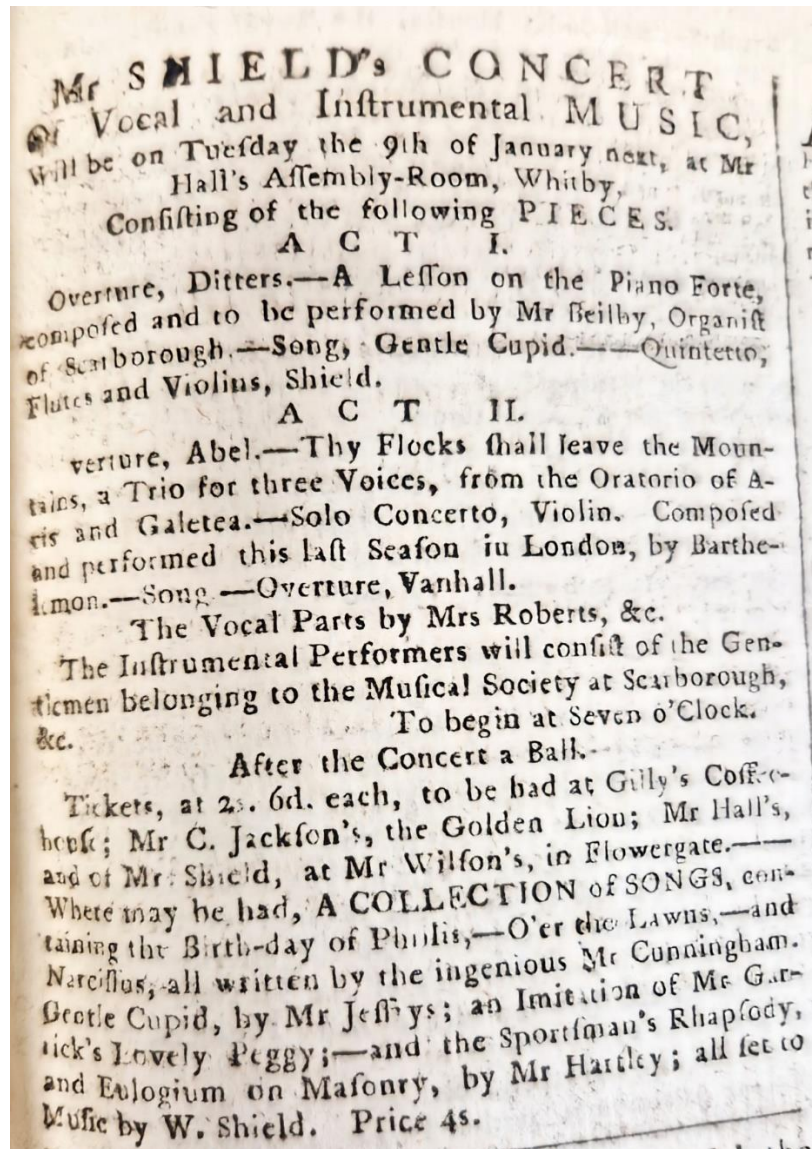


Figure 2.2 Concert advertisement, *Newcastle Chronicle*, 30 December 1775 (image courtesy Newcastle City Library)

²⁸⁶ FS17 Mr. Aldridge, FS256 Mr. Stuart, FS288 Mr. Vernon London: Baldwin and Wilson, 'Vernon, Joseph', *GMO* (20 September 2001); *BDA*, I, pp. 57-58, XV, pp. 141-46; *LS5*, I, pp. 250-51; GB-Y SCC Playbills VIII, 7 December 1779, 29 January 1780; IX, 18 December 1779, 28 February, 6 March, 29 July, 5 August 1780; Addison, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), p. 252.

This unusually detailed advertisement offered a mixed programme typical of contemporary northern concerts. That winter, Leeds and Wakefield Assembly Rooms hosted similar performances of songs, Sinfonias, and Concertos for Harpsichord, German Flute and Violin (possibly involving Shield, since several performers were known to him).²⁸⁷ Evidently audiences enjoyed both established classics and new music in the latest continental style, since all the listed works (except the vocal trio from Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, a longstanding local and national favourite) could have been composed within the past five years.²⁸⁸ German viol-player Carl Friedrich Abel had been in London since 1758, co-managing a prestigious concert series with Johann Christian Bach since 1764; his overtures Op. 10 were published in 1773, and his 1770 overture to comic opera *Love in a Village* remained popular.²⁸⁹ Shield's Whitby audience might also have heard Austro-Bohemian string player Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's recently published *Sinfonia xxxviii*, and Johann Baptist Vanhal's *Periodical Overture Number xlv* or *Number xlvii* (the terms 'symphony' and 'overture' were used interchangeably in England at this period).²⁹⁰

Shield may have played under the composer's direction in London performances of two concertos by celebrated French violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélemon, published in 1775; in Whitby, Shield must have performed the solo himself and been

²⁸⁷ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 5 December 1775, 6 February 1776.

²⁸⁸ Stanley Sadie, 'Acis and Galatea', *GMO* (1 December 1992; online, 2002); *NC*, 3 October 1767, 29 July 1769; *NChr*, 20 July 1771; Gardner, 'The Selection, Acquisition and Performance of Handel's English Odes and Oratorios in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Durham', in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), 54-69.

²⁸⁹ Walter Knappe and Murray R. Charters, rev. by McVeigh 'Abel, Carl [Karl] Friedrich', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Abel, *Overture in Love in a Village* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [c.1770]), *Six Simphonies à deux Violons, Taille & Basse, Hautbois & Cors de Chasse*, op. 10 (London: Bremner, [1773]).

²⁹⁰ Margaret Grave and Jay Lane, 'Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Dittersdorf, *The Periodical Overture, in 8 Parts* (London: Bremner, [1773]) [identified in GB-Lbl as *Sinfonia xxxviii*]; Paul R. Bryan, 'Vanhal, Johann Baptist', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Vanhal, *The Periodical Overture in 8 parts* (London: Bremner, [1775]); Jan Larue, Mark Evan Bonds, Stephen Walsh and Charles Wilson, 'Introduction', and Larue, rev. by Eugene K. Wolf, 'I. 18th century: 3. Sources 4. Instrumentation' in 'Symphony (Fr. simphonie, symphonie; Ger. Sinfonie, Symphonie; It. sinfonia)', *GMO* (27 April 2006); Hertz, pp. 511, 523-24, 652-53, 905, 910, 926.

equal to its many technical challenges, including melodic double- and triple-stopping, whole-bow slurred staccato scales, four-note chords and rapid arpeggiations.²⁹¹ 'Lesson' for piano by Scarborough organist Thomas Beilby is an example of the melodically attractive technical studies composed by contemporary English musician-teachers.²⁹² Shield's quintet for flutes and violins has not survived but was probably composed for members of Scarborough Musical Society, as these instruments were popular among gentlemen amateurs.²⁹³

Favourite Songs: examples and analysis

Shield's elegant and straightforward *Favourite Songs* show the influence of J. C. Bach, perfectly complementing the instrumental concert repertoire and foreshadowing many features of his later strophic theatre numbers.²⁹⁴ He structured these commercially adaptable pieces (conceived for the theatre and repurposed as domestic entertainment) with economy and clarity, predominantly using primary triads in root position or first inversion and dominant seventh chords. Each song has two to five verses bookended and connected by 'symphonies': an orchestral introduction, interludes, and a coda approached by a cadenza or by escalating repetitions of a climactic vocal gesture. 'Solo' and 'Tutti' markings (for strings) and cues for flute, clarinet and horns distinguish accompaniments intended for a small orchestra. Parallel melodic movement in thirds or sixths would fit on upper strings or pairs of woodwinds, while the bass displays characteristics of classical string writing including scalar cadential links, sustained pedal notes and repetitive rhythms providing impetus during harmonic stasis. Vocal phrases are punctuated by instrumental flourishes, with occasional emphatic unison cadences.

²⁹¹ Neil Zaslaw, rev. by McVeigh, 'Barthélemon, François-Hippolyte', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Barthélemon, *Two Favourite Solo Concertos for the Violin* (London: Longman, Lukey and Broderip, [1775]).

²⁹² Stephen Paxton, *Twelve Easy Lessons for a Violoncello and a Bass [...] op. 4* (London: [1786]); Crosby and Sadie, 'Paxton, Stephen', *GMO* (20 January 2001); M. Campbell, *The Great Cellists*, p. 23.

²⁹³ Southey (thesis), I, p. 221.

²⁹⁴ J. C. Bach, *Favourite Songs sung at Vaux Hall* (London: [c. 1767]); *NC*, 27 January 1770.

The image shows a musical score for 'Lovely Peggy' in G major and 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of piano accompaniment and vocal lines. The first system covers bars 184-187, the second covers bars 188-191, and the third covers bars 192-195. The piano part features a consistent eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The vocal line is in a soprano or alto register. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. A flute solo is marked in the third system.

Could I in swee-test acc-ents sing or mas-ter the Har— mon— ious— string the
 Heav'n should round with Ech - oes— ring— In praise of love - ly— Peg - gy
 Love-ly— Peg-gy Love-ly— Peg-gy love - ly love - ly love - ly— Peg-gy

Example 2.2 'Lovely Peggy', bars 18⁴ to 30³

By contrast, 'Gentle Cupid' (pp. 4-6) is an emotional appeal in rondo form to the Roman god of love, featuring extensive vocal coloratura. An elegant, wistful melody introduced by the orchestra is answered by solo clarinet, before broken chord patterns and fanfare-like figures return, increasingly embellished, after each repetition of the verse (**Example 2.3**). In three contrasting episodes the singer expresses her physical experience of love through ornaments: a trill on the word 'tremble', an appoggiatura on 'sigh', rocking figures to describe being 'lull'd to rest' (**Example 2.4**) and an extended sustained note, conveying paralysis, on the words 'dare not speak'.

Clarinet

Tutti

Example 2.3 'Gentle Cupid', bars 5 to 12

Tell me when the Swain is by why I trem - ble why I sigh

and at night when lull'd to rest why his i - mage fills my breast

Example 2.4 'Gentle Cupid' bars 43 to 50

The final episode, transposed to the emotive relative minor key, builds tension over pedal notes as lyrics describe the pain and slavery of love (**Example 2.5**).

p
Love thou soft u - sur - per say - must - I - thy comm - ands - o - bey -
must my - heart no - lon - ger be - from thy - poin - ted - arr - ows free
love thou soft u - sur - per say - must - I - thy comm - ands - o - bey -
must - my - heart - no - lon - ger be from thy - poin - ted - arr - ows free.

Example 2.5 'Gentle Cupid', bars 89 to 104

The 'Duett for Two Violins' (pp. 18-21) which concludes Shield's collection has three contrasting movements: a solidly cheerful *Allegro Moderato* in C major (**Example 2.6** and **Example 2.7**), a binary 'Scots Air' in G (**Example 2.8**), and a sparky and elegant *Rondo Non troppo Allegro* in C (**Example 2.9**, **Example 2.10** and **Example 2.11**).

The image shows a musical score for two violins and two violas. The score is written in common time (C) and consists of 16 bars. The notation includes various rhythmic figures, such as triplets and sixteenth-note runs. There are also technical markings like trills (tr) and a sixteenth-note figure (6) in the first violin part. The score is arranged in four systems, with two staves for each instrument.

Example 2.6 *Allegro Moderato*, bars 1 to 16

Shield's *galant* string-writing shares many technical and stylistic features with that of other composers on his Whitby concert programme, and his mentor Giardini.²⁹⁶ These include double-stopping in thirds or sixths, drones sustained on one string while playing a melody on another, Alberti-type harmonic figurations and occasional outbreaks of *arpeggiando* broken chords. Although the *primo* part is higher in register, both *primo* and *secondo* alternate equally between melodic and accompanying material, with many parallel motion passages.

²⁹⁶ Giardini, *Sei Duetti a due Violini*, op. 2 (London: Bremner, [c. 1765]), *Sei Duetti a due Violini*, op. 13 (London: 1767), *Six Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello*, op. 17 (London: Welcker, [1773]); Bach, Abel and Giardini, *Six Quartettos for a German flute, violin, tenor and bass, or two violins, a tenor and bass* (London: Napier, [1776]).

Shield creates textural contrast through imitative entries building tension towards dramatic unison statements. Melodic gestures are often arpeggio-based and repeated in the dominant or minor, providing continuity of shape and rhythm while registering a change in mood. Printed dynamics are terraced rather than graduated, with repeated syncopated pitches used to generate momentum towards climaxes. Sections often conclude with extended or repeated perfect cadences, decorated with turns or trills.

Example 2.7 *Allegro Moderato*, bars 25 to 36¹

The ‘Scots Air’ (Example 2.8) that forms the middle movement of the Duett (p. 20) contains modulations and ornamentation characteristic of an ‘imitation’, rather than an arrangement of a traditional tune (see Chapter 4, Example 4.1 and Example 4.2). Shield recycled the melody with similar accompaniment, transposed to Eb major, for the song ‘Within this breast the record lies’, sung by Miss Harper in *The Flitch of Bacon*. This evidently proved popular; Fiske noted an arrangement of it, transposed to D, in a volume of ‘English songs & duetts’ published the following year.²⁹⁷

Example 2.8 ‘Scots Air’

²⁹⁷ GB-LEbc, FISKE-PLATT SHI, *The Flitch of Bacon*, pp. 40-41; *A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, &c. [...]* arr. by Domenico Corri, 3 vols (Edinburgh: John Corri, [c. 1779-80]), II, p. 9.

Example 2.9 *Rondo Non troppo Allegro*, bars 1 to 8, 13 to 16 and 25 to 32

Example 2.10 *Rondo Non troppo Allegro*, bars 49 to 52, 55 to 60

The image shows a musical score for a piece in 2/4 time, key of B-flat major. The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows a vocal line with trills (tr) and dynamics like 'pia.' and 'for.', and a piano accompaniment with a steady eighth-note pattern. The second system shows the piano accompaniment continuing with a steady eighth-note pattern and a 'sim.' marking. The third system shows the piano accompaniment continuing with a steady eighth-note pattern and a 'sim.' marking.

Example 2.11 *Rondo Non troppo Allegro, 'Minore' bars 73 to 88*

Shield's early professional experiences were truly formative, allowing him to learn from accomplished colleagues and amass knowledge of repertoire he continued to study and perform throughout his career. While seasonal work in London undoubtedly accelerated his development, his first experience of many works discussed in his treatises was gained in northern theatres and assembly rooms; including ballad arrangements from *The Beggar's Opera* by Pepusch, concertos by Corelli and Geminiani, incidental music from Garrick's revival of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Handel's oratorios *Messiah* and *Alexander's Feast*, and Arne's celebrated opera *Artaxerxes*.²⁹⁸ Shield's *Favourite Songs* show that before moving to London, he was already competent in composing idiomatically for skilled vocal and instrumental performers, and combining and adapting stylistic influences appropriate to a variety of public and domestic contexts.

²⁹⁸ *Introduction*, pp. 28-29, 55, 58, 72, 84, 100, 120-21; *Rudiments*, pp. 6, 9, 18, 31-34, 48-49, 61-63; *NC*, 1 March 1766, 16 July 1768, 11 and 25 March 1769, 27 January 1770, 26 January, 23 March 1771, 18 January, 25 April, 8 August 1772, 19 June 1773; *NChr* 16 November 1765, 5 September 1767, 16 April 1774.

North-eastern Networks

In addition to identifying Shield's professional colleagues, I have used the *Favourite Songs* subscribers' list to explore demographics of his early audiences. Subscribers were concentrated in towns on the Bates company's regular route, with twice as many in Sunderland (the midpoint of their circuit) as anywhere else (**Figure 2.3**). This suggests Sunderland provided the nearest Shield had to a home base during his itinerant early twenties; within easy reach of family in South Shields, but far enough away to let him spread his wings.

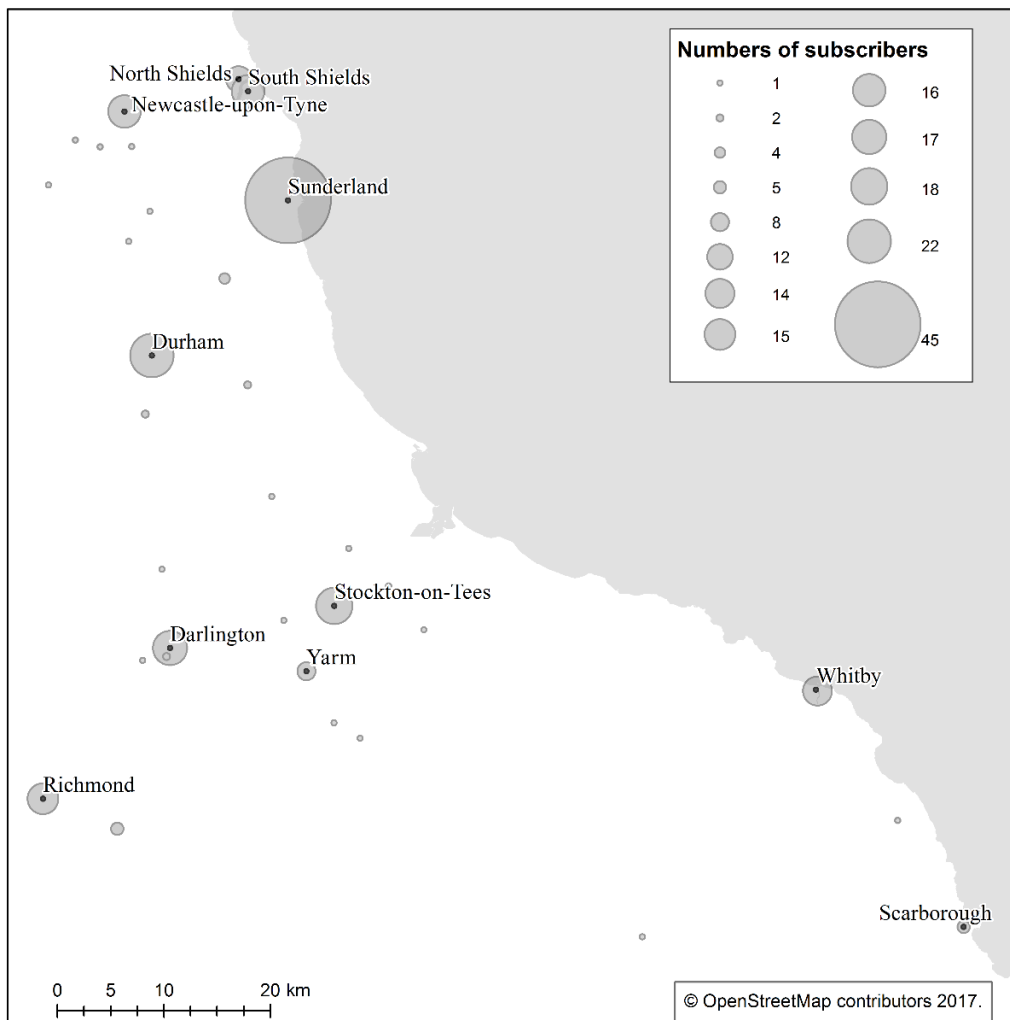


Figure 2.3 Map showing spread of subscribers across north-east England²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ Locations geo-coded and map produced by Clare E. Gordon, Lecturer in Geographic Information Systems, University of Leeds, using ESRI ArcGIS Desktop software.

By the 1760s, the River Wear increasingly rivalled the Tyne as the nexus of the North East's shipbuilding industry and the export trade from the Durham coalfield.³⁰⁰ Bates' canny decision to establish a smart new Sunderland theatre in December 1768 paid dividends for the company, enabling them to build another new theatre there within ten years, and for Shield personally.³⁰¹ In 1769 John Thornhill, a prominent Sunderland landowner, Justice of the Peace, subscriber to Cunningham's poems, timber importer and coal fitter (a middleman negotiating deals between coal-owners and merchants) sponsored the building of St. John's Church, Prospect Row, and perhaps also Shield's commission to compose the consecration anthem. The new chapel was not Thornhill's first civic project; John Rain's wonderful pictorial map of Sunderland clearly shows the wharf and fish market he built c. 1750, alongside the boatyards near the South Pier.³⁰²

Both Thornhill and George Goodchild, the organist appointed to serve St. John's, later subscribed to *Favourite Songs*; they were also connected through Freemasonry.³⁰³ Thornhill was the first Master of Sunderland's Phoenix Lodge of Freemasons, founded in 1755, joined by theatre manager Thomas Bates in 1759, and commemorated by Cawdell in an Ode for the erection of a later Freemasons' Hall (for which the music Shield provided is lost).³⁰⁴ Cross-referencing lodge registers with Shield's subscribers demonstrates the networking opportunities Freemasonry offered. Sunderland had a second, Palatine or Sea Captain's Lodge, whose members included Shield's subscribers John Biss, a fitter, copperas manufacturer, supervisor

³⁰⁰ Finch, pp. 72-78.

³⁰¹ *NChr*, 20 December 1768; Cawdell, 'Appeal to the Muses, or Apollo's Decree', *Miscellaneous Poems*, 135-50 (p. 135).

³⁰² **FS285 John Thornhill Esq. Thornhill, nigh Sunderland:** SLH, 929.1 COR, XII, p. 243; *BND1781*, p. 300; Levine and Wrightson, pp. 46-47; Cunningham, p. xv; REP/A7, B4, B5, B7, pp. 9, 31, 34, 50, 54, 62-65, 110.

³⁰³ **FS100 Mr. Goodchild Organist Sunderland:** Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, p. 209.

³⁰⁴ Thomas Olman Todd, *The History of the Phoenix Lodge, No. 94, Sunderland* (Sunderland: Todd, 1906), pp. 21, 24, 59; REP/B5, B6, pp. 54, 56-58; Cawdell, *Miscellaneous Poems*, pp. 133-34.

of excise and River Wear Commissioner, comedian John Davis and dancing master Tristram Hogg.³⁰⁵

Other subscribing northern Freemasons included stonemason George Nicholson of Durham (possibly the father of London theatre musician George Nicholson), architect and mason Thomas Atkinson of York, and attorney Francis Wardale of Whitby.³⁰⁶ Shield also found supporters via national masonic networks; John Price, postmaster of Portsmouth, was initiated a Freemason there in 1774.³⁰⁷ Newcastle composer Philip Hodgson is cryptically listed in *Favourite Songs* as 'Philo-Musicae', possibly referring to a short-lived London lodge whose founding members included Avison's teacher, Geminiani.³⁰⁸ No records confirm Shield's membership of any lodge (though namesakes have caused confusion in some sources), but several masonic songs were posthumously attributed to 'Brother W. Shield', and during the 1780s to '90s Shield appeared in concerts at London's Freemasons' Hall, where his songs were often performed.³⁰⁹

The 'Eulogium on Masonry' in *Favourite Songs* (pp. 14-15) may be the 'new song on Masonry' introduced 'by desire' of local lodges and performed 'by Mr. Shields and the Brethren' at Sunderland Theatre in January 1773.³¹⁰ Its lack of orchestral cues and three-part chorus reflect the singing of masonic anthems and glees by lodge members to organ accompaniment, provided in Sunderland by Goodchild. Shield exploited the instrument's full chromatic capabilities, modulating to the supertonic

³⁰⁵ **FS35 Mr. John Biss Sunderland:** LMF, MGL-A, pp. 70-71, 73-74; BND1781, p. 297; SLH 623.8 COR, I, p. 189; 929.1 COR II, p. 131; REP, pp. 33, 86.

³⁰⁶ **FS193 Mr. G. Nicholson Durham, FS18 Mr. Tho. Atkinson York, FS298 Mr. Francis Wardale Attorney Whitby:** LMF, MGL-A, pp. 118, 221; BDA, XI, p. 23; BND1781, pp. 309, 312.

³⁰⁷ **FS202 Mr. Price Post-master Portsmouth:** LMF, MGL-A, p. 6.

³⁰⁸ **FS138 P. Hodgson Philo-Musicae:** Philip Hodgson, 'Love Sonnet', *The Lady's Magazine*, 5 (April 1774), between pp. 216-17; 'Address to Health', *The Lady's Magazine*, 5 (May 1774), between pp. 272-73; Fleming, 'Harmony and Brotherly Love', p. 69; Andrew Pink, 'A Music Club for Freemasons: Philo-Musicae et -Architecturae Societas Apollini, London, 1725-1727', *Early Music*, 38.4 (2010), 523-35.

³⁰⁹ Fleming, 'Harmony and Brotherly Love', pp. 77-78; LMF, MGL-A, pp. 70-71, 73, 175; William Spark (ed.), *The Freemason's Liber Musicus* (London: Kenning, 1883), pp. 40-45; *Morning Chronicle* 25 February 1786, *Morning Post* 12 December 1786, *Morning Herald* 25 April 1793, *The Oracle* 29 May 1794, 28 February 1795, compiled in McVeigh, 'Calendar'.

³¹⁰ *NChr*, 2 January 1773.

minor in the phrase describing the ‘powers mechanic’ of the Mason’s craft (Example 2.12), whose ‘divine’ origin is celebrated in the spirited chorus (Example 2.13).

On a sub-ject ex - ten - sive be - stow some at - ten - tion of Ma - sons let

all make re - spec - ted men - tion *for.*

All pow - ers mech - an - ic plum[b] le - vel and

square - de - mon - strates most plain - ly a free Ma - sons care

Example 2.12 ‘Eulogium on Masonry’, bars 24³ to 32² and 44³ to 56²

From Hea-ven des - cen-ded the no-ble de - sign its o-ri-gin glor-ious be - cause'tis di -
 From Hea-ven des - cen-ded the no-ble de - sign its o-ri-gin glor-ious be - cause'tis di -

6 7 6

vine _____ its o - ri - gin glor-ious
 vine its o - ri - gin glor-ious its o - ri - gin glor-ious its
 be - cause 'tis di - vine _____ 'tis di - vine _____ its o - ri - gin glor-ious

6 4 6 6 6 5 7 6 5
 3 4 4 3 4 3

its o - ri - gin glor-ious be - cause 'tis di - vine.
 o - ri - gin glor-ious its o - ri - gin glor-ious be - cause 'tis di - vine.
 its o - ri - gin glor-ious be - cause 'tis di - vine.

Example 2.13 'Eulogium on Masonry', bars 76³ to 96²

Sunderland being a maritime community, Shield's subscribers there also included shipwrights John Booth and Thomas Dixon, whose yard west of Panns ferry built 'beautiful frigates' fitted out as armed privateers; prominent Quaker shipowner Jacob Maude, owner of Sunnyside estate; excise officer and sailcloth manufacturer Samuel Dykes; and two naval officers from a landed coal-owning family, Captain (later Admiral) Mark Milbanke and future Lieutenant (later Captain) Ralph

Milbanke.³¹¹ Merchants, professionals and tradesmen also supported Shield: his own relative, iron manufacturer Thomas Longridge; William Ferguson or Farguison, Surgeon at Sunderland Dispensary; Robert Farimond, owner of a glassworks on Ayres Quay; Thomas Gregson, a landowner and coal fitter; cabinet-maker and upholsterer Thomas Martin; publican James Martin of the Golden Lion, whose daughter Sarah eloped with James Cawdell in 1782; and George Maling, of a family whose North Hylton pottery became world-famous in the following century.³¹² Lawyer George Ridsdale may have been related to the Darlington concert host, physician Adam Scot was a steward of Ebdon's Sunderland series, and surgeon Thomas Clarke wrote dialect songs.³¹³

Shield advertised his Whitby concert in the *Newcastle Chronicle* because its catchment area encompassed not only Tyneside but Northumberland, County Durham and northern and coastal areas of Yorkshire, where subscribers included rural farmers, clergymen and gentry as well as city-based merchants and manufacturers. One such gentleman was Ralph Jackson, originally of Richmond, North Yorkshire (from 1770 he lived at Normanby Old Hall, but some listed subscriber locations represent a family seat or business premises, rather than their residential address). Jackson left detailed journals rich with insights into the community life of Shield's subscribers,

³¹¹ **FS36 Mr. Booth Sunderland, FS79 Mr. T. Dixon Sunderland, FS80 Mr. Dykes Sunderland, FS173 Mr. Maude Sunderland, FS164 Capt. Mark Milbanke Chester, FS165 Ralph Milbanke Esq:** *BND1781*, pp. 297, 299. SLH, 623.8 COR, I, pp. 97, 189; 929.1 COR IV, p. 419, VIII, pp. 269, 495-99; REP/A3, B3, B4, C3, D2, pp. 10, 15, 17, 46, 50, 53, 78-79, 103, 105, 108, 113; Clarke, pp. 27-28; J. K. Laughton, rev. by Roger Morriss, 'Milbanke, Mark, (c. 1720-1805)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660-1815*, ed. by David Syrett and R. L. DiNardo (Aldershot: Scolar Press / Navy Records Society, 1994), p. 310.

³¹² **FS160 Mr. Longridge Sunderland, FS87 Mr. Farguison Surgeon Sunderland, FS88 Mr. Farimond Sunderland, FS98 Mr. Tho. Gregson Sunderland, FS174 Mr. J. Martin Sunderland, FS175 Mr. T. Martin Sunderland, FS171 George Maling Esq. High-Henden:** *BND1781*, pp. 297-98, 300. SLH, 929.1 COR, V, pp. 61, 129, 511-19, VIII, pp. 83, 159-72, 209; REP/A4, A5, B2, B5, C1, pp. 13, 17, 19-21, 26, 30, 42, 48. King, p. 22; GB-DRcro, EP/Su HT1/35, p. 221; Keith Gregson, 'Maling, Christopher Thompson (1824-1901)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

³¹³ **FS223 Mr. G. Ridsdale Attorney Sunderland, FS263 Mr. Scot M.D. Sunderland, FS62 Mr. Clarke Surgeon Sunderland:** GB-DRcro, EP SS.SH 1/35, p. 92/124; EP/SuHT 1/96, p. 146; SLH 929.1 COR, III, p. 239, X, pp. 187, 473; *NChr*, 15 October 1774.

their business dealings, family ties and social activities, and the role music and musicians played in their lives.³¹⁴

In the year William Shield was born, twelve-year-old Ralph Jackson was apprenticed to William Jefferson, a Newcastle coal merchant.³¹⁵ Jackson had daily dealings with men involved in every aspect of the coal trade, including multiple future Shield subscribers: Newcastle merchant Jonathan Sorsbie; Captain Moss of Sunderland; Scarborough shipowner Mr Fox; and from Whitby, Captain Henry Clarke, customs official Mr Monkman, and Captain John Campion, of a sea-faring family related to Jackson, who owned shares in several of their ships.³¹⁶ A plaque in St Hilda's Church, South Shields, commemorates a gallery built by 'Masters and Mariners of Whitby' in 1688, testifying to the longstanding business and family relationships connecting east coast ports.³¹⁷

After completing his apprenticeship, Jackson helped his uncle Ralph Ward administer a small estate at Guisborough and businesses including an alum works and sailcloth factory, until Ward died in 1759 making Jackson his heir.³¹⁸ From then on, his associates were fellow country squires including Shield's subscribers Christopher Hill of Blackwell near Darlington, William Sleigh of Stockton-on-Tees,

³¹⁴ **FS151 Mr Jackson Richmond:** RJD/E, 23 November and 8 December 1752, 1 January and 24 March 1753; RJD/H, 19 February 1762; RJD/N, 2 May 1770.

³¹⁵ Carter and Gibson, p. 203; Michael Duffy, 'Duckett [formerly Jackson], Sir George, first baronet (1725-1822)', *ODNB* (3 October 2013).

³¹⁶ **FS252 Mr. Sorsbie Newcastle:** *BND1781*, p. 253; William Whitehead, *Newcastle Directory for 1778* (Newcastle: Angus, 1778), p. 4; RJD/B, 4 November 1750; RJD/E, 8 March, 24 April 1756; RJD/H 16 January 1760. **FS176 Capt. Moss Sunderland:** SLH 929.1 COR, VII, p. 393, VIII, pp. 83, 495-99; RJD/A, 8 March 1750. **FS93 Mr. Fox Scarborough:** RJD/E, 27 February 1753. **FS55 Capt. H. Clarke Whitby:** RJD/G, 2 February 1758; RJD/Accounts, 16 January 1762; RJD/K, 8 April 1765; RJD/R, 7 October 1781. **FS169 Mr Monkman:** RJD/F, 21 April 1757; RJD/J, 25 March 1762; RJD/K, 21 June 1765; RJD/L, 8 May 1766. **FS56 Capt. John Campion Whitby** *BND1781*, p. 307. RJD/A, 17 November 1749, 31 January 1750; RJD/B, 23 January 1751; RJD/C, 4 and 12 March 1752; RJD/D, 26 and 29 September, 2 October 1752; RJD/E, 26 - 27 December 1752, 20 February - 3 March 1753, 29 May 1754, 29 July, 27 August 1756, 12 January 1757; RJD/G, 11 January, 27 February, 15 December 1758, 24 August, 3 October 1759; RJD/H, 25 February 1760; RJD/O, 10 May 1774; RJD/Accounts, 2 February 1760, 20 June 1765.

³¹⁷ I have seen this plaque, but not found it referenced anywhere; Clarke, p. 32.

³¹⁸ RJD/E, 8 March 1756; RJD/F, 3 November 1756, 26 May, 24 June 1757; RJD/H, 26 June, 22- 28 November 1759, 3 Mar 1760; *BND1781*, p. 199.

Thomas Scroop of Coatham in Cleveland, Thomas Swinburn of Coxhoe near Durham, and Henry Walker Yeoman of Whitby.³¹⁹ Their dinners and shooting parties often included rural clergymen, like Revds. William Addison (senior and junior), in 1775 rectors of West Rounton, Northallerton, and Dinsdale near Darlington.³²⁰ Revd Addison junior may have been the same William Addison (formerly of the Close, Newcastle) with whom apprentice Jackson had gone walking, dancing and swimming, attended 'Mr Avisons private Concert of Musick', supped in various pubs (including the Beehive, North Shields), and taken a boat to Swalwell to see 'some of Crowley's Manufactory' before drinking 'Tea at Mr Benja: Tates' (perhaps a relative of Shield's sole Swalwell subscriber, Thomas Tate).³²¹

A longstanding family friend of the Richmond Jacksons was Revd. Mr Blackburn, Archdeacon of Cleveland.³²² Two of his sons subscribed to Shield's songs: Francis, then a clergyman in Hutton Rudby, North Yorkshire; and William, who later became a physician and married Jackson's niece Hannah Wilson (to their families' unexplained dismay).³²³ Other local doctors mentioned by Jackson include potential matches to Shield's subscribers Michael Harrison, practising in Sunderland by 1775, William Walker of Stockton, and Mr Ward of Durham – perhaps one of Jackson's 'Cousin Wards' at West Auckland, related to his maternal uncle Joshua Ward, an

³¹⁹ **FS113 Christopher Hill Esq. Blackwell** SLH 929.1 COR, VI, pp. 341-42; RJD/P, 21 May, 27 July, 12 August, 29 September 1775, 5 July 1776. **FS236 William Sleigh Esq. Stockton** RJD/D, 25 August 1752; RJD/H, 14 April 1759; RJD/J, 26 February 1763; RJD/N, 7 November 1769. **FS237 Thomas Scroop Esq.** RJD/J, 17 September, 25 November 1762. **FS267 Thomas Swinburn Esq. Durham** RJD/O, 9 August 1772. **FS325 Henry Walker Yeoman Esq. Whitby** RJD/T, 18 December 1786.

³²⁰ **FS13 Rev. Mr. Addison:** RJD/O, 16 April 1772, 24 September 1773; RJD/P, 22 - 23 May, 15 August, 7 December 1775, 25 - 27 January, 27 - 28 July 1776, 7 August 1777; RJD/Q, 5 September 1778. *CCEd* 'Addison, William (1730 - 1784) Person ID: 111014'; 'Addison, William (1765 / 1772 / 1784 - 1812) Person ID: 125497 / 124424 / 114803'.

³²¹ RJD/E, 31 May, 10 and 29 June, 9 and 11 July 1756; RJD/F, 9 September, 6 December 1756. **FS282 Mr. Thomas Tate Swalwell.**

³²² B. W. Young, 'Blackburne, Francis (1705-1787)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); RJD/E, 24 March 1753; RJD/F, 22 March, 27 May 1757; RJD/O, 19 July 1771, 30 May 1772.

³²³ **FS23 Revd. Mr. Blackburn, jun.:** RJD/O, 2 June 1773, 22 June, 26 September 1774; RJD/P, 14 January, 25 August 1775, 15 June 1776; RJD/Q, 10 June 1779. **FS39 Mr. Blackburn, Stockton:** RJD/O, 31 May 1772; RJD/P, 29 September 1777; RJD/Q, 30 September 1778; RJD/R, 14 September 1781; RJD/T, 10 June 1785, 24 January 1787; RJD/U, 31 May 1788.

inventor of prescription medicines.³²⁴ Shield's Darlington subscribers included Jackson's cousin John Pease, merchant son of a Whitby shipbroker, and his nephews Haigh and Frank Robson; and Samuel Wilkinson, a surveyor Jackson frequently consulted on land improvement schemes, married to his cousin Bell Stephenson, landlady of the King's Head, where tickets for Darlington concerts were sold.³²⁵

As a farmer and landlord involved in property transactions, and a Justice of the Peace who sat on the bench for quarter sessions and on various committees, Jackson was acquainted with many lawyers. These included Shield's subscribers Christopher Chrishop of Darlington, Mr Lambert of Malton, Francis Wardale of Whitby, William Hoar and John Stapleton Raisbeck of Stockton. Through Raisbeck, Jackson was introduced to antiquarian William Hutchinson and attended lectures on 'natural philosophy'.³²⁶ Shield's friend, subscriber and collaborator Joseph Ritson, whose Stockton schoolmaster had been Revd. John Thompson (curate of Egglecliffe from 1774), and who had trained in the law under Raisbeck (a solicitor) and barrister Ralph Bradley (Hoar's partner), moved in similar intellectual circles. Ritson's letters

³²⁴ **FS133 Mr Harrison Surgeon:** *BND1781*, p. 297; RJD/H, 30 October 1761; RJD/J, 24 February 1763; RJD/K, 10 January 1764, 26 January, 16 May 1765; RJD/L, 12 October 1765, 3 March 1767. **FS294 Mr Walker Surgeon Stockton:** *BND1781*, p. 294; RJD/P, 11 January 1775. **FS314 Mr Ward Surgeon Durham:** T. A. B. Corley, 'Ward, Joshua (1684/5-1761)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); RJD/B, 15 December 1750; RJD/F, 16 May, 1 July 1757; RJD/H, 25 December 1760; RJD/J 23 February 1763; RJD/O, 25 November 1770.

³²⁵ **FS205 Mr. John Pease Darlington:** RJD/A, 17 October 1749, 15 June 1750; RJD/B, 21 December 1750; RJD/C, 27 January 1752; RJD/E, 15, 24, 28 December 1752; RJD/F, 12 January, 15 June 1757; RJD/G, 2 November, 19 December 1757, 4 and 25 January, 26 November 1758, 2 January 1759; RJD/H, 26 March 1760; RJD/Accounts, 25 June 1760, 2 August 1761, 6 February 1762, 5 February 1763; RJD/L, 20 October 1765, 21 July, 20 September 1766. **FS217 Mr. Haigh Robson Darlington:** RJD/P, 25 August 1775; **FS218 Mr. F. Robson Darlington:** RJD/N, 27 February, 14 October 1769. **FS293 Mr. Wilkinson Darlington:** RJD/J, 6 January, 12 July 1763; RJD/K, 9 September 1764, 2 Jun 1765; RJD/L, 7 August, 4 October 1765; RJD/Accounts, 4 October 1765; *NChr*, 6 April, 4 May, 1 June, 10 August 1765.

³²⁶ **FS50 Mr. Chrishop Attorney Darlington:** RJD/J, 5 March 1763. **FS163 Mr Lambert Attorney Malton:** *BND1781*, p. 247; RJD/K, 25 June 1764. **FS298 Mr. Wardale Attorney Whitby:** *BND1781*, p. 309, probably son of attorney in RJD/F, 12 January 1757; RJD/H, 19 April 1759; RJD/Accounts, 13 May 1761; RJD/N, 28 March 1769. **FS109 Wm. Hoar Esq. Stockton:** RJD/K, 15 February 1764; RJD/P, 27 September 1775; RJD/Q, 1 May 1779; RJD/S, 25 November 1783. **FS219 Mr. Raisbeck Stockton:** RJD/N, 10 April 1769; RJD/O, 19 January 1773, 22 January 1774; RJD/P, 30 January 1775; RJD/Q, 14 January 1778. Further references to lectures RJD/P 30 December 1774, 24 February 1775.

identify another Stockton subscriber to Shield's songs, amateur bassoonist Matthew Wadeson.³²⁷

Like Shield's subscription list, Jackson's diary contains relatively few noble names, but he evidently aspired to closer acquaintance with his social superiors and hoped to emulate their lifestyle. During Jackson's apprenticeship his master Jefferson attended meetings of the 'Grand Allies', a cartel of major coalowners including George Bowes of Gibside, but young Ralph dealt mainly with keelmen working from Bowes' coal staithes. He once joined a sightseeing party to Gibside, walked in the grounds and saw the Banqueting House and Column of Liberty under construction, but could not view inside the Hall as the family were in residence.³²⁸ At Elemore Hall near Durham in 1763 Jackson met 26-year-old Lord Strathmore, future first husband of Bowes' only child and heiress Mary Eleanor, a former pupil of Avison and subscriber to Shield's songs.³²⁹ Jackson enjoyed riding through the park at Raby Castle but only once called on Shield's subscriber Henry Vane, Lord Barnard, Earl of Darlington and Lord Lieutenant of County Durham; and though he noted the Hon. Frederick Vane's election to Parliament in 1761, met him only when holidaying at Hartlepool in 1780.³³⁰ He also made passing mention of Shield's subscriber John Tempest, MP for Durham City from 1768, but did not know him personally.³³¹

³²⁷ **FS216 Mr. Ritson Stockton:** Stephanie L. Barczewski, 'Ritson, Joseph (1752-1803)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004). **FS272 The Rev. Mr. Thompson:** CCEd 'Thompson, John (1766 - 1827) Person ID: 130781'; RJD/G, 1 November 1758; RJD/O, 10 December 1771; RJD/P, 4 November 1774, 27 September 1775. **FS296 Mr. Wadeson:** Ritson, *Letters*, I, pp. ii-iii, 20-21, 24, 37, 65-66.

³²⁸ RJD/C, 26 April 1752; RJD/E, 23 February, 21 April 1753, 5 May, 1 August 1756; Margaret Wills and Oliver Garnett, *Gibside* (Swindon: The National Trust, 1999), pp. 4-5, 7-10, 21-29.

³²⁹ RJD/J, 13 September 1763. **FS234 The Right Hon Countess of Strathmore:** Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Bowes, Mary Eleanor, countess of Strathmore and Kinghorne', *ONDB* (23 September 2004); Southey, 'Managing a musical career', in Southey and Cross (eds), p. 185; Moore, pp. 54-56; GB-DRcro, D/St/E5/5/40(14), EP/Whm2, p. 10, EP/Whm3, p. 160.

³³⁰ **FS21 Lord Barnard:** A. A. Hanham, 'Vane, Henry, second earl of Darlington (1726/7-1792)', *ODNB* (24 May 2008); Mary M. Drummond, 'VANE, Hon. Frederick (1732-1801), of Sellaby, co. Dur.' in Namier and Brooke (eds), *HOP*; RJD/H, March 1761 [no daily entries]; RJD/J, 17 July 1763; RJD/P, 12 September 1776; RJD/R, 18 and 20 August 1780.

³³¹ **FS271 John Tempest Esq. London:** R.S. Lea, 'TEMPEST, John (1710-76), of Sherburn, nr. Durham' *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. by R. Sedgwick

Jackson frequently walked or drove through the neighbouring estate of Ormesby, inspecting gardens and livestock or showing them to visitors (like Jane Austen's 'Mr Collins'). However, neither courtesy calls nor chance encounters with baronet Sir James Pennyman or his Lady, a subscriber to *Favourite Songs*, produced further invitations; Pennyman was then in the process of bankrupting his family through racing debts, which possibly limited their inclination for entertaining. Jackson rarely entered the Hall (only once managing to view the picture gallery) and usually dealt with Sir James' steward and gardener, who provided him with shrubs and saplings to imitate their landscaping and establish a timber plantation in his own grounds; where he also pursued his upper-class neighbour's interest in hunting and horse breeding.³³²

Carter and Gibson's discussion of Ralph Jackson's involvement in amateur music-making, another fashionable leisure pursuit, first led me to this source. During his apprenticeship, learning to read and play tunes on the transverse flute became a favourite solitary and social amusement, while his sisters and nieces learned to sing and play keyboard instruments. Jackson later attended domestic musical parties, often involving professionals like Ebdon and Noferi.³³³ Chris Roberts' thesis explores how another country squire and diarist, John Courtney of Beverley, pursued his quest for a suitable wife through dancing, attending music parties and presenting the objects of his romantic interest with gifts of sheet music.³³⁴ Perhaps those subscribers who married within five years of purchasing Shield's songs also

(1970), *HOP*; RJD/H, 25 November 1761; RJD/R, 8 November 1780; RJD/S, 22 November 1784.

³³² **FS198 Lady Pennyman:** John Brooke, 'PENNYMAN, Sir James, 6th Bt. (1736-1808), of Ormesby, Yorks.' in Namier and Brooke (eds), *HOP*; RJD/O, 16, 27 and 29 July, 1 October 1771; RJD/P, 8 December 1773, 3 March, 2 November 1775, 23 March, 2 June 1776, 22 February, 16 April 1777; RJD/Q, 24 May, 11 October, 26 November 1778, 11 Feb 1779; RJD/R, 7 October 1780, 22 -23 March, 12 May, 21 June, 30 July, 13 December 1781, 16 February 1782; RJD/S, 31 January, 22 February 1783, 27 July, 18, 23 Aug 1784; RJD/T, 22 January 1785, 22 March, 7 May 1786, 25 April 1787; RJD/U, 6 September 1788; GB-Lna PROB 11/1196; RJDweb 'Will of Ralph Jackson' transcr. by Cliff Thornton [p. 6 of pdf]; Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin, 1995), pp. 142, 146, 152.

³³³ Carter and Gibson, pp. 204-08; RJD/C, 21, 27 January, 4 February, 27 April 1752; RJD/D, 7 May, 16 - 17 June 1752; RJD/O, 25 March 1772; RJD/Q, 10 September 1778.

³³⁴ **FS47 John Courtney Esq. Beverly:** Roberts, pp. 86-135.

employed them to that end; in Sunderland alone, they included Booth, Farimond, Ferguson, Longridge, Moss and Thomas Martin.³³⁵ Although Jackson furthered his own courtship through horse-riding, he encouraged his wife to cultivate music as a hobby, engaging Garth (tutor to his nieces and Miss Pennyman) to teach her the harpsichord.³³⁶

Subscribers to *Favourite Songs* included women within Jackson's circle who may have been Shield's keyboard or singing pupils: Anne Allan, dedicatee of a Cawdell poem and wife of antiquarian lawyer George Allan, and her daughter; Fanny Hoar, sister of Stockton lawyer William; Mary, daughter of Joseph Passman, a land agent or surveyor of Crathorne near Yarm; a daughter or niece of John Elgie, later steward of Ormesby estate; John Champion's younger sister Margaret and future wife Elizabeth Holt; Ann Reynolds, daughter of another Whitby shipowner and fiancée of attorney Francis Wardale; and the Miss Yeomans, from a family of Whitby alum manufacturers.³³⁷ Other potential pupils were Frances Nesham, daughter of landowner and coal fitter John Nesham of Houghton-le-Spring; Dorothy Nicholson, daughter of an affluent Sunderland shipbuilder; Ann and Jane Slack, daughters of Newcastle printer Thomas; and the five Arden daughters of Pepper Hall near Richmond, who each subscribed for an individual copy of Shield's songs - a likely

³³⁵ SLH, 623.8 COR, I, p. 97; 929.1 COR, V, pp. 61, 129; VIII, pp. 83, 209, 497.

³³⁶ RJD/L, 18 January 1766; RJD/P, 30 July, 8 and 14 August, 11 September, 14 November 1776, 22 Aug 1777.

³³⁷ **FS1 Miss Allen Grange, near Darlington, FS10 Mrs G. Allan Darlington:** Cawdell, 'Jephthah's Vow, A Paraphrase On the XI. Chapter of Judges', *Miscellaneous Poems*, 10-19; C. M. Fraser, 'Allan, George (1736-1800)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); RJD/R, 23 August 1781. **FS110 Miss Hoar Stockton:** RJD/O, 10 August 1771; RJD/P, 9 January 1777; RJD/R, 13 October 1781. **FS204 Miss Passman Crathorne:** RJD/K, 14 April, 31 October 1764; RJD/O, 23 June 1772, 3 July, 18 August 1774; RJD/P, 11 May 1776; RJD/S, 7 September 1782, 11 May, 13 September 1784. **FS83 Miss Elgie Cleveland-Port:** RJD/Accounts 22 July 1761, 21 October 1762, 27 October 1766; RJD/L, 22 April 1766; RJD/N, 18 January 1770; B RJD/O, 17 November 1771, 1 July 1774; RJD/P, 2 November 1775. **FS57 Miss Champion Whitby:** NYCro, PR/WH 1/7, p. 32. **FS141 Miss Holt Whitby:** NYCro, PR/WH 1/25, p. 49, No. 1902; *BND1781*, pp. 199, 308; RJD/B, 10 October 1750; RJD/H, 25 August 1759. **FS225 Miss Reynolds Whitby:** NYCro, PR/WH 1/24, p. 194, No. 1311. **FS326 Miss Yeoman, FS327 Miss Yeoman Backstergate, Whitby:** *BND1781*, p. 309; RJD/F, 18 March 1757; RJD/U, 17 September 1788.

gesture of support for the family music master.³³⁸ The Allans, Ardens, Neshams, Slacks and Yeomans all admired Cunningham's poetry, which perhaps facilitated Shield's introduction to these cultured households.³³⁹

Nevertheless, a relatively low proportion (14%) of subscribers to Shield's songs were female, perhaps because like his successor 'Mr. Kell, Musician at the Theatre' in Whitby, Shield offered 'Teaching on the Violin, Violoncello, Viola &c'; instruments generally considered unsuitable for ladies (though female professional violinists did exist, like Tartini's pupil Maddalena Sirmen, and Mme Gautherot, Covent Garden guest soloist in 1789).³⁴⁰ A rough analysis of known or estimated birth dates of Shield's subscribers indicates that the youngest was about eight years old, the eldest sixty-six, and the mean age in 1775 just over thirty; many were young men establishing themselves in business and domestic life, some of whom perhaps also paid Shield to teach them stringed instruments. Although he advertised his second opus of published violin duets as 'Compos'd in an easy stile for the use of Scholars', suggesting pupils found his Op. 1 too technically challenging, both sets use imitation and parallel motion as pedagogical devices, allowing a teacher to demonstrate technique and expression for a student to copy.³⁴¹

The style and format of Shield's *Favourite Songs* reveal not only the skills of his colleagues, but the musical and literary tastes and aptitudes of his audiences.

³³⁸ **FS187 John Nesham Esq Houghton, FS189 Miss Nesham:** SLH, 929.1 COR, IX, p. 75; REP/B6, pp. 58, 91; GB-DRcro, EP/Ho/5, p. 48; RJD/H, 16 May 1760. **FS194 Miss Nicholson Sunderland:** BND1781, p. 299; SLH, 623.8 COR, II, p. 39; 929.1 COR, IX, p. 123; REP/A4, A5, C2, C4, C5, pp. 20-23, 51, 74, 76, 83, 85. **FS269 Miss Ann Slack, FS270 Miss Jane Slack:** Peter Isaac, 'Slack, Thomas [pseud. S. Thomas] (bap. 1723, d. 1784)', *ODNB* (4 October 2012). **FS2-9 John Arden Esq. Pepper-Hall, John Arden junior, Rev. Mr. Arden, Miss Arden, Miss Margaret Arden, Miss Annamaria Arden, Miss Frances Arden, Miss Ria Arden:** David Lemmings, 'Arden, Richard Pepper, first Baron Alvanley (1744-1804)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

³³⁹ Cunningham, pp. v, xii, xiv, xvi.

³⁴⁰ Fleming, 'The Gender of Subscribers to Eighteenth-Century Music Publications', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 50.1 (2019), 94-152, (pp. 103-06); WML Playbills, 22 December 1783; Southey and Cross (eds.), p. 24; Elsie Arnold, 'Sirmen [Syrmen; née Lombardini], Maddalena [Madelena] Laura', *GMO* (20 September 2001); LS5, II, pp. 1093, 1187.

³⁴¹ *Six Duettos, five for two Violins and one for two German Flutes*, op. 1 (London: Napier, [1777]); *Six Duettos for Two Violins*, op. 2 (London: Napier, [1780]).

Alongside keyboard reductions of the original orchestral accompaniments, Shield provided arrangements for other popular domestic instruments, the guitar and flute. Flowing, elegant melodies with subtle emotional touches are simple in the Romantic sense (implying naturalness and purity) rather than simplistic, yet accessible to amateur singers, with a typical soprano or tenor range of an octave and a half. (Contemporary pitch standards, though beginning to rise in London orchestras by 1775, were slightly lower than A=440Hz; but most songs do not exceed a'' or g'').³⁴² Both music and texts are sentimental rather than profound, but attractive, well-structured and calculated to appeal to the educated, active class to which subscribers belonged. Lyrics draw on romantic tropes from classical mythology and the fashionable Scottish pastoral idiom, or celebrate male conviviality and country pursuits. 'The Sportsman's Rhapsody' and 'A New Hunting Song', featuring fanfares on pairs of French horns (**Example 2.14**), may have been sung by Jeffrys at annual Newcastle theatre performances 'by desire of the Gentlemen of the Forest Hunt'.³⁴³



Example 2.14 'The Sportsman's Rhapsody', bars 8³ to 16²

Jackson's diaries illustrate the lifestyle of typical subscribers, the 'middling' gentry, shedding light not only on Shield's professional role in their lives, but on what they had in common, and how Shield might have developed friendships with people who would otherwise be considered beyond his social reach. Jackson was a well-connected man of property, but his lifestyle combined work and leisure; he was

³⁴² Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), pp. 289-91, 318-20, 336-38, 378, 410-11.

³⁴³ *Favourite Songs*, pp. 10-13; *NC*, 16 March 1771, 7 March 1772, 20 March 1773, 12 March 1774, 9 March 1776, 22 March 1777, 28 March 1778.

literate but not university-educated and, like Shield, learned his business on the job. He indulged in exercise and pastimes, but also devoted significant energy to business and to resolving local issues on behalf of neighbours. His library was extensive, but contained more practical treatises - on gardening, angling, animal husbandry, accountancy, case law, applied Christian theology, politics, travel and navigation - than works of literature (though he too read Pope's *Iliad*).³⁴⁴ His diary describes hands-on involvement in caring for livestock and overseeing alterations to his properties, demonstrates respect for contractors with specialist skills like horse-breakers and stonemasons, and records occasions when he socialised with tenants and labourers.³⁴⁵

Another notable, shared characteristic of Shield's subscribers is the high degree of mobility and interconnection that facilitated their interactions. The same individuals and families were often linked to several addresses and involved in activities and organisations across various localities. Many were neighbours, who intermarried or entered into trading partnerships and property transactions. Jackson's diaries describe journeys on foot, on horseback, by carriage or boat (often between multiple locations in one day), undertaken by men and women of varying occupation and status, to work in agriculture or industry, transact financial or legal business, access or provide education or healthcare, enjoy social visits, entertainment or sport, and support neighbours in difficulty. This truly dynamic cultural backdrop to William Shield's professional development is also reflected in the titles of traditional and popular tunes in a contemporaneous local manuscript, suggesting a comparable geographical and social context for their collection.

In youth, Ralph Jackson enjoyed hearing traditional tunes played by a local itinerant blind fiddler.³⁴⁶ William Vickers, a Newcastle 'officer of Excise' and amateur musician, went much further; Seattle describes 581 fiddle tunes Vickers collected and

³⁴⁴ RJDweb, 'Library' listed in 'Inventory', [pp. 21-42 of pdf].

³⁴⁵ RJD/H, 20 Oct 1761; RJD/L, 14 - 21 September 1765; RJD/N, 21, 23 September, 21 November 1769; RJD/Q, 19 September, 26 December 1778, 11 April, 23 July 1779; RJD/T, 7 May 1786; RJD/U, 10 May 1789.

³⁴⁶ RJD/E, 26 December 1752; RJD/G, 5 June 1758.

transcribed c. 1770 to '72 as 'the fruits of a determined effort to collect music'.³⁴⁷ Tune versions in his manuscript often vary from those in other collections, and include notational errors and idiosyncrasies, indicating he transcribed tunes from live performance or from memory, rather than copying printed sources. The satirical rhyme prefacing his tunebook implies the extemporization and circulation of melodies is best facilitated by alcohol, suggesting Vickers did his collecting at tavern gatherings, like those recorded by Jackson and engraver Thomas Bewick (another Newcastle apprentice):³⁴⁸

Musicks a Crotchet the Sober thinks it Vain
The Fiddles a Wooding Projection
Tunes are But Flights of a Whimsical Brain
Which the Bottle Brings Best to Perfection.
Musicians are half witted mery and madd
And Those are the same that admire Them
Theyr Fools if they Pley unless their Well Paid,
And the Others are Blockheads to Hire them.³⁴⁹

In metre, language and innuendo this rhyme recalls the bawdy catches that circulated via convivial male music clubs in London, Canterbury and elsewhere, whose music often underlines the verbal satire in witty ways; but unfortunately no score survives.³⁵⁰ The text was published untitled and unattributed in a 1782 literary anthology, suggesting it achieved widespread popularity.³⁵¹ The cynical conclusion, reflecting the conundrum embodied by all commercial music-making, implies experience of professional players - perhaps the author was a theatrical poet like Cunningham or Cawdell.

Seattle highlights a significant number of demonstrably local tunes as evidence that Vickers did his collecting in north-east England. Many are either 'completely

³⁴⁷ GB-AS [GB-NTsa] SANT/GEN/Mus/1/2, William Vickers MS [FARNE] [henceforth Vickers MS]; Seattle (Vickers), pp. 7-9.

³⁴⁸ Bewick, ed. Bain, p. 115.

³⁴⁹ Seattle (Vickers), p. 7.

³⁵⁰ Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 1-2, 11-16; Chris Price, 'As Thomas was cudgell'd one day by his wife' and other stories: *Music from the Canterbury Catch Club* (Canterbury: Canterbury Christ Church University, 2015).

³⁵¹ John Moxon (ed.), *The most Agreeable Companion; or, a Choice Collection of Detached and Most Approved Pieces, Serious, Moral, Humorous and Diverting, in Prose and Verse*, 2 vols (Leeds: Griffith Wright, 1782), I, p. 64.

unknown elsewhere', or unique variants of common tunes. Titles referencing Northumberland and Tynedale include 'The Scots Come Over the Border', 'Berwick Billy', 'Hexham Lasses', and 'Wile him away [Wylam Away] gingling Gordy'. Others recall locations and occupations linked with Shield's childhood environment, like 'The Shealds Hornpipe', 'Moor The Keel Canny Laddy', 'The Fair Maid Of Whikham' and 'Newburn Lads'. County Durham tunes show a concentration around Wearside: 'Sunderland Pier', 'Sunderland Lasses' and 'Wearmouth Lads'. Others refer to Yorkshire locations where Shield performed and found subscribers, such as 'Trip to Scarbray', 'Whitby Pier', 'A Trip To Leeds' and 'Merry Wakefield'.³⁵²

The area covered by these north-eastern tune names corresponds with the likely extent of Vickers' professional jurisdiction. A more famous exciseman and song collector, Robert Burns, recorded riding thirty to forty miles a day between markets, ports, farms and factories; if this was typical, Morpeth, Hexham, Durham and Sunderland all lay within Vickers' daily orbit.³⁵³ If he stayed away overnight he could have reached Alnwick, where Shield's subscribers included postmaster and Northumbrian piper Joseph Turnbull and farmer George Selby of Foxton Hall, or Ralph Jackson's neighbourhood of Teesside and North Yorkshire.³⁵⁴ The majority of duties excisemen collected were levied on locally-produced goods including beer, salt, paper, glass and textiles, but also on imported spirits, tea and drugs, so Vickers' work brought him into contact with customs officers, shipmasters, manufacturers, merchants and physicians; all well-represented among Shield's subscribers and Jackson's associates.³⁵⁵

Touring theatre companies and concert promoters constructed their schedules to coincide with crowd-pulling occasions in towns on their route, such as race

³⁵² GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 2, 7, 17, 26, 28, 44-45, 68-69, 87, 116, 128, 162.

³⁵³ Graham Smith, *Something to Declare: 1000 Years of Customs and Excise* (London: Harrap, 1980), p. 70; Thomas Paine, *The Case of the Officers of Excise* [Lewes: c. 1772], p. 6.

³⁵⁴ **FS 283 Mr. Joseph Turnbull jun. Alnwick:** Richard Butler, 'The Ducal Pipers of Alnwick Castle', <<https://www.northumbrianpipes.com/ducalpipers>> (2013); R. A. S. Cowper, 'The Ducal pipers at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland', *Archaeologica Aeliana*, 4th ser., 41 (1963), 195-204 (p. 196, Plate VIII/1). **FS 268 Mr. G. Selby Foxton-Hall:** *London Gazette* No. 11827, 29 November 1777.

³⁵⁵ G. Smith, *Something to Declare*, p. 13.

meetings, fairs (called ‘hoppings’) and quarterly assizes, when justices like Jackson heard criminal cases and civil disputes, including smuggling or fraud trials where excise officers like Vickers might be called as witnesses.³⁵⁶ Jackson’s diaries mention race meetings, livestock and textile fairs all over Northumberland, Durham, Cleveland and North Yorkshire, while Vickers’ tune names include ‘Stannerton Hopping’, ‘Leazes Hopping’, ‘Lord Strathmore’s Reel’ (the Earl bespoke theatre performances as steward of Newcastle Races in 1773 to ‘74), and ‘Scampston Cade’; a famous racehorse of a local strain from which Jackson also sought to breed, owned by Shield’s subscriber, Yorkshire baronet Sir William St Quintin.³⁵⁷

During his apprenticeship Jackson occasionally accompanied friends to Newcastle concerts, where he encountered dignitaries like ‘Sir Ra: Milbank & his Lady’, or to the theatre where he saw plays and farces by Congreve, Fielding, Shakespeare, Steele and Cibber; he also enjoyed entertainments by puppeteers, street musicians, tavern conjurors, rope dancers and tumblers.³⁵⁸ During the 1770s, Jackson’s increasing social status and civic involvement also led to greater cultural engagement. Entries recording his presence at York County Assizes follow a pattern:

attended some Tryals at the Court of Assizes, [...] went to the play in the evening, supt after at the York Tavern.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ King, p. 18; Southey (thesis), I, p. 130; RJD/N, 29 December 1769; RJD/P, 29 July 1776; RJD/T, Tues 28 Jun 1785.

³⁵⁷ GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 26, 37, 155, 161. RJD/A, 18 June 1750; RJD/B, 2, 19 and 21 July, 28 September 1750; RJD/C, 1 May, 18 July 1751, 30 March, 15 April 1752; RJD/D, 22 – 23 June, 17 July, 5 October 1752; RJD/E, 25 – 27, 29 June, 27 July 1753, 16, 21 – 23 June 1756; RJD/F, 12 February, 11 April, 30 May, 4 June, 2 August, 8 September, 19 October 1757; RJD/G, 9 Mar, 14 and 17 April, 1 May 1758; RJD/H, 27 July 1759, 20 October 1761; RJD/L, 24 August, 5 September 1765, 27 May 1766; RJD/Accounts, 20 April, 17 November 1761, 21 November 1764. *NChr*, 26 June 1773, 25 June 1774; *NC*, 1 March 1777. **FS213 Sir William St. Quintin:** Timothy Venning, ‘St Quintin, Sir William, third baronet’ *ONDB*, 23 September 2004; R. S. Lea, ‘ST. QUINTIN, William (?1699-1770), of Harpham, Yorks’ in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. by Sedgwick, *HOP*; ‘History of Scampston Hall’, <<https://www.scampston.co.uk/at-scampston-north-yorkshire/scampston-hall/history>> (Scampston Estate, 2020); ‘Scampston Cade’, Pedigree Online All Breed Database, <<https://www.allbreedpedigree.com/scampston+cade>> (2023).

³⁵⁸ RJD/A, 22 June 1750; RJD/C, 5 June, 8 October 1751; RJD/D, 19 and 24 June, 23 and 27 July 1752; RJD/E, 1 – 2 December 1752, 10 June 1756; RJD/F, 7 October, 2 December 1756. *LSInd*, pp. 186, 301, 931, 772, 810, 154.

³⁵⁹ RJD/O, 12 – 14 March 1771, 3 August 1772.

In 1771 the play was Joseph Addison's *Cato*, with interpolated comic character songs, and after a political meeting in 1780 Jackson saw Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*.³⁶⁰ While visiting family in London, he saw *Orfeo* (with music by Gluck, J. C. Bach and Guglielmi) at 'the [Italian] Opera in the [Hay]Market', where Shield played in the orchestra; escorted his nieces to Ranelagh; and saw *As You Like It*, *The West Indian* and *The Beggar's Opera* at Drury Lane.³⁶¹ Vickers' collection includes 'Nancy Dawson', the theatre dance Cunningham urged Shield to play at North Shields, and other tune titles reference popular musical plays recently staged in Durham and Newcastle such as *Love in a Village*, *The School for Lovers*, *Tom Jones*, *Thomas and Sally*, *The Padlock* and *The West Indian*.³⁶² Only one such tune ('Thomas and Sally') can be traced back to the original production, suggesting northern theatre musicians often composed additional or alternative dances when adapting London stage works for local audiences.³⁶³

In 1773 Jackson attended a dinner and ball at Stockton, and in 1779 hosted a similar entertainment himself (as a forfeit, having lost a bet with the local customs collector).³⁶⁴ Many of the secular concerts Shield performed in, including his Whitby benefit, were held in multi-purpose venues and followed by an assembly or ball, with musicians staying on to play for the dancing.³⁶⁵ His subscribers included Bartholomew Johnson of Scarborough assembly rooms orchestra, whose one hundredth birthday he travelled north to celebrate in 1810 and whose tiny cello survives in the Rotunda Museum; as well as dancing masters John Southern of

³⁶⁰ RJD/Q, 28 March 1780; GB-Y SCC Playbills, III, 12 - 14 March 1771.

³⁶¹ RJD/O, 6 - 16 May 1771, 18 March 1773; George Winchester Stone Jr., *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part IV*, 3 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962) III, pp. 1545-47, 1549, 1703.

³⁶² GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 5, 7, 21, 32, 74, 122, 132. NC, 14 July 1764, 1 June 1765, 15 March 1766, 25 July 1767, 5 March, 21 May, 3 June 1768, 25 February, 4 March, 1 April, 29 July 1769, 19 January 1771, 15 February, 7 March 1772; *NChr* 1 February 1766, 18 July 1767, 30 July 1768; GB-Y, SCC Playbills, I, 25 June 1766, 3 June, 20 July 1767; II, 17 July 1769; BOX SCC 1768-69, 6 June, 25 July, 1 August 1768.

³⁶³ GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 32; Arne, 'Country Dance' in *Thomas and Sally* (London: Walsh, [1765]), p. 49.

³⁶⁴ RJD/C, 17 December 1751; RJD/G, 30 March 1758; RJD/L, 3 September 1765; RJD/O, 29 October 1773; RJD/Q, 26 May 1778, 23 September 1779.

³⁶⁵ *NChr*, 30 December 1775; NC, 3 May 1766, 21 November 1772, 7 August 1773, 19 June 1776; REP/B6, pp. 58, 60-61.

Beverley, who also led the orchestra for Wilkinson’s Hull Shakespeare Gala in 1770, and Tristram Hogg of North Shields, in whose 1773 Newcastle performance of exhibition dances, orchestral music and violin concertos Shield might possibly have played.³⁶⁶

The contents list of Vickers’ tunebook is headed ‘Country Dances’, with titles including ‘Beverly Assembly’, ‘Ritchmond Ball’ and ‘The Long Room At Scarbray’; so it may contain repertoire Shield played, and Jackson’s circle danced to, at local assemblies. Vickers even transcribed a ‘Country Dance – By Shields’ (**Example 2.15**); the only instance where he recorded a composer’s name, implying he knew Shield, at least by reputation, as a local dance composer.³⁶⁷ Another subscriber and close contemporary, John Galley of Heworth (later resident in Newcastle and Shields), published tunes with dance instructions in imitation of traditional Northumbrian jigs and hornpipes, Scottish reels, continental dances and marches.³⁶⁸



Example 2.15 ‘Country Dance by Shields’

³⁶⁶ **FS150 Mr. B. Johnson Scarborough:** Parke, II, p. 99; ‘Rotunda Museum’, <<https://scarboroughmuseumsandgalleries.org.uk/visit/rotunda-museum/>> (Scarborough Museums & Galleries, 2023); **FS123 Mr. Hogg Dancing-master:** Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, p. 212. **FS258 Mr. Southern Dancing-master Hull and Beverly:** Roberts, pp. 115, 123-24, 127, 130, 134; GB-Y SCC Playbills, III, 29 October 1770; NC, 19 June 1773.

³⁶⁷ GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 5, 6, 94, 159.

³⁶⁸ **FS108 Mr. John Gally Westoe:** Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, p. 208; GB-DRcro EP/Hew 1, p. 81; TWA EP 86/5; GB-Dru, SF.52(cc) Galley, *A Favourite Collection of Dances for the Violin or Pianoforte* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Wright, [1804]).

The ‘Country Dance’ Vickers attributed to Shield is not found in any of his published works, but its format and style match others known or thought to have been composed by him, whose construction and reception support the attribution, and suggest some of his youthful compositions were sufficiently popular and memorable to remain in local traditional repertoire. A song in *Fontainbleau* (**Example 2.16**) uses similar phrase lengths, chord progressions and rhythms corresponding to the vigorous rant step in Northumbrian social dancing, with an emphatic cadential gesture characteristic of the English common time hornpipe (i.e. a leap followed by repeated notes, most famously occurring in the tune often known as ‘The Sailors’ Hornpipe’).³⁶⁹



Example 2.16 *Fontainbleau* ‘Indeed I’ll do the best I can’, melody bars 8⁴ to 24³

A well-known traditional tune with similar features, ‘Morpeth Rant’, is annotated in one manuscript, ‘Probably composed by Shield’.³⁷⁰ The version transcribed here (**Example 2.17**) is the earliest, has the most coherent harmonic shape (a consistent characteristic of Shield’s writing), and uses an appropriate key for his instrument, the fiddle.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ *Fontainbleau*, pp. 16-17; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 129; Seattle (Vickers), pp. 106, 194-95.

³⁷⁰ GB-AS [GB-NTsa], SANT/BEQ/13/3/5, C. J. Surtees MS, p. 44, SANT/BEQ/13/3/2, William Thomas Green MS, p. 41 [FARNE].

³⁷¹ GB-AS [GB-NTsa] SANT/GEN/MUS/1/9, John Bell MS [c. 1812] ‘Collection of the local tunes as played in Northumberland’, p. 24 [FARNE] [henceforth Bell MS].



Example 2.17 John Bell MS, 'Morpeth Rant'

The musical content of *Favourite Songs* reflects the musical heritage, opportunities and interests of Shield and his audiences, while the activities of Vickers, Jackson and other identifiable subscribers demonstrate how a range of consumers engaged in different ways with the various forms of entertainment provided in their communities by musicians like Shield. Mapping the geographical and social reach of the subscribers' list, diaries and tunebook has shown how Shield's career was launched, then developed and flourished among this constellation of north-eastern cathedral cities, market towns, industrial hubs and seaports, each supporting significant cultural activity involving both resident and touring professional musicians (albeit often on a seasonal basis), and serving both resident and peripatetic populations.

Chapter 3 Living (and Learning) on the Edge

Echoes of Border history³⁷²

Shield's national air arrangements demonstrate more than simply the skill and nous of a musical craftsman adept at remembering, transcribing and reshaping traditional melodies into relatable, memorable (and therefore commercially viable) theatre songs. They have the potential to reveal his own sense of identity, in cultural and political as well as musical terms, and his contribution to contemporary cultural conversation around national identities. In particular, his treatment of tunes from his home region illustrates how his early environment and experiences shaped his relationship with definitions of national music.

In *Rudiments* Shield labelled airs from Tyneside and Northumberland 'Border Tunes', associating them with a regional musical tradition whose name and nature had been forged by political history and geography. His introduction to this section is worth quoting in full and examining in detail:

During my Infancy, I was taught to play and sing the following Airs, which were then called Border Tunes, and as many Subscribers Honour their native Counties Durham, Westmorland, and Northumberland; for their gratification and to augment the Collectors' stock of printed rarities, these hitherto neglected Flights of Fancy may prove conspicuous figures in the groupe of national Melodies.³⁷³

Shield emphasized his own lifelong personal connection with these tunes, clearly locating his first experience of them on 1750s Tyneside. He expected readers from Northumberland, Durham and Westmorland to recognise and appreciate them, implying they were well-known across northern England and perhaps originated on the English side of the national border; though despite his reference to subscribers, no subscription list survives to confirm the geographical reach of this treatise.

Shield's insistence that these airs were as worthy of preservation and promotion to a wider audience as those from the Celtic nations of Britain, so avidly collected and published during his lifetime, suggests he felt his own regional heritage had been

³⁷² Much of this material was first delivered in the form of a public lecture-recital and discussion at Headingley Festival of Ideas 2019 on the theme of 'Borders', and an unpublished paper at the Edinburgh 2019 ISECS Congress on 'Enlightenment Identities'.

³⁷³ *Rudiments*, p. 35.

overlooked in the rush to define national musical characters and amass representative 'cultural capital'.³⁷⁴ We should note both his actual words, and those he might be expected to use, but does not. In introducing one air, he wrote:

This affecting little song would have enhanced the value of the most voluminous collection of National favourites; Therefore its first appearance in print here, is a strong proof that it did not originate either in Scotland, Ireland or Wales.³⁷⁵

While insisting it did not belong to the Scottish, Irish or Welsh (implying they would otherwise have been moved to claim it by musical feeling and national pride), Shield stopped short of labelling this tune 'English'. One might argue its Englishness is given, by default, since England is the only nation of Britain not named in Shield's list; but in declining to attach that national label and adopting the 'Border' classification instead, Shield tacitly acknowledged that a long history of cultural difference and independence, even resistance, characterised northern regions of England. This implies a deep-rooted awareness that his local music played a historical and ongoing role in perceptions and negotiations of identity.

A wide range of literature explores how the concept of the Anglo-Scottish Border has evolved and been understood historically, by people both close to and remote from it. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a 'border' in geopolitical terms as both 'the district lying along the edge of a country or territory' and 'the boundary line which separates one country from another'; the capitalized form emphasizes the historical significance of the 'English and Scottish borderland'.³⁷⁶ This definition contains an inherent contradiction, articulated by Warren:

Paradox inhabits all boundary concepts because the line of the limit seeks to institute an absolute difference at the place of most intimate contact between the two spaces.³⁷⁷

Bruce and Terrell describe Scotland as 'England's nearest and arguably most contentious other', characterising the Border region as:

³⁷⁴ Gelbart, pp. 12, 24, 30, 91, 227-28.

³⁷⁵ *Rudiments*, p. 37.

³⁷⁶ "border, n." *OED Online*, <<https://www.oed.com/>> (Oxford University Press, September 2022).

³⁷⁷ Michelle Warren, *Writing on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100-1300* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 2; quoted in Bruce and Terrell, 'Introduction: Writing Across the Borders', in Bruce and Terrell (eds), 1-14 (p. 5).

a space of contact and exchange [...] both a distinctive geopolitical entity and a symbolic zone in which identities are compared, configured, contested, and reconfigured [...] a crucial third term in the articulation of English and Scottish national consciousness and cultural identity.³⁷⁸

Despite being, as Robb acknowledges, 'probably the oldest national land boundary in Europe', throughout most of its history the Anglo-Scottish Border has not been a closed, militarised barrier or even a fixed line, but a notional, permeable construct. Its location ebbed and flowed over an inspiring yet inhospitable landscape, as Scottish and English monarchs alternately seized political and military dominance over an extensive, mutable region including much of what is now northern England.³⁷⁹ As late as 1769, a Northumberland county map designated an area near Carter Bar (summit of the central route from Newcastle to Edinburgh via Kielder Pass and Jedburgh, now the A68) 'Disputed Grounds'. The cartographer also provided a pictorial representation of Britain's most ancient Border fortification, Hadrian's Wall, on the northern slopes of the Tyne Valley opposite Shield's home; reflecting how frequently farming and building works uncovered Roman remains, at a time when more substantial sections of the Wall remained standing than those visible today, alongside Newcastle's West Road and the A69.³⁸⁰ Their presence surely fostered a sense of living in frontier territory, where historical boundaries and jurisdictions retained their cultural resonance even though politically and militarily obsolete.

Similarly, when Shield (contrary to present-day usage) named not only Northumberland but Durham and Westmorland as Border counties, he demonstrated a historical understanding of the region derived from the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, whose territory once stretched from the River Tweed to the Tees. After the Norman conquest of England in 1066 this became a buffer state ruled by the Earls of Northumberland and Bishops of Durham who, though nominally subject to royal authority, retained considerable political and

³⁷⁸ Bruce and Terrell, pp. 2-3, 5.

³⁷⁹ Robb, p. 24; W. M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in Appleby and Dalton (eds.), 27-39 (pp. 27-28).

³⁸⁰ TWA, GU.TH262; Sykes, pp. 230-31.

economic independence, reflected in those counties' omission from the Domesday survey of 1086.³⁸¹ Seven centuries later, both Joseph Ritson and Ralph Jackson still referred to County Durham as 'the Bishoprick', and Jackson's descriptions of journeys into or through it carry clear connotations of border-crossing.³⁸²

Many sources reflect a perception that the Borderlands and their people belonged neither to Scotland nor England, but possessed their own distinct identity. This independence was often reinforced by the neglect and prejudice of national rulers. Young notes that, because Norman kings taxed the North heavily yet withheld funding for defence against the Scots, northern feudal lords gave their fealty to whichever monarch (Scottish or English) would best serve their local interests.³⁸³ In the medieval and Tudor periods, Border identities revolved around patriarchal clans under a score of 'family names', concentrated in lands near to or straddling the national boundary:

These were Borderers before they were either Scots or English; their allegiance was first to the family, the Surname, not to the Crown.³⁸⁴

Aird has assessed as minimal the Anglo-Norman border's impact on the linguistic, familial and territorial structures of people living either side of it, whose shared culture remained 'resilient' against official attempts to impose separate systems; these communities 'had more in common with each other than with their nominal political overlords, whose influence was remote'.³⁸⁵ In times of conflict Borderers might adopt either national identity, circumventing military orders to ensure the survival of relatives and allies in the opposing army, or to pursue family feuds under cover of enemy action. When the 'foreigners from Edinburgh and London' inevitably departed, locals resumed illegal trading, hunting and socialising at horse

³⁸¹ W. M. Aird, pp. 27, 29; MacDonald Fraser, pp. 16, 33-34.

³⁸² Ritson, *The Bishopric Garland or Durham Minstrel in Northern Garlands* (London: Triphook, 1810); RJD/G, 11 November 1757, 1 January 1758; RJD/H, 20 Nov 1761; RJD/J, 12 October 1763; RJD/K, 4 April 1764, 28 June 1765; RJD/L, 13 Mar 1766.

³⁸³ Alan Young, 'The North and Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Thirteenth Century', in Appleby and Dalton (eds), 77-89 (pp. 80-86).

³⁸⁴ Reed, p. 10.

³⁸⁵ W. M. Aird, pp. 29-31.

races and football matches, while cross-border marriages remained common despite being officially punishable by death.³⁸⁶

For centuries the Border region was divided on either side into three zones or 'marches'. The 'middle march' on the English side extended southwards to Weardale, eastwards to the North Sea coast and northwards to Alnwick, covering much of the area with which Shield identified his 'Border Tunes'.³⁸⁷ Each zone was overseen by a warden or 'marcher Lord', whose role of maintaining order was rendered challenging, if not impossible, by the hostility of Borderers towards outside control, and the failure of distant bureaucrats to reconcile national policy with local prosperity.³⁸⁸ Economic and social vulnerabilities, arising from resistance to and remoteness from central government, extended far beyond the national dividing line. In their heyday the notorious Border reivers plundered farmsteads as far south as Ripon and Skipton in North Yorkshire; a range roughly matching the spread of Shield's early touring engagements, the family and business interests of his first subscribers, and the field in which William Vickers collected traditional tunes.³⁸⁹

Following the Union of the Scottish and English Crowns in 1603, James VI and I rechristened the Borders the 'middle shires', ordering the dismantling of fortified strongholds and promoting agriculture to unify his new realms on the ground as well as in the statute books. Demilitarisation initially failed to integrate the region under the rule of law, as epic clan feuds continued to bulk far larger than national political developments, while the monarch remained a remote figurehead with negligible impact on daily life.³⁹⁰ Yet even when the Borderlands were at their most militarised and dangerous, locals could meet at safely designated 'trysting-places' to negotiate matters affecting communities on both sides.³⁹¹ In times of peace and co-operation, noble and religious houses extended their estates across the Border

³⁸⁶ Richard Firth Green, 'The Border Writes Back', in Bruce and Terrell (eds), 103-19, (p. 105); Robb, pp. 129-32.

³⁸⁷ Reed, pp. 14-15.

³⁸⁸ Firth Green, p. 104-07; Reed, pp. 17, 41.

³⁸⁹ W. M. Aird, p. 39; Reed, p. 50.

³⁹⁰ Firth Green, pp. 111, 113, 116; Reed, pp. 17, 44-45; Jewell, p. 66.

³⁹¹ Robb, p. 24.

facilitating the spread of coinage and mutual commercial accommodations, mundane examples of which persisted in Shield's lifetime; the Gibside estate steward recorded his relatives trading grain in bolls, the measure used in Scotland, rather than smaller English bushels.³⁹²

The British Civil Wars brought considerable upheaval to the immediate vicinity of Shield's birthplace.³⁹³ Newcastle was repeatedly besieged and occupied, since whoever held the port of Tyne controlled the coal supply to London, holding the government to ransom.³⁹⁴ In August 1640 a Scottish covenanting force forded the Tyne at Newburn and routed English troops on Stella Haugh just four miles west of Swalwell, before marching to take Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, Sunderland and Durham virtually unopposed; the retreating English razed their own camp at Whickham, setting off a long-burning coal seam fire. During the 1644 siege of Newcastle, a Tyne boatman shot by Scottish sentries posted on Kings Meadow island, off Dunston, was buried at Whickham. In 1648 Parliamentarian troops and artillery passed through the parish, perhaps hoping to intimidate royalist landowners, the Claverings.³⁹⁵ In 1754, one ancient local character could still recall King Charles I's incarceration in Newcastle keep during the Scottish occupation of 1646 to '47.³⁹⁶ The local impact of these events rarely figures in national histories, but their echoes surely resounded through Shield's childhood. During mine, a myth still circulated that 'Swalwell' was a contraction of 'swallow-well' which arose after Cromwell's soldiers drank dry the water supply from the local 'coaly well'.

Shield was baptised within sight of the Border at a time when the second Jacobite uprising had recently renewed the ancient threat of Scottish invasion. That 'remarkably beautiful' prospect praised by Hutchinson extends to the long heather-mantled or snow-backed hump of the Cheviot, rising beyond the north-western horizon which formed the edge of my own childhood world. Northumberland's

³⁹² W. M. Aird, pp. 32, 36; Jewell, p. 101; GB-DRcro, D/St/E5/5/16.

³⁹³ Sykes, pp. 91-103.

³⁹⁴ Royle, p. 111; Jewell, p. 103.

³⁹⁵ Sykes, pp. 94-98, 101; Royle, pp. 112-14, 282-83, 312; Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, pp. 33-34; GB-DRcro, D/Bo/G 91/38-39.

³⁹⁶ Sykes, pp. 100, 206; Royle, pp. 385-91.

highest hill historically marked a turning-point between the middle and eastern marches, and must have loomed larger, warning of proximity to potential danger, as Shield's parents descended the steep bank from Whickham church to Swalwell in more troubled times.³⁹⁷ Although the Jacobite army of 1745 ultimately crossed into England near Carlisle, spies had been captured carrying letters that indicated Newcastle would again be targeted, provoking significant local alarm and military activity. After the Duke of Cumberland's bloody victory at Culloden in 1746, Newcastle and Durham hosted both celebrations for returning troops and executions of Scottish prisoners. As late as 1750, an ill-fated attempt to raise the Stuart standard occurred at Elswick, across the Tyne from Swalwell.³⁹⁸

Thomas Bewick's memoir describes his strong emotional reaction to the ruined Border peles and Tynedale mansions of executed Jacobites, and the reminiscences of old soldiers who, having served with 'Napier's Grenadiers' (later known as 'Semphill's regiment' and eventually 'the King's Own Scottish Borderers') at the Battle of Minden, might also have been veterans of Culloden.³⁹⁹ Bewick's maternal grandparents came from reiving families, and he vividly recalled

the traditionary tales and songs, relating to men who had been eminent for their prowess and bravery in the border wars [...] in every respect being bold independent and honest men.⁴⁰⁰

Shield must likewise have been exposed to visual and oral reminders of the region's turbulent past in landscape, family memory, songs and the work of local antiquarians like George Allan and Joseph Ritson. Richard Firth Green characterises the survival of the Border Ballads, the traditional narrative songs far more prevalent here than elsewhere in England, as an expression of resistance to the pressure on local culture from polarised national interests.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Hutchinson, p. 448; Reed, pp. 9, 14-15; MacDonald Fraser, pp. 37-38.

³⁹⁸ Sykes, pp. 171-83, 192-93; Riding, pp. 223-25.

³⁹⁹ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 32, 53-54; Uglow, pp. xix, 9, 29-30, 60; Riding, pp. 419-27; W. H. Fitchett, 'The Battle of Minden', *The Cornhill Magazine*, 3.14 (1897), 147-60 (p. 153); 'The King's Own Scottish Borderers', <<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/kings-own-scottish-borderers>> (National Army Museum); 'History: The King's Own Scottish Borderers', <<https://www.kosb.co.uk/history/>> (KOSB, 2015).

⁴⁰⁰ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 26, 32.

⁴⁰¹ Firth Green, p. 116.

Historical Border conflicts also resulted in suspicion and discrimination against Scots in Newcastle. A 1679 'Order that no apprentice shall be entered in the company's books that is a Scotchman born' may explain the absence of Shield's master boat-builder Edward Davison from the records of the Shipwrights' Guild, since Davison was a Border 'surname' associated with the middle to eastern marches on the Scottish side.⁴⁰² A century earlier the Newcastle Company of Merchant Adventurers banned even English Borderers, alleging they were 'known, either by education or nature, not to be of honest conversation', while justices were advised that suspects from Redesdale and Tynedale were prone to be 'naughty, evil, unruly and misdemeaned'.⁴⁰³ Shield's own ancestors may have been seventeenth-century cross-border immigrants; *shield* or *shiel* is an ancient Borders word for a cattle shelter or steading, retained in place names including North and South Shields, Goodshieldshaugh (by the Derwent near Swalwell), Daddry Shield (Weardale) and the Scottish Border town of Galashiels.⁴⁰⁴

The removal of the Stuarts and installation of Dutch, then Hanoverian Protestant monarchs provoked further rebellion in Scotland and Ireland. Governments strove to reinforce the unity of 'Great Britain' culturally, as well as militarily, by invoking a common 'British' identity against hostile powers, competitors in the race to seize and exploit colonial territories, and 'foreign' ideological influences (especially Roman Catholicism, and later, republicanism).⁴⁰⁵ Gottlieb discusses how authors like Defoe and Smollett used a 'dialogue of sympathy' to persuade citizens to accept the Anglo-Scottish Union, as merely ratifying a pre-existing, natural and desirable neighbourly relationship. Unity between the nations of Britain and pride in British institutions, particularly the Royal Navy, was promoted as essential to defeating foreign threats;

⁴⁰² TWA, GU/SH4/1 (MF1278) CLIV, 8 'Order 26' 8 September 1679; Clarke, p. 10; Reed, p. 24; MacDonald Fraser, pp. 64, 105, 171, 257.

⁴⁰³ F.W. Denby, 'Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle upon Tyne', *Publications of the Surtees Society*, 93 (Durham, 1895), p. 27, and William Weaver Tomlinson, *Life in Northumberland during the Sixteenth Century* (London: Walter Scott, 1897), p. 131, quoted in Reed, pp. 110-11.

⁴⁰⁴ MacDonald Fraser, pp. 44, 51, 54; Reed, p. 27; J. M. Fewster, 'The Keelmen of Tyneside in the Eighteenth Century, Part 1', *Durham University Journal*, 19 (1957), 27-28, quoted in Levine and Wrightson, p. 186.

⁴⁰⁵ Colley, pp. xv-xvii.

as in Smollett's play *The Reprisal*, where Scottish and Irish sailors co-operate with an Englishman to defeat a scheming French sea-captain.⁴⁰⁶

This drive to extol the Union's virtues was necessary, to mitigate outcomes that were not universally positive. Even educated Scots who promoted and celebrated the contribution of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers to a shared culture, and the economic and political advantages of incorporation into the British Parliament and Empire, reported experiencing virulent anti-Scottish prejudice in London. Smollett's periodical *The Briton* aimed to 'foster an inclusive British identity' and 'create a singular but representative British voice', but English politician John Wilkes sought to undermine this message through a satirical rival publication portraying Scots as sly, grasping interlopers, conspiring to infiltrate English society and dominate institutions and resources. In return, Smollett accused the English of treating Scotland as a colonial acquisition to be cynically exploited. Gottlieb also views the famous friendship between James Boswell and Samuel Johnson as an expression of the struggle to define a British identity accessible, and acceptable, to both nations. He describes Boswell as 'a cultural outsider with a burning desire to assimilate without entirely abandoning his heritage': embarrassed when fellow Scots refused to modify their 'coarse' accent, yet condemning as hypocrites those who erased it entirely; craving acceptance in London society, while raging at theatre-goers for heckling Highland soldiers; and combining slavish admiration for Johnson with resentment of his prejudices and jokes about 'crafty and designing Scots'.⁴⁰⁷

Northern Englishmen could find themselves entangled in such tensions, or targeted with similar prejudice. Jewell identifies the first written reference to the endlessly contentious North/South divide in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, written c. 731 at St Paul's monastery, Jarrow (over a thousand years but only three miles away from Shield's early home in South Shields).⁴⁰⁸ Pollard describes a medieval 'cultural construct' (conceptualized in literature, yet not evidenced by recorded events) characterising the North as 'backward, violent and feudal [...]

⁴⁰⁶ Gottlieb, pp. 11-14, 23, 65, 72-73, 83-84, 90-96.

⁴⁰⁷ Gottlieb, pp. 18-19, 26, 36, 52, 61, 74-78, 100-109.

⁴⁰⁸ Jewell, p. 4.

unstable, barbaric and threatening'; while Jewell notes that England's remotest and least hospitable counties have often been regarded as 'expendable' by rulers, and since medieval times 'parliamentary representation [has been] heavily biased in favour of the south'.⁴⁰⁹ Commentary collated from southern English observers repeatedly dismisses the northern landscape, climate, resources, accommodation, people and language as

cruel, cold and hostile, [...] rough, [...] backward, primitive and poverty stricken, [...] inadequate and unsophisticated, [...] laughable, [...] raw and wild.⁴¹⁰

Bewick spent nine months in London in his early twenties and recalled,

Where ever I went the ignorant part of the cockneys called me 'Scotchman.' At this I was not offended, but when they added other impudent remarks, I could not stand them [...]

Having much enjoyed a 'tramp' through Scotland the previous summer, Bewick felt an affinity with Scots and their traditions, especially music and dancing. He was disgusted by the prejudice of Londoners and decided that, despite its many cultural attractions, the capital city of his own country was no place for him:

Notwithstanding my being so situated among my friends, and being so much gratified in seeing such a variety of excellent performances in every art and science [...] yet I did not like London - it appeared to me to be a world of itself where every thing in the extreme, might at once be seen - extreme riches - extreme poverty - extreme grandeur and extreme wretchedness [...] Perhaps I might indeed take too full a view of London on its gloomy side - I could not help it. I tired of it and determined to return home. The country of my old friends, the manners of the people of that day, the scenery of Tyneside, seemed altogether to form a paradise for me and I longed to see it again.⁴¹¹

Although Shield seems never to have visited Scotland, it is unlikely he experienced Scots as a distant or hostile other. Many Scottish pitmen and keelmen worked on Tyneside, and Scottish physicians, merchants and craftsmen subscribed to *Favourite Songs*.⁴¹² Shield settled in London soon after Bewick's sojourn there, but if he encountered similar attitudes, evidently managed to overcome or ignore them.

⁴⁰⁹ A. J. Pollard, 'The Characteristics of the Fifteenth Century North', in Appleby and Dalton (eds), 131-43 (p. 139); Jewell, pp. 24, 37, 44.

⁴¹⁰ Jewell, p. 120.

⁴¹¹ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 81-96 (quotes from pp. 90, 95-96).

⁴¹² Fewster, pp. 27-28, quoted in Levine and Wrightson, p. 186; Addison, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), pp. 256-57.

Perhaps his transition to London life was easier than Bewick's because it was more gradual, and his profession enabled more active involvement in cultural exchange.

Firth Green emphasizes the limited power of geographical borders to contain national cultures:

Though physical features (a river or a range of hills) may serve to demarcate the political or military reach of a dominant state, these will rarely mark the full extent of its linguistic, cultural, or institutional reach, nor will they completely sequester it from the influence of the world beyond.⁴¹³

Musical influence certainly reached across the Border; there are many Scots airs in Vickers' manuscript, and Scottish fiddlers and dancing masters prospered in Newcastle. Shield might have played at tavern clubs or assemblies alongside those attached to a Newcastle dancing school, with whom Bewick shared lodgings during his apprenticeship.⁴¹⁴ In his edition of tunes from the William Dixon manuscript, compiled in the 1730s near Stamfordham and aptly described by a former owner as 'a collection of pipe jigs of the border country', Seattle articulates my starting point for analysing Shield's musical heritage:

The tunes [...] are a mixture of Northumbrian and Scottish, in as far as it is possible to be certain [...] The debatable origin of many of the tunes is usefully encapsulated by the word 'Border' in that the collection comes from and belongs to a geographical area with a shared culture which, for historical and political reasons, has a line drawn through it on a map.⁴¹⁵

In early modern judicial records the evocative term 'debatable land' denotes a small area around Eskdale and Liddesdale, but it has often been applied more widely, reflecting the contested status of the whole Borderland.⁴¹⁶ Robb challenges this broader interpretation, claiming the term was corrupted from 'batable land', a fertile region suitable for grazing ('bating') cattle; originally, a shared, protected space, before national strife rendered it synonymous with lawlessness and violence.⁴¹⁷ Both definitions of 'debatable' are instructive for contextualising Shield's early musical experiences. Despite the bitter legacies of recurring conflicts, a distinctive regional

⁴¹³ Firth Green, p. 103.

⁴¹⁴ Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 68.

⁴¹⁵ Seattle (Dixon), pp. 6-8, 10.

⁴¹⁶ Firth Green, p. 104; Reed, p. 9.

⁴¹⁷ Robb, pp. 3, 83-84, 118-27, 144-46; Reed, p. 42.

repertoire survived and flourished here, cultivating a sense of independence from rigid national allegiances. For locals including Shield, the Borders were no wasteland; rather, a place of fruitful musical interaction. Bruce and Terrell's premise may also apply to him:

English and Scottish borderers had more complicated allegiances and more multifaceted identities than has often been recognised.⁴¹⁸

Jewell notes that during periods of Border strife, distant observers in the English and Scottish capitals presented incidents in stark nationalist terms, while Border writers, who understood local motivations and responses, offered more nuanced assessments.⁴¹⁹ Similarly, Shield's 'Border' origins placed him in a position to base his judgments of traditional music, and its treatment by professional composers, on personal practical experience rather than mere fashion, and to develop a complex and independent perspective on 'national' music(s).

Border Tunes

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, recognising the existence of a distinct musical culture associated with the Border region, convened a 'Melodies Committee' in 1855 to gather and examine 'the ancient melodies of Northumberland'.⁴²⁰ The investigators wrote:

The music of any people is naturally influenced by its character and history. The inhabitants of the district lying between the Firth of Forth and the Humber having sprung originally from the same race, or combination of races, have a style of music which is peculiar to themselves. But though the music of the Scottish Lowlands has a general resemblance to that of Northumberland, a delicate ear can observe a difference between the melodies originating North and South of the Tweed. This is probably owing to the fact that for several centuries the two districts formed parts of two kingdoms.⁴²¹

They described an extensive, cross-border region with a common music defined by a shared history, while believing that within it, national divisions had found

⁴¹⁸ Bruce and Terrell, p. 4.

⁴¹⁹ Jewell, pp. 41-42.

⁴²⁰ J. Collingwood Bruce and John Stokoe (eds), *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Society of Antiquaries, 1882, repr. Llanerch, 1998), p. viii.

⁴²¹ Bruce and Stokoe (eds), p. iii.

expression in subtle musical distinctions. Concerned that this regional heritage was being lost, they hoped to recover and preserve as much repertoire as possible; but although their collection was much larger, their ambitions for its dissemination and promotion were more parochial than Shield's. A Northumbrian piping competition was launched (of which a revived equivalent continues during the annual Morpeth Gathering), and Committee members gave lectures to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society on manuscripts they had gathered; some tunes were very simply printed in the *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*, but with no initial expectation or provision for circulation beyond the Society's members.⁴²² While Shield celebrated the local characteristics that gave these tunes their sense of place and history, his practical, pedagogical presentation of them in *Rudiments* actively sought to encourage their appreciation by a wider, musically-informed readership.

Comparing versions of traditional melodies often reveals considerable intervallic, rhythmic and ornamental variance between sources. This partly reflects differing and evolving notational practice, but also indicates that variations in recall, interpretation and performance practice developed during many tunes' long oral history, both before and alongside their distribution in notated form. While tracing the ancestry and relationships of tune variants is notoriously problematic, I see sufficient correspondence between Shield's versions and some found in manuscripts representing Northumbrian and Borders traditions, like Vickers', to suggest he was familiar with regional variants of certain tunes.⁴²³ Shield's discussion of six 'Border Tunes' in *Rudiments* shows awareness of both contemporary and historical Border culture, and his accompaniments demonstrate first-hand practical knowledge of traditional instruments and performance contexts.

⁴²² Bruce and Stokoe (eds), pp. vii-x; GB-AS [GBNT-sa], SANT/GEN/MUS/1/10 'Airs and dance tunes collected and constructed by the Melodies Committee of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, 1857-1887' [FARNE]; 'Morpeth Northumbrian Gathering', <<https://morpethheritage.org/morpeth-northumbrian-gathering>> (Morpeth Heritage Network), and <www.northumbriana.org.uk/gathering/index.htm> (Northumbriana, 2023).

⁴²³ Celia Pendlebury, 'Tune Families and Tune Histories: Melodic Resemblances in British and Irish Folk Tunes', *Folk Music Journal*, 11.5 (2020), 67-95 (pp. 67-69, 71-76, 90-95).

The Keel Row

Shield devoted most space to what is now perhaps the most recognisable of all Tyneside songs, but was not widely published before the nineteenth century. His commentary highlights its association with a distinctive regional instrument, the Northumbrian smallpipes:

This natural simple Air, is an universal favourite and performd by the Duke of Northumberland's Piper, in a characterestick manner, which notation cannot well describe.⁴²⁴

The Duke of Northumberland's retention of a household piper is unique in England, a vestigial element of feudal society with similarities to Scottish clan culture, and an example of cross-border socio-musical practice.⁴²⁵ In *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Thomas Percy wrote,

As the House of NORTHUMBERLAND had anciently THREE MINSTRELS attending on them in their castles in Yorkshire, so they still retain THREE in their service in Northumberland [...] One for the barony of Prudhoe, and Two for the barony of Rothbury. These attend the court leets and fairs held for the Lord, and pay their annual suit and service at Alnwick castle; their instrument being the ancient Northumberland bag-pipe (very different in form and execution from that of the Scots; being smaller; and blown, not with the breath, but with a small pair of bellows).⁴²⁶

Though famously savaged by Ritson for poor antiquarian scholarship and ignorance of labouring class culture, Percy here provided geographical clues to Shield's early encounters with ducal pipers and their instrument.⁴²⁷ Alnwick and Rothbury are more than thirty miles north of Swalwell; Prudhoe, only ten miles west up the Tyne Valley. Alnwick Castle archives suggest the first ducal piper, Joseph Turnbull (father of Shield's 1775 subscriber), lived at Newburn (where the Shields' Longridge relatives originated, about halfway between Prudhoe and Swalwell) in 1757.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ *Rudiments*, p. 35.

⁴²⁵ Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Dublin: Williams [1775]), p. 165; Bewick, ed. Bain, p. 112; Bruce and Stokoe (eds), p. iv.

⁴²⁶ Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Dodsley, 1767), I, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

⁴²⁷ Gelbart, pp. 83-86; Horgan, pp. 53-56.

⁴²⁸ Alnwick Castle, *The Archives of the Duke of Northumberland*, From DP: D9/I/44; Cowper, p. 196; 'Pipers to the House of Percy', in *Morpeth Chantry Bagpipe Museum: Souvenir Guide*, ed. by Kim Bibby-Wilson and Anne Moore (Morpeth: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne / Morpeth Chantry Bagpipe Museum, 2003), 14-15.

William might therefore have been very young, when he first heard an accomplished piper play.

The image displays a musical score for 'The Keel Row' variations, arranged in ten staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The score begins with a repeat sign and a first ending. The second staff includes the instruction 'last time only' and ends with 'Fine'. The third staff is labeled '1st var.' and features a more complex melodic line. The fourth staff continues the first variation. The fifth staff includes a first ending and a 'D.S.' (Da Capo) instruction. The sixth and seventh staves are labeled '2nd var.' and are characterized by numerous triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over the notes). The eighth staff includes a first ending and a 'D.S.' instruction. The ninth staff is labeled '3rd var.' and features a highly rhythmic and complex melodic line. The final staff includes a first ending and a 'D.S. al Fine' instruction.

Example 3.1 variations on 'The Keel Row' attributed to Shield

Northumbrian pipers still perform a set of variations on ‘The Keel Row’ believed to have been composed by Shield, although there is no clear evidence he played the pipes himself. The ‘Shield variations’ (**Example 3.1**) in a twentieth-century manuscript from the Clough Family archive, do not correspond with those Shield published in *Rudiments*; as he explained,

I have various copies of it, but as they have been composed for an instrument seldom heard with astonishment, except on the Borders of England, a publication of them might have proved an unessential part of this work, Therefore the arrangements for the Piano Forte, Harp, violin and Violoncello, became a natural preference.⁴²⁹

Since no smallpipe version of this tune had yet been published, Shield must have kept his own manuscript records of local repertoire, sadly lost. The Clough copy contains variations sufficiently inventive and harmonically accomplished to be plausibly attributed to Shield; should his originals turn up someday, comparison might show their evolution during intervening centuries of oral transmission.⁴³⁰

Shield’s decision in *Rudiments* to render the tune widely accessible, by replacing smallpipe variations with arrangements that ‘may be sung with a Voice of common compass, or played upon any fashionable Instrument’, reflects his ability to adapt traditional material for diverse instruments, consciousness that his local musical heritage possessed unique features difficult for others to imitate, and a pragmatic and inclusive approach to promoting traditional repertoire.

Here, Shield’s melody features a trill on each main beat (perhaps imitating a piping grace), otherwise closely resembling versions collected in Newcastle by Vickers and Bell, notated in straight quavers without *appoggiature* (**Example 3.2**).⁴³¹ The dotted rhythm in later sources represents gradual metrification of the unequal emphasis on quavers created by the shape and balance of early violin bows, making them sound ‘swung’ (sometimes termed *notes inégales*).⁴³²

⁴²⁹ *Rudiments*, p. 35.

⁴³⁰ ‘The Keel Row’, in Pipe manuscripts of Henry and Thomas Clough, [FARNE].

⁴³¹ GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 87, Bell MS, p. 25.

⁴³² Holman, pp. 37-38, and Andrew Manze, ‘Strings’, 67-83 (pp. 78-79) in Burton (ed.), *Performer’s Guide to Music of the Baroque Period*; Tarling, pp. 163-69; David Ponsford, ‘Notes inégales’, in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*, ed. by Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 439-43; Stewart

Moderately Gay

Example 3.2 ‘The Keel Row’, simple version

Although Shield included a keyboard arrangement using Alberti-style broken chords and scales in semiquavers, his comment, ‘I have frequently heard it with this hackney’d pianoforte accompaniment’, implies he intended this as a cautionary example of how *not* to perform a traditional tune (**Example 3.3**). Shield’s complaint about the prevalence of such figurations is upheld by their presence in the first variations on ‘The Keel Row’ to be published, by fiddler Charles McLean in Edinburgh c. 1772, and in an 1815 pianoforte arrangement by Robert Topliff, which features both Alberti bass and chromatic movement.⁴³³

Hardy, *Secrets of Reels: Tips and Techniques for Fiddle, 1: Foundation Bowing Patterns* (Kippen: Kirk House Publishing, 2012), pp. 10-12.

⁴³³ Charles McLean, *A Collection of Favourite Scots Tunes with Variations* (Edinburgh: Stewart, [c. 1772]), p. 21; Topliff, *A Selection of the most popular Melodies of the Tyne and the Wear*, (London: [1815]), pp. 1-5 [FARNE].

The image displays a musical score for a pianoforte variation of 'The Keel Row'. It consists of seven systems, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Trills (tr) are indicated in the right hand of the second, third, fifth, and seventh systems. The right hand is labeled 'R.H.' in the second and third systems.

Example 3.3 The Keel Row', pianoforte variation

However, Shield's further transposed arrangement 'For the Harp or any key'd Instrument' also features arpeggio-based quaver movement, followed by variations employing many similar semiquaver figurations (**Example 3.4**).

Distinct and Affectionate

For the Harp or any key'd Instrument

Example 3.4 'The Keel Row', harp variations, bars 1 to 8, 17 to 24, 33 to 40

Shield also provided a simple version with a crotchet bass, mostly on root notes, with occasional inversions allowing stepwise motion (**Example 3.5**). The commentary alongside testifies to his practical experience of playing in dance bands, and familiarity with traditional practices of improvising harmonic accompaniment in accordance with both a melody's musical characteristics and its social function:

When it is used for a Dance, more than two crotchets in a bar would fatigue the vampers of basses and render the gaiety of the melody inaudable.



Example 3.5 'The Keel Row', dance variation

Vickers' is the oldest surviving manuscript containing the simple dance tune, but it was known in Northumberland at least twenty years earlier; John Stokoe of the 'Melodies Committee' transcribed what he believed to be 'the earliest copy of our Tyneside melody extant' from a manuscript in Longhorsley, near Morpeth, inscribed 'John Smith's book 1752'. This apparently did not include the simple melody (presumably because it was well-known), but consisted of ten fiddle variations characterised by diverse decorations, syncopations, divisions and chordal realisations (Example 3.6).⁴³⁴



Example 3.6 John Smith MS, 'The Keel Row', variations 5 and 9

⁴³⁴ GB-AS [GBNT-sa], John Smith MS [1752, lost] pp. 32, 51 trans. by Stokoe in SANT/GEN/MUS/1/10, 'Airs and dance tunes collected and constructed by the Melodies Committee of the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, 1857-1887', pp. 125, 136-38 [FARNE] [henceforth Smith MS (Stokoe)].

When compared with Shield's arrangements, the most striking features of these variations are the double-stopped thirds and sixths, sometimes over an open G string drone, resembling the minim accompaniment Shield supplied for the simple melody (**Example 3.2**); and the descending scale used as a cadential flourish, found in Shield's harp arrangement (**Example 3.4**). These features also evidence the skill of local musicians; it would take an accomplished fiddler to improvise or perform them.

'The Keel Row' also has strong Scottish connections. It follows what David Johnson described as the typical structure of eighteenth-century Scots tunes, and was designated a reel in a later printed collection by Newcastle-based Perthshire dancing-master Abraham Mackintosh.⁴³⁵ As Shield's priority was to illustrate a range of possible instrumental accompaniments, he omitted the lyrics from his treatise, but Ritson had already published a (slightly anglicized) text in his *Northumberland Garland*.⁴³⁶ The familiar words from oral tradition correspond with Bell's manuscript:

As I cam thro' Sandgate, thro' Sandgate, thro' Sandgate,
As I cam thro' Sandgate, I heard a lassie sing,
"Weel may the keel row, the keel row, the keel row,
weel may the keel row that my laddie's in."⁴³⁷

The first verse clearly references the street parallel with Newcastle Quayside where many keelmen lived, but the dialect words sound closer to Scots than Geordie. Kidson quoted a similar text referencing Edinburgh locations, noting that the bonny keel lad 'wears a blue bonnet', standard eighteenth-century Scottish headgear which came to symbolise allegiance to the Jacobite cause.⁴³⁸ When short of men, Tyneside

⁴³⁵ McLean, p. 21; D. Johnson, *Music and Society*, p. 116; D. Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997), p. 19; D. Johnson, 'Mackintosh, Robert' *GMO* (2001); *A Collection of Strathspeys, Reels, Jigs &c.* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Abraham Mackintosh, [c.1797]), p. 22.

⁴³⁶ Ritson, *The Northumberland Garland* (Newcastle: Hall & Elliott, 1793), p. 68.

⁴³⁷ GB-AS, Bell MS, p. 25.

⁴³⁸ Frank Kidson (ed.) *Old English Country Dances, gathered from scarce printed collections, and from manuscripts, [...]* (London: Reeves, 1890), pp. 37-40; J. Nicholson (ed.), *A genuine account of the behaviour, confession, and dying words, of the three Scots rebels, [...] executed the 22d day of August 1746* (London: Nicholson, [1746]), p. 4; Boswell, *The journal of a tour to the Hebrides* (London: Baldwin / Dilly, [1785]), pp. 183, 213, 406.

coal-merchants often sent for Scots to work their pits and keels, suggesting tune and words crossed the Border in both directions with itinerant musicians and labourers.⁴³⁹ However, the *passamezzo moderno* chord progression underlying the melody suggests much older, possibly continental antecedents; as does Kidson's identification of several tunes from around Britain which share a similar first strain, the earliest printed in 1748.⁴⁴⁰

The Black and the Grey

As Percy noted, the Northumbrian smallpipes are quite different in tone and technique to the Highland bagpipes, another aspect of related but distinct Border musical culture. Several of their unique features are reflected in Shield's arrangement of a tune also included in the earliest printed collection of Northumbrian pipe tunes, compiled in Newcastle by John Peacock *c.* 1800.⁴⁴¹ Shield's keyboard adaptation uses repeated chords containing the usual three drone notes (low tonic, dominant and high tonic), while offbeat rhythms in the left hand evoke the percussive articulation of repeated notes produced by the closed chanter unique to the Northumbrian smallpipes (**Example 3.7**).⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ Fewster, pp. 27-28, in Levine and Wrightson, p. 186.

⁴⁴⁰ Alan Brown, 'Pavan', *Oxford Music Online* (20 September 2001); Giuseppe Gerbino and Alexander Silbiger, 'Passamezzo [pass'e mez(z)o, passo e mezzo, passomez(z)o] (It.)', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Kidson, pp. 18-19, 37-40.

⁴⁴¹ *Rudiments*, p. 36; Peacock, *A Favourite Collection of Tunes with Variations adapted for the Northumberland Small Pipes, Violin or Flute* (Newcastle: Wright, [c. 1800-1805]), p. 11; Richard Heard, 'John Peacock and his influence', <northshieldsnsp.co.uk/the-j-w-fenwick-collection-of-northumberland-small-pipe-music/john-peacock-and-his-influence/> (Northumberland Small-Piping in North Shields, 2017).

⁴⁴² Bruce and Stokoe (eds), pp. v-vi; William A. Cocks, rev. Anthony C. Baines and Roderick D. Cannon 'Bagpipe', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Kathryn Tickell, 'An introduction to Northumbrian smallpipes', online video recording, YouTube, <<https://youtu.be/fBwwWFGd9qE>> (12 Mar 2018).

Pleasant and Jocund, but in a bold emphatical manner.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled 'The Black and the Grey'. The score is written for piano and consists of seven systems of music. Each system contains a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 6/8. The first system begins with a trill (tr) in the treble staff. The second system features a forte (fz) dynamic marking. The score includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the seventh system.

Example 3.7 'The Black and the Grey'

Most versions of this tune are structured in four-bar phrases alternating between two underlying chords: a major triad, and a minor triad one degree higher. Early variants published by Playford and Walsh alternate between G major and A minor, closing on the latter, while Peacock's more embellished version uses the same chords, but closes each strain in G.⁴⁴³ Seattle argues that a version in the William Dixon manuscript was intended for the Border or half-long bagpipes, a different instrument using a nine-note modal scale on A with sharp third and flat seventh (**Example 3.8**), largely superseded by the Northumbrian smallpipes during the eighteenth century.⁴⁴⁴ His transcription is therefore based on two major chords, treating that on A as the tonic and G as a 'subtonic'.



Example 3.8 Nine-note Border bagpipe scale

Seattle characterises the minor chords in Peacock's version as 'an extreme example' of how tunes originally for the Border pipes 'became severely distorted when adapted for smallpipes'. Although Peacock's phrases do seem somewhat scrambled, as Johnson noted, the chromatic flexibility of the violin allowed players to vary the third (and seventh) long before the Northumbrian smallpipes displaced the Border instrument; and fiddle versions alternate between major and minor chords.⁴⁴⁵ Some other local tunes (e.g. 'Elsie Marley') do retain the striking tonal effect of alternation between adjacent major triads, but in this case any such version appears to have fallen from use early on.⁴⁴⁶ The Dixon MS uses a four-note staff with a G clef on the

⁴⁴³ Henry Playford, *The Dancing Master*, 9th edn (London: Jones, 1695), p. 127; Walsh (ed.), *The Compleat Country Dancing Master*, 4th edn (London: [c. 1740]), p. 81; Peacock, p. 11.

⁴⁴⁴ A K Bell Library, Atholl Collection N27, William Dixon MS (1734).

⁴⁴⁵ Seattle (Dixon) pp. 5, 10-13; GB-AS, Bell MS, p. 56; D. Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁴⁶ GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 73, Bell MS, p. 56; Seattle (Dixon) p. 123.

lowest line and no sharps or flats, yielding triads of F major and G major (transposed up a tone to sounding pitch by Seattle).⁴⁴⁷ The Humphrey Senhouse manuscript (Cumberland, 1747) contains similar trills and rhythmic variations and appears to use the same chords, but I have not seen the original and the transcriber notes it has ‘many bars missing and apparent mistakes’, making it difficult to judge whether there should be a B \flat , producing a G minor triad.⁴⁴⁸

Stokoe transcribed two versions of ‘The Black and the Grey’ from the John Smith MS, one labelled ‘Scotch’ and the other ‘English’. The ‘English’ version is in F major / G minor, closing in the minor; the ‘Scotch’ uses D major and E minor triads, treating D as the tonic but retaining a flat seventh.⁴⁴⁹ Sixty years later, John Bell’s MS also alternates between D major and E minor chords, using sharp sevenths in both scales; triadic patterns in the first strain resemble Smith’s ‘Scotch’ melody, but those in the second strain follow his ‘English’ version.⁴⁵⁰ Perthshire fiddler Niel Gow’s version corresponds closely with Smith’s ‘English’ one, but Smith’s ‘Scotch’ version bears by far the closest resemblance to Shield’s, in key, phrase structures, cadential decorations and some rhythmic elements.⁴⁵¹ All this evidence, both of cross-border musical exchange and the unreliability of national labels, suggests Shield was wise to avoid controversy over tune origins by using the ‘Border’ category!

The phrase structures and added harmonies in Shield’s arrangement indicate he treated the major triad as the tonic and the minor as a supertonic. He used a dominant seventh as a pivot chord and voiced the supertonic and dominant seventh in first inversion, to avoid creating either an actual modulation uncharacteristic of a tune for pipes with fixed drones, or the consecutive fifths stigmatised in his treatises as offensive to the laws of harmony. The sixth variation of Smith’s ‘English’ version consists of double-stopped thirds (**Example 3.9**), arguing for the existence of a

⁴⁴⁷ Seattle (Dixon) pp. 40-41.

⁴⁴⁸ Humphrey Senhouse MS (1747), SenH.026, transcr. by Anne Wride for VMP, TTA <[https://tunearch.org/wiki/Black_and_the_Grey_\(3\)](https://tunearch.org/wiki/Black_and_the_Grey_(3))> (2017).

⁴⁴⁹ GB-AS, Smith MS (Stokoe), pp. 138-43.

⁴⁵⁰ GB-AS, Bell MS, p. 3.

⁴⁵¹ Niel Gow, *Complete Repository, of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances*, 3rd edn, rev. by Nathaniel Gow (Edinburgh: Gow, [1817]), II, pp. 8-9; David Johnson, ‘Gow family’, *GMO* (20 January 2001).

Northumbrian fiddle practice contemporary with Shield's childhood which could have influenced his decision to voice piano chords with thirds above the bass (contrary to standard harmonic practice demonstrated elsewhere in his treatises, where the largest intervals are at the bottom of the texture).⁴⁵² This may be a deliberate effect intended to reinforce the impression of continuous drones: early nineteenth-century English keyboard instruments had more resonance and dynamic capability than earlier harpsichords, but considerably less sustaining power than modern pianos, hence the need to restrike rather than merely hold down 'drone' chords.⁴⁵³



Example 3.9 John Smith MS, 'English Black and Grey' variation 6

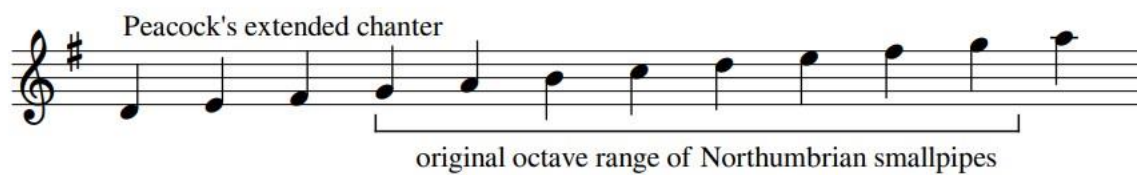
When transposed into the key of the Northumbrian smallpipes (G major / A minor), the range of Shield's main section fits exactly that of the keyed chanter introduced by Peacock to extend the instrument's range beyond an octave, as shown in a fingering chart from his collection (**Example 3.10**).⁴⁵⁴ Shield's arrangement clearly demonstrates the application of functional harmony, but in a manner that adapts and develops rather than disrupts or obscures the traditional 'double-tonic' scheme. Shield did not refer to Greek or church modes in his treatises, but as some folk music practitioners do adopt these terms in tune analysis, it is worth noting that Peacock's developments to the smallpipes made it possible to play a full octave major scale (or

⁴⁵² GB-AS, Smith MS (Stokoe), p. 141; *Introduction*, pp. 12-13, 22-24, 40, 46; *Rudiments*, p. 2.

⁴⁵³ Geoffrey Govier, 'Fortepiano', in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*, ed. by Lawson and Stowell, 245-47 (p. 246).

⁴⁵⁴ Peacock, 'Small Pipe Scales' [front matter]; Cocks, 'Bagpipe', *GMO*.

Ionian mode) on G, a scale with a major third and flattened seventh (Mixolydian mode) on D, and a minor scale with flat seventh (Dorian mode) on A. The Northumbrian pipes as Shield knew them were conducive to an approach mixing elements of ancient modal and modern functional harmonic systems.



Example 3.10 range of Peacock's pipes

Evidently Shield kept in touch with developments to his local instrument after leaving the area, but if he was aware of Peacock's publication, he did not borrow directly from it; while their versions share two strains which correspond quite closely (**Example 3.11**, **Example 3.12**), they differ considerably elsewhere. Shield's final eight-bar strain exceeds the range of the pipes (suggesting it was conceived in D for fiddle, on which it remains within a comfortable register) and introduces harmonic movement beyond the alternating chords that underpin the main tune. Dotted rhythms and ascending or descending sequences resemble elements in the final strain of other versions, without matching any exactly (**Example 3.13**, **Example 3.14**).

John Smith MS 'Scotch' tr

Peacock

John Bell MS

Shield

Detailed description: This musical score shows the opening phrase of 'The Black and the Grey' from four different manuscript sources. It consists of four staves. The top staff is labeled 'John Smith MS 'Scotch' and includes a trill (tr) above the final note. The second staff is 'Peacock', the third is 'John Bell MS', and the fourth is 'Shield'. All staves are in treble clef, 6/8 time, and one sharp (F#) key signature. The melody is primarily eighth-note based, with some sixteenth-note runs in the later measures.

Example 3.11 'The Black and the Grey', opening phrase

John Smith MS 'Scotch'

Peacock

Shield

tr

Detailed description: This musical score shows variations of 'The Black and the Grey' from six different manuscript sources. It consists of six staves. The top staff is labeled 'John Smith MS 'Scotch' and features a dense sixteenth-note pattern. The second staff is 'Peacock', the third is 'Shield', and the remaining three staves are unlabeled. All staves are in treble clef, 6/8 time, and one sharp (F#) key signature. The music shows various rhythmic and melodic variations of the opening phrase, with a trill (tr) above the final note in the fourth staff.

Example 3.12 'The Black and the Grey', variations

John Smith MS 'Scotch'

Example 3.13 'The Black and the Grey', penultimate phrase

John Smith MS 'Scotch'

John Smith MS 'English'

Gow

Shield

Example 3.14 'The Black and the Grey', closing phrase

Given the limited survival of eighteenth-century bagpipes and idiosyncrasies in manuscript notation, debates around which chord should be treated as the tonic, and whether major or minor intervals are more characteristic of the 'original' tune, may never be resolved. Nevertheless, these comparisons indicate that Shield was familiar with the practice and repertoire of the Northumbrian smallpipes, and (like other eighteenth-century fiddlers) freely adapted pipe tunes for other instruments, while respecting and incorporating some distinctive characteristics of pipers' performance into his arrangements.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁵ Seattle (Dixon) pp. 8-11, 13, 15-16, 20-21; D. Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 4-5, 119.

The Running Fitter

This title, unique to *Rudiments*, suggests the discomfiture or humiliation of one of the ubiquitous coal-traders whose commercial machinations so impacted the livelihoods of Shield's childhood neighbours.⁴⁵⁶ The lively jig has a diverse set of variations, each characterised by a rhythmic, ornamented or arpeggiated figure; typical of the 'variation sets', sometimes with a simple repeating bass, found in contemporary Scottish fiddle collections. Examples include manuscript compilations produced by David Young for Walter Macfarlane in the 1740s, and McLean's collection, including 'The Keel Row'; both these fiddlers came from Aberdeen and worked for patrons in Edinburgh.⁴⁵⁷ Like the 'Shield variations' from the Clough archive, 'The Running Fitter' works well in performance if the opening four-bar melody (**Example 3.15**) is treated as a rondo, and repeated between each succeeding variation.



Example 3.15 'The Running Fitter'

This opening melody is a variant of a traditional tune found under several titles (usually referencing a wedding) in contemporary collections like those of James Gillespie, James Oswald and James Aird, who all present it in compound triple time and G major.⁴⁵⁸ A very similar melody in F appears in a late eighteenth-century Northumbrian manuscript, and in Gow's *Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow*

⁴⁵⁶ *Rudiments*, p. 37; Levine and Wrightson, pp. 46, 251, 262.

⁴⁵⁷ GB-En, Macfarlane MSS 2085, 2086; McLean, p. 21; D. Johnson, 'McLean, Charles' *GMO* (20 January 2001) and *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 2-5, 8, 15, 40, 65-67.

⁴⁵⁸ GB-En, Gillespie MS.808, 4 vols (Perth, 1768), IV, p. 99. Oswald, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, 12 vols (London: Simpson, [c. 1743-59]), III [c.1752], p. 14; J. Aird, *A selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign airs*, 6 vols (Glasgow: [1782]), I, p. 41.

Strathspeys and Dances, where it is described as ‘Very Old’.⁴⁵⁹ An F major variant barred in compound duple time, entitled ‘Silly Old Man’ (the only alternate title similar in meaning to ‘The Running Fitter’), was published by Walsh c. 1740, reprinted by John Johnson and transcribed almost exactly by Vickers.⁴⁶⁰ An F major compound triple version forms ‘The Pedlar’s Song’ in 1791 Covent Garden pantomime ballet *Oscar and Malvina*, the score begun by Shield but completed in his absence by Reeve; this arrangement was published under Reeve’s name only, without acknowledging the traditional source.⁴⁶¹ Shield’s ‘Running Fitter’ shares elements with all these examples, yet contains several unique features. The distinctive octave leap in the first bar occurs a quaver earlier, accenting the second beat; the second bar descends to the dominant rather than ascending in a pentatonic scale; and the final bar ends in a perfect cadence, where other versions close ambiguously on the relative minor (**Example 3.16**).

Example 3.16 ‘The Running Fitter’, first strain

⁴⁵⁹ GB-AS [GBNT-sa], SANT/GEN/MUS/1/3, MS tunebook of Revd. Peter Macnee of Great Bavington [henceforth Macnee MS], p. 4; Gow, *Complete Repository*, IV, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁶⁰ Walsh (ed.), *Caledonian Country Dances*, 3rd edn (London: [c. 1740]), p. 76, *Caledonian Country Dances with a Through Bass for ye Harpsicord*, 3rd edn (London: J. Johnson, [c. 1750]), p. 34; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 108.

⁴⁶¹ Reeve, pp. 6-7; Parke, I, p. 265; Fiske, *Scotland in Music*, p. 52, *English Theatre Music*, p. 546.

Example 3.17 ‘The Running Fitter’, second strain

Shield omits the second strain (**Example 3.17**), launching straight into seven virtuosic variations (**Example 3.18**) which follow the first strain chord progression and retain the second-beat stress through features in either solo or bass line; several also hint at elements of the absent second strain melody. These appear to be original; Oswald, the only other editor to publish variations, offered only two, considerably simpler. Shield’s variations employ a variety of articulations, bowing patterns, string crossings, dynamics, chords and chromaticisms across the entire range of the fiddle, demanding strong technique; especially when performed at the lively tempo implied by Walsh’s provision of instructions for a long set dance, Gillespie’s categorisation of the tune under ‘Hornpipes Jiggs and Reels’, Reeve’s *Allegro* marking and Shield’s own description, ‘Playful, and Detach’d’.

Shield acknowledged uncertainty over whether this version’s unusual features represent compositional interventions in oral repertoire, but also implied he may have originally learned it as an audition piece to prove his own fitness to play the fiddle for dancing at a community gathering:

The Chromatic semitones in this tune, give it a modern colour, but whether it be an Original, or a Copy, a neat execution of it, has long been considered the necessary attainment, by the preferred Hopping Musicians. (A Hopping, is an annual Festivity, peculiar to the northern parts of England, at which Relatives, and Friends, mingle in the merry Dance, and the whole scene, is a gratifying Picture, of active Content.)⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² *Rudiments*, p. 37.

Smooth, and Close.

Detach'd, and loud.

Soft, and sweet.

Very Loud.

The musical score consists of eight systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system is marked 'Smooth, and Close.' and features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with block chords. The second system is marked 'Detach'd, and loud.' and shows a treble staff with eighth-note runs and a bass staff with quarter notes. The third system is marked 'Soft, and sweet.' and includes a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with quarter notes. The fourth system is marked 'Very Loud.' and features a treble staff with a dense sixteenth-note texture and a bass staff with eighth-note patterns. The fifth system has a treble staff with eighth-note runs and a bass staff with quarter notes. The sixth system has a treble staff with eighth-note runs and a bass staff with quarter notes. The seventh system has a treble staff with eighth-note runs and a bass staff with quarter notes. The eighth system has a treble staff with eighth-note runs and a bass staff with quarter notes.

Example 3.18 'The Running Fitter', variations

Shield's nostalgic reminiscences are not easy to reconcile either with my own teenage memories of the modern Hoppings (a muddy, noisy funfair on Newcastle's Town Moor), or with other sources describing the Swalwell Hoppings of his lifetime.⁴⁶³ An eponymous dialect song c. 1800 vividly narrates the fair's degeneration into a pitched brawl between rival gangs of ironworkers and keelmen, while in 1758 (perhaps the last year Shield's father took his family back home to join the celebrations), entertainments ranged from the perfectly innocent to the frankly barbaric:

dancing for ribands, grinning for tobacco, women running for smocks, ass races, foot courses by men, with an odd whim of a man eating a cock alive, feathers, entrails and all.⁴⁶⁴

However, Shield's focus on music and dance to the exclusion of other aspects is understandable in its context, and his rose-tinted remembrances should not detract from a description of the function and status of a Hoppings tune which clearly demonstrates his familiarity with local performance practice. With minimal alteration, his arrangement can be performed very effectively on fiddle and cello, instruments commonly used to accompany traditional communal dancing.⁴⁶⁵ Shield's commentary also indicates that eighteenth-century Tyneside villagers held their musicians to high standards of competence and creativity. If he reshaped the traditional melody and created new variations to display his skill, he was not hijacking a labouring tradition that did not belong to him, but following in the footsteps of fiddlers from his own community, and extending their legacy.

⁴⁶³ Simon Duke, 'The Hoppings in Newcastle: A history of the infamous Hoppings downpours', *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 18 June 2015 <<https://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/whats-on/family-kids-news/hoppings-newcastle-history-infamous-hoppings-9466355>>.

⁴⁶⁴ *A Garland of New Songs* (Newcastle: Angus, [c. 1800]), pp. 2-5 [FARNE]; Bourn, *Whickham Parish*, pp. 104-05.

⁴⁶⁵ D. Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 39-40.

Gan to the Kye wi' me my love

While perhaps not the oldest, the most obviously 'Border' of Shield's tunes is this slow air subtitled 'the Widows Ditty to her Child', whose lyrics evoke the region's bloody history, bleak landscapes and resilient inhabitants (**Example 3.19**).

Slow and expressive

The musical score is written in 9/8 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of five systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Gan to the Kye wi me my love Gan to the kye wi me, O - ver the moor and through the Grove, I'll sing ditt-ies to thee; CU - SHIE thy Pet is low - ing a - round her poor first - ling's shed, Tears in her eyes are flow - ing be - cause litt-le Col - ly lies dead.' The score includes dynamic markings such as *fz* and *fz* with slurs, and a double bar line at the end of the piece.

Gan to the Kye wi me my love Gan to the kye wi me,
O - ver the moor and through the Grove, I'll sing ditt-ies to thee;
CU - SHIE thy Pet is low - ing a - round her poor first - ling's shed,
Tears in her eyes are flow - ing be - cause litt-le Col - ly lies dead.

Example 3.19 'Gan to the kye'

The melody is simple but poignant, a swinging, undulating then soaring line recalling rugged hills and wide, cold skies. The first word establishes the use of Border rather than Scots dialect: 'gan' (not 'gang' or 'gae') replaces the standard English 'go'. The second verse relates the tragic circumstances to Border history:

All our fine herd of Cattle thy vigilant Sire possess'd.
After his fall in Battle, By REBEL Chieftains were prest:
KINE now is all our property, Left by thy Fathers Will;
Yet if we nurse it watchfully, We may win geer enough still.⁴⁶⁶

The fates of cow and calf illustrate the harshness of life in this environment and the material and emotional suffering of those who tend them, making the destruction and loss wrought by battles and raids seem as inevitable as the natural cruelties of weather and terrain. Both are enemies to woman and child's survival, to be vanquished by their own perseverance and diligence, since man's strength and aggression has failed to protect family and property. Meanwhile, song salves the wounds and calms the fears that would otherwise overwhelm them.

Shield's harmonisation exemplifies an approach he admired when used by an Italian *maestro di cappella* to accompany a 'Sard[in]ian' national song, 'not with that too fashionable arpeggio' [the 'Alberti bass' ubiquitous in late eighteenth-century piano music] 'but with a dispersed melody different from the voice part, yet supporting without stunning it'. This bears out his guiding principle, that

Harmony should never destroy the character of melody.⁴⁶⁷

The only other contemporary version I have found of this tune is Topliff's far more pianistic arrangement, concluding with an apparently unrelated common time hornpipe in the relative major.⁴⁶⁸ A jig published c. 1740 as 'Gang to the Kirk' (**Example 3.20**) is a major-key variant, clearly closely related yet generating a totally different mood; evidence that contemporary musicians might alter the tonality of tunes, to match new lyrics reflecting the changing fate of their communities.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ *Rudiments*, p. 37.

⁴⁶⁷ *Rudiments*, pp. 3, 89.

⁴⁶⁸ Topliff, pp. 12-14.

⁴⁶⁹ GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 Mf, John Johnson (ed.), *A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances*, (London: [c. 1740]), I, p. 72.



Example 3.20 'Gang to the Kirk'

The Little Lambs; 'Esperance en Dieu'

Mystery surrounds the remaining two 'Border Tunes'. I have found neither the lyrics nor melody of pastoral air 'The Little Lambs' (Example 3.21) in any source.

A - wake ye dull slugg - ards, the dew's off the grass, And

each bloo - ming shep - herd, con - ducts his sweet lass, To the

Hills of the Bor - ders, for to hear the lit - tle Lambs cry - ing

ma for the loss of their Dams.

Example 3.21 'The Little Lambs', bars 8³ to 24³

Shield also included a two-part glee in jig metre featuring prominent chromaticisms, entitled 'Esperance en Dieu' (the Duke of Northumberland's motto), whose lyrics celebrate the heroic heritage and social benevolence of the Percy family (Example 3.22).

In moderate time

The 1st verse in a bold emphatical manner

sfz sfz sfz sfz f

As cou - rage, truth and mer - cy Are at - tri - butes sub - lime The

As cou - rage, truth and mer - cy Are at - tri - butes sub - lime

no - ble line of Per - cy Will live as long as time: A Per - cy's a - ni -

The no - ble line of Per - cy Will live as long as time: A Per - cy's

ma - tor Is Per - cy in re - view A Per - cy's con - so - la - tor is

a - ni - ma - tor Is Per - cy in re - view A Per - cy's con - so - la - tor

Symphony

Es - perance en Dieu *sfz*

Es - perance en Dieu *mf*

Example 3.22 'Esperance en Dieu'

Shield's footnote explains this piece was composed and performed by a 'Father and Son (having been temporary Border Musicians)', in tribute to Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland for 'an act of Beneficence' by which 'A desponding family was raised to the height of Contentment'.⁴⁷⁰ I have yet to definitely identify this musical pair, but possible candidates are Austrian trumpeter Joseph Reinagle, who had settled in Edinburgh by 1763, and his eldest son Alexander (b. 1756), a teacher and arranger of Scots airs for keyboard who later performed in London (and occasionally York, Newcastle and Durham, though never alongside Shield).⁴⁷¹ Potentially, though I have yet to find documentary confirmation, they undertook a temporary residency in the Duke's household in the early 1770s. The duet contains suggestive musical features including broken arpeggios reminiscent of trumpet calls, and textures similar to Alexander's Scots air arrangements (**Example 3.23**).⁴⁷²



Example 3.23 Alexander Reinagle, 'A little love', from *A Collection of The Most Favorite Scots Tunes*

⁴⁷⁰ *Rudiments*, p. 38; Harriet Blodgett, 'Percy, Elizabeth duchess of Northumberland and suo jure Baroness Percy (1716–1776)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

⁴⁷¹ Frank Kidson, rev. by Simon McVeigh, 'Reinagle, Joseph (i)' and Robert Hopkins, 'Reinagle, Alexander', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Southey (thesis), II, pp. 33, 68.

⁴⁷² A. Reinagle, *A Collection of The Most Favorite Scots Tunes* (Glasgow: Aird, [1782]), pp. 3–4, 8.

If Shield also undertook performing engagements in the Duke's household he may have been present when 'Esperance en Dieu' was composed. Otherwise, he could have obtained a copy from Alexander or his brothers Hugh (a cellist) or Joseph junior (a violinist and violist), his probable colleagues in later London concerts.⁴⁷³ Pending definite identification, his comment suggests professionals originating elsewhere could be counted as 'Border Musicians' on the strength of their integration into local society and employment by hereditary feudal landlords, even if their compositions mingled local traditional musical idioms with foreign influences.

Scots Songs

Before considering Shield's use of traditional melodies within theatre works, I examined his contributions to *A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots-Songs*, published in London in 1790 by Scottish violin- and viola-player William Napier, alongside whom Shield played in the royal household band, the Professional Concerts and the 1784 Handel Commemoration.⁴⁷⁴ This is a useful source for analysing Shield's approach to Scots song arrangements, as it provides a set of examples in the same format for easy comparison. Unlike the reductions in his theatre scores and *Favourite Songs*, these arrangements were created and published for the same vocal and instrumental forces, providing the nearest we have in print (alongside his string chamber music) to an original, self-contained and complete representation of Shield's compositional decisions.

The subscribers to Napier's first volume were predominantly Scottish nobility, gentry and military officers; other notable names include the Prince of Wales, the Duchesses of Devonshire and Northumberland, and poets Walter Scott and William Blake. Alongside Scottish dialect songs (with a glossary to assist English readers), Napier included lyrics in a similar classical pastoral vein to those of Shield's

⁴⁷³ Kidson, rev. by McVeigh, 'Reinagle, Hugh' and 'Reinagle, Joseph (ii)', *GMO* (20 January 2001); McVeigh, 'Calendar': Hugh fl. 20 April 1779 to 29 March 1784, Joseph fl. 6 March 1787 to 19 March 1800.

⁴⁷⁴ Napier (ed.), I, nos. 2, 4, 6-9, 23, 33, 39, 42, 62, 76; Frank Kidson, H.G. Farmer and Peter Ward Jones, 'Napier, William' (revised) *GMO* (20 January 2001).

Favourite Songs. This aesthetic is also reflected in the opening quote from Virgil claiming ‘the Doric muse’ had not blushed ‘to dwell on Scottish plains’, in the introductory ‘Dissertation on the Scottish Music’ reproduced from an essay by William Tytler of the Edinburgh Antiquarian Society, first published in 1779. These elements combine with the decidedly steep price of £1 6s to confirm Napier’s target consumers were the educated and wealthy.⁴⁷⁵

Tytler credited Scottish kings, nobles and clan chieftains with furthering musical culture by maintaining household bards (harpists, rather than pipers; he associated the latter only with military music) and entertaining wandering minstrels. He divided the history of Scottish song into four epochs: the reign of James I; those of James IV, James V and Mary; an era lasting until the Restoration of the Stuarts following the Civil Wars; and the period preceding the Union of Scotland and England. Tytler ascribed tunes to each era based on their degree of ‘simplicity and wildness’, claiming the simplest yet most evocative diatonic, single-strain airs were the oldest, those of the second epoch displayed ‘a more varied melody [...] likewise an artful degree of modulation [...] and [...] the introduction of the seventh of the key’, while the most recent examples had a ‘more regular measure and more modern air’. Napier did not follow Tytler’s historical classification system by presenting songs chronologically, nor did he apparently advise his arrangers to treat airs from each era differently.⁴⁷⁶

Of those arranged by Shield, examples dated to the second epoch include ‘Lady Anne Bothwell’s Lament’ (**Example 3.34**); to the third, ‘Thro’ the Wood Laddie’ (**Example 3.26**); and to the fourth, ‘Roslin Castle’ (**Example 3.29**).⁴⁷⁷ Tytler warmly endorsed the Ossian poems forged by James MacPherson to cement Scottish parallels with Homeric bards, but rejected the myth (enthusiastically embraced by Geminiani) that David Rizzio, Mary Queen of Scots’ Italian secretary, was the

⁴⁷⁵ Napier, I, title page, pp. i-iv, 1-16 (p. 1); Claire Nelson, ‘Tea-Table Miscellanies: The Development of Scotland’s Song Culture, 1720-1800’, *Early Music*, 28.4 (November 2000), 596-604, 607-18 (p. 618).

⁴⁷⁶ Napier, I, pp. 2, 8-9.

⁴⁷⁷ Napier, I, pp. 10-11.

composer of many Scottish airs; attributing them instead to King James I. He claimed the modern Italians' gift for melody derived from earlier Scottish influence upon their culture, citing madrigals as evidence that 'the music of Italy [...] was altogether artificial and harmonic' and '*melody*, the soul of music, was not then regarded or cultivated'.⁴⁷⁸

Despite promoting this nationalist thesis, Napier commissioned no Scottish musicians to arrange the airs, employing instead two Englishmen, an Irishman, a Frenchman and an Austrian. In addition to thirteen airs set by Shield, the first volume contains ten arranged by Samuel Arnold, thirty-two by Barthélemon and twenty-five by Thomas Carter; three further volumes consist entirely of settings by Haydn.⁴⁷⁹ Apparently, Napier's confidence in the intrinsic and historic value of Scots songs was not strong enough to attempt marketing them unless under famous names; a decision doubtless influenced by his imminent bankruptcy.⁴⁸⁰ He might have deflected criticism on this front by referring to Tytler, who conceded:

From a want of knowledge of the language, it generally happens, that, to most of the foreign masters, our melodies, at first, must seem wild and uncouth; for which reason, in their performance, they generally fall short of our expectation. We sometimes, however, find a foreign master, who, with a genius for the pathetic, and a knowledge of the subject and words, has afforded very high pleasure in a Scottish song.

Tytler also suggested,

Where, with a fine voice, is joined some skill in instrumental music, the air, by way of symphony, or introduction to the song, should always be first played over; and, at the close of every stanza, the last part of the air may be repeated, as a relief to the voice. In this *symphonic part*, the performer may shew his taste and fancy on the instrument, by varying it *ad libitum*.⁴⁸¹

All the songs are scored for voice in treble clef, with a violin harmony part and a figured bass line playable on a bowed, keyboard or plucked continuo instrument, whose structure and phrasing is dictated wholly by the vocal melody. Most are in binary form, both sections closing with the same phrase. Napier printed no

⁴⁷⁸ Napier, I, pp. 2-6; Geminiani, *Good Taste*, p. 1; Gelbart, pp. 33-38.

⁴⁷⁹ Napier, I, Index; Haydn (arr.), *A Selection of Original Scots Songs*, 3 vols [II-IV] (London: Napier, [1792-95]).

⁴⁸⁰ 'Napier, William', rev. by Kidson, Farmer and Ward Jones, *GMO*.

⁴⁸¹ Napier, I, p. 15.

'symphonies', but any vocal anacrusis is usually unaccompanied, allowing instrumentalists to follow the singer; perhaps in imitation of traditional practice, or because arrangers deemed this the easiest way for less skilled amateurs to establish tempo. However, symphonies can easily be added as Tytler directs, with the violinist playing the vocal melody before reverting to the harmony part during verses (a plan I have successfully adopted in concert performances). This instruction reinforces my earlier point that extemporization and variation were not limited to oral tradition, but practised by professional musicians – and here, expected of high society amateurs – working from notated sources.

Many authors, including Tytler, highlight as characteristic of Scots airs their basis in diatonic, often 'gapped' scales, and closure on degrees other than the tonic:

The distinguishing strain of our old melodies is plaintive and melancholy; and what makes them soothing and affecting, to a great degree, is the constant use of the concordant tones, the third and fifth of the scale, often ending upon the fifth, and some of them on the sixth of the scale.⁴⁸²

Although most tunes in Napier's collection use every degree of the scale somewhere, the fourth and seventh appear only rarely; as passing notes, in ornaments or at cadences, often confined to the second strain. Many phrases are pentatonic, others quasi-pentatonic, particularly those ascending predominantly in major seconds and minor thirds. Some circle around the fifth, sixth and octave, where the minor third created by the absence of a seventh allows for ambiguity between tonic and relative minor, while avoiding modulation. Many airs do not truly establish a tonic until the close of the second phrase, where a stepwise descent lends itself to cadential harmonies.

Shield's harmonic writing responds to each melody's shape and pace in consistently simple, subtle and inventive ways, generally treating violin, voice and bass as independent lines. The vocal range varies from one to two octaves, reaching a'' or b''. Violin and cello each cover two and a half octaves from the lowest string upwards, utilising the higher register for counter-melodic interaction with the voice. Shield's bass lines frequently evoke a drone, but rarely by sustaining a continuous

⁴⁸² Napier, I, pp. 2, 13; Gelbart, pp. 29, 112-14, 123-37; Nelson (thesis), pp. 173-76, 178; D. Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, p. 16.

pedal note or fifth. In 'Peggy I must love thee' (Example 3.24), 'De'il tak the Wars' (Example 3.31) and 'Oh Dear Mother what shall I do', he sustains a single or octave drone under much of a phrase, before breaking into scale or arpeggio movement towards the cadence or link between phrases.⁴⁸³ Octave displacement or slow arpeggiation give the impression of a more active bass line by varying rhythm and register, without changing the underlying harmony. In melodies able to support more regular chord changes, like 'I'll never leave thee' (Example 3.25), 'Braes of Ballendine' and 'Thro' the Wood Laddie' (Example 3.26), the bass line moves in crotchets varied by imitative or cadential melodic gestures.⁴⁸⁴

With the next morn - ing Sun he spies A Ship which gave un - hop'd sur - prise; New
 life springs up He lifts His eyes With joy and waits her mo - tion.

Example 3.24 'Peggy I must love thee', bars 84 to 163

⁴⁸³ Napier, I, nos. 4, 62, 76.

⁴⁸⁴ Napier, I, nos. 7, 42.

Plaintive

One day I heard Ma - ry say_ , How shall I leave thee?

Stay, dear - est A - DO - NIS, stay Why wilt thou grieve me?

Example 3.25 'I'll never leave thee', bars 1 to 8

O San - dy why leav'st_ thou thy Nel - ly to_ mourn?

Example 3.26 'Thro' the Wood Laddie', bars 0³ to 4

Often one instrumental part, usually the violin, moves in parallel thirds or sixths with the vocal melody for a few notes or an entire phrase, as in poignant airs like 'The Bush aboon Traquair', 'Gilderoy', 'Tweed Side' (Example 3.27), 'Roslin Castle' (Example 3.29), and 'De'il tak the wars' (Example 3.31).⁴⁸⁵

Not dai-sy nor sweet blush-ing rose, not all the gay flow'rs of the field, not
Tweed glid-ing gen-tly thro' those such Beau-ty and plea-sure does yield.

Example 3.27 'Tweed Side', bars 12³ to 24²

Tytler attributed the composition of 'Roslin Castle' to James Oswald, an Edinburgh dancing-master, fiddler and cellist who moved to London in 1741 and became music master to the royal household, with a profitable sideline in publishing tunes collected in Scotland or composed in a Scots idiom. Oswald's compositions and arrangements often include similar dynamic, counter-melodic movement in both

⁴⁸⁵ Napier, I, nos. 2, 8-9, 42, 62.

harmony and bass lines (**Example 3.28**, amalgamated from versions for voice and keyboard, and for two flutes).⁴⁸⁶

The image displays a musical score for 'Rosline Castle' by James Oswald. It consists of four systems, each with a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in common time (C). The first system shows a melody in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. The second system continues the melody and bass line. The third system shows a more complex melody with some grace notes and a bass line. The fourth system concludes the piece with a final cadence in the treble staff and a bass line ending with a fermata.

Example 3.28 Oswald, 'Rosline Castle'

Shield embraced the fluidity Oswald's approach offered, while retaining a simple harmonic structure and transparent texture, with upper parts closely spaced and the widest interval above the bass to produce the best resonance (as advocated in his treatises).⁴⁸⁷ In his arrangement of 'Roslin Castle' (**Example 3.29**), the bass line of each phrase begins with a held note or chord, hinting at a drone, before flowing into mostly stepwise cadential approach figures in contrary motion with the melody. This alternation between stasis and flow in the harmonic rhythm contributes to the

⁴⁸⁶ David Johnson and Heather Melvill, 'Oswald, James' *GMO* (20 January 2001); Oswald, *A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs* (London: [c. 1761]), pp. 16-17.

⁴⁸⁷ *Introduction*, pp. 3, 12-13, 32, 34, 36, 40, 44-45, 84; *Rudiments*, p. 2.

atmosphere of poignant reflection created by the undulations and chromatic touches of the slow air.

'Twas in that sea-son of the Year, When all things gay and sweet appear, That

Co - lin with the morn - ing ray, A - rose and Sung his ru - ral lay.

Of Nan-nys charms the Shep-herd sung, The hills and dales with Nan-ny rung, While

Ros - lin Cas - tle heard the Swain, And Ech - o'd back the chear - ful strain.

Example 3.29 Roslin Castle

Other textures include the accompanying instruments doubling the voice at the unison or octave, or sustaining harmony notes. At cadences or between phrases, one or both instruments links to the next phrase by imitating the final vocal gesture, or filling in a broken chord figure. Double stops feature sparingly but effectively in both violin and bass parts, sometimes reinforcing the impression of a drone, elsewhere thickening the harmonic texture at cadences.

Shield set these songs in keys with few sharps or flats, perhaps to accommodate amateur musicians or exploit the timbre of open strings (**Figure 3.1**).

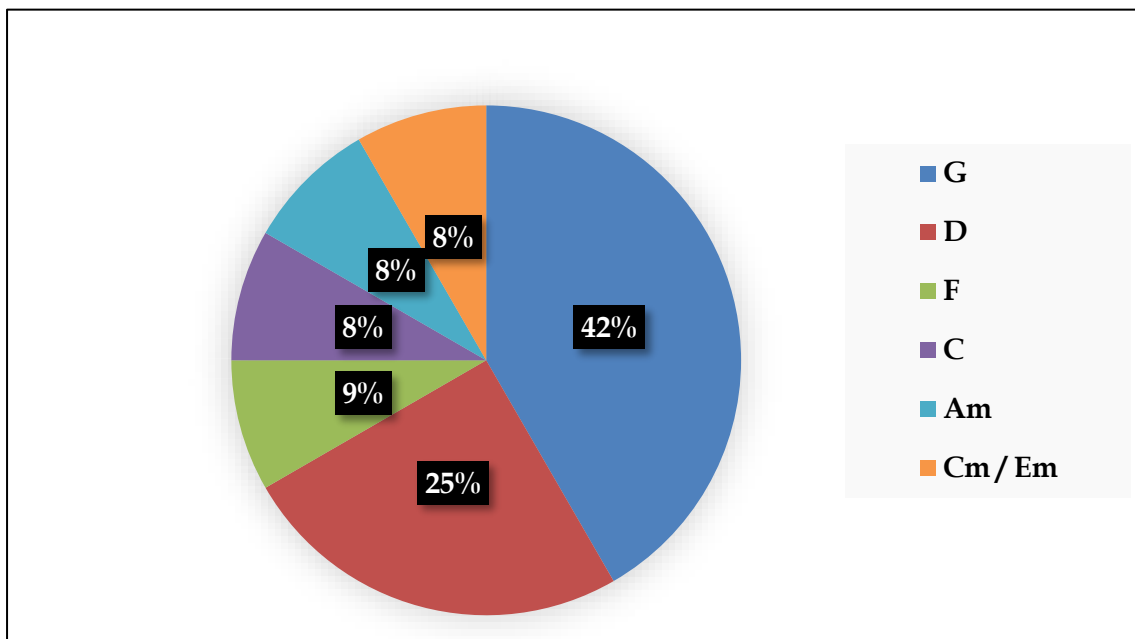


Figure 3.1 Keys used in Shield's arrangements for Napier

In selecting and voicing chords, Shield rarely diverged from the core tonality and primary triads of each tune (**Figure 3.2**), abiding by his own stricture:

You must not accompany a simple natural melody with an artful complicated harmony.⁴⁸⁸

None of his settings truly modulates, though some cadences include dominant seventh chords.

⁴⁸⁸ *Introduction*, p. 84.

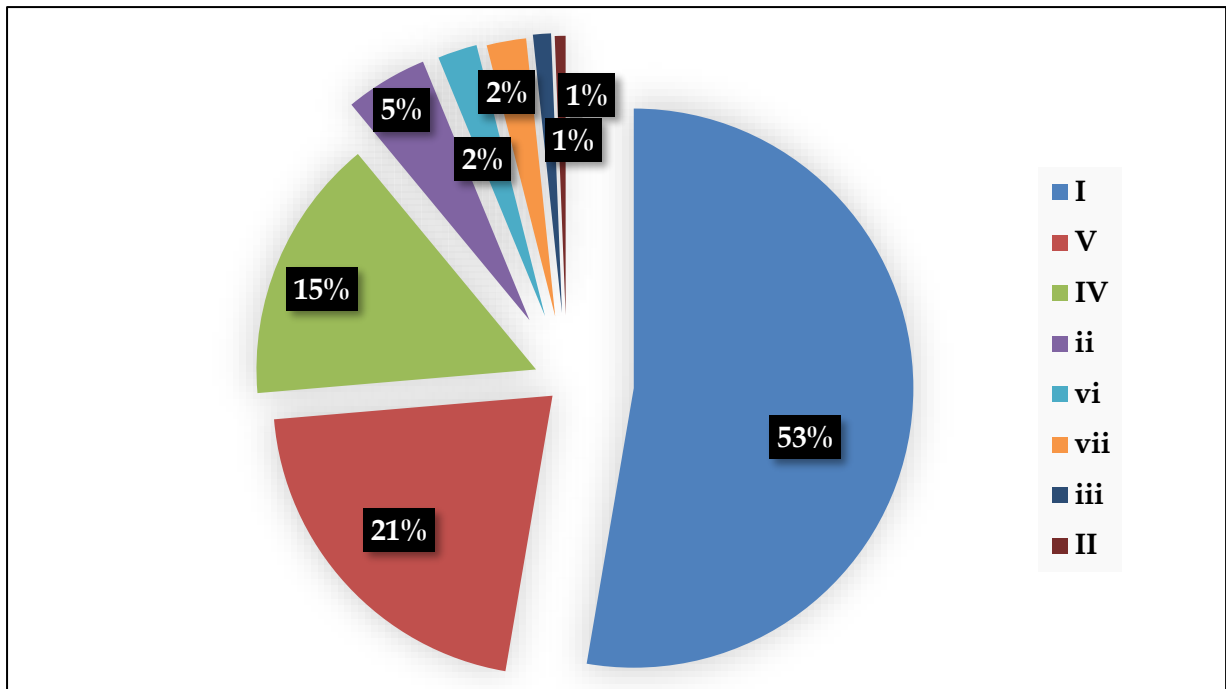


Figure 3.2 Chords used in Shield's arrangements for Napier

However, endorsing simplicity did not mean leaping to the most obvious harmonic solution or settling for dull, clichéd accompaniments. As Shield later advised his harmony students,

A variety in cadence is a great relief to the ear, which is apt to get cloyed, with a repetition of the same chords.⁴⁸⁹

His fellow contributors often introduced harmonic variety to repeated phrases by substituting a relative minor or major for the tonic or subdominant, unwarranted by any change of mood in the lyrics.⁴⁹⁰ Shield's approach was more subtle, employing inversions imaginatively to create a fluid, melodic bass line in place of the repetitive or angular accompaniment found in many Scots tune collections, produced by using only root position chords (**Figure 3.3**). In this he followed the example of Geminiani, who often used first inversions in Scots air arrangements to allow stepwise parallel motion between bass and melody, avoid consecutive fifths or prevent pseudo-

⁴⁸⁹ *Introduction*, p. 10.

⁴⁹⁰ *Napier*, I, nos. 19, 28, 38, 54.

cadences occurring mid-phrase (see Chapter 4, **Example 4.9**).⁴⁹¹ Very occasionally Shield used chromatic passing notes or decorations which seem momentarily incongruous with the traditional tune; perhaps conceding to modern taste which, as he acknowledged, found cadences without a sharp leading note ‘displeasing’.⁴⁹² Some such touches also provide expressive inflections; in ‘Peggy I must love thee’, he used major sevenths only within ornaments, and one minor seventh over a tonic drone at an emotive point in the second strain (**Example 3.24**).⁴⁹³

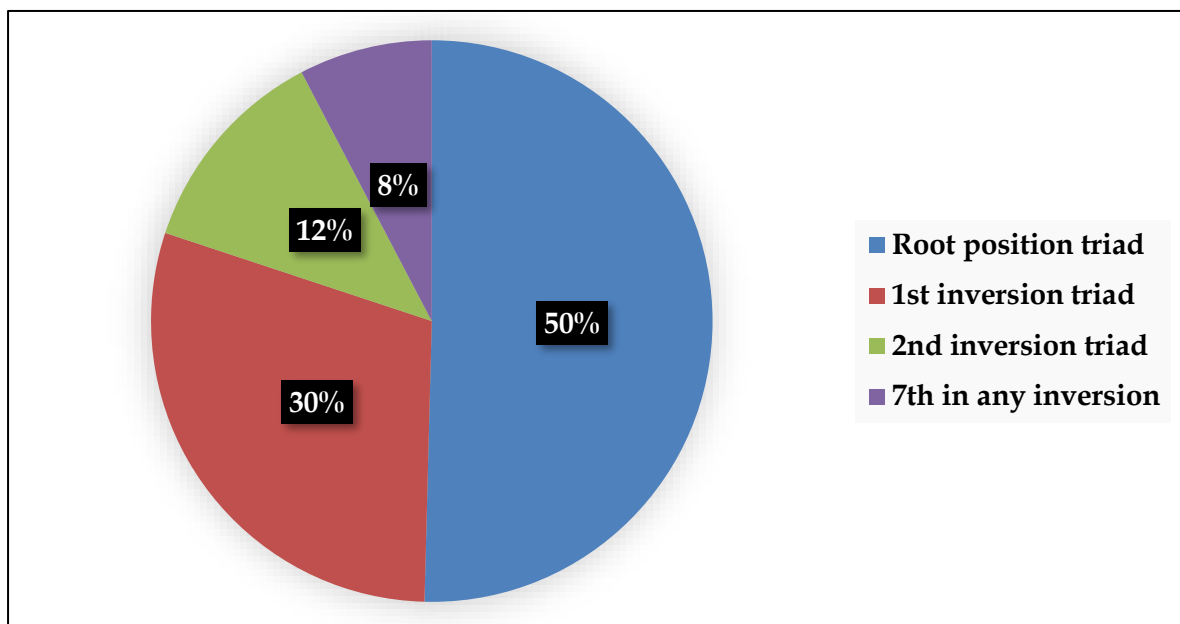


Figure 3.3 Inversions in Shield’s arrangements for Napier

Shield’s use of melodic ornaments is graceful but sparing, suggesting he also applied the following rule to Scottish airs:

English [ballads] want no foreign ornament; but performers are so often applauded for embellishments, that simplicity seldom appears in its native dress.

⁴⁹¹ Geminiani, *Good Taste*, 2-30 (pp. 12-13).

⁴⁹² *Rudiments*, p. 3.

⁴⁹³ Napier, I, nos. 4, 9, 23.

Shield criticised otherwise ‘great’ singers for spoiling many a ‘beautiful ballad’ with clichéd and elaborate cadenzas, or obscuring naturally ‘expressive’ leaps with superfluous runs and embellishments. He even admitted,

I was once silly enough to write a fine flourishing double cadence to a pathetic air; which so destroyed the passion, and rendered both the singer and myself so ridiculous, that I hope never to be importuned to repeat such an absurdity. It was [...] an offence to the rules of good taste.⁴⁹⁴

Such reflections accord with Beattie’s dictum,

Simplicity makes music, as well as language, intelligible and expressive [...] and Tytler’s claim that,

the Scottish songs are the flights of genius, devoid of art, they bid defiance to artificial graces and affected cadences.

In his arrangements for Napier, Shield did not repeat his earlier mistake, but nor did he limit himself to the only ornament Tytler would countenance, an ‘easy *shake*’.⁴⁹⁵ He highlighted harmonically or textually expressive moments with grace notes or appoggiature (‘Roslin Castle’, **Example 3.29**), using short trills or ascending flourishes only at cadences or to articulate repeated melody notes (‘Thro the Wood Laddie’, **Example 3.26**). Ornaments in instrumental parts occur only in imitation of the voice, and articulation marks are limited to syllabic slurs, double-stopping over a drone (‘Roslin Castle’), and articulated slurs on repeated pitches (‘Thro’ the Wood Laddie’).⁴⁹⁶

Napier’s consistency of format and presentation facilitates comparisons between Shield and his fellow contributors. Each had his own distinct style, but Shield’s settings accord best with Tytler’s recommendations:

The accompaniment of a Scottish song ought to be performed with delicacy. The fine breathings, those heart-felt touches, which genius alone can express, in our songs, are lost in a noisy accompaniment of instruments. The full chords of a thorough bass should be used sparingly, and with judgement, not to overpower, but to support and raise the voice at proper pauses.⁴⁹⁷

Apparently Napier did not share Tytler’s ‘Dissertation’ with his contributors, as Arnold, Barthélemon and Carter maintained a continuously full accompaniment.

⁴⁹⁴ *Introduction*, p. 84.

⁴⁹⁵ Beattie, I, p. 170, quoted by Nelson (thesis), p. 83; Gelbart, p. 100; Napier, I, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁹⁶ Napier, I, nos. 2, 33, 39, 42.

⁴⁹⁷ Napier, I, p. 15.

Many of their arrangements contain no rests at all, whereas Shield's are immediately striking for their use of silence to vary the texture and allow clear articulation of the words; reflecting Tytler's concern that poor diction and vocal expression were

a sign of want of feeling, and the mark of a bad singer; particularly of Scottish songs, where there is generally so intimate a correspondence between the air and subject.⁴⁹⁸

Shield also employed a greater variety of textures both between and within songs, responding imaginatively and sensitively to emotions and imagery in the lyrics.

At the root of these contrasts is a fundamental difference of approach to harmonising traditional melodies. As a cellist improvising or devising basses to tunes which in their oldest form and traditional context would be accompanied only by a drone, I begin by sustaining a tonic while singing through the melody, to identify where it pulls away or changes direction sufficiently to warrant a chord change. Having established the most minimal harmonic outline possible, I develop this by listening for expressive intervals and words to highlight or underpin with melodic or rhythmic counterpoint. Shield's arrangements for Napier demonstrate a similar drone-based and melody-driven approach, almost diametrically opposed to that of his colleagues. Only rarely did they employ a drone bass, always in repeated notes or alternating octaves; and often applied this approach not to ancient pipe tunes where it was most apt and necessary, but to melodies better suited to support functional harmony.⁴⁹⁹

In Arnold's somewhat old-fashioned accompaniments, the bass often moves in plain rhythms between primary chords while violin parts provide harmonic and textural filling; quavers alternating over a pedal, broken chords in semiquavers, triplet arpeggios or rhythmic repeated notes (**Example 3.30**). Some textural motifs seem intended to depict weather mentioned in the lyrics, e.g. triplet figures for falling rain, and Alberti-style semiquavers conveying the energy of winter storms.⁵⁰⁰ However, each pattern once selected is often maintained throughout the song, regardless of whether melody or text might be better served by varying the accompaniment. This

⁴⁹⁸ Napier, I, p. 15.

⁴⁹⁹ Napier, I, nos. 21, 44, 64, 68.

⁵⁰⁰ Napier, I, nos. 16, 20, 52.

crude word-painting owes more to theatrical convention than the landscape, climate or culture of Scotland. Arnold's choice of chords is usually sound, but he compromised melodic ambiguities by describing progressions too fully and often inserted cadential clichés, sometimes resulting in false relations.⁵⁰¹

Slow

p

In win - ter when the rain rain'd cauld, And

p 7 7#

mf *p*

frost and snaw on il - ka hill And Bor - eas with his

mf *p*

6/5 # 6 3/4

blasts sae bauld, Was threat - 'ning a our Kye to kill.

7# 6/5 #

Example 3.30 Arnold, 'Tak' your auld Cloak about ye', bars 1 to 82

⁵⁰¹ Napier, I, nos. 22, 29, 52.

Shield found more emotionally intelligent ways to employ harmonic figurations. On repeating the first strain of 'De'il tak the wars' (**Example 3.31**), where the singer envisages her soldier lover in danger overseas, he replaced parallel motion violin harmony with Alberti-style broken chords, apparently breaking his own principle that this accompaniment was unsuitable for traditional airs. Yet here, it serves both as a textural and rhythmic effect evoking turbulence and conflict, and as a 'foreign' musical idiom conveying geographical distance.⁵⁰² Shield extended the metaphor by introducing a sustained tonic drone, representing the native and familiar, as the singer recalls pleading with her man to remain safe at home.

Carter also essayed word-painting, but chose effects too clichéd to be poignant. In 'MacPherson's Farewell' he stipulated expressive tempo changes and accompanied the second strain lyrics, describing a condemned man dancing beneath the gallows, with triplet arpeggios and octave leaps; in another air he used chromaticisms to portray a groaning ghost.⁵⁰³ Carter supplied the most modern and pianistic arrangements, with rhythmic repeated notes, alternating octaves and arpeggios on mostly primary chords, and occasional syncopations. His harmony lines have interest but often seem unnecessarily busy or decorative, suggesting anxiety to fill the spaces in every simple or sustained melodic phrase.⁵⁰⁴ All four contributors created effective harmony lines moving in parallel thirds and sixths with the melody, but Carter and Barthélemon often continued parallel motion too strictly and unvaryingly, robbing delicacy from passing notes and graces.⁵⁰⁵ Carter pursued this approach even where contrary motion would have avoided consecutives more neatly, resulting in awkward chromatic passing notes or leaps.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰² Napier, I, no. 62.

⁵⁰³ Napier, I, nos. 45, 77.

⁵⁰⁴ Napier, I, nos. 5, 40, 43, 46, 56, 71.

⁵⁰⁵ Napier, I, nos. 14, 37, 47, 57.

⁵⁰⁶ Napier, I, nos. 19, 60, 61a, 61b, 72.

they made him Cap-tain_ sure_ to un-do_ me_ Woe's_ me he'll_ ne'er re-turn,

a thou-sand loons a-broad will_ fight_ him_ he_ from_ thou-sands,

ne'er_ will_ run_ day and_ night I_ did_ in-

vite_ him_ to_ stay at home from_ sword and gun.

Example 3.31 'De'il tak' the Wars', bars 9 to 32

All three of Shield's fellow contributors inserted standard cadential approach formulae or sequences on the cycle of fifths, even where this meant resolving a progression across the end of a melodic phrase.⁵⁰⁷ Barthélemon approached his designated airs as if setting a homophonic hymn tune, with considerable ingenuity but zero instinct for their intrinsic harmonic structure. His insistence on fully harmonising every note – even obvious passing notes or broken triads – introduces chromatic or pivot chords before the melody has even established a tonal centre, much less departed from it.⁵⁰⁸ In his setting of 'The Flower of Yarrow' (long familiar to Northumbrians in the simpler form known as 'Sir John Fenwick's the flower among them all'), this misapplication of harmonic technique completely obscures the beauty of the drone-based melody (**Example 3.32**).⁵⁰⁹

Shield understood that interest in a bass line comes not from many notes, clever formulae or extravagant gestures, but through internal shape and direction giving dynamic interplay with the melody, to be achieved as readily by a few well-placed touches as through complex counterpoint. Barthélemon's basses are not incorrect but not inspired, often flat or angular rather than flowing. His violin parts are cleverly constructed yet incoherent, since he had to resort to harmonic gymnastics to extricate himself from unnecessary chord changes, destroying any sense of an organically developing independent line.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Napier, I, nos. 10, 24, 26, 28, 31, 48, 49b, 75.

⁵⁰⁸ Napier, I, nos. 32, 36, 49a, 50, 53, 65, 69.

⁵⁰⁹ GB-AS [GBNT-sa], SANT/GEN/MUS/1/1, Henry Atkinson MS, pp. 19-20 [FARNE] [henceforth Atkinson MS].

⁵¹⁰ Napier, I, nos. 11, 25, 47, 53, 55.

Ye re - gis - ters of Hea - v'n re - late, if look - ing o'er the
 rolls of fate, did you there see me mark'd to -
 mar - row, Ma - ry Scott the flow'r of Yar - row.

6 6 6 5 6 6 b5 6 b5 6 6
 4 # 4

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 4 6 7
 4 6 2

6 5 6 6 6 6
 4 3

Example 3.32 Barthélemon, 'Mary Scott the Flower of Yarrow', bars 17 to 32

Carter seemed averse to minor keys to the point of harmonising obviously minor motifs with subdominant chords in the relative major, contradicting both the tune's intrinsic harmony and the sentiment of the lyrics.⁵¹¹ 'Ettrick Banks' (Example 3.33) is a particularly egregious example; by setting it in F, rather than D minor, Carter squandered a natural opportunity to illustrate the singer's joy on seeing his beloved with an uplifting modulation to the relative major.

⁵¹¹ Napier, I, nos. 67, 73, 74.

Slow

On Et - rick banks in a sum-mer night, At glo-ming when the sheep draw hame, I

met my Lass - ie braw and tight, Come wad - ing bare-foot a' her lane.

My heart grew light I ran I slang my arms a - bout her li - ly neck, And

kiss'd and clas'pd her there sou lang; My words they were na' mo - ny seck.

Example 3.33 Carter, 'Ettrick Banks'

Perhaps disappointed with such inapposite arrangements, or simply banking on a celebrity name to increase sales, Napier commissioned Joseph Haydn, who visited London several times from 1791 to '95, to complete the final three volumes of his collection.⁵¹² Lacking space to analyse these here, I refer to Shield's 'perceptive comments' (Nelson) in *Rudiments*, on Haydn's execution of this project:

The moderns unite the refinements of the German school with these artless strains; But the most learned musician of his time accompanied them with such figured basses as the following, the symphonies excepted, which for his ears, and Judgement, would have been too chromatic.⁵¹³

It is unclear who added these 'symphonies'; they do not appear with Haydn's otherwise identical arrangement of 'John Anderson my Jo' in Napier's collection.⁵¹⁴

Shield added a footnote:

* I have heard the first F [natural] sang sharp by those who were deaf to scottish beauties.

The key is G minor, and there are other F#s in melody and bass, but only where they function as genuine leading notes, demonstrating both Shield and Haydn's sensitivity to the modality of such airs.

Shield was too modest and generous to advertise or resent the fact that 'the universal Harmonist' was influenced by his own understanding and example, but the significance of the assistance he gave Haydn with these arrangements should not be underestimated. He describes how,

when [Haydn] viewed some of the words & passages which generally appear uncouth to Foreigners, he requested that he might refer to me instead of to a Glossary while he played his accompaniments with a Piano Forte, & sang the melodies.⁵¹⁵

Shield's input enabled Haydn to attain full comprehension of and empathy with the dialect words, which Tytler emphasized as fundamental to the accompaniment or performance of Scots songs:

The Scottish melodies contain strong expression of the passions, particularly of the melancholy kind; in which the air often finely corresponds to the subject of the song. [...]

⁵¹² Georg Feder and James Webster, 'Haydn, (Franz) Joseph', *GMO* (20 September 2001).

⁵¹³ Nelson (thesis), p. 167; *Rudiments*, p. 30.

⁵¹⁴ Napier, II, no. 3.

⁵¹⁵ *Rudiments*, p. 31.

To a sweet, liquid, flowing voice, capable of swelling a note from the softest to the fullest tone [...] must be joined sensibility and feeling, and a perfect understanding of the subject, and words of the song, so as to know the significant word on which to swell or soften the tone, and lay the force of the note.⁵¹⁶

Shield's account also implies he actively contributed to Haydn's selection of suitable harmonies:

The Violin part to 'Todlen hame' proved so delighting, that with it, & the melody, we formed a Vocal Duet after which he observed that when he was first requested to harmonize this Air, he proposed to relieve its monotony by a progression to some of its relative keys; But the attempt convinced him that modulations & contrasts would destroy its character & prove less pleasing than its repeated passage.⁵¹⁷

In his treatises, Shield employed his experience of traditional performance to refute the perception (based on their notated appearance) that national airs were 'monotonous', and apparently also converted Haydn to his point of view; examples from Napier's second volume display a range and transparency of accompaniment more akin to Shield's approach than any of his colleagues.⁵¹⁸

The most unique and extraordinary of Shield's Scots song settings is a complete contrast to Arnold, Barthélemon and Carter's arrangements, and unlike anything I have found in other collections. 'Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament' is the beautiful, poignant 'lullaby of a forsaken mistress over her child', Shield's setting of which (**Example 3.34**) exemplifies his harmonically and emotionally intelligent approach to Scottish and Border melodies.⁵¹⁹ In another imaginative variation on the drone, an open fifth comprising the cello's warm, resonant middle strings is struck and left to resound, not at measured intervals but under key words, from which arpeggiated semiquavers emerge in the violin, creating a harp-like texture. Here Shield embraced the 'monotony' his colleagues feared: in ten of sixteen bars, the bass strikes only a single note, octave or fifth; in three more it is silent, letting the melody flow and breathe. Occasionally the bass moves melodically, with or against the ebb and flow

⁵¹⁶ Napier, I, pp. 13, 15.

⁵¹⁷ *Rudiments*, p. 31.

⁵¹⁸ e.g. Haydn (arr.), II, nos. 7, 21, 23, 81.

⁵¹⁹ Napier, I, p. 15.

of other parts, easing the accompaniment around a harmonic corner between tonic and subdominant, yet never forcing it into a cadence.

Plaintive

Ba - low my babe lye still and sleep, It grieves me sair_ to_ see thee weep, Ba -

low my babe lye still and sleep, It grieves me_sair_ to_ see thee weep, If

6 6 66 6 4 6 6
4 34 2

tr

tr

thou'll be si - lent I'll be glad, Thy main-ing makes my heart full sad Ba -

low my babe thy mith_er's joy, Thy fa - ther bree - ds me_ great an-noy.

47 6

Example 3.34 'Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament'

Shield left the hexatonic vocal melody unembellished, except for one anguished trill at the climax of the verse, delicately but firmly shadowed and supported by the violin part. Occasional minor or major sevenths in the instrumental parts create tension against the tonic triad and provide impetus towards resolution.⁵²⁰ In performance (with violin and voice, or two violins, and cello), I have found that like many deceptively simple pieces, this song is challenging to play well, but can be spellbindingly effective.

Conclusions

In contrast to the eighteenth-century antiquarians who strove to establish authenticity by proving the origins of national airs, Roud has concluded,

It is not the origin of a song which makes it a 'folk song' but the process by which ordinary people learn it, perform it, and pass it on. It is therefore not really the song which is 'folk', but the process of learning and performance.

This definition excludes professional musicians (except street ballad singers), implying they belonged to 'the "educated" classes' and could lay no claim to the musical culture of the working masses; an assumption which, as shown in Chapter 2, does not do justice to Shield's experience.⁵²¹ He lacked consistent, formal schooling but was exposed from an early age both to labouring environments and professional musical training, and had contact with music-makers of all kinds. Does Shield's pursuit of, and success in, a musical career disqualify him from the ranks of 'ordinary people' (defined by Roud through a long list of manual occupations in agriculture, industries, trades and domestic service)? Was he participating in 'folk' music when he absorbed traditional songs as a child on Tyneside or improvised variations on dance tunes as a young fiddler, yet departing from it when he adapted the same tunes for theatrical performance and publication in later life? His treatises celebrate and share traditions from an insider's perspective, and in Chapter 6 I explore how 'ordinary people' accepted his compositions into their repertoire.

⁵²⁰ Napier, I, p. 6.

⁵²¹ Roud, in Roud and Bishop (eds), pp. xi-xii.

Johnson's research into the performing careers and compositional output of eighteenth-century Scottish fiddlers demonstrated that their professional experience encompassed performing, inventing and extemporizing on traditional airs and dance tunes, alongside interpreting and teaching the formal notation, harmonic theory and compositional techniques of European baroque and classical music.⁵²² The evidence of cross-border exchange in manuscript collections suggests Shield was heir to similarly skilled musicians in north-east England, who created both original repertoire and locally-developed and -enhanced versions of widely-known traditional tunes in a labouring class context. Shield was among the professional musicians whose work in various settings, including fairs, taverns, assembly rooms and theatres, facilitated transmission of these tunes to the upper echelons of society. That Peacock's innovations to the Northumbrian pipes predate Shield's treatises also suggests both are outcomes of an increasing cross-fertilisation between traditional melodies and 'classical' approaches to harmony, in the practice of musicians working primarily in the oral tradition as well as those, like Shield, with practical experience and training in European-influenced concert and theatrical repertoire and composition. This challenges an orthodox, generally negative view of interactions between so-called 'classical' and 'folk' music which treats them as incompatible, even opposing genres, each either polluting or hijacking the other. If we recognise how many eighteenth-century musicians incorporated elements of both genres into their practice (arguably, most if not all of them, to varying degrees), it becomes entirely plausible to envisage dynamic encounters between musicians and melodies leading organically to mutual development. Evidently professional musicians like Shield, with lived experience of traditional music, were capable - both through spontaneous extemporization and deliberate, strategic composing or arranging activity - of thinking about how they combined and adapted their various inspirations and influences, with greater imagination and flexibility than many analysts of their productions have since shown.

⁵²² D. Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 3, 19, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, p. 5.

Chapter 4 : Staging 'National' Airs

Musicological analysis: sources and considerations

Though analysis of Shield's theatrical works is complicated by the lack of full orchestral scores or parts, several sources remain to be compared, each shedding light on different aspects of performance. Pamphlets containing song lyrics were sold on the door from opening night onwards, a complete wordbook including spoken dialogue would be published if the piece was well-received, and a score (the most expensive to print) usually only if the production proved commercially successful.⁵²³ Discrepancies between published sources demonstrate cuts, alterations and additions made during the initial run or for subsequent revivals, in response to feedback and criticism, personnel changes necessitated by illness or disputes, interventions from the government Examiner of Plays, and external social or political events.⁵²⁴

Shield's published scores include more additional harmony parts and cues than many similar works (as Fiske suggested, perhaps indicating he prepared keyboard reductions for publication himself, rather than delegating to a junior colleague or editor), which offer valuable clues to the texture and timbre of his accompaniments.⁵²⁵ However, the format, presentation and labelling of scores is inconsistent, so any attempt to draw conclusions regarding harmonisation and orchestration inevitably rests on partial information. Printed wordbooks often include lyrics for at least one song that is missing from the score; some of these were borrowed from other composers, but elsewhere Shield's original songs were cut and the music has not survived. No source can be considered complete or definitive; the published score represents at best a means of accessing the principal or most enduring elements of Shield's work on a given production.

⁵²³ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 258-59; Drummond, p. xxviii.

⁵²⁴ Rice, pp. 51-53, 135-37, 140-153, 194-99, 299, 304; 'Additions to *Robin Hood*', *The Lady's Magazine*, 15 (October 1784), p. 531.

⁵²⁵ *English Theatre Music*, pp. 296-98.

Nevertheless, surviving material yields observable trends and patterns. I have undertaken comparative analysis of 277 extant movements (overtures, incidental dances and songs) from Shield's thirteen most successful 'dialogue operas': those which a) named Shield as the principal composer; b) were performed over forty times in London before 1800; and c) were published in close to complete score. I have identified characteristic features of Shield's compositional style, and concluded that his approach to setting lyrics and combining movements into a whole remained remarkably consistent throughout his career. Before *The Flitch of Bacon* launched his London career, he had already established successful formulae that he continued to develop in subsequent projects. I have therefore selected just one work for close analysis, to highlight techniques applicable to many others: *The Highland Reel*, Shield's fifth mainpiece for Covent Garden and his ninth production with Irish playwright John O'Keeffe, first performed on 6 November 1788.⁵²⁶

The Highland Reel represents an approximate median in Shield's output. Produced at roughly the midpoint of his theatre career, it achieved an immediate and moderately sustained popularity, with twenty-seven performances that season, sixteen during 1789 to '90, and a handful in each subsequent year totalling over sixty by 1800. (Shield's most successful Covent Garden pieces, *Rosina* and *The Poor Soldier*, were performed there 138 and 127 times respectively, within twelve seasons of opening.)⁵²⁷ No material change to characters or lyrics is reflected between the initial lyric pamphlet, the reduced score published late 1788, and the wordbook printed for a 1789 Dublin production, including stage directions and cast lists of both companies.⁵²⁸ One song was omitted from both score and wordbook, reflecting *The Highland Reel*'s reduction to an afterpiece one month after opening (possibly indicating that more of O'Keeffe's dialogue was cut than Shield's music).⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ LS5, II, p. 1108; Troost, 'Shield, William', *GMO*.

⁵²⁷ LS5, I, p. 548; II, pp. 639, 732, 824, 916, 1002, 1092, 1186, 1282, 1384; III, pp. 1481, 1575, 1682.

⁵²⁸ *Songs, Airs, Duets, Chorusses &c. in the Highland-Reel*, 2nd edn (London: Cadell, 1788) [henceforth *HRlyrics*]; O'Keeffe, *The Highland Reel* (Dublin: M'Donnel, 1789) [henceforth *HRbook*]; Shield, *The Highland Reel* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788]) [henceforth *HRscore*].

⁵²⁹ 'Air X', *HRlyrics*, pp. 14-15.

My analysis considers how Shield's musical choices combine to reinforce, develop and illustrate O'Keefe's characterisation and organisation of relationships and themes within the plot. O'Keefe's *Recollections* provide interesting insights into the working relationship between author and composer. Describing the development of *The Poor Soldier*, he wrote:

My piece of "The Shamrock" having been only a temporary subject, and the occasion gone by, Mr. Harris regretted that the fine Irish airs of Carolan, which I had selected, and which had been taken down from my voice by the composer, (airs never before heard by an English public,) should be lost: on which I suggested to him the idea of my working at it again, and bringing it out at his theatre in another shape. I did so, and completed my "Poor Soldier." Shield did the accompaniments to the airs of Carolan, which I had chosen, and those of his own original composition; and the melodies altogether were beautiful [...]

Carolan the Irish bard died only a few years before I was born, but I spoke with many who knew him, and had heard him chant his minstrelsies.⁵³⁰

Though O'Keefe believed these airs to have been composed by celebrated itinerant harper Turlough O'Carolan, not all can be identified as such; nevertheless, his knowledge of his native culture formed the basis of this production, as he selected Irish airs from his own memory and transmitted them orally to Shield, who first transcribed, then arranged and orchestrated them. Shield's musical borrowings were not usually dictated so directly by an author; more often, he selected or composed melodies to fit lyrics they supplied. Of *The Highland Reel*, O'Keefe wrote:

I finished the whole of the dialogue, and sent it to Mr. Harris before I began upon the songs. He wrote me word it had "good stuff in it," to write the songs without delay, and, as fast as I wrote them, to send them to Shield to set to music [...]

My son having sent me over from Paris some of Grétry's music, I chose two or three fine airs of his for my opera.⁵³¹

This quote also references a third aspect of Shield's role: incorporating numbers borrowed from operas by contemporary or earlier composers. While Fiske noted that this practice was widespread and accepted, he complained of composers' inaccurate or disrespectful treatment of borrowed numbers, not recognising that discrepancies

⁵³⁰ *Recollections*, II, pp. 70-71; Breandán Ó Madagáin, 'Carolan, Turlough [Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin] (1670-1738)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

⁵³¹ *Recollections*, II, pp. 133-35.

could demonstrate active and deliberate adaptation for a new context.⁵³² Shield did not simply cut and paste other people’s work; he adjusted keys, orchestration and other elements in light of available forces and dramatic context. O’Keeffe recognised the skill required to integrate these varied musical influences into a coherent whole:

... I was much pleased to hear that Shield had a good return from the sale of his music [for *The Poor Soldier*]: his labour, genius, and cheerfulness, gained him as much deserved reputation as if all the melodies had been his own composition.⁵³³

Figure 4.1 shows the proportion of original compositions, borrowed compositions by other composers, and arrangements of traditional tunes in each of Shield’s thirteen most successful works.

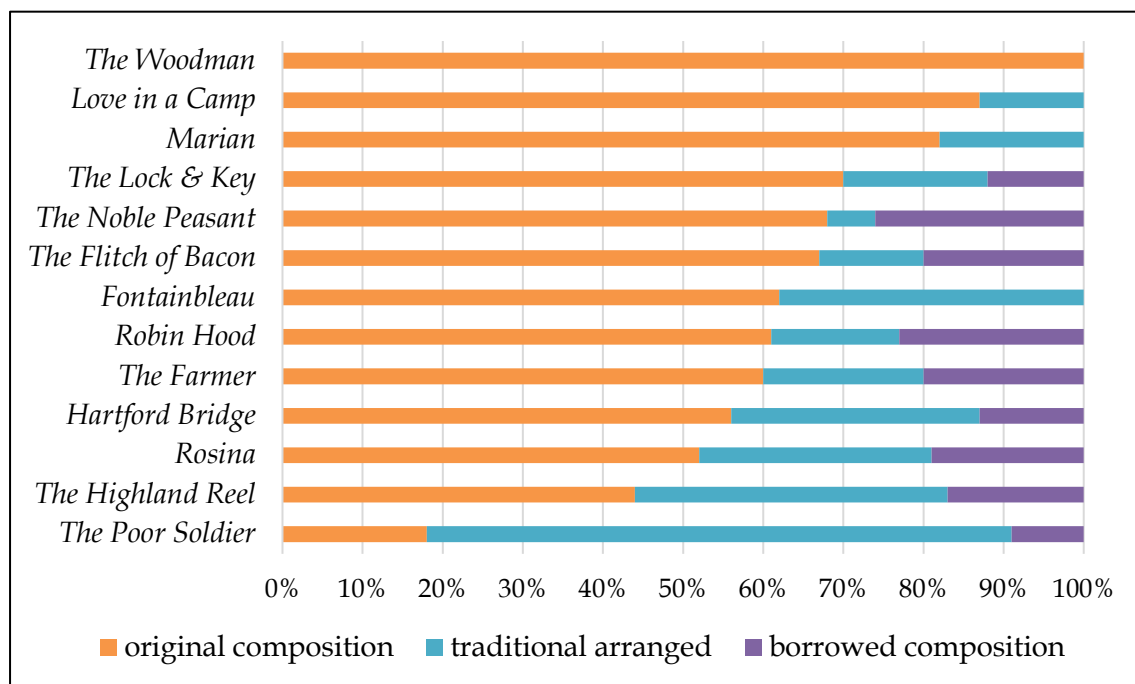


Figure 4.1 Proportion of composed, arranged and borrowed numbers in Shield’s most popular works

⁵³² *English Theatre Music*, pp. 118-19.

⁵³³ *Recollections*, II, pp. 70-71.

Borrowed movements are not always attributed to their original composers in the published score, so while I have identified as many as possible from other sources, the total may be slightly underestimated. However, it is clear that Shield was responsible for either composing or arranging the vast majority of material in most of his works. Fiske calculated that from 1775 to 1800 up to 25% of numbers in the average London theatre production were borrowed, but the mean proportion of borrowed numbers across this sample of Shield's works is only about 12%.⁵³⁴

Throughout his output, characteristic features include relative simplicity of melody and harmony, structural clarity and balance, the use of unison for emphasis, deft chromatic touches creating moments of emotional intensity or release, and imaginative orchestration referencing and responding to imagery within the text. Vocal movements (mostly solos, with some duets, trios and glee-like choruses) fall into three style categories. 'Classical' numbers include those identified (within the score or from secondary sources) as borrowed from named composers, and original movements characterised by formal eighteenth-century techniques of operatic and orchestral writing; these include virtuosic *da capo* arias, of which Shield composed at least one for most theatre works, to showcase an established star or an emerging talent.⁵³⁵ 'Traditional' air arrangements are not always labelled as such in scores, but I have identified as many as possible from a range of contemporary printed and manuscript sources. Finally, original compositions evoking a traditional idiom, which Shield termed 'imitations', typically feature harmonic and melodic elements reminiscent of a traditional air within a simplified 'da capo aria' structure (**Figure 4.2**).⁵³⁶ An early example is 'Down the bourn and thro' the mead', a setting of Holcroft's lyrics published in *The Lady's Magazine* (**Example 4.1** and **Example 4.2**).⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ *English Theatre Music*, p. 275.

⁵³⁵ *Rosina*, pp. 18-19; *Fontainbleau*, pp. 18-19, 48-49; *The Noble Peasant* (London: Napier, [1784]) pp. 16-19; *Robin Hood*, pp. 35-37; *Marian*, pp. 20-25; *The Highland Reel*, pp. 32-35; *Hartford Bridge*, pp. 11-13, 34-7; *The Woodman*, pp. 42-44, 48-51.

⁵³⁶ *Rudiments*, p. 3; *Favourite Songs*, p. 8.

⁵³⁷ 'A New Song. Set to Music by Mr. Shield', *The Lady's Magazine*, 9 (June 1778), between pp. 328-29.

Symphony

Down the_ bourn, or_ thro'_ the_ mead, His_ gol - den_ locks wav'd_ with the_ wind_

John - ny_ lilt - ing_ tun'd_ his_ reed, And_ sought his_ Ann - ie_ fair and_ kind.

Dear she lov'd_ the_ weel_ knawn_ sang_ , While her_ John - ny,

blithe and_ bon - ny, Sung her_ praise_ the whole day long.

Example 4.1 'Down the bourn, or thro' the mead' (first half)

A1

Down the bourn, or thro' the mead, His golden locks wav'd with the wind,

John-ny, lilt - ing, tun'd his reed, And sough this Ann - ie fair and kind.

Flute.

Symphony

Example 4.2 'Down the bourn, or thro' the mead' (second half)

Holcroft reported that this song was widely assumed to be an ancient Scots air, showing how successfully Shield's imitations captured traditional idioms.⁵³⁸

Symphony	orchestral introduction (expands or decorates the air)
A	resembles a traditional air in melodic shape (e.g. using 'gapped scales') and harmonic accompaniment (simple, often drone-based)
B	introduces development and contrast, e.g. modulation to dominant or relative key, sequences, chromatic chords highlighting emotions in the lyrics, vocal cadenza
A1/ AB	recapitulation of A melody or contraction of both sections, sometimes with alternate accompaniment
Symphony	orchestral coda based on introduction

Figure 4.2 Template of Shield's 'imitation' songs

⁵³⁸ Hazlitt, I, pp. 278-82; Addison, 'What makes a song "national"?', Romantic National Song Network, 2019 (online); see further discussion in Chapter 6.

Comparing the proportion of classical, imitation and traditional movements in each of Shield's thirteen most successful works yields interesting results (**Figure 4.3**). His orchestral overtures typically include sections in at least two of these style categories. *The Poor Soldier* contains the highest proportion of identifiable traditional airs, at 73% of published numbers. Its success demonstrates audiences' enthusiasm for such tunes; yet Shield chose not to repeat this winning formula. *The Highland Reel* comes in second place with 39% traditional airs, and the mean proportion across the sampled works is 23%, compared with 43% classical material. Successful works with the lowest proportion of traditional airs involved authors other than O'Keeffe and / or another theatre, e.g. *The Woodman* (with Henry Bate Dudley, Shield's longest work with thirty-nine extant musical movements yet no identifiable traditional airs); *The Noble Peasant* (with Thomas Holcroft, for the Haymarket, only 6% traditional airs); *The Flich of Bacon* (Bate Dudley, Haymarket, 13% traditional airs), and *Robin Hood* (with Leonard Macnally, 16% traditional airs).⁵³⁹

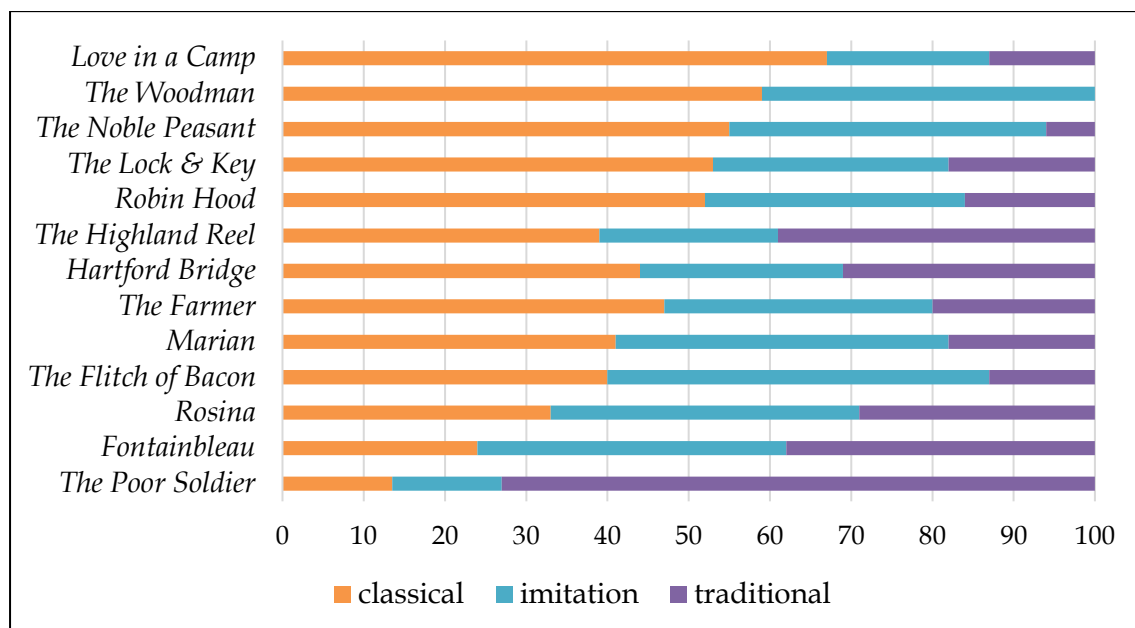


Figure 4.3 Percentage of classical, imitation and traditional airs in Shield's most popular theatre works

⁵³⁹ LS5, II, pp. 696, 719, 1326; Troost, 'Shield, William', *GMO*.

Even allowing for unpublished songs and a margin of error in identifications, these figures are lower than expected, considering Shield's clear interest in national airs and critics' frequent emphasis on his skill in setting them. His demonstrable familiarity with the vast traditional repertoire then in circulation makes it unlikely he could have exhausted this source of inspiration, suggesting he preferred his scores, like his broader professional experience, to demonstrate stylistic diversity. Crucially, as already noted, Shield was extremely successful at composing simple, pastoral songs recognisably evocative of a traditional aesthetic:

No composer has ever woven so few notes into such sweet and impressive melodies, while the construction of the bass and harmony is alike natural, easy, and unaffected. [...] his airs breathe all the freshness and purity and beauty of rural life.⁵⁴⁰

These attributes kept the 'feel' of a national air in listeners' minds by fulfilling their expectations of a traditional style, while the ternary structure underpinning these 'imitation' songs went unnoticed. The functional harmony and classical operatic decoration incorporated within the B section varied the mood, without disturbing the traditional character and atmosphere created by the main melody.

Although many contemporary listeners would recognise the traditional 'favourite Scottish airs' and dances incorporated into Shield's theatre works, most would be unlikely to differentiate between his arrangement of a traditional air that was unfamiliar to them, and an 'imitation' composed by him in a traditional idiom.

Figure 4.3 shows that if traditional and imitation numbers are grouped together, the proportion of traditional-sounding music across Shield's most popular works rises to a mean of 57% and a minimum of 33%. *Love in a Camp* (a sequel to *The Poor Soldier*) has the lowest proportion, perhaps because Shield employed continental idioms to reflect its Prussian setting.⁵⁴¹ *The Highland Reel* has a roughly typical 61% combined traditional and imitation airs.

⁵⁴⁰ 'The Operas of H. R. Bishop', in *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, 1 (April 1818), 190-214 (pp. 203-04).

⁵⁴¹ *Love in a Camp, or Patrick in Prussia* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1786]).

Topical themes and inspirations

Advertised as a 'musical romance', 'comic romance' and 'comic opera', *The Highland Reel*'s conventional plot (like those of *Rosina*, *The Poor Soldier*, *Robin Hood* and *The Noble Peasant*) revolves around two couples overcoming threats to their happy union. It contains many classic elements of eighteenth-century farce: slapstick physical comedy; star-crossed lovers; valuable items lost and recovered; lowly characters besting their social superiors through devious cunning or simple honesty; characters in disguise transgressing class and gender boundaries to test, expose or manipulate others; and a happy and just ending for almost all.⁵⁴² Mercenary or rapacious motives for proposing, promoting or prohibiting marriage are condemned; the ideal of the love-match is upheld through theatrical escapism, for the benefit of upper class audiences among whom, in reality, very few married for love. At a time when few could consider themselves safe from financial ruin, stage lovers must also have their fortunes made or restored in order to guarantee the 'happy ever after'; so the apparently poor yet virtuous characters, Sandy and Jenny, must prove to be of noble birth before their match can be universally welcomed.

To quote a contemporary review, 'There is a great deal of humourous underplot, which it would be useless in us to detail'; I provide a condensed synopsis overleaf.⁵⁴³ Numerous plot twists revolve around the various ways characters find of making and losing money, including smuggling, gambling, fraud, husbandry, inheritance and parliamentary influence. Throughout, the audience is tacitly invited to question whether those endowed with wealth and authority are fit to administer it. A character's attitude towards financial responsibility often illustrates their moral probity or frailty and highlights social inequalities, including the vulnerability of labourers to exploitation and the dependence of women (for whom marriage meant surrendering all rights to money or property) on a husband's ability or inclination to steward wealth wisely.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² *LS5*, II, p. 1108; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 200-01.

⁵⁴³ 'Theatrical Intelligence', *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), 607.

⁵⁴⁴ Moore, pp. 45-48, 97.

***The Highland Reel* plot synopsis**

M'Gilpin, Laird Donald's steward and customs collector on the island of Coll, is vain, prejudiced, conceited, miserly, dishonest, gullible and superstitious. He mistakenly suspects Shelty, the local piper and innkeeper, of seducing his lively daughter Moggy. She is in fact secretly engaged to Charley, her father's cunning clerk; their spirited and devious attempts to elope result in considerable comic confusion.

Bogus military recruiting officers Captain Dash and Serjeant Jack arrive on the island, claiming that Laird Donald's son and heir Robert has sent them to recruit men for his British Army regiment. Their real plan is to pressgang a ship's crew and make a fortune in the East India trade. Captain Dash has amorous designs on Jenny, M'Gilpin's orphaned ward. Dash induces M'Gilpin to cancel Jenny's wedding to Sandy, a hard-working young farmer, and to renege on a promise to lease them a farm. His prospects ruined, Sandy joins up as a recruit, leaving Jenny devastated yet determined to follow him overseas.

Meanwhile, the Laird of neighbouring island Raasay arrives at Shelty's tavern disguised as the parson come to marry Sandy and Jenny - who he believes to be his long-lost niece. Laird Donald also returns unexpectedly seeking his son Robert, who was supposed to return to Coll after studying land management in England, but has disappeared. Meanwhile Jenny learns that her lottery ticket has won her £1000, enough to marry on independently - but Sandy loses the ticket to Serjeant Jack in a card game. The Serjeant initially celebrates his good luck, but Jenny's distress moves him to return the ticket.

M'Gilpin, who harbours parliamentary ambitions, rehearses an emotive speech calling for abolition of the slave trade - while bullying and beating his black servant Benin. M'Gilpin hopes to win Laird Donald's favour with flattering orations, but Charley orchestrates a slapstick scene with Benin to convince M'Gilpin that Shelty's staff has magically muted his voice. M'Gilpin is duped into believing that his words are inaudible to the person he's addressing and speaks insultingly to Laird Donald, who has him arrested.

Captain Dash gloats over the success of his recruiting party, mocking Serjeant Jack's belated scruples over their deception of the islanders. Moggy, in Highland lad's costume, offers herself as a recruit in place of Sandy, but Captain Dash is unmoved by her pleas and boasts. Moggy then bribes him to discharge Sandy, using money Jenny gave her to assist her own elopement with Charley. Moggy's generosity and daring leaves Sandy and Jenny free to marry, and the Captain furious at being duped by a girl in disguise.

Laird Donald demands to know who authorised the bogus recruiting party, and identifies 'Sandy' as his missing son. Robert explains that he impersonated a poor farmer to satisfy himself that Jenny truly loved him for himself, not for his wealth or status. Raasay calls on M'Gilpin to confirm Jenny's identity and confess to embezzling her mother's legacy, and both Lairds approve the marriage. Jenny urges them to show clemency to M'Gilpin, because he brought her up properly and treated her with affection, and to Serjeant Jack, who has shown remorse for his actions. M'Gilpin still blames Shelty for seducing Moggy, until she returns having been married to Charley by the real parson. In an epilogue, Shelty lists all the role reversals that have taken place before pledging, as piper and tapster, to ensure a merry celebration for all.

Throughout his essentially light-hearted farces, O’Keeffe used humour and satire to comment on highly topical, intensely debated socio-political issues. Often minor characters give voice to groups with limited representation in public discourse, but their portrayal simultaneously reinforces and challenges contemporary prejudices. In *The Highland Reel*, Benin, a black servant (or slave; his status is never defined) apparently exists only to expose M’Gilpin’s vanity and hypocrisy by providing a target for abuse. Although O’Keeffe clearly intended audiences to recognise M’Gilpin’s behaviour as abhorrent and reprehensible, his characterisation does little to dispel racist stereotypes. Benin speaks with a ‘pidgin’ accent and is gullible, servile and childish; no other character treats him with equity or sympathy. Without directly abusing him, Moggy and Charley demand his service, dupe him and involve him in their schemes, dismissing his well-founded fear of incurring punishment for helping them. When Laird Donald calls M’Gilpin to account, it is for cheating his wealthy social superiors, not for the racist abuse of his servant, and those in power ultimately ensure the steward faces no consequence for his actions; an all-too familiar conclusion to narratives exposing racial injustice.⁵⁴⁵

The black servant or slave, highlighting the prejudices and moral failures of white ‘masters’, was already a well-established role in British theatre works including *Oroonoko* (Southerne’s 1695 stage adaptation of Aphra Behn’s 1688 novel), *Love in the City* (1767) and *The Padlock* (1768) by Charles Dibdin and Isaac Bickerstaffe, and Richard Cumberland’s *The West Indian* (1771).⁵⁴⁶ Shield may have experienced provincial productions of these pieces early in his career; in 1769, Wilkinson presented *The Padlock* in York and *Love in the City* in Hull with a larger than usual band, while Austin’s Newcastle company performed *The Padlock* repeatedly during 1769 to 1778, and staged *The West Indian* and *Oroonoko* in 1772 (the latter for the benefit of Mr Jeffrys, who played the wicked slave-trader Stanmore, ‘with new songs’). In 1780 Wilkinson’s company took *The Padlock* to Edinburgh, with ‘Mrs

⁵⁴⁵ HRbook, pp. 50, 52-54, 58.

⁵⁴⁶ LSInd, pp. 76, 210, 801; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 337.

Shield' (William's common-law wife, Londoner Anne Stokes) playing Ursula, a floozy servant-girl.⁵⁴⁷

In *The Highland Reel*, Benin plays the peripheral role Carlson identified as typically allotted to black characters in eighteenth-century comedy, of facilitating white characters' love affairs rather than pursuing their own. While his is not the only non-singing role (others are Croudy the smuggler, the two Lairds, and the villainous Captain Dash), it is significant that Benin does not sing. Songs allow characters to express personal motivations, emotions and opinions, or demonstrate sophistication and sensibility through appreciation of nature, music or history (the latter aspect sometimes tongue-in-cheek, in a parody of contemporary fashions). Carlson has explored how 'liberation of marginalized characters is voiced through the non-speaking, and thus avowedly illegitimate, components' of productions like *The Padlock*, in which Mungo's songs convey the emotional depth and authority of his protest against ill-treatment far more effectively than his bathetic dialogue.⁵⁴⁸ Benin, however, is denied any such opportunity to express his interior life or contribute to cultural conversation.

Black characters in English theatre were performed by white actors in blackface imitating a 'negro' dialect, until reclaimed by African American actor Ira Aldridge, who began playing comic roles after his ground-breaking appearances as Othello in the 1820s. No real-life 'Benins' could represent themselves on London stages in the 1780s.⁵⁴⁹ The first actor to play Benin was seventeen-year-old Londoner Charles Farley who, known for his heavy facial features, stentorian speaking voice and muscular stage presence, excelled in dance and physical comedy, but did not take singing roles until later in his long, varied career.⁵⁵⁰ Perhaps Farley was cast as Benin

⁵⁴⁷ GB-Y, SCC Playbills II (1768-69), 6 May 1769, and IX (1779-80), 12 February 1780; Box 1768-69, 26 December 1769; Box 8/38-9, 28 August, 11 September 1771; NC, 25 February, 1 and 4 March 1769, 19 January 1771, 16 April 1774, 1 March 1777, 28 March 1778; NChr, 15 February 1772, 4 February 1775; GB-Lna, PROB 11/1753/461, 11/1859/456.

⁵⁴⁸ Carlson, pp. 139, 142-44.

⁵⁴⁹ Barbara Lewis, 'Aldridge, Ira (1807-67)', in *The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance*, ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Oxford University Press, 2010), ORO; Carlson, pp. 140, 145-46; Lindfors, pp. 144-69.

⁵⁵⁰ LS5, II, p. 1108; BDA, V, pp. 152-57.

because his attributes matched racist perceptions of African physicality; or possibly his vocal limitations restricted a role which might have been more developed, had a better singer been available.

The Highland Reel opened shortly after a new Covent Garden production of Colman and Arnold's *Inkle and Yarico*, whose exploration of colonial, racial and class relations in the Americas had enjoyed instant success at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket the year before.⁵⁵¹ The popularity of such pieces, notwithstanding the disturbing dynamics they portray, reflects intense public debate concerning the transatlantic slave trade in Britain at this time. In May 1787 founder members of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade included Granville Sharp, who advocated for the rights of former slaves in several landmark court cases, worked with Olaudah Equiano to expose atrocities like the *Zong* massacre, and penned important essays arguing the moral and religious case against slavery.⁵⁵² Also that year, Irish merchant seaman James Field Stanfield described his experience of transporting captive Africans in a 'floating dudgeon' under a sadistic captain, in *Observations on a Guinea Voyage*. In 1789 he joined Cawdell's Sunderland theatre company, where Shield's *The Farmer* was among his first performances.⁵⁵³

During 1788 the Common Council of Newcastle-upon-Tyne passed a resolution calling for a parliamentary enquiry into the slave trade, while prominent abolitionist Thomas Clarkson and former ship's surgeon Alexander Falconbridge published graphic, damning eyewitness accounts of the horrendous conditions, brutal treatment and appalling death toll suffered by slaves on British ships (and the

⁵⁵¹ Carlson, p. 140; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 476-77; *LSInd*, p. 179; Waterhouse Gibson, p. iii.

⁵⁵² G. M. Ditchfield, 'Sharp, Granville (1735-1813)', *ODNB* (4 October 2012); Creighton, 'Black People and the North East', *north east history*, 39 (2008), 11-21, (p. 12); Olusoga, pp. 113-142, 206; Grant, pp. 94-102, 154-172, 270-73.

⁵⁵³ Creighton, '*The Day of Jubilee is Come*': *Campaigning Against the Slave Trade and Slavery in the North East*, *Slavery and Abolition and People of African Descent in the North East*, III (History & Social Action Publications, 2020), pp. 4-5; Neil Sinclair, 'Unrecognised hero of Abolition', BBC Archive

<www.bbc.co.uk/wear/content/articles/2007/03/28/abolition_james_field_stanfield_feature.shtml> (10 March 2008); WML playbills, 16 October 1789.

injurious effects on seamen serving aboard them).⁵⁵⁴ Cultural appeals for public sympathy with the enslaved included Charles Dibdin's song 'The Negroes Complaint', performed by Shield's colleague Charles Incedon at Vauxhall Gardens.⁵⁵⁵ Newspapers printed fervid correspondence on proposals to restrain or abolish the slave trade, while MPs delivered impassioned parliamentary speeches condemning the inhumanity of ministers and merchants who opposed its regulation on economic grounds.⁵⁵⁶

O'Keeffe's M'Gilpin is a deliberately grotesque portrayal of an aspirant politician inspired to emulate such oratory, not by empathy or ethics but a vain desire for self-aggrandisement. This caricature seems pointed enough to imply a basis in reality, but I have yet to identify a historical politician known for spouting abolitionist rhetoric while profiting from slavery, so it may represent hypocrisy in British politics and society more generally. Benin's ambiguous status reflects the tenuous legal and economic position of black domestic workers in Georgian Britain; many were treated as slaves and suffered accordingly, though some achieved a greater degree of dignity and independence.⁵⁵⁷ His very name is not that of a person, but of the West African kingdom from whose ports slave traders shipped captives to the Americas, making him a symbolic representative of an oppressed race rather than an individual human being with his own story. This abusive master-servant relationship is symbolic of Britain's colonial approach towards African nations,

⁵⁵⁴ John Charlton, *Remembering Slavery* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Renaissance North East, 2007), p. 12; Creighton, 'The Day of Jubilee is Come', p. 4; Hugh Brogan, 'Clarkson, Thomas (1760-1846)' ODNB (19 May 2011); Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, 2nd edn (London: Phillips, 1788), *An Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade* (London: Phillips, 1788); Olusoga, p. 214; Falconbridge, *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa*, 2nd edn (London: Phillips, 1788).

⁵⁵⁵ Dibdin, 'The Negroes Complaint' (London: Preston, [1788]).

⁵⁵⁶ *Sheffield Register*, 19 January 1788, *Manchester Mercury*, 19 February 1788, *Hampshire Chronicle*, 11 February 1788; Olusoga, pp. 220-21; 'A Bill For Providing certain Temporary Regulations, respecting the Transportation of the Natives of Africa, in British Ships, to the West Indies, and elsewhere', House of Commons Papers, Bills 1788, LX, and *The Parliamentary Register of History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons [...] during the Third Session of the Sixteenth Parliament*, Debates, XXIV, pp. 102-12, 120-25 (ProQuest Eighteenth-Century Parliamentary Papers [accessed 8 May 2020]).

⁵⁵⁷ Olusoga, pp. 80, 82-83, 111.

claiming superiority and authority over people, resources and culture through violence, oppression and exploitation.⁵⁵⁸

Controversial manifestations of English or British nationalism and colonialism appear throughout *The Highland Reel*. The unprincipled, rapacious, pseudo-military privateer Captain Dash embodies the contemporary scandal surrounding the British East India Company, whose powerful merchants had bribed officials to influence government policy using the obscene profits from their relentless asset-stripping, taxation and exploitation of Indian peoples.⁵⁵⁹ Public outrage at this corruption led to the impeachment and prosecution of Warren Hastings, former Governor of Bengal, whose trial was ongoing when *The Highland Reel* was first performed.⁵⁶⁰ Closer to home, Croudy delivers an impassioned speech denouncing corrupt officials who profited from the smuggling they were employed to suppress while imposing heavy penalties on smugglers who, he argues, showed far greater loyalty and patriotism by sacrificing their sons to fight the King's wars.⁵⁶¹

No specific historical conflict underpins this drama, but contemporary perceptions of the military are vividly realised. The islanders are praised for bravery and loyalty to clan and chieftain, yet we see how these very attributes render them vulnerable if the chieftain acts foolishly, or allows abuses to be perpetrated in his name. Serjeant Jack promotes the soldier as a model of integrity, honour, courage and national pride, but confesses that in reality many fell far short of this ideal. Moggy's song 'Tho' I am now a very little lad' portrays the stereotypical infantryman as a mercenary womaniser ready to pimp local girls to his officers, whose failure to penetrate her cynical charade endorses her performance as an authentic reflection of

⁵⁵⁸ Tamsin Lilley, 'Sunderland and Abolition', *north east history*, 39 (2008), 67-77 (pp. 69, 71); 'British Museum: Benin Bronzes', <www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/contested-objects-collection/benin-bronzes> (2023); 'Olaudah Equiano: About Equiano', <<https://equiano.uk/about-equiano/>> (Equiano Society, 2019).

⁵⁵⁹ William Dalrymple, 'The East India Company: the original corporate raiders', *The Guardian*, 4 March 2015, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/04/east-india-company-original-corporate-raiders>> (Guardian News & Media Limited, 2023).

⁵⁶⁰ P. J. Marshall, 'Hastings, Warren (1732-1818)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

⁵⁶¹ *HRbook*, pp. 33-35.

their experience.⁵⁶² Although these unscrupulous recruiters are not real soldiers, the draft of young men into the British Army had decimated and impoverished Highland communities within living memory. Shield might also have remembered the violent suppression in 1761 of riots arising from (initially peaceful) resistance to the militia draft in Durham, Gateshead and Northumberland.⁵⁶³ Forced military recruitment was widely unpopular, but though a bill limiting conscription to a fixed term had come repeatedly before Parliament since 1780, it encountered strenuous resistance; particularly from naval commanders, who rejected MPs' complaints of the 'despotic and illegal' practices by which pressgangs inflicted 'intolerable grievances' on coastal communities.⁵⁶⁴

The Highland Reel's score illustrates how the dynamic medium of theatre could respond to immediate political concerns. In early November 1788 George III's illness caused serious public alarm, and newspapers praised the Covent Garden company for boosting morale with an impromptu rendition of 'God Save the King' during a revival of O'Keeffe and Shield's *The Farmer*, to 'enthusiastic applause'.⁵⁶⁵ Lyrics sung by Serjeant Jack in *The Highland Reel's* Finale describe 'royal George' as a 'radiant gem' shedding lustre upon 'Albion's Isle', eternally crowned with blessings by Neptune and Jove.⁵⁶⁶ This final verse was composed in time to appear in all printed sources, but its minimal accompaniment – a simple bass on kettledrums, reinforcing the patriotic text with military sounds yet requiring no additional orchestral parts to be copied – suggests it was a last-minute interpolation in response to the unfolding regency crisis.⁵⁶⁷ Theatre manager Thomas Harris, a loyal Tory whose licence depended on royal approval, clearly prioritised expressing solidarity with the King

⁵⁶² HRbook, pp. 19-20, 62-66; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's: Reaching Adulthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Army', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 8.2 (2015), 163-90.

⁵⁶³ Richards, pp. 35, 39-40; Sykes, pp. 231-34.

⁵⁶⁴ Parliamentary Register 1780-1796, Debates, XX, pp. 205-07 (ProQuest [accessed 8 May 2020]); J. A. Cannon, 'MARTIN, James (1738-1810), of Overbury, Worcs.', in Namier and Brooke (eds), *HOP*.

⁵⁶⁵ *Kentish Gazette*, 21 November 1788; *NC*, 22 November 1788; Horgan, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁶⁶ HRbook, p. 23.

⁵⁶⁷ HRscore, p. 48.

and promoting an Anglo-Saxon vision of patriotism over any authentic portrayal of Highland culture.⁵⁶⁸

In upholding the English (rather than British) army and monarch as exemplars of national character and conduct, O’Keeffe went beyond recognising the political unification of Great Britain to imply England’s superiority, and affirm the English King’s rule over all the British, on whichever remote islands they might live.⁵⁶⁹ (Although culturally a proud Irishman, O’Keeffe was politically a committed loyalist and monarchist, so had no difficulty putting anglophile sentiments in the mouths of his characters.)⁵⁷⁰ The Union between England and Scotland is never explicitly mentioned, but its implications underpin scenarios and impostures reliant on the involvement in élite London society and government of Scottish aristocrats, whose absentee landlordism allowed bad stewards like M’Gilpin to mismanage estates or defraud landowners and tenants.⁵⁷¹ The lairds’ importation of English culture to the islands meets a mixed reception; Laird Donald’s fashionable dress and haughty manners are mocked, but his son’s training in modern principles of farming and land management is welcomed as beneficial to the local economy (though such ‘progress’ has since been problematized as the beginning of the Highland clearances).⁵⁷²

British press coverage of Charles Edward Stuart’s death earlier in 1788 had been brief and unemotional, any credible threat to Hanoverian rule from the Stuart claimant having long since been dismissed; and increasingly the characterisation of the 1745 Rising as a lost cause in literature and popular culture allowed authors and musicians to frame Jacobite history, songs and poetry in Romantic, nostalgic, almost mythological terms, without being seriously suspected of any treasonous intent.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁸ Oakley, p. 9; Rice, pp. 35, 53.

⁵⁶⁹ *HRbook*, pp. 62-63, 71.

⁵⁷⁰ *Recollections*, I, pp. iii, 60-61, 70-71, 74-75, 378; II, pp. 49-50, 82-83, 108-09, 188, 367-69, 391-92.

⁵⁷¹ Gottlieb, pp. 18-19, 47-48.

⁵⁷² John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, ‘Highland clearances’, *A Dictionary of British History* (Oxford University Press, 2015), *ORO*; Richards, pp. 8-9, 11, 34-36, 53.

⁵⁷³ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 26 February 1788; Murray G. H. Pittock, ‘Charles Edward [Charles Edward Stuart; styled Charles; known as the Young Pretender, Bonnie Prince Charlie] (1720-

Shield's choice of the Jacobite rallying song 'The White Cockade' for Moggy's air 'Tho' I am now a very little lad' was therefore unlikely to be interpreted as a political statement by contemporary audiences.⁵⁷⁴ The traditional chorus also included the line, 'Betide what may I will be wed', encapsulating Moggy's determined ambition.⁵⁷⁵

National airs in *The Highland Reel*

The Highland Reel's title and setting provide obvious grounds for explicit use of traditional tunes, and early reviews suggest Shield's selection and adaptation of these was critical to positive reception of the piece. *The New London Magazine* published a detailed commentary declaring this 'light and humourous' piece 'one of [O'Keefe's] pleasantest productions', but unfit 'to be judged by the strict rules that govern the legitimate drama'. The strongest criticisms focused on inauthentic accents and costumes, concluding that 'the author is totally unacquainted with the manners of the island which he attempts to delineate'.⁵⁷⁶ Though the reviewer urged that these 'breaches of propriety [...] admit of an easy alteration', they had apparently not been remedied when, a year later, *The Prompter* complained,

WE live so near the scene of this entertainment, that it was very injudicious not to have preserved the dialect of the country, as well as the dresses [...]

The Highland Reel [italics added] would be a pretty thing if broken English were spoken, and if more attention were paid to the costume of the country.

EDWIN alone, in Shely, is dressed characteristically. MR. M'GILPIN's dress was ridiculous in the Isle of Col; and excepting Edwin, and Mrs. Martyr, there was not one of the performers who seemed to have studied anything of the place.⁵⁷⁷

O'Keefe's script contains few mentions of Highland dress or attempts at Scots dialect. In mitigation, many Scots aspiring to integrate fully into London society did

1788)', *ODNB* (25 September 2014); R. K. Marshall, 'Henry Benedict [Henry Benedict Stuart; styled Henry; known as Cardinal York] (1725–1807)', *ODNB* (27 May 2010); Boswell, pp. 154–55; Gottlieb, pp. 130–31, 135, 178.

⁵⁷⁴ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *HRscore*, pp. 44–45.

⁵⁷⁵ Napier (ed.), II, p. 23.

⁵⁷⁶ *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), p. 607.

⁵⁷⁷ 'Entertainment: The Highland Reel', *The Prompter*, 4 (28 October 1789), p. 22.

modify their native accent, while servants and soldiers of fortune might come from anywhere, and to perform dialogue in Hebridean Gaelic was obviously impractical.⁵⁷⁸ Nevertheless, critics evidently believed London audiences to be sufficiently familiar with the culture of the Highlands and Islands that a more accurate representation could, and should, have been attempted.

Although the opening dialogue names the geographical location, most of the action is set against generic indoor or woodland scenery, with one 'extremely beautiful' backcloth depicting the coastline and sea. With minor adjustments these events could have taken place on any coastal country estate; the Highland setting and title represent an aesthetic and commercial decision to capitalize on a recent upsurge in the fashion for Scottish culture, including music. *The New London Magazine* identified O'Keeffe's literary inspiration as 'an anecdote related by Dr. Johnson of the young Laird of Col' in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, undertaken with his subsequent biographer James Boswell. O'Keeffe's *Recollections* confirm that having read and admired both accounts, he based his character of Sandy on the young Laird and set his drama at the house of Grissipol on Coll, where Johnson wrote that, 'I saw more of the ancient life of a Highlander, than I had yet found'.⁵⁷⁹

In the absence of authentic language, costumes or scenery, the burden of creating a 'Highland' atmosphere fell substantially on the composer, and Shield was deemed (by his London audience) to have succeeded. A critic suggested O'Keeffe's play was best enjoyed 'as a vehicle for a number of very beautiful airs', implying the music was its most powerful attraction; and Shield's Overture was sold separately as a pianoforte piece at 1s, reflecting the strong domestic market for keyboard works incorporating traditional Scottish material.⁵⁸⁰ Both Johnson and Boswell related their experiences of traditional Highland song and dance, but neither could transcribe or describe this music in terms that would assist Shield to produce authentic imitations.

⁵⁷⁸ Gottlieb, pp. 105-08, 132.

⁵⁷⁹ *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), 607; S. Johnson, pp. 119, 197; Boswell, pp. 1-2; O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, II, p. 136.

⁵⁸⁰ *Sheffield Register*, 15 November 1788; *New Review; with Literary Curiosities, and Literary Intelligence*, III (London: Davis, 1783), p. 246; Nelson (thesis), p. 162; Fleming, 'The Gender of Subscribers to Eighteenth-Century Music Publications', pp. 110-114.

Understandably, he fell back on Scottish airs already familiar to him from memory, versions performed in theatre and pleasure garden orchestras, and contemporary publications.⁵⁸¹ Reviews imply Shield deliberately chose tunes his audience would recognise:

The music in general has strong claims to approbation [...] the greatest part of it consists of familiar Scottish airs, to which Shield has set very pleasing accompaniments.⁵⁸²

The widespread popularity of Scottish airs at this period allows comparison of Shield's arrangements with a wide range of contemporary printed and manuscript sources. Listed in order of appearance in the printed score, the traditional Scots airs in *The Highland Reel* are: 'Roslin Castle', 'Hooly and fairly', 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray', 'De'il tak the wars', 'Rothiemurchus Rant' or 'Grants of Strathspey', 'Corn riggs', 'Dumbarton Drums', 'Green grow the rashes O' or 'Footh vagaries', 'Maggie Lauder', 'Fairly shot of her', 'Donald', 'The White Cockade' or 'The ranting Highlandman', and 'Miss Lucy Campbell's Delight' or 'The Perth Hunt'.⁵⁸³ Some were 'familiar' having been in print and oral circulation for decades; others had been published very recently and represented the height of current fashion.

Earlier theatrical usage of Scots airs is an obvious source of inspiration. Shield might have seen Allan Ramsay's Scots pastoral ballad opera *The Gentle Shepherd* (1728) performed by an Edinburgh company in Newcastle during 1759 to '61; detailed advertisements enticed the audience to hear 'the Original MUSIC' and see 'a DANCE in the Country Manner, in which will be introduced, a HORNPIPE by the SCOTS BOY' and 'a REEL [...] in the Scots Manner'.⁵⁸⁴ Two Newcastle actors chose the piece for benefit performances in 1763 and '64, and another Scottish company brought their version to North Shields in 1767, 'With the Original Music and Songs, in the Language, Dress, and Manner of the Time and Country'. Shield's first potential opportunity to perform the piece himself was with Bates' theatre company

⁵⁸¹ S. Johnson, pp. 91-92, 97, 103, 165, 207; Boswell, pp. 342, 125, 186, 300, 205.

⁵⁸² *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), p. 607.

⁵⁸³ HRscore, pp. 5-8, 12-13, 16-17, 36-39, 44-45.

⁵⁸⁴ Pittock, 'Ramsay, Allan (1684-1758)', ODNB (27 May 2010); NC, 3 and 24 November, 1 December 1759, 2 August, 6, 13, 20 and 27 September, 11 October 1760, 10 October 1761.

in the Castle Garth, Newcastle, on 17 March 1766.⁵⁸⁵ Old shepherd Symon was played by Mr Blanchard, whose son, Thomas Blanchard junior, joined the Covent Garden company in 1787; where his talent for comedy, mimicry and ballad singing made him an obvious choice to play Charley in *The Highland Reel*.⁵⁸⁶ By 1772 Shield could have bought his own copy of *Gentle Shepherd, with songs set to Music* for 1s 6d from booksellers in Newcastle, Durham or Darlington, and might have played for revivals at London's Haymarket theatre into the 1780s.⁵⁸⁷ Such experiences must have shaped his understanding of how to adapt traditional airs into a successful theatre piece, although he selected only one of those chosen by Ramsay ('Corn riggs') for *The Highland Reel*.⁵⁸⁸

Shield also learned from newer London productions combining traditional material with operatic conventions. *The New London Magazine's* assertion that, 'The overture [of *The Highland Reel*] is the same as that in *Thomas and Sally* [italics added]' applied only to the first three nights; from 10 November audiences heard 'a new *Scotch Overture* composed by Shield'. (That it was not finished in time for the premiere offers a clue to his workload.) Shield's published Overture does not resemble Arne's, presumably substituted because it contained a 'Scotch Gavotte' (published independently as a 'Scotch Air', but not identifiable as a traditional tune).⁵⁸⁹ However, Arnold's Overture to *Gretna Green*, a romantic farce set in Scotland, provides a direct structural precedent for Shield's to *The Highland Reel*. Following the classic 'fast slow fast' three-movement form of Italian opera overtures and mid-century Austro-German symphonies, Arnold's opening movement is entirely classical and strongly scale- and arpeggio-based; he used the Scots air 'Braes of Ballendine' as a slow movement, followed by a 'Scotch Medley' of traditional dance

⁵⁸⁵ NC, 23 July 1763, 21 July 1764; NChr, 8 March 1766, 19 September 1767.

⁵⁸⁶ BDA, II, pp. 153-5; HRbook, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁷ NC, 5 September 1772; LSInd, p. 697.

⁵⁸⁸ Allan Ramsay, Sang XX 'Corn-rigs are bonny', *The Gentle Shepherd* (London: Donaldson, 1775), pp. 113-14; GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, p. 7.

⁵⁸⁹ *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), p. 607; LS5, II, pp. 1108-09; Arne, *Thomas and Sally*, pp. 2-5, *Overture to Thomas and Sally* (London: Williamson, [c. 1800]), pp. 2-3; GB-Lcm, D2542/7, 'No. 5 Overture & Scotch Air in Thomas & Sally adapted by T. Carter', *A Duett for Two Performers on One Harpsichord or Piano-Forte* (London: Bland, [1790]), pp. 20-23.

tunes including ‘Maggie Lauder’ and ‘Up an’ war’ em all, Willie’.⁵⁹⁰ Shield’s overture has the same tonal centre (D) and follows a similar plan (**Figure 4.4**).

<i>The Highland Reel Overture</i>				
pp. 2-5	opening movement in sonata form	<i>Allegro con Brio</i>	[134 bars]	D major
p. 5	Roslin Castle contrasting traditional air arrangement	<i>Slow</i>	‘Roslin Castle’ [16 bars]	A minor
p. 6	Scotch Medley of traditional airs	<i>Allegro</i>	‘Hooly and fairly’ [12 bars] ‘Bessy Bell and Mary Gray’ [15 bars]	D major
		<i>Andante</i>	‘De’il tak the wars’ [24 bars]	
p. 7		<i>Allegro</i>	‘Rothiemurchus Rant’ [16 bars] link [4 bars]	
		<i>Presto</i>	‘Corn riggs are bonny’ [12 bars + 4 bar link + 12 bars]	
p. 8		Minore	‘Dumbarton Drums’ [16 bars] link [4 bars]	D minor
		Majore	‘Corn riggs’ reprise [8 bars] coda [12 bars]	D major

Figure 4.4 Structure of Shield’s overture to *The Highland Reel*

Shield’s opening *Allegro* uses clearly defined, alternately dramatic and lyrical melodic subjects and functional harmony to anticipate the predominantly light-hearted mood of the comic romance (**Example 4.3**). The keyboard score contains no instrumental cues, but thematic material based on rushing scales and bouncing arpeggios, lyrical subsidiary themes, binding notes (usually held by horns and oboes), repeated pedal points and oscillating bass lines correspond to characteristic features of the Mannheim school of orchestral writing, influenced by Italian composers including Jommelli and Sammartini.⁵⁹¹ Shield became conversant with this style through playing in the orchestra of the King’s Theatre (whose repertoire

⁵⁹⁰ S. Arnold, *Gretna Green, A Comic Opera [...]*, op. 22 (London: Preston [1783]); *LS5*, I, p. 630; Heartz, pp. 469, 511.

⁵⁹¹ Eugene K. Wolf, ‘Mannheim style’, *GMO* (20 January 2001); Heartz, pp. 511-13, 517.

included Jommelli's operas) alongside violist Carl Stamitz, violinist Wilhelm Cramer, and Johann Christian Bach, all of whom had trained or worked in Mannheim.⁵⁹²

Allegro con Brio

The image shows a musical score for 'The Highland Reel Overture', bars 1 to 13. The score is in 3/4 time, key of D major. It features a piano accompaniment with a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The first system shows a forte (f) dynamic and a triplet in the right hand. The second system shows a piano (p) dynamic. The third system shows a piano (p) dynamic and a triplet in the right hand.

Example 4.3 *The Highland Reel Overture*, bars 1 to 13

Shield used as his slow movement a transposed, but otherwise virtually identical arrangement of 'Roslin Castle' to that which he supplied for Napier's *Scots Songs* (Chapter 3, **Example 3.29**).⁵⁹³ In this context the movement provides a tonal link and textural contrast with the overture's outer sections, through its key of A minor and subtle, transparent, wide-ranging accompaniment.⁵⁹⁴ The ensuing 'Scotch Medley' incorporates six livelier traditional airs all transposed into D, mirroring the bright key of the opening symphony. Where Arnold used tunes with multiple strains in

⁵⁹² Fritz Kaiser, Jean K. Wolf and E. K. Wolf, 'Carl (Philipp) Stamitz' in 'Stamitz family' (23 August 2022); Robert D. Hume, 'London (i); V. Musical life 1. The stage' *GMO* (2001); McVeigh, '(1) Wilhelm Cramer' in 'Cramer family', *GMO* (30 June 2020); Hertz, pp. 536, 902, 910, 915.

⁵⁹³ Napier, I, p. 33.

⁵⁹⁴ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *HRscore*, p. 5.

their entirety and relied on homogeneity of tempo, metre and melodic material to facilitate smooth transitions between his selected airs, Shield chose more diverse melodies, omitting additional variations and introducing original material into transitional sections; e.g. the cadenza (probably for oboist William Parke) meandering from an interrupted cadence in 'De'il tak' the wars' into 'Rothiemurchus Rant', and the substitution of a D minor introduction for the traditional F major opening of 'Dumbarton Drums' (Example 4.4 and Example 4.5).⁵⁹⁵ Foreshadowing their respective contributions to Napier's collection, Shield's accompaniments are also more texturally varied than Arnold's, with dynamic contrasts and leaps in register suggesting he divided contrasting material between strings and winds.

Example 4.4 transition from 'De'il tak the war' to 'Rothiemurchus Rant'

Example 4.5 opening of 'Dumbarton Drums'

⁵⁹⁵ Parke, I, pp. 27, 34, 136, 216. GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, p. 7.

The first jig in Shield's Medley, 'Hooly and fairly', was familiar to audiences as arranged by Thomas Linley junior in *The Duenna* (1775), last performed just a week before *The Highland Reel* opened.⁵⁹⁶ Shield's arrangement differs from Linley's in key, metre, melodic rhythm, ornamentation and some chord voicings, but adopts a similarly airy texture and simple, detached, on-beat bass line (**Example 4.6** and **Example 4.7**).

Allegro

Example 4.6 Linley, 'Hooly and fairly'

Allegro

Example 4.7 Shield, 'Hooly and fairly'

⁵⁹⁶[T. Linley the Elder & T. Linley the Younger], *The Duenna or Double Elopement, a Comic-Opera* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1775]), p. 19; *LSInd*, p. 780; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 274.

Several substantial printed collections of traditional Scots airs were published in 1788, and Shield's choice of tunes for *The Highland Reel* suggests awareness of their contents; half of those he selected also appeared in the first two volumes of James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum*, published 1787 to '88.⁵⁹⁷ This collection later became famous for lyrics provided by Ayrshire dialect poet Robert Burns, but was cheaply printed to ensure wide circulation, with simple basses provided by Edinburgh organist Stephen Clarke.⁵⁹⁸ Around the same time, Edinburgh-based Italian band leader, opera composer and publisher Domenico Corri produced his more upmarket *New & Complete Collection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs*. Shield used six tunes Corri included in this volume, but only one is directly borrowed; a song entitled 'Donald', to which Shield made only minor alterations in setting the love lyric sung by Sandy in Act III of *The Highland Reel*.⁵⁹⁹

O'Keeffe implied Corri contributed to the production because soprano Miss Reynolds, making her debut as Jenny, had been his student.⁶⁰⁰ Corri's collection also includes 'Johnny and Mary', Shield and Holcroft's imitation (**Example 4.1** and **Example 4.2**), which circulated widely under this name in supposedly traditional tune collections (see Chapter 6, **Song survival, in print, manuscript and oral tradition**). Neither Shield nor Corri acknowledged the other as their source, so we cannot tell whether this exchange represents reciprocal acts of piracy, or (perhaps more likely, given their professional connection and Shield's avowed principles) occurred by mutual agreement.⁶⁰¹

Although the majority of airs Shield selected for *The Highland Reel* came from the Lowlands and Borders, he also used a few characteristic Highland dance tunes.

⁵⁹⁷ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 5-8, 12-13, 16-17; James Johnson (ed.), *The Scots Musical Museum* (Edinburgh: James Johnson, [1787, 1788]) [henceforth SMM] I, pp. 9, 78, 94, 99; II, pp. 134, 169, 199.

⁵⁹⁸ Burns, *Selected Poems & Songs*, ed. by Robert P. Irvine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. xxiv.

⁵⁹⁹ Peter Ward Jones, rev. by Rachel Cowgill '(1) Domenico Corri' in 'Corri family', *GMO* (2001); Corri, *A New & Complete Collection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland, [c. 1788-1790]) I, pp. 12, 21, 30; II, pp. 10, 17, 22; HRscore, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁰⁰ *Recollections*, II, p. 135.

⁶⁰¹ Hazlitt, I, pp. 278-79; Corri, I, p. 26.

Collections of these fast reels and slower, heavily ornamented strathspeys appeared in print from the mid-eighteenth century. One of the earliest was published by Edinburgh musician and music publisher Robert Bremner, a friend of Charles Avison, who moved to London and was active and successful at the time of Shield's own relocation there.⁶⁰² Similar publications of the 1780s included Niel Gow's *First Collection of Strathspey Reels* and Joshua Campbell's *Collection of New Reels & Highland Strathspeys*.⁶⁰³ The fourth tune in Shield's 'Scotch Medley' has a title implying Highland origins; 'Rothiemurchus Rant' (subtitled 'Strathspey' by Bremner) refers to a forest in the historical territory of Clan Grant, around the river Spey and the Cairngorms. Vickers called the same tune 'Grants of Strathspey' thereby also proving that Highland dances were circulating on Tyneside by 1770.⁶⁰⁴

Shield also set Shelly the piper's first solo, 'When I've money I am merry', to a tune Bremner called 'The Grant's Rant', implying a Highland origin and moderate lively pace; though Gillespie (c. 1768) designated it 'a Reel'. Elsewhere entitled 'Foots vagaries' or 'Green grow the rashes', heavily ornamented slow versions by fiddlers including Oswald, Young and William McGibbon developed in parallel with the dance tune; as the dance version prevailed, the names became interchangeable.)⁶⁰⁵ A version of 'The White Cockade' entitled 'The ranting Highlandman' was subsequently published in *The Caledonian Muse*, while its traditional lyrics carry

⁶⁰² Francis Collinson, 'Strathspey', and D. Johnson, 'Bremner, Robert', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Mary Anne Alburger 'Bremner [Brymer], Robert (c. 1713–1789)', *ODNB* (3 January 2008); Bremner (ed.), *A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances* (London: Bremner, [c. 1757]).

⁶⁰³ Gow, *A First Collection of Strathspey Reels* (Edinburgh: Corri, 1784); J. Campbell, *A Collection of New Reels & Highland Strathspeys* [Glasgow: ?1786/1789] [HMS].

⁶⁰⁴ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *HRscore*, p. 7; Bremner (ed.), *Scots Reels or Country Dances*, p. 42; T. C. Smout, Alan R. Macdonald and Fiona Watson, 'Rothiemurchus, 1650-1900' in *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500-1920* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 290-318 (pp. 290-92); GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 162.

⁶⁰⁵ GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 Mf, I, p. 42; David Rutherford (ed.), *Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances* (London: Rutherford, [c. 1750]), I, p. 22; Bremner (ed.), *Scots Reels or Country Dances*, p. 64; GB-En, James Gillespie MS 808 (c. 1768), p. 91, George Skene MS 5.2.21 (c. 1717), fols 4^v-6^v, Macfarlane MS 2085 (II) [c. 1743], p. 204; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 46; Oswald, *Companion*, I, p. 18; McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes*, 3 vols, 8th edn (London: Rutherford, [c. 1760]), II, p. 20.

Highland associations.⁶⁰⁶ The reel Shield chose for his Finale was published by Gow under the Gaelic title 'Ball na grandach' and by Campbell as 'The Perth Hunt', suggesting this Highland tune had been adopted for balls in Lowland Scotland.⁶⁰⁷

Example 4.8 shows how Shield's versions of traditional Scots airs in *The Highland Reel* resemble various others at different points (though never closely or consistently enough to indicate direct copying from any one source), while also including unique elements.⁶⁰⁸ This argues that he selected most airs from his own memory rather than mining printed collections, though he probably selected airs that had already been published to capitalise on their popularity. He generally provided his own distinctive arrangement differing from others in key, metre, choice of chords, type of bass line, or melodic details like dotted rhythms and ornaments, suggesting his arrangements represent one strand in a tapestry of evolution through performance, transcription and arrangement. The auction catalogue of Shield's music library lists several collections of traditional songs, but most were published too late to have provided inspiration for his theatre works, supporting the conclusion that he was interested in rather than dependent on the arrangements of others.⁶⁰⁹ Although most of the airs Shield selected had previously been arranged by Oswald, as seen in Chapter 3 (**Example 3.28** and **Example 3.29**), his influence is more apparent in the construction of harmony lines than in melodic similarities.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁶ Samuel, Ann and Peter Thompson (eds), *The Caledonian Muse* (London: [1790]), p. 40.

⁶⁰⁷ Gow, *Strathspey Reels*, I, pp. 19-20; J. Campbell, p. 47.

⁶⁰⁸ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, p. 7; Ramsay, pp. 113-14; GB-En, MS 21716, Robert Kelsall MS [c. 1730], p. 272, and Macfarlane MS (II), p. 274; Francesco Barsanti, *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Baillie, 1742), p. 5; Oswald, *Companion*, II, p. 22; McGibbon, 2nd edn, I, p. 28; SMM, I, p. 94.

⁶⁰⁹ Musgrave, pp. 11-12, 15-17, e.g. Pietro Urbani, *Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*, 2 vols of 6 (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [c. 1795-1804]); Joseph Dale (ed.), *Collection of Scotch Songs*, 3 vols (London: Dale, [1798-99]); G. Thomson (ed.) *Fifty Scottish Songs*, arr. by Pleyel, Kozeluch; Ludwig van Beethoven, *A Select Collection of Original Irish Melodies* (Edinburgh: G. Thomson, 1816); Haydn, *A Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: G. Thomson, 1817), I.

⁶¹⁰ Oswald, *Companion*, I, pp. 7, 18-19, 30-31, II, pp. 1, 22, III, pp. 6-7, IV, p. 3, VII, p. 28; *Scotch and English Songs*, pp. 10-11, 16-17, 20-21.

Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd*

Kelsall MS

Young (Macfarlane MS)

Barsanti Slow

Oswald Slow

McGibbon Lively

Johnson, *Scots Musical Museum*
Lively

Shield
Presto

Example 4.8 'Corn riggs', first strain

In several cases, there are indications that Shield had access to earlier popular printed collections not listed in his library catalogue, like William McGibbon's *Collection of Scots Tunes*.⁶¹¹ McGibbon studied with William Corbett in London and Italy before settling in Edinburgh, where he performed in Musical Society concerts; David Johnson considered him among the most successful eighteenth-century Scottish musicians at merging native fiddle tradition with continental professional violin practice, a quality he shared with Shield.⁶¹²

⁶¹¹ HRscore, pp. 5-6, 8, 16-17, 36-37; McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes*, 4 vols, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: [c. 1740-42], repr. Bremner [c. 1759-60]) I, pp. 16, 28, III, pp. 35, 73, 78, IV, pp. 109, 117.

⁶¹² D. Johnson, 'McGibbon, William' *GMO* (20 January 2001), *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 35-38.

Johnson, 200 Country Dances

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system includes:

- Geminiiani**: Treble clef, 6/8 time signature, melody with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- McGibbon**: Treble and Bass clefs, 6/8 time signature, accompaniment with trills (tr) in the treble.
- Shield**: Treble and Bass clefs, 6/8 time signature, accompaniment with chords and a bass line. The tempo is marked **Allegro**.

The second system continues the melody and accompaniment for all three parts. The third system concludes the piece with a final cadence in all parts.

Example 4.9 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray'

Example 4.9 shows how Shield’s version of ‘Bessy Bell and Mary Gray’ closely resembles McGibbon’s throughout the first strain, though with a more varied pace of accompaniment and some alternative chords. Shield’s melody also matches that in John Johnson’s *Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances* (c. 1740), a cheap pocket-sized book including dance steps that he could have used when playing for domestic parties in his youth.⁶¹³

Shield varied his approach to accompanying traditional airs according to context and forces. In the reel adapted for his Finale (‘The Perth Hunt’), the opening tonic drone is broken in the second bar of both strains by a pivot chord, which Gow treated as a dominant in first inversion (A/C#) while Campbell used a supertonic (E minor). In his introduction (**Example 4.10**), and in verses sung by earthier characters (e.g. Moggy and Charley), Shield used the E minor chord in first inversion (Em/ G) to avoid consecutives; while in verses sung by the more genteel or ‘establishment’ characters (Sandy and Jenny, Serjeant Jack) and in the Chorus, which he set to the second strain, realised in four-part close harmony (**Example 4.11**), he adopted Gow’s more ‘classical’ solution.⁶¹⁴



Example 4.10 Finale, Introduction (strain 1)

⁶¹³ GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 Mf, I, p. 13; McGibbon, 2nd edn, III, p. 73; Geminiani, *Good Taste*, pp. 12-13, violin and cello parts; GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, p. 6.

⁶¹⁴ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 46-48; Gow, *Strathspey Reels*, I, pp. 19-20; J. Campbell, p. 47.

Chorus

Whis - ky fris - ky pranc - ing danc - ing sor - row send to Nick the De'el

Whis-ky fris - ky pranc-ing danc - ing sor - row send to Nick the De'el

care or trou - ble who can feel lilt - ing up the High - land reel.

care or trou - ble who can feel lilt - ing up the High - land reel.

Example 4.11 Finale, Chorus (strain 2)

The Highland Reel contains clear examples of Shield deliberately altering traditional airs to adapt them for theatrical forces. One is Shely's solo, 'When I've money I am merry', set to the traditional fiddle tune 'Foots vagaries' or 'Green grow the rushes' **Example 4.12**).⁶¹⁵ Shield energized each melodic phrase of the opening and closing symphonies with birls (bowed fiddle ornaments also found in Rutherford, Bremner, Gillespie and Vickers' versions) and underlined the effect with matching accompanying rhythms, but simplified the melodic rhythm during verses to facilitate a vocal rendition; a logical extension to the theatrical context, of Tytler's suggestion that instrumentalists accompanying traditional airs should ornament or

⁶¹⁵ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 12-13.

vary the melody only in the symphonies, not the verses.⁶¹⁶ Each strain closes in E minor, and despite knowing such a harmonization to be uncharacteristic of a Scots air, Shield used a B major chord in first inversion marked *sf* in the approach to each cadence, emphasizing the sharpened leading note (D#). Possibly he inserted this striking chord as a signal to Edwin, the soloist, to be ready for his next vocal entry following comic ‘business’ on stage during each orchestral interlude. During the verses this effect highlights words which might be accompanied by theatrical gestures.⁶¹⁷

Scherzando

(Shelty)

When I've mon - ey I am mer - ry when I've none I'm ve - ry sad

when I'm so - ber I am ci - vil when I'm drunk I'm roar - ing mad

Example 4.12 Shelty's solo, Act I ['Footh vagaries' / 'Green grow the rushes']

Shield also incorporated into his score dance tunes that McGibbon and Oswald as treated as variation sets. These he condensed to fit within the strophic structure of a theatrical song, carefully selecting the most suitable variations to provide an

⁶¹⁶ Rutherford (ed.), I, p. 22; Bremner (ed.), *Scots Reels or Country Dances*, p. 64; GB-En, Gillespie MS, p. 91; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 46; Napier, I, p. 15.

⁶¹⁷ *Rudiments*, p. 3.

overarching, balanced shape. For Shelty's second solo he selected two strains from the fiddle jig 'Fairly shot of her' (**Example 4.13**), setting the verse lyric to the opening minor melody (closely matching versions published by John Johnson, Walsh and Oswald), and the chorus to a contrasting strain in the relative major featuring octave leaps (the third variation in Johnson and Walsh).⁶¹⁸

[strain 1]
oboe solo **Shelty**

Boys when I play cry Oh Cri-mi-ni Shel - ty's Chaun - ter Squeak - er - im - in - i

Bassoons

Bagpipe Drone

in love tunes I'm so em - pha - ti - cal fing - ers shak - ing qua - ver - a - ti - cal

[strain 2]

With a - gil - i - ty grace gen - til - i - ty girls shake heel and toe pipes I tic - kle so

Bassoons & Horns

my jiggs fill a pate tit - ti - late pret - ty mate my hops love mirth young bloods cir - cu - late

Example 4.13 Shelty's solo, Act II ['Fairly shot of her']

⁶¹⁸ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *HRscore*, pp. 36-37; GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 *Mf*, I, p. 44; Walsh (ed.), *Caledonian Country Dances*, I, p. 18; Oswald, *Companion*, VII, p. 28.

In his Finale (Example 4.14), Shield applied the variation principle to orchestration:

verse 1

Sandy Shelty

Come spright-ly Low-land lass and High-land lad trip here in jov-ial glee

Bassoons

Sandy Shelty

Gen-tle winds from ev'-ry is-land waft hearts mer-ry blythe and free at Shel-ty's house in gay ca-rouse your

Basses *p*

McGilpin Serjeant

hours em-ploy O well said Boy Lay sup-per down and bring the Booze to wish the young folks love and joy

verse 2

Moggy Charley

Mind dear-est lad I tell you fair-ly marr-ied I must have my way I'm

pizz.

Sandy Shelty Moggy

sure dear lass you'll gov-ern rare-ly love and hon-or I'll o-bey nor marr-iage chain, nor bit nor rein, the

McGilpin Shelty

McGilpin

duce a bit, a game-some tit Gad-zookspoor hen-peck'd Char-ley A wiseman I my child's a wit

Example 4.14 Finale, verses 1 and 2

The introduction and verse have the same melodic shape as the first two of six four-bar strains in Gow's arrangement of the traditional reel, while Shield's chorus matches Gow's sixth strain, beginning in a higher octave appropriate to a climactic moment in the movement; his variations for the third and fourth verses appear to be original.⁶¹⁹ Each section of accompaniment follows the same simple chord progression, yet is defined by its own characteristic rhythm and texture. The crotchet bass and sustained bassoon drones in the introduction and first strain resemble traditional accompaniments, but to avoid frequent heavy perfect cadences some phrases end with the bass breaking into light, leaping melodic rhythms. In several verses Shield divided the melody between singers, keeping the orchestration low-pitched and fairly light (with a variety of effects, including bassoon drones and pizzicato) to ensure they could hear and catch each other's lines.

Not only can other contemporary versions of traditional airs inform analysis of Shield's compositional practice, but his treatment of them sheds light on regional variations in performance practice of traditional tunes. Though not identical, both Vickers' and Shield's versions of 'Rothiemurchus Rant / Grants of Strathspey' (**Example 4.15**) favour straight unornamented quavers, where Scottish editors included dotted and snap rhythms, turns and trills throughout. Vickers' and Shield's variations on 'Fairly shot of her' also contain far less decoration than those in David Young's manuscripts or Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*.⁶²⁰ Their similarly unadorned transcriptions of these tunes suggest that in oral tradition, the degree of rhythmic inequality and ornamentation varied, and perhaps, a simpler version was preferred in north-east England. This seems plausible given Seattle's conclusion, drawn from comparing the Skene and Dixon MSS, that Border bagpipe tunes 'do not require the same kind or amount of "gracing" as Highland pipe music'.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 46-48; Gow, *Strathspey Reels*, I, pp. 19-20.

⁶²⁰ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 7, 36-37; GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 70, 162; Bremner (ed.), *Scots Reels or Country Dances*, p. 42; GB-En, Macfarlane MS 2085 (II), pp. 70-72, and MS 21715, David Young, Duke of Perth MS [c. 1734], p. 12; Oswald, *Companion*, VII, p. 28; Mackintosh, p. 6; Gow, *Complete Repository*, I, p. 18.

⁶²¹ Seattle (Dixon), pp. 13, 16.

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Rothiemurchus Rant / Grants of Strathspey'. It is organized into two systems, each containing three staves. The top staff of each system is the treble clef, and the bottom two are the bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The first system includes 'Bremner strain 1', 'Vickers strain 1', and 'Shield strain 1'. The second system includes 'Bremner strain 4', 'Vickers strain 4', and 'Shield strain 2'. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and trills (tr) marked above notes.

Example 4.15 'Rothiemurchus Rant / Grants of Strathspey'

In selecting songs for Shelty the Highland piper, Shield made no attempt to replicate the *piobaireachd* that a genuine piper of the Western Isles would perform; he may never have heard this classical form of Highland piping practised, and MacDonald's treatise on the subject, although penned c. 1760, was not published until 1803.⁶²²

While the repertoire, professional duties and lifestyle of the Duke of Northumberland's pipers differed in some respects from those retained by Highland lairds, Shield's familiarity with the Northumbrian smallpipe tradition could still yield relevant insights.⁶²³ In *The Highland Reel*, the character of Shelty embodies so

⁶²² Gelbart, pp. 144-47.

⁶²³ *Rudiments*, p. 35.

many of these elements that Shield surely had some input into O’Keeffe’s creation of the role, beyond providing music for his songs.

As with Benin, O’Keeffe gave Shelty a spurious name intended to personify his culture of origin. ‘Sheltie’ had long been a colloquial nickname both for Shetlanders and Shetland ponies, and could also be applied figuratively to a decanter of whisky, since smugglers used the small barrel-bodied ponies to transport run spirits inland. (Here O’Keeffe betrayed either ignorance or disregard of geographical detail; the Shetland Isles are further from Coll than London is from Dublin).⁶²⁴ Shelty is introduced as ‘the piper’ and enters singing, but is also the local publican, commissioned to provide both music and refreshments for Sandy and Jenny’s wedding. This dual occupation (in roles central to community life) mirrors the Northumberland situation, where the piper was not a continual fixture in the ducal household but lived out and took on other work, musical or otherwise; William Lamshaw, appointed in 1780, was also a Morpeth town wait and innkeeper.⁶²⁵ Bewick engaged Lamshaw to play for Charles Dibdin’s one-man show when the Newcastle theatre band went on strike during the 1787 to ’88 season; his account implies Lamshaw was already in Newcastle and did not require the Duke’s permission to accept this casual engagement.⁶²⁶ While Dr Johnson described Highland pipers studying in ‘colleges’ he also indicated that this formal and structured tradition declined after the 1745 Rising rendering the piper’s role increasingly part-time, especially on estates whose laird was often away in London. Bewick lamented that ‘the Northumberland families were beginning to feel indifferent, or to overlook these ancient minstrels, who had for ages past been much esteemed, and kept in attendance by their forefathers’.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁴ ‘sheltie’ in *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*, <<https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/sheltie>> (DSL Data Version 3.0); ‘How far is it? - Distance Calculator’, <<https://www.gps-coordinates.net/distance>> (2023).

⁶²⁵ Butler, ‘Ducal Pipers’ (online, 2013); Cowper, p. 196.

⁶²⁶ Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 116; Jon A. Gillaspie, ‘Dibdin, Charles (bap. 1745, d. 1814)’, *ODNB* (11 August 2022).

⁶²⁷ S. Johnson, p. 165; Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 112.

Shelty's role, though peripheral in narrative terms, is the most richly and vividly characterised in *The Highland Reel*. A possible literary precedent is seventeenth-century Scots poet Robert Sempill's *Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan*, a pen-portrait and epitaph of a town piper (albeit in Renfrewshire rather than the Highlands) whose colourful and multi-faceted personality, like Shelty's, was as memorable as his music: obstreperous, competitive, an inveterate gossip, with a wry sense of humour and fiery temper.⁶²⁸ Sempill's 'Habbie Simpson' played appropriate tunes to summon and energize men for hunting, sheep-shearing or warfare; to mark Celtic and Roman Catholic feasts; and to provide music at fairs, parades, performances of travelling players, horse races, football matches and bridal processions. As Bruce and Stokoe noted, the ducal pipers of Northumberland 'are called upon to perform at the riding of boundaries, the opening of fairs, and other occasions of state ceremonial' (and continue to fulfil some such functions to this day), so although Sempill's poem was widely published as a broadside, Shield's boyhood memories of Northumbrian pipers may also have provided inspiration.⁶²⁹

Shelty's characterisation as a rogue may also owe something to notorious Northumbrian piper Jamie Allen, believed to be a descendent of Border gypsies who first performed for the Countess of Northumberland in 1746/7, before embarking on extraordinary and often criminal adventures at home and abroad. Arrested for horse-stealing at Jedburgh in 1803, Allen was spared transportation after a public outcry but incarcerated in Durham gaol until his death in 1810, a royal pardon (allegedly signed by the Prince of Wales in response to a petition) arriving too late to save him.⁶³⁰ (Given Shield's interest in Northumbrian piping and position as a royal household musician, the idea that he could have brought this case to the Prince's

⁶²⁸ Robert Sempill, *The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan, Or the Epitaph of Habbie Simpson* (1690), 'The Word on the Street' <<https://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/view/?id=15860>> (National Library of Scotland, 2004).

⁶²⁹ Bruce and Stokoe (eds), iv; Butler, 'Ducal Pipers' (online, 2013); Bibby-Wilson and Moore (eds), pp. 14-15.

⁶³⁰ Butler, 'Ducal Pipers' (online, 2013); Keith Gregson, 'Allan [Allen], James [Jimmy] (1734-1810)', *ODNB* (4 October 2007); Bibby-Wilson and Moore (eds), pp. 12-13.

notice has tremendous romantic appeal, but unfortunately not a shred of documentary evidence.)

In *The Highland Reel*, M'Gilpin despises, mistrusts and blames Shelty for every misdemeanour from smuggling to seduction, and even witchcraft. While angered by these prejudiced and (mostly) false accusations, Shelty also reinforces his own dubious reputation in song, casually boasting of moods as mercurial as his finances, of settling arguments with blows and trifling with a girl he admits may prove to "be wi' bairn" (though if so, he does volunteer to be a "good pappy"!).⁶³¹ Nevertheless, O'Keeffe's epilogue summarising all the impostures and revelations in the play is ironically, and poignantly, delivered by Shelty; the only character who has acted, and been recognised, as his true self throughout. His role bears comparison with the Shakespearean Fool whose self-awareness gives him a kind of nobility, contrasted with the hypocrisy and self-delusion he observes and mocks in his masters and peers.⁶³² M'Gilpin also embodies an existing theatrical trope, the miserly old man threatening to thwart his child's romance. Examples include Harpagon in Molière's farce *L'Avare*, of which Fielding's translation had been popular in London since 1733; a new abridged version was staged at Covent Garden a week after *The Highland Reel*.⁶³³

The bitter enmity between factor and piper can be read as a satire on the opposition between 'civilized' and 'primitive' culture central to much Enlightenment aesthetic and moral thinking. M'Gilpin, the grasping, perjured official, embodies the corruption of humanity through economic, political and social ambition; Shelty, with all his faults, stands for the 'pure' traditions of primitive man living by instinct alone - a variation on the 'noble savage' trope, which simultaneously punctures its idealism.⁶³⁴

⁶³¹ HRbook, p. 11.

⁶³² *Twelfth-Night: or, What You Will*, I. 5. 295-433, V. 1. 1-47, 292-419, in *The Dramatick Writings of Will. Shakspeare*, 20 vols, ed. by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 2nd edn (London: John Bell, 1788), IX, 5-103 (pp. 17-22, 87-89, 98-103).

⁶³³ *L'Avare*, e.g. I. 3-5, in *Théâtre de Molière*, 3 vols (New York: Doubleday, 1962), II, 311-83, 387 (pp. 317-29); *LSInd*, pp. 301-02; *LS5*, II, p. 1109.

⁶³⁴ Gelbart, pp. 11, 41-44, 51-52, 56-59, 64-67; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 109.

Tonality and orchestration: means of organisation and expression

Contemporary cultural commentary often associated traditional music with an idealised peasantry, and European classical music with the wealthy élite; but as Troost observed, Shield 'did not fall into the habit of assigning traditional ballads to rustics and Italianate arias to the gentry'.⁶³⁵ In *Rosina* the majority of solos are in Shield's imitation style, but of two set to traditional Scots airs, Belville (the landowner) sings one, and William (the ploughboy) the other; both aristocrats and peasants sing at least one classical number, and each act's finale involves the whole ensemble in a traditional tune. Drummond's conclusion, that airs whose style does not match the character's social class are exceptions, is not borne out across Shield's output.⁶³⁶

Burden suggests that this inconsistency in style was perceived to weaken characterisation, which would hold true if audiences believed that understanding or enjoyment of different musical styles was wholly dictated by social background. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, while such stereotypes had currency, Shield's own experience inclined him to challenge them.⁶³⁷ In practical terms, the style of his airs reflects the capabilities of the original singers. The most versatile (Incedon, Johnstone, Mrs Bannister, Mrs Martyr) played the principal characters, who therefore, whatever their social status, expressed themselves in both simple ballads and flights of operatic virtuosity.⁶³⁸ R. J. Arnold notes that Parisian professional singers were less enamoured of Grétry's melodic simplicity than the general public and resented his failure to utilise their vocal virtuosity, developed through performing Italian opera.⁶³⁹ Shield avoided any such conflict by allocating both traditional and coloratura numbers to his most competent singers (**Figure 4.5**).

⁶³⁵ Gelbart, pp. 84-110; Troost, 'Shield, William', *GMO*.

⁶³⁶ Drummond, p. xxiv.

⁶³⁷ Burden, p. 439.

⁶³⁸ *BDA*, I, pp. 272-75, VIII, pp. 68-98, 208-11, XIX, pp. 118-21; Baldwin and Wilson, *GMO*: 'Incedon, Charles [Benjamin]' (20 January 2001), 'Martyr [née Thornton], Margaret' (24 February 2010), '(2) Elizabeth Bannister [née Harper]', in 'Bannister family' (30 August 2004), and 'Johnstone, John', *GMO* (1 December 1992; online 2002).

⁶³⁹ R. J. Arnold, pp. 5, 149.

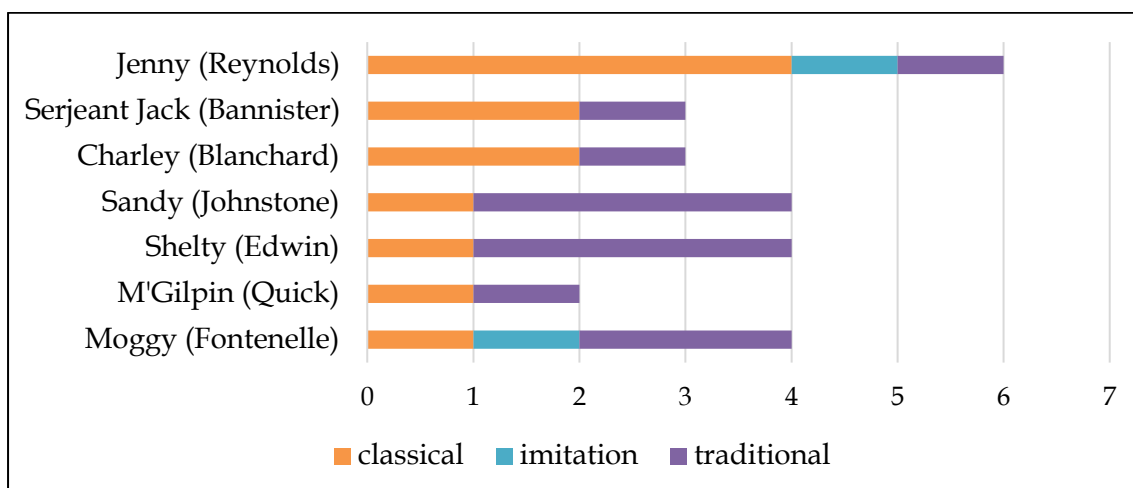


Figure 4.5 Style categories of characters' songs in *The Highland Reel*

Another important principle in eighteenth-century music theory was the association of different keys with emotional affects. Rita Steblin's comprehensive discussion of key characteristics concludes that most eighteenth-century composers and theorists subscribed to this phenomenon. Some attributed it to unequal temperaments in keyboard tuning, which created intervals of varying purity within different keys; others to the properties of various instruments, which meant certain pitches (and hence the keys of which these were primary tones) sounded stronger, brighter and more resonant than others.⁶⁴⁰ Shield's treatises mention neither temperament nor key characteristics, but he engaged with European theorists who discussed these topics at length, including Mattheson, Rameau and Marpurg.⁶⁴¹

As a string player Shield favoured expressive intonation over equal temperament, insisting that although D# and Eb are 'sounded with the same key' on a harpsichord,

D sharp is only a minor semitone, whereas E flat is a major semitone above D natural [...] upon instruments that are capable of a perfect intonation, the difference between them is very distinguishable.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ Steblin, pp. 187-89.

⁶⁴¹ Steblin, pp. 51, 59-60, 79; *Introduction*, pp. 41, 51, *Rudiments*, pp. 15-16, 79, 86; Musgrave, pp. 11, 18-19

⁶⁴² *Introduction*, p. 38.

He also described in detail the fingering used for a passage of *recitativo accompagnato* containing an enharmonic diesis, citing audience reaction to this effect to refute the notion ‘that none but educated musicians can feel the effect of the enharmonic’.⁶⁴³ This suggests he did believe that different keys, containing different intervals, convey different characters and emotions. His choice of keys can therefore be interpreted as an expressive device, though purely practical factors (like available instrumental and vocal resources) must also be considered.

Shield’s most successful dialogue operas demonstrate a clear preference for some keys above others (**Figure 4.6**). He used keys with more than three sharps or flats sparingly, and minor keys very rarely. This may reflect the practical challenges of transposition and maintaining pitch in a crowded, candle-lit, draughty theatre; but also suits the lightweight, comedic nature of Shield’s theatrical works, according to the widespread contemporary notion that adding sharps or flats increased emotional intensity. His treatises do not discuss this ‘sharp-flat principle’, but include a technical exercise cycling through major and minor triads which centres on ‘the natural keys’, implying he concurred that C major and A minor, lacking sharps or flats, were the purest and most emotionally stable or neutral keys.⁶⁴⁴

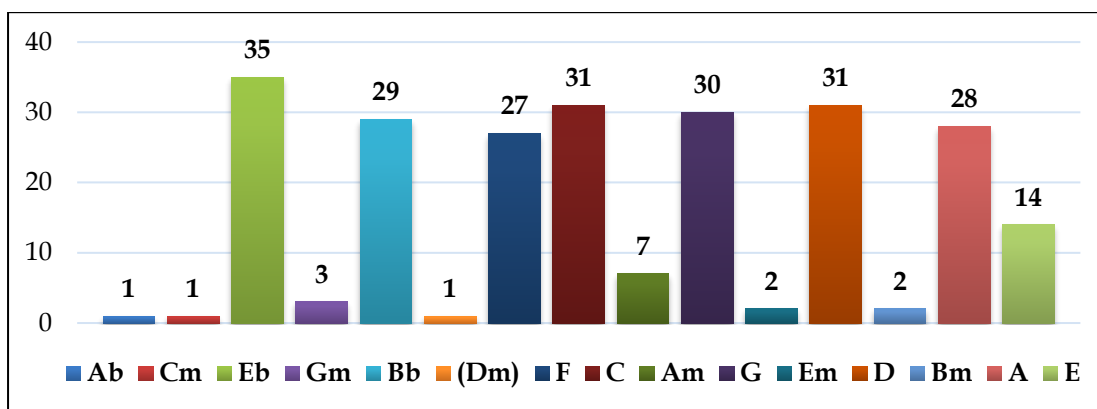


Figure 4.6 Movements (and sections) in various keys throughout surveyed works

⁶⁴³ *Rudiments*, p. 88.

⁶⁴⁴ Steblin, pp. 105-06, 113, 120-21, 125-30, 132; *Introduction*, p. 28.

The vast majority of Shield’s minor key movements are traditional tune arrangements, whereas the representation of style categories among major key movements is similar to the overall proportion across his output (**Figure 4.7**). Shield noted the contradiction between theorists’ assertions that ‘the minor mode is more the production of art than nature’, and his own experience that ‘national melodies [...] are more frequently in the plaintive minor than the animating major’.⁶⁴⁵

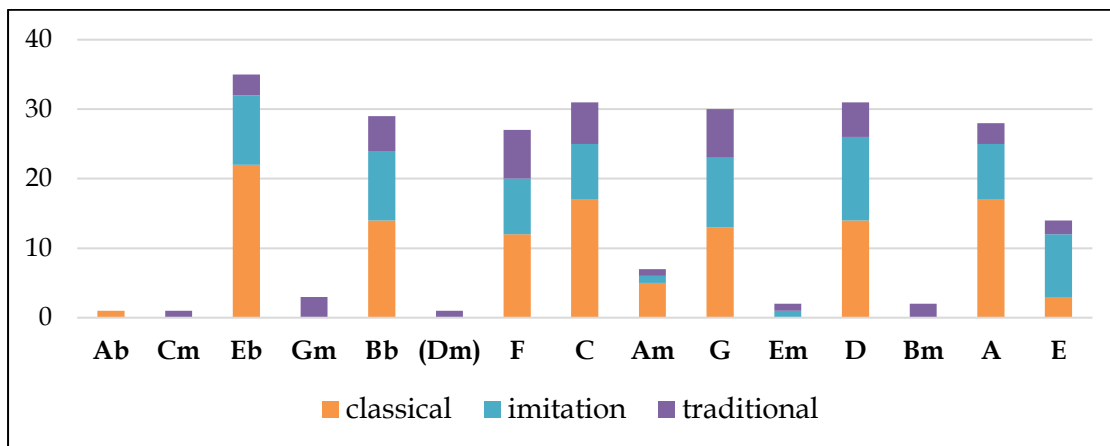


Figure 4.7 Movements (and sections) in various keys across surveyed works, showing style categories

The pattern of usage in *The Highland Reel* is broadly similar (**Figure 4.8**, **Figure 4.9**):

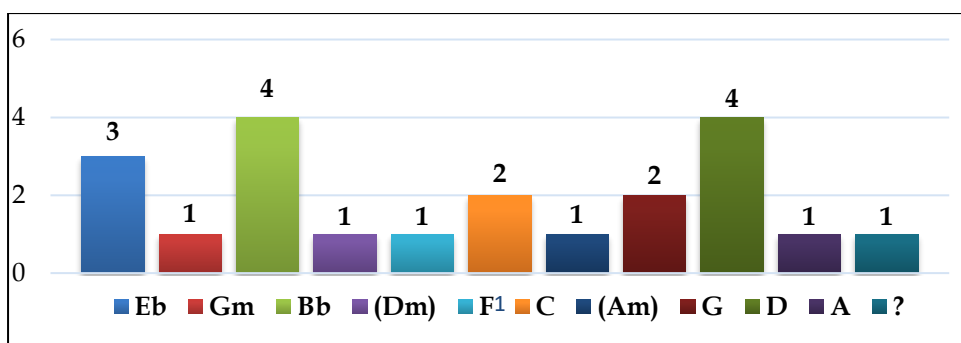


Figure 4.8 Movements (and sections) in each key in *The Highland Reel*

⁶⁴⁵ Introduction, p. 17.

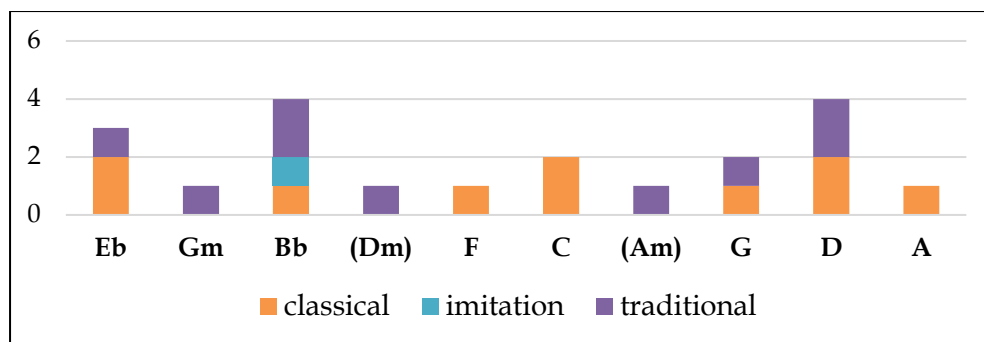


Figure 4.9 Movements (and sections) in each key in *The Highland Reel*, showing style categories

Examining the narrative context and lyric content of movements in Shield's works suggests his choice of keys was informed by their association with moods or themes common to romantic comedy plots, broadly aligned with contemporary descriptions of key characters as translated and summarised by Steblin. In *The Highland Reel*, Shield appears to have organised movements into key clusters reflecting textual themes and characters' contrasting personalities, preoccupations and social class. However, this approach is not replicated consistently in other works, so what seems an obvious device here may be coincidental; comparisons are complicated by *The Highland Reel's* small number of singing personnel (seven, as opposed to ten or twelve in other 1780s successes), and the omission of numerous songs in some works from published sources. Every major character in *The Flitch of Bacon* and *The Noble Peasant* sang at least one number that remained unpublished, the score of *Fontainebleau* omits multiple numbers involving various combinations of five secondary characters, three of Mrs Kemble's airs in *Robin Hood* are lost, and over half the movements sung by *Marian's* two principal singers have not survived.⁶⁴⁶

In the following analysis I outline trends of affective association for keys used in *The Highland Reel*, demonstrating how Shield's use of keys underpins elements of

⁶⁴⁶ Henry Bate Dudley, *The Flitch of Bacon* (Dublin: Booksellers, 1779), pp. 7, 25; Thomas Holcroft, *The Noble Peasant* (London: G. Robinson, 1784), pp. 5, 7, 16, 30, 38, 58, 62, 68; Leonard Macnally, *Robin Hood, or Sherwood Forest*, 2nd edn (London: Almon, 1786), pp. 16, 29, 71; Frances Brooke, *Airs, Songs, Duets, Trios and Chorusses in Marian* (London: Cadell, 1788), pp. 11, 17.

narrative and characterisation. As his theatre works are not through-sung, at least one section of spoken dialogue usually separates musical numbers, removing any structural necessity for movements adjacent in the score to be harmonically related or linked. *The Highland Reel's* Overture and Finale are both in D major (**Figure 4.11**), but Shield did not always adopt this basic framing device. Of the other surveyed works, only *Robin Hood* (G) and *The Woodman* (Eb) begin and end in the same key, though the outermost movements of several others are in tonic-dominant relationship or vice versa: *Rosina* (C-G), *The Poor Soldier* (D-G), *Love in a Camp* (D-A), *Hartford Bridge* (D-G) and *The Lock & Key* (G-C).⁶⁴⁷

In Steblin's 'Catalogue of Characteristics Imputed to Keys' by contemporary theorists, descriptors consistently applied to D major are variations on 'gay', 'joyful', 'merry', 'noisy' and 'brilliant'.⁶⁴⁸ As a string player, Shield knew from experience that, as noted by Grétry and others, sharp keys like D sound and feel brighter because their principal tones coincide with open strings.⁶⁴⁹ D is also a convenient key for playing traditional airs on the fiddle; several tunes used by Shield for his Overture and Finale appear in D in many earlier sources.⁶⁵⁰ Across Shield's output D major typically establishes a positive, lively, even rollicking mood, with lyrics concerning romance, or military life and patriotism (occasionally both, using battle as a metaphor for courtship).⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁷ *Robin Hood* pp. 2-9, 62-64; *The Woodman*, pp. 2-9, 92-97; *Rosina*, pp. 2-5, 36-38; *The Poor Soldier* pp. 1-5, 28-30; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 1-8, 36-37; *Hartford Bridge*, pp. 2-5, 46-49; *The Lock & Key*, pp. 1-7, 44-47.

⁶⁴⁸ Steblin, pp. 237-39.

⁶⁴⁹ Steblin, pp. 110, 135-38.

⁶⁵⁰ Henry Playford, *A Collection of Original Scots Tunes* (London: Pearson, 1700), pp. 8-9; Ramsay, pp. 113-14; GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 Mf, I, p. 13; Walsh (ed.), *Caledonian Country Dances*, I, p. 28; GB-En Macfarlane MS 2085 (II), pp. 274-75; Geminiani, *Good Taste*, pp. 12-13; Oswald, *Companion*, II, p. 22, III, pp. 6-7; McGibbon, 2nd edn, III, p. 73; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 38; John Christopher Pepusch, 'Air XLIX' in *The Beggar's Opera* (London: Harrison, [1784]), pp. 19-20; Alexander MacGlashan, *A Collection of Scots Measures Hornpipes Jigs Allemands Cotillons. And the fashionable Country Dances with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord* (Edinburgh: Stewart, [1781]), p. 5; J. Aird (ed.) II, p. 24; Gow, *Strathspey Reels*, I, pp. 19-20; J. Campbell, p. 47.

⁶⁵¹ *Rosina*, p. 9; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 10-11, *Fontainebleau*, pp. 14-15, 33; *Robin Hood*, pp. 18, 54; *Marian*, p. 44; *The Noble Peasant*, pp. 55-58; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 10-11, 32-33.

Shield revisited *The Highland Reel*'s opening and closing key in two sung numbers positioned almost centrally, near the end of Act I and beginning of Act II (Figure 4.11). The soldiers' drinking song led by Serjeant Jack is set to Handel's March from Act III of *Judas Maccabeus*, an oratorio Shield performed multiple times in Durham and London.⁶⁵² By 1765 this tune had become embedded in popular culture, appearing independently entitled 'The Duke's March' in Bremner's 1765 *Collection of Airs and Marches*.⁶⁵³ Shield transposed the solo verse from G into D to reflect the quasi-military character and perhaps facilitate replacing Handel's original horns with the trumpets, fifes and drums mentioned in the lyrics (though not cued in the score). The second D major movement, Moggy's lively, carefree solo 'My Father's house', uses a jig-like metre but is not identifiable as a Scottish traditional air, with melodic patterns more suggestive of a French imitation (possibly by Grétry).⁶⁵⁴ The lyrics describe her planned elopement, giddy fantasies of a glittering social life in London consoling her for the pets and garden she will leave behind.

Shield's Finale is an example of the 'vaudeville finale' first adapted from French opera by William Boyce in *The Shepherds' Lottery* (Drury Lane, 1751), built around a strophic song where each main character sings a solo verse summing up a different plot strand, between chorus refrains.⁶⁵⁵ Shield further developed the form, with which he concluded each Act in several of his works, by dividing verses between several characters or incorporating action sequences and sections of contrasting musical material.⁶⁵⁶ *The Highland Reel*'s Finale anticipates the story's happy conclusion with a double wedding feast through verses demonstrating the contrasting characters and perspectives of the two couples. Moggy and Charley's lively banter portrays marriage as a tussle for control, while Sandy and Jenny's more

⁶⁵² GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 24-25; Handel, *Judas Macchabæus* (London: Randall, [1769]), p. 177; Gardner, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), p. 58; Burney, *Commemoration of Handel*, pp. 18, 44.

⁶⁵³ GB-En, Glen.91(3), *A Collection of Airs and Marches for Two Violins or German Flutes* (London: Bremner, [c. 1765]), p. 5.

⁶⁵⁴ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 30-31; *Recollections*, p. 135.

⁶⁵⁵ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 221; LS5, I, p. 273.

⁶⁵⁶ *The Flitch of Bacon*, pp. 50-53; *Rosina*, pp. 20-24, 36-38; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 28-30; *Fontainebleau*, pp. 56-59; *The Noble Peasant*, pp. 33-36, 50-54; *Robin Hood*, pp. 62-64; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 36-37; *The Farmer*, pp. 40-42.

rarefied duet describes a wedding as a sacred rite, with many classical allusions (**Example 4.14**). After the interpolated propaganda verse sung by Serjeant Jack, the final chorus concludes 'care or trouble who can feel, lilting up the Highland Reel' (**Example 4.11**).⁶⁵⁷

The only minor keys used are A minor, D minor and G minor, of which Galeazzi claimed the first two were 'not used in the works of those who write with good taste, except in modulations'.⁶⁵⁸ Shield employed both only to introduce contrasting moods within the Overture, in his arrangements of 'Roslin Castle' and 'Dumbarton Drums'. Despite their minor key, these airs are not laments; lyrics from contemporary sources describe a 'gay and sweet' romance in terms of 'fond delight', with a lover singing a 'cheerful strain'.⁶⁵⁹ Though A minor and D minor were often described as 'plaintive', 'melancholy' or 'serious', treatises from the 1770s to '80s characterise both as 'tender', therefore suitable for a romantic drama.⁶⁶⁰ Throughout the surveyed works, Shield used D minor only for contrasting sections of overtures, but chose several traditional airs in A minor to set lyrics expressing sorrow and loneliness over broken relationships, and excitement or agitation over social class.⁶⁶¹

Within the body of *The Highland Reel*, the first tonal focus of C major seems associated with Moggy and Charley's relationship (**Figure 4.11**, **Figure 4.12**). This boisterous, affectionate, witty, energetic and irresponsible couple, from the middling or aspirational class, improvise daring, devious schemes to achieve their ends. Their opening duet of Act I, and Charley's subsequent farcical dialogue with M'Gilpin, are clearly action numbers, both in C major; of which Steblin's comparison table offers a mixed impression, suggesting it was felt to occupy the emotional and social middle ground. She cites a 1783 German *Magazin der Musik* describing C major as,

serviceable for every affect, but will not express one that is very strong [...] not very noble, but also not at all vulgar.

⁶⁵⁷ HRscore, pp. 46-48.

⁶⁵⁸ Steblin, p. 112;

⁶⁵⁹ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 5, 8; Napier (ed.), I, pp. 33-34; SMM, II, p. 169.

⁶⁶⁰ Steblin, pp. 242, 293-94.

⁶⁶¹ *The Flitch of Bacon*, pp. 4-5; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 4-5, 9, 20-21; *Fontainebleau*, pp. 44-46; *The Noble Peasant*, p. 60; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 7-8; *Marian*, p. 26.

Romantic writers associated it with

innocence, simplicity, naivety [...] nature, virginal chastity and purity, lovely innocence of youth, patriarchal living, golden age. Young, joyful life. Innocence, peace and tenderness.

However, earlier in the century Mattheson described C major as having

a rather rude and impudent character [...] common [...] But, can be made to sound somewhat tender and touching.⁶⁶²

Shield often used C major for movements in a simple classical vocal style, conveying love, friendship and celebration.⁶⁶³ His association of the key he described as 'natural' with Moggy and Charley suits their fresh, youthful romance, while its ambiguity reflects the undercurrents of recklessness and trickery in their interactions.⁶⁶⁴ Fiske thought their first C major duet was borrowed from Grétry; its repetitive diatonic melody, with small compass and short phrases, would be easy to sing while playing out the business of lowering Moggy's belongings from her window.⁶⁶⁵ Musical clichés reinforce pastoral romance conventions: triadic accompaniment figures cued for two horns (often used by Shield for hunting songs) reflect the early morning, outdoor setting, while bird-like interjections from flutes and oboes follow lyrics referencing 'the Lark and the Sparrow'.⁶⁶⁶

During the dialogue number 'Thy secrets to thy kind Master tell', the actors sing alternate phrases of a very simple tune as M'Gilpin attempts to discover who is his clerk's sweetheart, while Charley tries to secure a promised bonus. Each frustrates the other by drowning out his questions with the nonsense syllables "Twang lango tillo lang twango dillo day" over a very light, transparent *pizzicato* and *arco* accompaniment, suggesting the singers mimed plucking an instrument whilst imitating its sounds (most likely the small 'English guitar' popular c. 1750 to 1810,

⁶⁶² Steblin, pp. 222-23.

⁶⁶³ HRscore, p. 14; *Robin Hood*, pp. 10-11; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 34-35; *Marian*, pp. 8-11, 34-36; *The Woodman*, pp. 78-81; *The Lock & Key*, pp. 44-47.

⁶⁶⁴ *Introduction*, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁵ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁶⁶ *Favourite Songs*, pp. 10-13; *Rosina*, pp. 10-13; *Robin Hood*, pp. 20-21, 28-29, 44-47; *Marian*, pp. 17-19; *The Woodman*, pp. 54-55.

for which Shield and others provided arrangements of their theatre songs).⁶⁶⁷ The lyric pamphlet also includes a solo air for Blanchard which was cut from the printed score and 1789 Dublin wordbook, so its style, key and orchestration remain unknown. Lyrics express Charley's mordant satisfaction at cheating his corrupt master, in metre indicating a rapid patter song.⁶⁶⁸

Shield used G major to convey happy moods, sometimes veering towards comic chaos.⁶⁶⁹ Steblin lists late eighteenth-century sources which assigned pastoral undertones to this key, describing it as:

livelier [than C], although not stormy [...]
innocent, simple, unemotional, indifferent,

suitable for expressing

naïve actions [...] rustic pleasures [...]
everything rustic, idyllic and lyrical.⁶⁷⁰

In *The Highland Reel* the tonal centre of G is associated with Shelty the piper (**Figure 4.11, Figure 4.12**), whose casual behaviour and function as a representative of traditional culture somewhat match these definitions. Shield reverted to G major for the four-part soldiers' drinking chorus in the Act I finale (set to Handel's March) following an encounter between the recruiting party and the islanders, led by Shelty.⁶⁷¹ Shelty's first lively solo also opens in G but cadences in its relative, E minor; another ambiguous key for which theorists offered widely differing characterisations. References to tenderness, grief and maidenly love hardly match the irreverent lyrics, but Grétry's description of 'the first minor key of nature' again carries rustic connotations.⁶⁷² To imitate the reedy sound of bagpipes Shield orchestrated melodies for oboe with bassoon drones (**Example 4.13**), which in G could also be reinforced with double-stopped open strings.⁶⁷³ The chorus of

⁶⁶⁷ Robert Spencer and Ian Harwood, 'English guitar', *GMO* (20 January 2001).

⁶⁶⁸ *HRlyrics*, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁶⁹ *The Flitch of Bacon*, pp. 6-11; *Rosina*, pp. 36-38; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 25, 28-30; *The Noble Peasant*, p. 62; *Robin Hood*, pp. 55, 62-64; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 18-21, 24-25; *Hartford Bridge*, pp. 46-49; *The Woodman*, pp. 45-47, 74-75.

⁶⁷⁰ Steblin, pp. 274-75.

⁶⁷¹ *HRscore*, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁷² Steblin, p. 257.

⁶⁷³ *HRscore*, pp. 36-37.

nonsense syllables (“Tirol teedle tum [...] foll loll feedle fum”, etc.) indicates Edwin mimed playing the bagpipes while singing.

I found just three solo songs in G minor among the surveyed works, all boasting of personal or national prowess in culture or war, and all set to traditional airs: social climber Jemmy Jumps’ boastful song ‘Oh! Dear ma’am, I’m quite the thing’ in *The Farmer*, to the tune D’Urfey called ‘Great Lord Frog’; naval ballad ‘The Arethusa’ in *The Lock & Key* (see Chapter 6, **Scotching myths**); and in *The Highland Reel*, Shelty’s second air, set to ‘Fairly shot of her’.⁶⁷⁴ This wide-ranging, angular jig is usually in E minor; Shield may simply have transposed it to fit Edwin’s voice, but 1780s definitions of G minor also resonate with the bombastic, satirical, resentful lyrics expressing a darker side to Shelty’s character.⁶⁷⁵ Steblin quotes sources associating this key with

The lament of a noble matron, who no longer has her youthful beauty, and therefore no longer elicits sympathy [...]
Discontent, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; bad-tempered gnashing of teeth [...] resentment and dislike. ⁶⁷⁶

The song extends a scene where Shelty mimics Laird Donald’s elevated speech and high-handed manner, mocking aristocrats whose amusements involved imitating or exploiting the skill in pugilism or in music of labourers and professionals.⁶⁷⁷ Its lyrics pit the Highland piper’s talents against those of acknowledged European virtuosi (soprano Gertrude Mara, composer Joseph Haydn and violinist Wilhelm Cramer), highlighting the snobbery behind London audiences’ faddish adulation of foreign virtuosi, and credulous acceptance of the Rizzio myth which denied Scottish musicians ownership of their traditions.⁶⁷⁸

On the evidence of his performing career and traditional tune arrangements, Shield was perhaps the best-qualified man in England to adjudicate such a comparison, and

⁶⁷⁴ *The Farmer*, p. 18, *The Lock & Key*, pp. 38-9; Thomas D’Urfey, *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (London: Pearson/Tonson, 1719), p. 14; GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 Mf, I, p. 5.

⁶⁷⁵ GB-En, Duke of Perth MS 21715, p. 12, Macfarlane MS 2084 (I), p. 70; Walsh (ed.), *Caledonian Country Dances*, I, p. 18; Oswald, *Companion*, VII, p.28; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 70.

⁶⁷⁶ Steblin, p. 278.

⁶⁷⁷ *HRbook*, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁷⁸ Gelbart, pp. 33-37.

esteemed these different musicians and their music equally highly. However, Burden's analysis of the far more extended, *opera buffa*-influenced 'catalogue aria' from Shield's score for Bate Dudley's *The Travellers in Switzerland* (1794), in which a ludicrous Italian Count lists the celebrated musicians whose talent he claims to surpass, suggests such numbers were designed to parody their own context on multiple levels: employing garbled lyrics and exaggerated gestures to caricature both the theatrical excesses of performers, and the 'ignorance' and 'pretentions' of audiences who feted them in an attempt to appear cultured and sophisticated.⁶⁷⁹ Whilst the lyrics proclaimed Shelty's superior prowess as musician and seducer, Edwin's physical antics would convey the 'wild' nature of man and music; and, I suspect, the drunkenness which must inevitably undermine the virtuosity of his performance in either role. (In a further, sad irony, O'Keeffe conceivably characterised Shelty in this way to cover Edwin's own likely drunken appearance on stage. An 'alcoholic breakdown' ended the famous comedian's career, and ultimately his life, exactly two years after his first appearance as Shelty.)⁶⁸⁰

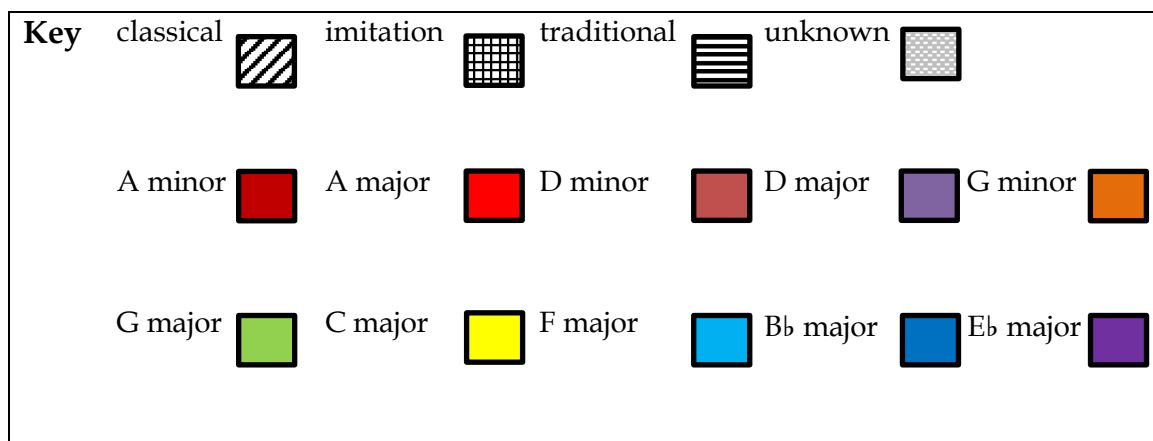


Figure 4.10 Key to Figure 4.11

⁶⁷⁹ Burden, pp. 430, 432, 435-37, 440-41.

⁶⁸⁰ BDA, V, p. 24.

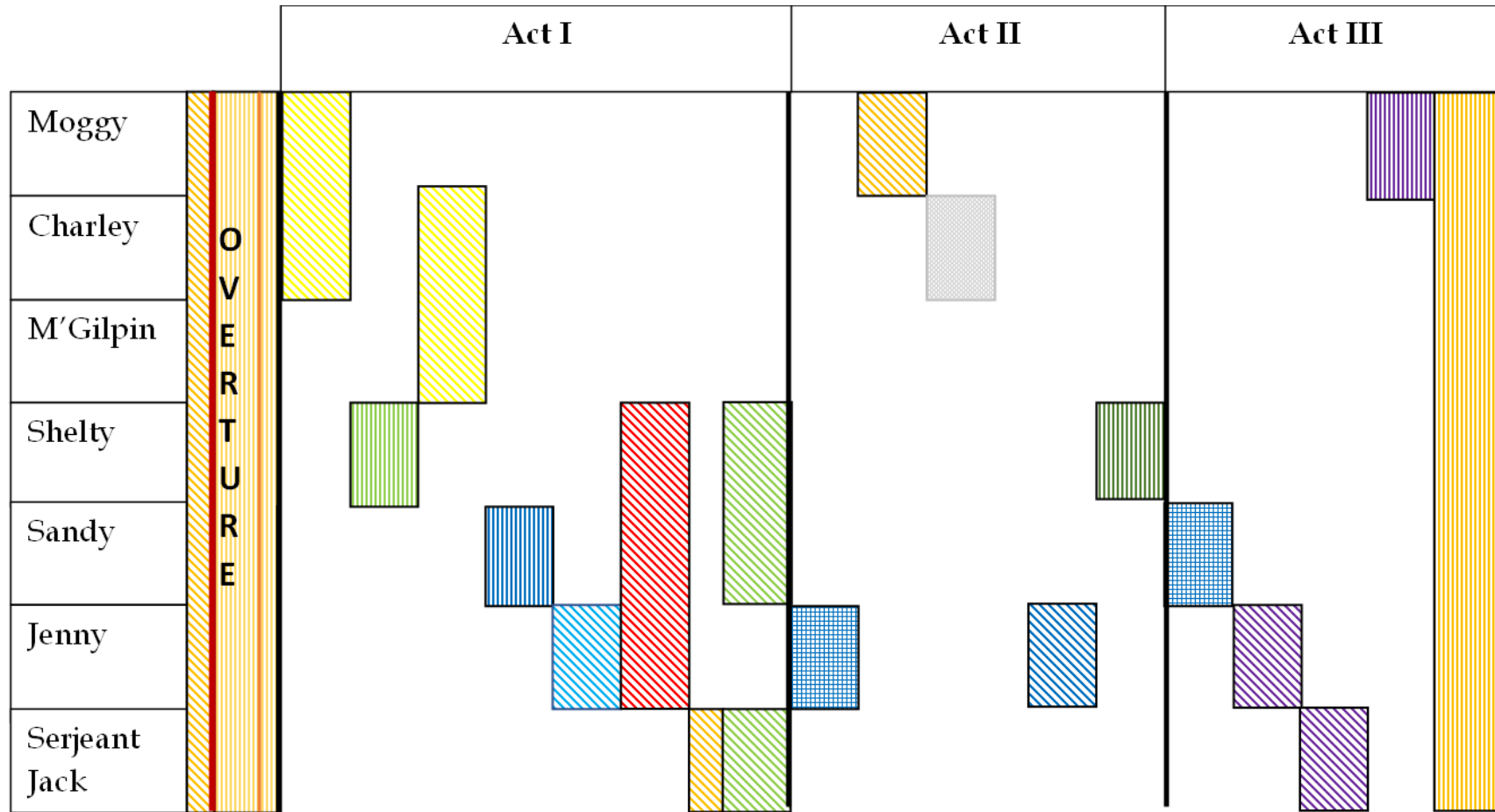


Figure 4.11 *The Highland Reel*, movements in score order showing character, key and style categories

Shelty also joins in a trio near the end of Act I, interjecting irreverent comments between Sandy and Jenny's exalted expressions of bliss and devotion in anticipation of their wedding.⁶⁸¹ This is the only number in A major (**Figure 4.11, Figure 4.12**), perhaps a compromise ensuring the vocal lines lay comfortably for all three singers, but also a key Shield often used for songs about love and marriage, usually emphasizing happiness and constancy.⁶⁸² This accords with Steblin's list of eighteenth-century writings associating the sharp key of A with joy, mirth and celebration, but also

the fire of an amorous and tender passion [...]

innocent love, satisfaction with one's state of affairs; hope of seeing one's beloved again when parting; youthful cheerfulness and trust in God.⁶⁸³

The diatonic scale- and arpeggio-based melody is accompanied by parallel thirds, held notes and repeated quavers over predominantly tonic-dominant harmony, suggestive of horn or trumpet calls; the former would reflect the pastoral setting, the latter prefigure the pseudo-military characters introduced in the following scene. This trio displays Shield's talent for achieving structural clarity by balancing repetition of melodic motifs with contrasting or transitional material. The singers exchange two-bar phrases throughout each verse and perform the chorus in homophonic harmony, textures resembling the popular glees Shield borrowed or composed for several theatre works, especially those with a rustic setting.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸¹ HRscore, pp. 21-23.

⁶⁸² *Rosina*, pp. 17, 34; *The Poor Soldier*, p. 6; *Fontainebleau*, pp. 42-43; *The Noble Peasant*, pp. 42-45; *Robin Hood*, pp. 22, 33, 35-37, 43, 57-58; *Love in a Camp*, pp. 22-23; *Marian*, p. 49; *The Woodman*, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁸³ Steblin, pp. 288-89.

⁶⁸⁴ *The Noble Peasant*, p. 60; *Robin Hood*, pp. 10-11, 16, 23, 44-47; *Hartford Bridge*, pp. 26-29; *The Woodman*, pp. 14-15, 22-23, 41, 59-61. Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals*, pp. 636, 640, *Catch and Glee Culture*, pp. 69, 74, 81, 131-34.

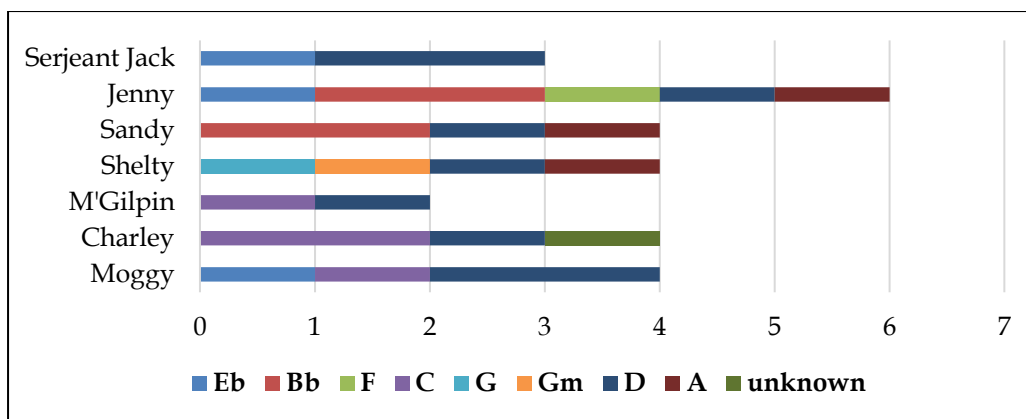


Figure 4.12 Distribution of keys between singing roles in *The Highland Reel*

The A major trio may also represent an intermediate step between Shelly's tonal centre on G, and the key most associated with Sandy and Jenny's relationship: B \flat major (**Figure 4.11**, **Figure 4.12**). Most of Shield's songs in B \flat reference the depth, purity and power of love.⁶⁸⁵ Steblin's eighteenth-century sources characterised B \flat major as

sumptuous; [...] also somewhat modest, [...] both magnificent and dainty [...] quiet in its greatness [...] tender [...] noble

further associating it with

masculine energy [...] cheerful love, clear conscience, hope, aspiration for a better world [...] transports of love, charm, and grace.⁶⁸⁶

These descriptions accord with Sandy and Jenny's status and qualities as model lovers: nobility (of character and breeding), fidelity, sentiment and virtue. They also match the lyrics of Sandy's first solo (**Example 4.16**), in which he fervently declares his love for Jenny, claiming to prize her beauty, charm, sweet nature and modest behaviour more highly than wealth or position. The key of B \flat facilitates the introduction here of a contrasting timbre, in the solo clarinet.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁵ *The Flich of Bacon*, pp. 24-25; *The Poor Soldier*, p. 8; *Fontainbleau*, pp. 31-32; *The Noble Peasant*, p. 39; *Love in a Camp*, p. 16; *Marian*, pp. 32-33, 51.

⁶⁸⁶ Steblin, pp. 296-97.

⁶⁸⁷ *HRscore*, pp. 16-17.

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Oh had I Allan Ramsay's art'. The score is arranged in four systems, each containing multiple staves. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The instruments and parts include:

- Violin I:** Features *pizz.* (pizzicato) and *col arco* (col arco) markings.
- Violin II:** Features *col arco* markings.
- Clarinet:** Features *Clarinet.* and *Clarinet* markings.
- Bassoon:** Features *Bassoons* markings.
- Voices:** Includes the vocal line for [Sandy] with lyrics: "Jane of Gris - si - po - ly she makes me know what all de - sire so stops my bold ad - van - ces meek as the lamb on yon - der lawn yet".

Performance instructions such as *pizz.*, *col arco*, *[pizz.]*, *[arco]*, *[Clar.]*, and *Clar. col voce* are placed above or below the respective staves to indicate playing techniques and dynamics.

Example 4.16 'Oh had I Allan Ramsay's art', bars 1 to 2, 12 to 13, 21 to 22

For this number Shield used another tune traditionally rendered as a variation set, 'Maggie Lawder'.⁶⁸⁸ He set lyrics to the first two strains only and in the second, introduced repetition of earlier phrase endings rather than new melodic variation.⁶⁸⁹ The score shows a fuller accompanying texture of semiquaver arpeggiations in the inner strings, similar both to harmonic variations in fiddle tune sets and the textural filling used by opera composers like Jommelli, who was known for 'keeping his violins, especially the seconds, in constant flowing motion'. Such dense orchestration sometimes attracted criticism, because 'it took a very strong singer to penetrate through the storm of the instruments'.⁶⁹⁰ The voice of 'tall, handsome, charming' Irish tenor Jack Johnstone (star of many Shield/O'Keefe productions, notably *The Poor Soldier*) was praised for its sweetness, but not renowned for its power, suggesting Shield's orchestral doubling of the lowest vocal phrase was intended to reinforce his weaker lower register.⁶⁹¹ O'Keefe's lyrics present two of eighteenth-century Scotland's most valued and exploited cultural exports, the poetry of Allan Ramsay and the melodies misattributed to Rizzio, as desirable assets for expressing love and pursuing courtship, further romanticizing rural Scottish culture.⁶⁹²

Jenny's second air in B \flat , 'What rapture to think on the times we have seen' (**Example 4.17**), is an excellent example of Shield's 'imitation' style (**Figure 4.2**), using traditional elements to convey a scenic or emotional landscape, while introducing classical devices of harmony and articulation to express dramatic gestures and provide structural framing and balance.⁶⁹³ Bird-like flute cues provide a 'romantic pastoral' atmosphere, and the flowing opening melody has a pentatonic flavour; although all steps in the major scale appear, the fourth is used only as a falling appoggiatura (contributing to the nostalgic, yearning mood) and the seventh only as a leading note in the perfect cadence concluding the principal stanza of each verse. A

⁶⁸⁸ Oswald, *Companion*, I, pp. 30-31; McGibbon, 2nd edn, I, pp. 16, 28, III, p. 73.

⁶⁸⁹ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *HRscore*, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁹⁰ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu eine Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806; Hildesheim, 1969), p. 57, quoted in Hertz, pp. 466-67, 476.

⁶⁹¹ Baldwin and Wilson, 'Johnstone, John', *GMO* (2002).

⁶⁹² Gelbart, pp. 30-31, 33-37, 46-48.

⁶⁹³ *HRscore*, pp. 28-29.

light accompaniment in staccato quavers oscillates between inversions of subdominant and tonic chords, only introducing the dominant to prepare the final cadence of each couplet.

Jenny

[Allegretto] *sf* What rap - ture to think on the

times I have seen, on - May - day I first saw my love on this green so charm - ing his face and com -

mand - ing his mien the - King - was my lov - er and Jen - ny his Queen *f*

The gar - land pre - sent - ed by San - dy, *sf* *p* more sweet from the mak - er 'twas San - dy So

charm - ing his face yet com - mand - ing his mien the - King - was my lov - er and Jen - ny his Queen, the

gar - land pre - sent - ed by San - dy more sweet - from the mak - er 'twas San - dy *f*

Flute

Example 4.17 'What rapture', bars 5 to 30

Jenny's song acts as a musical and emotional mirror of Sandy's first solo, expressing her reciprocation of his ardent love through reminiscences of their first meeting and his proposal of marriage. A contrasting, angular melody in the relative key of G minor, with more sustained chords and expressive dynamic gestures (*sf* and *subito piano*), accompanies the shorter couplet in each verse recalling a decisive step in their relationship: Sandy giving her a garland, their first dance, their betrothal. During the orchestral 'symphonies', Shield combined the evocative main melody with more classically shaped harmonic sequences, using dotted and back-dotted rhythms on quavers which are notated as straight when sung.

Jenny's final solo in B \flat (**Example 4.18, Example 4.19, Example 4.20, Example 4.21**) was Miss Reynolds' showpiece, a full-blown operatic *da capo* aria exploiting every capability of a skilled coloratura soprano, with long sustained notes, bravura scales and *passaggi*, chromaticisms and extended ornaments, regularly reaching bb'.⁶⁹⁴ The text describes a homebound sailor anticipating reunion with his sweetheart, whose ship founders within sight of land; a somewhat exaggerated metaphor for Jenny's horror and despair when threatened with separation from Sandy, just before their planned wedding. To convey the tumult, anxiety and tragedy of the shipwreck, Shield drew on the palette of strongly representational elements used by eighteenth-century composers to evoke actual or metaphorical storms and disasters, for which McClelland has coined the term *tempesta*.⁶⁹⁵ These include emphatic melodic gestures, bass lines in urgent repeated quavers, rushing scales, ascending sequences building harmonic tension over pedal points, accents and sudden extreme dynamic contrasts. Unfortunately the score lacks instrumental cues which could offer richer insights into Shield's exploitation of texture and timbre.

In discussing Piccinni's use of similar textural and instrumental 'storm' signifiers in the 1809 melodrama *La citerne*, Hibberd makes the important distinction that, in this later work, musical devices match the human or elemental actions portrayed on stage, but do not undergo motivic or harmonic development and are not

⁶⁹⁴ HRscore, pp. 32-35.

⁶⁹⁵ McClelland, pp. 282, 284-87, 289-90, 294-95.

accompanied by vocal narration or emotional expression.⁶⁹⁶ Conversely, while O’Keeffe’s published wordbook offers no indication that the shipwreck was represented visually through mime or scenography, Shield deployed conventional mimetic elements skilfully and effectively within the developmental framework of a classical operatic aria. In a comic context, this would also serve to parody the highly emotive *tempesta* arias of serious opera.⁶⁹⁷

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a long, held note on the word 'bleak'. The piano accompaniment starts with a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic and features a gentle, rocking motion. The second system continues the vocal line with the words 'o'er the Main. The sea-man trolls his jo-vial song'. The piano accompaniment becomes more rhythmic and features a *f* (forte) dynamic. The tempo is marked as [Allegro Spirito]. Dynamics include *pp*, *p*, *poco f*, and *f*.

Example 4.18 ‘The bleak wind’, bars 15 to 25

The voice creeps in on a long held note over a gently rocking *pianissimo* sequence, imitating ‘the bleak wind’ (Example 4.18), before an extraordinarily long melisma portrays how the ‘tall ship rolls along’ (Example 4.19).

⁶⁹⁶ Sarah Hibberd, ‘Scenography, Spéculomanie, and Spectacle: Pixierécourt’s *La citerne* (1809)’ in Hambridge and Hicks (eds.), 79-93 (pp. 88-90).

⁶⁹⁷ McClelland, pp. 291-94.

his tall ship rolls a long

Example 4.19 'The bleak wind', bars 35 to 54

Increasingly dense orchestral semiquaver passages, with repeated sudden drops in dynamic followed by *crescendi*, portray mounting waves and violent gusts.

the bill - ows rise *f* in vain he

tacks to make the land, re -

lent - less break - ers guard the

coast his hope, his ship,

f him - self is lost. *pp*

Example 4.20 'The bleak wind' bars 63 to 78

As fear rises, the vocal line becomes plain, breathless and stark, breaking off entirely as the ship strikes a rock amid chromatic orchestral chords (E \flat - E \flat m/G \flat - G \flat aug⁶), conveying the shattering impact (**Example 4.20**). The narrative incongruity of the recapitulation is deftly handled, the orchestra floating towards an extended dominant seventh as the storm blows itself out and the heroine descends from her histrionic flight, recalling that the disaster she describes is only imagined (**Example 4.21**).

Example 4.21 ‘The bleak wind whistles’ bars 78 to 85

To what extent the sublime verged on the ridiculous here would depend on how ‘straight’ Miss Reynolds played the role of naïve, devoted Jenny. Shield’s choice of B \flat major, rather than a more conventionally stormy key such as C minor or D minor, argues for a lighter interpretation, and subtly sustains the link (not made explicit in the lyrics) between the imagined shipwreck and the threats to Sandy and Jenny’s relationship.⁶⁹⁸ In Sandy’s final solo ‘At dawn I rose with jocund glee’ (set to Corri’s heavily ornamented slow air ‘Donald’, with simple functional crotchet bass), the key

⁶⁹⁸ McClelland, p. 283.

of B \flat infuses their romantic love with stability and endurance, as Sandy vows financial pressures will not separate them.⁶⁹⁹

The final tonal cluster comprises three numbers in E \flat major, all in Act III, sung by different characters presenting various aspects of the same theme: war. E \flat was considered the most expressive major key by *galant* opera composers including Galuppi, Hasse and Jommelli.⁷⁰⁰ In Shield's works it is often associated with romance and weddings; when reinforced by orchestration for trumpets, fifes and drums, with military or national pride; and when woodwind and horns are used, with nature or hunting and forestry (*Robin Hood* and *The Woodman*, with their medieval forest setting, feature many movements in this key).⁷⁰¹ Eighteenth-century treatises associated E \flat major with uncompromising emotions, describing it as

cruel and hard [...] majestic and honest [...] aggressive [...] noble and ardent [...] splendid and solemn [...] heroic, extremely majestic, grave, and serious.

Steblin also noted that Romantic writers associated E \flat major with religious devotion.⁷⁰² Some of Shield's E \flat songs project a similar fervour, either of passionate attachment to a lover or patriotic loyalty to country and sovereign.

The first strain of Jenny's final air in E \flat expressing anguish at Sandy's recruitment into the army, 'Dearest youth this heart will break', resembles a traditional tune in melodic shape and rhythm, with a simple bass.⁷⁰³ In the second section, where Jenny declares her determination to follow Sandy abroad, an Alberti bass indicates her willingness to embrace foreign experiences (since "all is Home where thou'lt resort"), a device with obvious parallels to Shield's arrangement of 'De'il tak the wars' (Chapter 3, **Example 3.31**). This section also modulates to the dominant, B \flat major, invoking Sandy and Jenny's love. The accompaniment (labelled 'For the Harp

⁶⁹⁹ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, HRscore, pp. 38-39.

⁷⁰⁰ Hertz, p. 461; Steblin, pp. 138-40.

⁷⁰¹ *The Flitch of Bacon*, pp. 40-41; *Rosina*, pp. 12-16; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 18-19; *Fontainbleau*, pp. 34-39, 56-59; *The Noble Peasant*, pp. 16-19, 50-54; *Robin Hood*, pp. 20-21, 27, 30-32 [by Anfossi], 38-42, 44-47 [by Smith]; *The Farmer*, pp. 8-10, 16-17, 38-39; *Marian*, pp. 17-19, 38-43; *Hartford Bridge*, pp. 14-17; *The Woodman*, pp. 2-5, 7-9, 12-15, 22-23, 38-39, 54-55, 62-66, 86, 92-97; *The Lock & Key*, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁰² Steblin, pp. 138, 245-46; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 18-19; *The Noble Peasant*, p. 61; *The Farmer*, pp. 38-39; *Robin Hood*, pp. 38-42.

⁷⁰³ HRscore, pp. 40-41.

or Forte Piano' but presumably performed orchestrally) is attributed to 'B. Javurek'; possibly a relative of Bohemian pianist and composer Józef Jawurek (1756-1840).⁷⁰⁴ I have found no record of any such musician in London at this date.

Serjeant Jack's air in Eb, 'Old England! Great in arts and arms' (**Example 4.22**), is the most conventionally militaristic.⁷⁰⁵ Marked *pomposo e maestoso*, the introduction establishes key and mood with emphatic scale-based figures, trumpet fanfares and drum rolls. O'Keeffe's unabashedly chauvinistic lyrics echo loyal essays printed throughout the regency crisis alongside anxious daily bulletins on the King's health, emphasizing his beneficent qualities and calling on his subjects to show unswerving loyalty.⁷⁰⁶ Rather than expressing his own character through this air, Serjeant Jack again becomes a mouthpiece for morale-boosting propaganda, claiming heaven's special blessing on 'Albion' (a reference to origin myths of Britain as an island civilisation founded by classical heroes), and drawing reassuring parallels between historical English monarchs who won famous victories on land and sea (Edward III at Crécy, Elizabeth I over the Spanish Armada) and the current royal heirs (Frederick, Duke of York and the future William IV, who commanded the frigate HMS *Andromeda* before being recalled due to his father's illness).⁷⁰⁷

The second strain introduces more emotive harmonies, moving from B \flat major to C minor via G, to reflect these nostalgic and mythological elements. Bannister, though a popular comic actor with a 'full, round, clear, manly, and intelligible' voice, was still relatively inexperienced in singing roles; but an early reviewer considered this

⁷⁰⁴ Irena Poniatowska, 'Jawurek [Javůrek], Józef', *GMO* (20 January 2001).

⁷⁰⁵ *HRscore*, pp. 42-43.

⁷⁰⁶ *HRbook*, p. 63; *Reading Mercury*, 17 November 1788; *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 21 November 1788; *Kentish Gazette*, 21 and 28 November 1788; *Sheffield Register*, 22 November 1788; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 November 1788; *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 4 December 1788.

⁷⁰⁷ David Leeming, 'Albion' *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (Oxford University Press, 2006) and 'Albion', *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. by Dinah Birch and Katy Hooper, (Oxford University Press, 2013) *ORO*; W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III (1312-1377)', *ODNB* (03 January 2008); H. M. Stephens, rev. by John van der Kiste, 'Frederick, Prince, duke of York and Albany (1763-1827)' *ODNB* (04 October 2007); Michael Brock, 'William IV (1765-1837)', *ODNB* (11 February 2021).

melody, moving in adjacent steps or leaps of a fourth, fifth or octave within a strong tonal structure, ‘admirably adapted to his powers’.⁷⁰⁸

The image shows a musical score for 'Old England' in E-flat major, 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of music. The first system is for 'Trumpets and Drums' with the tempo marking '[Pomposo e Maestoso]' and dynamics 'ff'. The second system features a vocal line with lyrics: 'Old Eng - land great in Arts and Arms for man - ly worth and_ fe - male charms re -'. The third system continues the vocal line with lyrics: 'nown'd has ev - er been re - nown'd has_ ev - er been.' and includes a 'Trumpets' part with dynamics 'p' and 'ff'.

Example 4.22 ‘Old England’, bars 9 to 20

Moggy’s second solo ‘Tho’ I am now a very little lad’, sung while disguised as a budding army recruit, also belongs in this E_b major cluster (**Example 4.23**).⁷⁰⁹ Shield’s orchestration features the fife and drum typically played by boy soldiers; his choice of a Jacobite melody, as well as reinforcing Moggy’s ‘Highland lad’ costume, perhaps also carries a hint of subversion to underline her deception.⁷¹⁰ The accompaniment is largely based on a drone, rhythmically repeated rather than sustained to reinforce the drive of the melody, with a counter-melody moving in parallel thirds and sixths.

⁷⁰⁸ Baldwin and Wilson, ‘(3) John Bannister’ in ‘Bannister family’, *GMO* (30 August 2004); *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), 607.

⁷⁰⁹ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *HRscore*, pp. 44-45.

⁷¹⁰ Hurl-Eamon, p. 169.

[con Spirito]

p

Moggy

Tho I am now a ve-ry litt-le lad, if fight-ing men can not be had, for

p

Fife and Drum

want of bet-ter I may do to fol-low the boy with his rat tat too

I may seem ten-der yet I'm tough and tho' not mucho' me I'm right good stuff, of

this I'll boast say more who can I ne-ver was a-fraid to meet my man.

Example 4.23 'Tho' I am now a very little lad', ('The White Cockade') bars 8 to 26

The Highland Reel in print and on tour

The Highland Reel's success is reflected in later collections of traditional Scots airs. In 1790 the publishers of *The Caledonian Muse* sought to maximise its appeal to a theatre-going public by identifying in subtitles those tunes featured in popular theatre productions, including several from *The Highland Reel*.⁷¹¹ This was simple name-dropping, not piracy; the volume contains versions of Lowland and Gaelic airs independently known to the editors, not transcribed from published theatrical scores. As seen in Chapter 3, Shield recycled his own arrangements of 'Roslin Castle' and 'De'il tak the wars' for Napier's *Scots Songs*. In the same volume, Carter's arrangement of 'Corn riggs' also appears to have borrowed eight bars of bass line from Shield's *Highland Reel* version, though given contrasts in key, tempo and instrumentation, this would not be immediately obvious in performance.⁷¹²

Like many of Shield's other successful works, *The Highland Reel* was quickly taken up by provincial theatre companies. On 31 January 1789 the *Norfolk Chronicle* reported that Mr. Brunton of Norwich Theatre planned to mount a production there, and he subsequently paid the Covent Garden management £30 for the right to do so.⁷¹³ Shield's own former touring company, led by James Cawdell, performed *The Highland Reel* in Whitby in October 1790. On the playbill advertising their version (**Figure 4.13**), a subtitle shows how Cawdell cannily transported the drama from the Hebrides to the Orkneys. This location was comparable in landscape and social structures, requiring minimal changes to dialogue or scenery, but had much greater relevance for his north-eastern audience; whaling vessels bound for the Arctic from Whitby, Sunderland and Shields routinely took on supplies and crew in Stromness.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹¹ Samuel, Ann and Peter Thompson (eds.), pp. 4, 15, 34, 40.

⁷¹² Napier, I, pp. 33, 62, 72.

⁷¹³ *Norfolk Chronicle*, 31 January 1789; *LS5*, I, p. clxxxii.

⁷¹⁴ Susanne Arbuckle, 'The story of the Birsay Whalebone', <<https://www.orkney.com/news/birsay-whalebone>> (2014-2023); 'Orkney Shipping' in *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 March 1783, 6 September 1787.

To which will be added a new Musical COMEDY, (never acted here) called The
HIGHLAND REEL

OR,
A Trip to the Orkneys;

WITH THE
 Humours of **SHELTY** the PIPER.

Written by that justly celebrated and whimsical Son of genuine Humour, O'KEEFE.
 The Music is a choice Selection of Scotch Airs from the most approved Masters, and Accompaniments characteristic of the melodious Songs of that Nation, by Mr. SHIELD.

Shelty the Highland Piper)	Mr	C A W D E L L
Sergeant Jack	Mr	G R A H A M
Sandy (in Love with Jenny)	Mr	T H O R N E
Old Crowdy (a Smuggler)	Mr	S I M M A N S
Charley (in Love with Moggy)	Mr	S M E E T O N
Laird M'Donald	Mr HAMILTON—Laird Racy	Mr COLLIER
Capt. Dash (a recruiting Officer)	Mr	W A R W I C K
M'Gilpin (a treacherous Steward)	Mr	S T A N F I E L D
Mifs Moggy M'Gilpin (the little Highland Recruit)	Mrs	M A R S H A L L
Peggy	Mrs STANFIELD—Katty	Mrs SIMMANS
Jenny (M'Gilpin's Ward)	Mrs	T H O R N E

SCOTCH LADS and LASSES by the Rest of the Company.

The Whole to conclude with

A New SCOTCH REEL.

Figure 4.13 Playbill dated 25 October 1790 (image courtesy Whitby Museum)

This playbill also foregrounds the role of Shelty, for which Edwin was applauded 'with wetting hands' by London audiences. In Whitby, Cawdell himself took this part, and perhaps amplified it by adding a comic monologue like those he published in Sunderland in 1785.⁷¹⁵ This description of the music, as 'a choice Selection of Scotch Airs from the most approved Masters, and Accompaniments characteristic of the melodious Songs of that Nation', does not imply the airs were composed imitations rather than traditional tunes. Rather, it reflects their widespread circulation by editors who were 'masters' in the sense of being thoroughly familiar with and expert in performing them, rather than possessing authorial rights to them. The wording further highlights Shield's skill and sensitivity in harmonising and orchestrating these well-loved traditional melodies, in a manner contemporaries considered appropriate and sympathetic.

⁷¹⁵ *The New London Magazine*, 4.11 (November 1788), p. 607; Cawdell, *Miscellaneous Poems*.

Chapter 5 At Home and Abroad in Interesting Times

William Shield's life spanned a transformative and turbulent era in British, European and global history, whose events clearly shaped and influenced his professional projects; but he avoided either making public statements or leaving a private record of his political opinions and beliefs. I have already demonstrated how analysing the detail of scripts and scores in parallel with newspapers and parliamentary records can reveal how Shield's theatre works illustrate contemporary cultural trends and reference topical debates. This chapter considers circumstantial and anecdotal evidence of his activities and relationships, and internal evidence from his works, to consider whether Shield's compositional and career choices were politically motivated, and whether he intended to convey political messages through his music. Shield's professional context precludes interpreting his works solely or primarily as expressions of his own personality or beliefs. Rather than composing to his own agenda, he was commissioned by commercial theatres (subject both to market forces and government censorship) to set other people's words to music. In certain cases, like that of Shelty in *The Highland Reel*, authors may have welcomed Shield's input into character development and scene-setting, but in general we cannot assume he personally espoused sentiments expressed in his theatre works, however effectively and imaginatively his music conveys them. The most intriguing question, but also the most difficult to answer, remains whether any political message can be divined from Shield's *music* – apart from, in addition to, or in subversion of text.

The almost total absence of first-person testimony from Shield himself makes it challenging to discover what kind of ideas or ideologies he might have wanted to express. I have cross-referenced biographies, letters, diaries and memoirs of those among his colleagues, patrons and friends who did record or publish political views and allegiances, allowing me - to some extent - to infer his own sympathies, priorities and motivations. Shield's acquaintances were not confined to one ideological camp; he simultaneously associated with notable progressive thinkers and activists and with establishment figures, including the royal family, some of whom actively opposed reformers' most cherished causes. I therefore also consider

how he maintained relations with employers, colleagues and friends of such divergent opinions and experiences.

Shield's acquaintances included figures often labelled 'radical' by historians. This term reflects the fact their ideas were anathema to the ruling class, but to my mind carries unhelpful connotations of extremism. So-called 'radical culture' encompassed both revolutionaries who believed social justice and equality could only be achieved by armed insurrection to establish a new republic, and moderate political reformers who advocated extending the franchise and campaigned against government corruption. Most of those Shield knew agitated for social and political change without violence, so I prefer to call them 'progressive' or 'reforming'. Ledger points out that as late as 1820, Byron considered 'reform' a familiar concept, but 'radical' was 'a new word' he struggled to define; while satirists portrayed establishment figures using 'radical' pejoratively, to characterise as anarchic and treasonous the poor, unfranchised, oppressed or merely ordinary, who dared claim the right to an opinion or an improved existence.⁷¹⁶ This is not a word Shield would have applied to himself or his friends.

It has already been proposed that Shield's interest in and use of 'national airs' may have political connotations. However, the evidence I have already presented, indicating his own conception of national identity was complicated by a strong regional heritage and an international mindset, cautions against simplistic interpretations. I have contested the view that this aspect of his practice represents elite appropriation of labouring culture, arguing that his social and professional experiences traversed historiographical class boundaries, while his output as a whole implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, acknowledges the cultural value and validity of oral traditions in Britain and elsewhere. I have also explored evidence contradicting the assumption that national stereotypes, military references and jingoistic lyrics in Shield's theatre works are indicative of chauvinistic nationalism on his part.

⁷¹⁶ Ledger, pp. 5-6.

Joubert describes how Hiller pursued an agenda of national cultural unification in Germany, by composing songs in a traditional idiom designed for widespread circulation outside their original theatrical context, with the declared intention of creating a shared national repertoire of communal song. Hiller's *singspiele* of the 1760s to '70s, like Shield's comic operas, use pastoral plots, insert songs between spoken dialogue, and display his gift for writing folk-like melody and simple harmony; yet although many of Shield's 'imitation' songs could stand alone and he profited by publishing them for domestic performance, no evidence suggests he ever set out to promote social or cultural unity by creating a body of British national song.⁷¹⁷ Where Hiller eschewed either borrowing traditional songs or imitating Italianate arias, Shield embraced stylistic and cultural diversity. By combining elements of traditional and composed music from various nations without drawing simplistic parallels between musical style and characters' class or nationality, Shield offered a manifesto in musical form for the integration and enfranchisement of diverse cultures within society. This chapter investigates whether he hoped, or acted, to turn this musical vision into social reality.

Early influences, in the North East and on the road

The memoir of Newcastle engraver Thomas Bewick illustrates much of the social and political context of Shield's early career. Bewick was born in 1753 at Cherryburn, beside the Tyne ten miles west of Swalwell, so they were close contemporaries.⁷¹⁸ Shield is not mentioned in Bewick's memoir, but their social and professional networks on Tyneside undoubtedly overlapped: several contributors and subscribers to *Favourite Songs* are named among Bewick's friends or professional acquaintances, including Darlington antiquary George Allan; musicians Edward and Charles Avison (junior); Walter Cannaway, craftsman and gifted amateur singer of Scots song; poet and actor John Cunningham; bookbinder Gilbert Gray (or his son George, an artist); Gilfrid Ward, draper, a witness at Bewick's wedding; the

⁷¹⁷ Joubert, pp. 213, 215-19, 222-24.

⁷¹⁸ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 13, 26; Uglow, pp. 4-7.

Shadforth brothers, craftsmen and Newcastle waits; the family of newspaperman Thomas Slack; Newcastle theatre actors, including Whitlock and Jeffrys; and Joseph Ritson, for whose song collections Bewick provided illustrations.⁷¹⁹

There is a kinship between Bewick's art and Shield's; both drew on ancient traditions, not despising humble techniques or everyday sources of inspiration but developing them, with genuine artistic skill, into sophisticated yet immediately engaging and relatable productions. The woodcut, Bewick's preferred medium, was the oldest and cheapest form of printing, considered crude by many contemporaries, yet in his hands, infused with his deep knowledge of nature and landscape, yielded illustrations of great detail, beauty, pathos and humour – which, like Shield's traditional song settings and imitations, were enjoyed at all levels of society.⁷²⁰

Bewick also loved the Northumbrian pipes, greatly admiring Peacock's instruments and performances. His memoir draws a subtle connection between political and musical passions, hinting that some of those who most valued Scottish and Border traditions also retained Jacobite sympathies.⁷²¹

In his memoir Bewick reflected at length on political issues, both articulating his own opinions and discussing trends of political thought and engagement he observed around him, including mounting demand for political representation and enfranchisement of the middling and labouring classes.⁷²² Frustrated by their own exclusion from parliamentary representation, many Britons sympathised with the struggle of American colonists to achieve independence and (at least initially) with revolutionary efforts to establish democracy in France. Widespread anger at the imposition on unenfranchised citizens of heavy taxes to fund wars overseas, stoked by several corruption scandals, fostered a growing movement towards constitutional and parliamentary reform whose ideas were spread through pamphleteering,

⁷¹⁹ **FS66 Mr. Canaway Newcastle, FS102 Mr. Gray, FS320 Mr. Gilfrid Ward Newcastle:** Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 65-66, 73-75, 78, 96, 115-16, 120-21, 148, 176; L. H. Cust, rev. by Heather M. MacLennan 'Gray, George (1758-1819)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Ritson, *Scottish Song*, I, vi-vii; Uglow, pp. 47, 77, 80, 121, 125, 142-43; Addison, in Carter, Gibson and Southey (eds), pp. 249, 258.

⁷²⁰ Uglow, pp. xiii, xvi.

⁷²¹ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 26, 32, 53-54, 68, 82, 116-17.

⁷²² Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 113-15, 147-53; Bewick, ed. by Blunden, pp. 169-73.

debating and corresponding societies.⁷²³ In early adulthood Shield was almost certainly among the majority excluded from voting. I have yet to find his name in any poll book, and as a touring theatre musician, it is unlikely he qualified to vote either in County Durham, where electors had to own sufficient freehold property to be registered for the Land Tax, or in Newcastle, where they had to be freemen of trade guilds recognized by the Corporation (though not necessarily resident, reflecting the city's powerful mercantile diaspora).⁷²⁴

Recent scholarship has increasingly illuminated the participation of non-voters in a vibrant broader electoral culture encompassing both printed media and performative practices, including ballad-singing, canvassing, hustings and the 'chairs' of rival candidates through the streets. This informal political discourse allowed citizens of the growing commercial and artisanal class to engage with politics, despite being denied the vote.⁷²⁵ Bewick described a dining club culture dating back to the 1770s, where literate young craftsmen, 'tradesmen of the genteel sort', businessmen and minor officials gathered in Newcastle taverns for informal discussions of literature and politics, sometimes with music-making. Bewick and Shield might have met,

at Mrs Jane Elliot's, at the Sign of the Unicorn [...] a kind of rendezvous, or house of resort to the comedians of our Theatre during the season [...] In her house and indeed in every house, politics formed the topic of conversation.⁷²⁶

Bewick's summary of opinions held among his (and Shield's) social and professional circle on issues such as the economic and moral implications of the American War of Independence, demonstrates a high level of engagement with wide-ranging debates, including comparative evaluation of the potential of various models of government to deliver democracy. While he believed that 'a very great majority [...] were decidedly against the war', Bewick emphasized the polarisation between 'those who

⁷²³ Wilson, pp. 198, 200-01, 210-12, 216-17, 228-32, 263; Mee and Fallon (eds), pp. 1-7; Mee, pp. 10-13.

⁷²⁴ Durham County Record Office, 'Information guides: Electoral registers'.
<<https://durhamrecordoffice.org.uk/our-records/information-guides/electoral-registers/>>
(Durham County Council, 2023), p. 3; Wilson, pp. 297-99.

⁷²⁵ Packham, pp. 104-05; Wilson, pp. 32, 57, 67-68, 70, 115, 167, 215-16, 235-40, 247-51.

⁷²⁶ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 122-23, 148.

were advocates for a system of corruption, and profited by the taxes, and those who were advocates for the liberties of mankind'. In hindsight, he admitted that many were inclined to accept rather than actively challenge the *status quo*, and rued wasting time on private debates which achieved little.⁷²⁷

However, co-ordinated public action did occur. The names Bewick and Shield appear with Cannaway, George Gray, Edward Avison and more than twelve hundred others on a Newcastle petition of November 1775, opposing British government policy in the American colonies. (While there were other William Shields in Newcastle, the presence in this list of identifiable acquaintances strengthens the possibility the signatory is the composer.) One probable mutual acquaintance, Whitaker Shadforth, had emigrated before war broke out and fought on the American side.⁷²⁸ The geographical and social proximity, shared interests and acquaintances of Shield and Bewick cannot prove they held identical opinions, even during this formative period; still less so after 1778 when Shield settled in London. However, Bewick's memoir places Shield as a young professional within the orbit of literate, thoughtful people, who set a high value on their own and others' industrial and creative skills, and habitually read and talked about political and moral issues; not indulging in abstract ideology, but considering the direct practical implications for their own communities and businesses.⁷²⁹

Bewick's memoirs show us how a man comparable to Shield in significant respects, evaluated his own nation and era. While he clung to a conviction that the English were blessed by history as guardians of democracy and decency, Bewick was appalled by 'the misery and the horrid waste of human life which are the certain attendants of war'.⁷³⁰ He judged the self-interested governing class culpable of moral failure, perceiving that the very privileges they claimed qualified them to hold power in fact rendered them unfit to rule, by spoiling their character and judgment. Rather than desiring their removal, he wished fervently to see monarchs and

⁷²⁷ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 73-74, 113-14, 147-53, 156.

⁷²⁸ GB-NTu, WCT299; Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 78.

⁷²⁹ Ayrton, p. 51.

⁷³⁰ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 158-59.

ministers apply their wealth and education to improving conditions and opportunities for working people.⁷³¹ Bewick stopped short of advocating universal suffrage, believing that,

none but sensible, honest men should be allowed to vote [...] who, in their own spheres, by industry and intelligence, maintain themselves respectably [...] the ignorant and the wicked ought to be debarred from voting.

However, he resisted any assumption that wealth indicated moral superiority:

the poor are frequently as wise as the rich, and as remarkable for integrity.⁷³²

Many political reformers championed direct parliamentary representation for the labouring majority, promoting literacy and the distribution of cheap print media to provide workers with opportunities for self-improvement and access to reasoned political debate.⁷³³ This strategy counteracted the hypocrisy of landowners and employers who actively prevented their workers from gaining education (an attitude Bewick likened to blasphemy against the Creator), then cited their lack of it as grounds to deny them the vote. Bewick believed that in an equal society 'the intelligent and industrious man, guided by honour' would rise, while 'the lazy, the ignorant, or the wicked' spiralled into disgrace and ruin; therefore, to ensure he had a fair chance to take the former course, everyone should receive 'a rational and virtuous education' through which his natural talents could be discovered and developed.⁷³⁴

Circumstantial evidence suggests Shield held similar views on education and enfranchisement. As a child he witnessed how Crowley's Swalwell school equipped workers like his distant cousin and subscriber Thomas Longridge to become successful industrialists and engage with culture and politics (Longridge also signed the petition against the American war).⁷³⁵ The recollections of friends imply he imbibed from his probable mentor, Charles Avison, an appetite and aptitude for

⁷³¹ Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 114.

⁷³² Bewick, ed. by Blunden, pp. 172-73.

⁷³³ A. A. Markley, 'Transforming Experience into Reform in Holcroft's *Memoirs* and Literary Works', and W. M. Verhoeven 'Politics for the People: Thomas Holcroft's Proto-Marxism', in Wallace and Markley (eds), 181-95, and 197-217; GB-Lbl, Add MS 27812, fol. 1.

⁷³⁴ Bewick, ed. by Blunden, p. 164.

⁷³⁵ GB-NTu, WCT299.

cultured conversation and a determination to benefit from the libraries of patrons and acquaintances, who were happy to cultivate his interest in literature, art and European languages.⁷³⁶ Shield dedicated his 1811 string trios to Richard Thompson, on whose Yorkshire estate he often stayed with his friend and chamber music partner, cellist John Crosdill; and in dedicating *Rudiments* to Crosdill, described how these house parties afforded him

the gratifying advantage of hearing the best music, [and] of examining the best foreign theories with accomplished linguists, and many other encouraging auxiliaries.⁷³⁷

Similarly, Shield's obituarist Ayrton related,

He devoted all his spare hours to reading, and well digested what he read: added to which, he lived during the greater part of his life much with men of letters, whose society was his delight, and to whose conversation he was indebted for a large portion of that cultivation which all who knew him, and could appreciate his acquirements, readily acknowledged.⁷³⁸

Amongst these 'men of letters' was another notable autodidact, Thomas Holcroft; a former Newmarket stable lad who, having absorbed learning from whatever print matter he could beg or borrow during an itinerant and impoverished childhood, introduced Shield to Ancient Greek literature on their tramps between gigs, and became an essayist, novelist and campaigner for political emancipation.⁷³⁹ Shield knew from personal experience that, given the opportunity, men from a labouring background could educate themselves, rise to positions of responsibility, become economically successful, produce significant creative outputs, and think critically about their society and culture. The idea that such men deserved the vote surely appeared to him not 'radical' but - in the words of Thomas Paine's widely-read

⁷³⁶ Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 88-89; Maddison, in Southey and Cross (eds), pp. 61-63.

⁷³⁷ *Introduction*, pp. 14-15, 23, 28-31, 41, 58, 78, 80-82, 85; *Three Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello*, Dedication; *Rudiments*, Dedication, pp. 6, 9, 13, 15-16, 18, 79-80; M. Campbell, *The Great Cellists*, pp. 11, 24, 57.

⁷³⁸ Ayrton, p. 51.

⁷³⁹ Hazlitt, I, pp. 1-9, 11-13, 23-25, 39-40, 48-51, 137-46, 177-79, 182, 189-97, 210-14, 241, 247, 252-59, 265-66, 287-93; Wallace and Markley, 'Chronology of Thomas Holcroft: Life and Works' and 'Introduction', in Wallace and Markley (eds.), pp. xvii-xx, 1-14.

pamphlet arguing for constitutional reform in Britain, as well as American independence - *Common Sense*.⁷⁴⁰

The decade 1770 to 1780 saw intense political campaigning in Newcastle; three elections were contested within six years.⁷⁴¹ Concert and theatre bills suggest Shield was performing there during the months preceding the 1774 parliamentary election, whose conduct and outcome highlighted the very issues of unequal representation, corruption and vested interests that infuriated political reformers.⁷⁴² The incumbent MPs, Sir Walter Blackett and Sir Matthew White Ridley, had increasingly forfeited the trust of 'middling' tradesmen and craftsmen by refusing to raise constituents' political, judicial and commercial grievances in Parliament, or promote their opposition to the American war. These were precisely the symptoms of despotism about which Jean-Paul Marat, later a principal architect of the French Revolution, sought to warn British voters in his treatise *Chains of Slavery*, published in April 1774. Marat circulated copies to several Newcastle trade guilds and 'patriotic societies', describing them as 'the most pure in the realm'; and having fled to Holland in fear of government reprisals, visited Newcastle on his return.⁷⁴³

Another significant influence on reformers locally and nationally was John Wilkes, who was elected MP for Middlesex in 1768 but prevented by the government from taking up his seat.⁷⁴⁴ Ralph Jackson and James Sharp (brother of John and Granville, iron manufacturer and Common Councilman of the City of London) were among citizens appalled that parliament rejected the outcome of multiple public polls.⁷⁴⁵ Although Wilkes' virulent anti-Scottish invective alienated some northerners, many welcomed his libertarian demands for more frequent elections, enfranchisement of

⁷⁴⁰ [Paine], *Common Sense; addressed to the inhabitants of America*, 3rd edn (Philadelphia: Bell, 1776); Sophia Rosenfeld, 'Tom Paine's *Common Sense* and Ours', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 45.4 (October 2008), 633-668 (pp. 634-37).

⁷⁴¹ Ward, p. 123.

⁷⁴² NC, 12 February, 16 April, 25 June 1774; *NChr*, 16 April 1774.

⁷⁴³ Wilson, pp. 340-41, 348, 358-59; GB-NTu, WCT299; Rachel Hammersley, 'Jean-Paul Marat's *The Chains of Slavery* in Britain and France, 1774-1833', *The Historical Journal*, 48.3 (2005), 641-660 (pp. 644, 646-47, 650-54).

⁷⁴⁴ Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Wilkes, John (1725-1797), politician', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

⁷⁴⁵ RJD/N 16 October 1769; Grant, pp. 137-39.

all tax-payers, voting by secret ballot, redistribution of parliamentary seats to empower growing industrial centres like Newcastle, and a purge of 'placemen' (well-connected but frequently ill-qualified individuals who secured government posts through nepotism or patronage). Although this groundswell of support for progressive ideas led to the first serious electoral contest in Newcastle since 1741, it failed to overturn the *status quo*. Blackett and Ridley retained their seats, backed by powerful fellow landowners, merchants and guilds linked to the coal trade, whose privileges and profits they were sworn to protect.⁷⁴⁶

Cross-referencing poll books with Shield's *Favourite Songs* subscribers' list (and other known acquaintances) identifies at least ten supporters of Blackett and Ridley, almost all established merchants or major landowners. Only half that number (roughly in proportion to the recorded vote share) supported the opposition candidates, including Edward Avison, Ralph Jackson and several mariners in Sunderland and Whitby.⁷⁴⁷ (Both figures may be underestimates; I only counted individuals where the minimal particulars provided in both sources are sufficiently unique and coincidental to permit a reasonably definite identification.)

Given the multi-faceted systemic bias in the electoral process, neither source indicates that a majority, either of Shield's subscribers or of Newcastle residents, were politically conservative. Rather, the comparison highlights how many relatively prosperous and culturally engaged people were disenfranchised, by not being property owners or guild members, or by current or historical legislation denying Scots, religious dissenters and women the vote.⁷⁴⁸ Bewick's memoir implies many of these would have supported progressive candidates, given the chance. We can also see that, even if Shield's own sympathies lay with the politically engaged yet unenfranchised artisan class, his budding career depended on establishment figures, who relied on entrenched power and privilege to generate the wealth they

⁷⁴⁶ Wilson, pp. 211-14, 228, 292-93, 319-23, 335, 342, 369; Ward, p. 127.

⁷⁴⁷ *The Poll at the Election of Members of Parliament For the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, [...] October, 1774* (Newcastle: Saint, 1774), pp. 3-4, 8, 12, 23; *The Burgesses Poll at the Late Election of Members for Newcastle upon Tyne*, 2nd edn (Newcastle: Slack & Charnley, 1775), pp. 5, 10, 15, 20-21, 27, 34-35, 38, 44, 47-48, 55; RJD/P, 12 October 1774.

⁷⁴⁸ Wilson, pp. 298-302, 351-53.

spent on cultural products and experiences like printed scores, instrumental tuition or a box at the theatre.

By the end of the decade, the tide of northern political opinion had turned even more strongly against the American War and towards political reform. In March 1780 Ralph Jackson attended meetings of the 'Gentlemen, Clergy, & Freeholders of the County of York' to endorse a petition condemning 'the present expensive & unfortunate War'. Although the priority of these gentry remained 'the great Landed and Commercial Interests of this Kingdom' and they evinced no desire to give labourers the vote, they observed that, 'a just redress of Grievances can only be expected from a free & uncorrupted Parliament' and insisted, 'the true end of every Legitimate Government is not the Emolument of any Individual, but the welfare of the community'. The vast majority pledged to vote only for candidates who would promote their resolutions to increase accountability in public spending, get rid of bribery and corruption in public office, increase the number of representatives in the House of Commons, and shorten parliamentary terms. Only sitting MPs, and a few local aristocrats and lawyers, opposed them.⁷⁴⁹

Election culture on the stage

Early in Shield's London career he composed several songs for *The Humours of an Election*, a farce by young Irish actor, journalist and playwright Frederick Pilon, capitalising on the 1780 general election (the printed score is misleadingly titled and undated, but lyrics and named soloists match this wordbook).⁷⁵⁰ Pilon's satire caricatured candidates motivated by misplaced social and financial ambition, yet manifestly unfit for office. His dialogue articulates the brazen or devious tactics of corrupt canvassers, who bribed, induced, charmed, pressurised, intimidated or illegally registered voters to favour their preferred candidates. The play also highlights lingering anti-Scottish prejudice in political discourse; English characters

⁷⁴⁹ RJD/Q, 28 - 31 December 1779, 27 - 28 March 1780.

⁷⁵⁰ F. Pilon, *The Humours of an Election* (London: Kearsley, 1780) [henceforth *HEbook*]; *The Catch Songs and Finale in The Election* (London: Bland, [1780]) [henceforth *HEscore*]; *LS5*, I, p. 380; *LSInd*, pp. 17, 300, 437, 666, 860.

jib at the prevalence of Scottish MPs in the House of Commons and mock their style of speaking.⁷⁵¹ The cast of fourteen male but only two female characters (a significant gender imbalance compared to standard theatrical comedies) reflects the unenfranchised status of women, whose only means of influencing the ballot was to support male candidates by distributing handbills, bribes and 'favours'.⁷⁵²

Three candidates stand in the fictional poll. George Highflight is an arrogant, dim-witted, inarticulate youth propelled into politics by his opportunistic uncle Parmezan (a cheesemonger) and ambitious bluestocking mother; who, when her gormless son forgets his rote-learned speech and babbles nonsense, delivers an erudite but patronising oration on his behalf.⁷⁵³ A mysterious Irish candidate, O'Shannon, exudes charm, conceit, loyalist protestations and empty promises. Only the third candidate, Belfield, earnestly professes "the confidence of the people to be the highest possible honour" and promises to discharge their "sacred trust" as their "faithful servant" and "incorruptible champion".⁷⁵⁴ Belfield's chivalrous rhetoric is slightly undermined by his own ulterior motive, a private hope that electoral triumph will enable him to marry Parmezan's daughter Letitia. Nevertheless, having declared that elected representatives are duty-bound to eschew self-interest and promote the common good, he is duly elected.⁷⁵⁵ However, Belfield's eloquence and Highflight's imbecility combine to secure the borough's second seat for the dubious and shallow O'Shannon. Having run an utterly unscrupulous campaign on his nephew's behalf, Parmezan promptly rejects the failed candidate and courts Belfield instead, reflecting sententiously that, "to attempt imposing on the people an incapable representative, is high treason against the constitution".⁷⁵⁶

The piece includes only four sung numbers, merging contemporary electoral practices with popular comic and sentimental musical forms. A catch describes the

⁷⁵¹ HEbook, pp. 1-7, 9, 13-17, 22.

⁷⁵² Moore, pp. 169-71, 225.

⁷⁵³ HEbook, pp. 1-3, 5, 8, 10-12, 28-32.

⁷⁵⁴ HEbook, pp. 29-30, 32-33.

⁷⁵⁵ HEbook, p. 23; Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 114.

⁷⁵⁶ HEbook, pp. 33-35.

hustings as both a social occasion and a competition to raise the loudest cheers.⁷⁵⁷ Letitia sings a simple, pathetic, siciliano-like air (borrowed from Giordani) whose text describes love as a beautiful flower, robbed of its fragrance by infidelity; an allegory for the relationship between candidate and electorate which quickly sours when manifesto promises are broken.⁷⁵⁸ A song in Shield's quasi-traditional hornpipe style parodies a contemporary election ballad, warning voters not to be taken in by charlatans but to elect a candidate of genuine integrity, and characterising new MPs as giddy girls, easily flattered and seduced into acting against their initial good intentions.⁷⁵⁹ The final chorus, a simple lively march, optimistically proclaims,

Thus may Freedom still make known,
That in England's cause she fights,
And the peoples' voice alone,
Choose the guardians of their rights.

A contrasting bagpipe-style tune over a drone bass, with a disturbing twist towards the minor key, accompanies the cynical proposition from one unprincipled backer of the defeated candidate: "If one borough will not fit, We'll take his measure for another".⁷⁶⁰ Arguably the sharpest musical comedy is absent from the published score, revealed only by directions in the wordbook for traditional and popular tunes, clearly chosen to reinforce Pilon's satirical characterisation of the candidates, to be played offstage as they enter the hustings. O'Shannon is welcomed by the strains of Irish jig 'Langolee'; the weak, inept George Highflight is ushered in, with heavy irony, by Handel's 'See the conquering hero comes'; while Belfield, who alone demonstrates true patriotism by honouring the spirit of the constitution, enters to 'God Save the King'.⁷⁶¹

None of Shield's later works portray election culture so explicitly, but *The Poor Soldier* subtly reflects public ambivalence towards the American War of

⁷⁵⁷ HEScore, pp. 2-3; HEbook, p. 23.

⁷⁵⁸ HEScore, pp. 4-5; HEbook, p. 24.

⁷⁵⁹ HEScore, p. 6; HEbook, p. 25.

⁷⁶⁰ HEScore, pp. 7-9; HEbook, p. 35.

⁷⁶¹ HEbook, pp. 27-28; GB-Lcs, SBG/1/3/169 [Roud 13860]; Handel, *Judas Macchabaeus*, pp. 175-76.

Independence, demonstrating how long and broad a shadow political controversy and corruption could cast. Superficially, the 'poor soldier' Patrick and his commanding officer Captain Fitzroy uphold military ideals of nobility, bravery and fraternal loyalty; but their dialogue exposes the brutal reality of what O'Shaughnessy calls an 'unwinnable' conflict, from which many soldiers returned wounded and penniless, like Patrick, or not at all.⁷⁶² In a rare specific military reference, Patrick has been injured saving Fitzroy's life during "that dangerous crossing of Beatty's ford" on the flooded Yadkin River near Salisbury, North Carolina on 1 February 1781, a retreat which arguably turned the tide of war towards the decisive American victory at Yorktown, Virginia.⁷⁶³

As an Irish infantryman Patrick might have served under General Charles O'Hara, who formally surrendered at Yorktown and was taken prisoner by Washington. Patrick's personal act of heroism takes place in the context of national failure, and while this plot device secures his social elevation and romantic success by placing a superior morally in his debt, it also reflects disquiet that the sacrifices and consequences of war were borne by ordinary men, not those who led them into conflict.⁷⁶⁴ In performance, contemporary ideals of masculine honour were simultaneously articulated, in dialogue contrasting Patrick's manly courage with the timidity or effeminacy of other male characters, and challenged by the casting of contralto Margaret Kennedy in the 'breeches' role of the 'poor soldier'.⁷⁶⁵

Another plot strand sees Darby, a young Irish farmer, plan to transform himself into a fine-living London gentleman by cheating at cards and dice, and make a name for himself by faking a duel. This references a scandal of 1777, when Irish soldier and adventurer Captain Andrew Robinson Stoney challenged London clergyman,

⁷⁶² O'Keeffe, *The Poor Soldier* (Dublin: Doyle, 1784) [henceforth *PSbook*], pp. 3, 10-11; Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 1-2, 120, 160, 165, 353-59.

⁷⁶³ *PSbook*, pp. 17-18; Lt-Col. Balfour, dispatch dated 18 February in 'America', *The Scots Magazine*, 1 April 1781, p. 191; O'Shaughnessy, pp. 268-71.

⁷⁶⁴ *PSbook*, pp. 17, 25-26; O'Shaughnessy, pp. 280-81, 353-59; Stephen Conway, 'O'Hara, Charles (c. 1740-1802)' *ODNB* (3 January 2008).

⁷⁶⁵ *PSbook*, pp. 3, 9-11, 13-15; Baldwin and Wilson, 'Kennedy [née Doyle; other married name Farrell], Margaret (d. 1793)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

playwright and newspaper editor Henry Bate to a duel, for printing scurrilous gossip about the recently widowed young Countess of Strathmore, Mary Eleanor Bowes-Lyon.⁷⁶⁶ Convinced that Stoney had been mortally wounded in chivalrous defence of her reputation, Mary Eleanor was persuaded into a hasty marriage before he miraculously recovered, widely suspected of staging the duel and faking his wounds in a deliberate ploy to entrap the heiress of Gibside and gain control of her wealth.⁷⁶⁷ These rumours must have penetrated theatrical circles, where 'fighting parson' Bate was also known as a music-lover, amateur cellist and concert host, author of Shield's first successful musical comedy, *The Flich of Bacon*, and several later works.⁷⁶⁸ Although Stoney Bowes' appalling abuse of Mary Eleanor was not then publicly known, he already had a reputation for debauchery; Shield's relatives must have witnessed him withholding wages, raising rents, closing footpaths and stripping the Gibside estate of valuable oak timber (which was never restored - the woods are now mainly coniferous) to fund his own extravagant lifestyle.⁷⁶⁹

In September 1780, using his wife's local assets and standing to finance and promote his campaign, Bowes got himself elected MP for Newcastle, promising to champion voters' opposition to the American war.⁷⁷⁰ While *The Humours of an Election*, staged just weeks after polls closed, does not mirror the Newcastle contest exactly, the introduction of a handsome but slippery Irish candidate strains coincidence; O'Shannon appears late on and his character is very little developed, suggesting a hasty insertion in response to the election result. Bowes initially promoted his constituents' views on foreign and commercial policy, but soon neglected parliamentary business for his personal goal of gaining an Irish peerage.⁷⁷¹ With such opportunities to observe shameless manipulation of the political system and the human cost wrought upon disillusioned constituents by corrupt, self-interested

⁷⁶⁶ PSbook, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁶⁷ Moore, pp. 1-18, 152-62.

⁷⁶⁸ Parke, I, pp. 14-16; LS5, I, p. 187; II, pp. 657, 1326; III, p. 1620.

⁷⁶⁹ Moore, pp. 34, 58-59, 64-66, 68-83, 202, 210-11.

⁷⁷⁰ *The Poll at the Election for Members to Serve in Parliament for the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, [...] September, 1780* (Newcastle: Saint, 1780); Moore, pp. 221-27.

⁷⁷¹ LS5, I, p. 380; Wilson, pp. 361-62, 371-72; Moore, pp. 227-28.

politicians, it would be small wonder if Shield was among those questioning the state of Britain's so-called democracy.

Political circles in London

After moving to the capital, Shield and Holcroft became friends of political philosopher William Godwin, who had trained as a dissenting minister before rejecting religion and establishing himself as an essayist and novelist at the heart of a progressive political and literary circle. Godwin helped publish Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* in 1791, and later became the husband of feminist author Mary Wollstonecraft, and father of novelist Mary Shelley.⁷⁷² Godwin recalled meeting both Shield and Holcroft in 1786. He did not record how or where they met, but apparently considered them significant acquaintances.⁷⁷³ **Figure 5.1** represents forty-five references to Shield within Godwin's appointment diaries.⁷⁷⁴

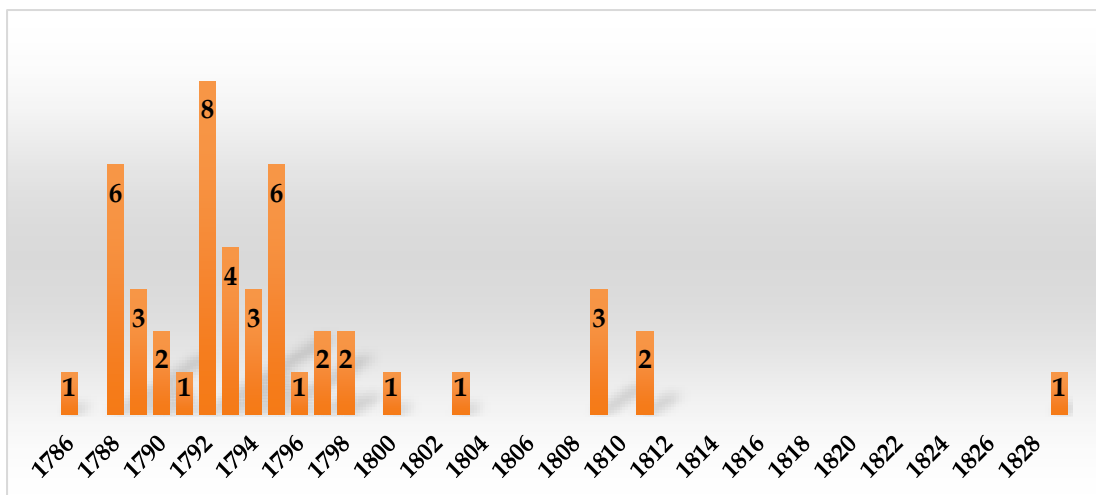


Figure 5.1 References to Shield in Godwin's diary

⁷⁷² Mark Philp, 'Godwin, William (1756–1836), philosopher and novelist', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

⁷⁷³ WGD, Dep. e.202, fol. 47v; 'Diary entry for 1796 List'.

⁷⁷⁴ WGD, 'Shield, William'.

Many meetings involved a meal, often at Holcroft's home, with up to twelve guests, typically including writers, publishers, actors, musicians, artists and scientists. Like-minded women frequently attended; not only as wives of male guests, but independently. Godwin rarely recorded whether meetings were purely social or had political aims, but occasionally noted topics of discussion, such as 'talk of self love & God'.⁷⁷⁵ (In religion as in politics, the precise nature of Shield's beliefs is difficult to infer. His will declared he had 'ever had the consolation of being a Christian and a Protestant', but Godwin's circle also included nonconformist Christians, deists and atheists.⁷⁷⁶)

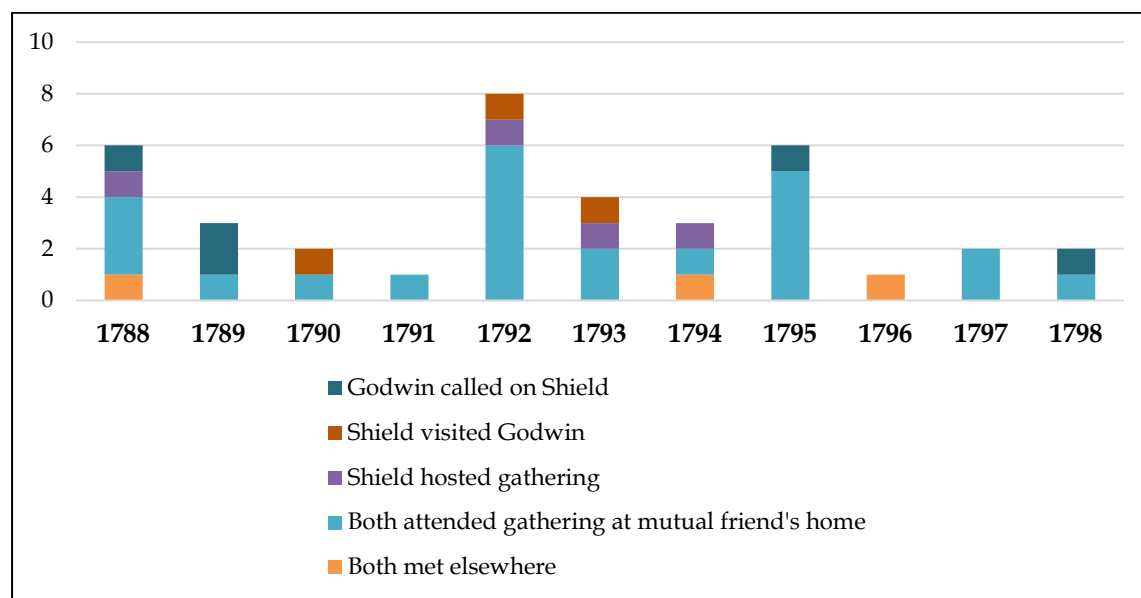


Figure 5.2 Meetings between Godwin and Shield 1788 to 1798

Figure 5.2 shows encounters between Shield and Godwin during the decade of most frequent contact. They met most often in 1792, at the height of British reformers' enthusiasm for the French Revolution, before its increasing violence deterred moderates and prompted the British government to suppress 'seditious' groups and publications.⁷⁷⁷ The almost total cessation of contact after 1798 could indicate a

⁷⁷⁵ WGD, 4 December 1793.

⁷⁷⁶ GB-Lna, PROB 11/1753/461.

⁷⁷⁷ J. P. W. Ehrman and Anthony Smith, 'Pitt, William (1759–1806)', *ODNB* (21 May 2009).

divergence of opinion, but gaps between meetings also coincide with periods when Holcroft, the lynchpin of their friendship, was abroad or at odds with Godwin.⁷⁷⁸

However, Shield's relationship with Godwin was more than a coincidental outcome of mutual acquaintance; they sometimes met alone, Godwin called on Shield's wife when Shield was abroad, and Mr and Mrs Shield joined a tea party including Godwin in 1803.⁷⁷⁹ Godwin attempted to reconnect with Shield following Holcroft's funeral in 1809, and again in 1811, but found him out of town (Shield increasingly spent time away from London to avoid the pollution that aggravated a pulmonary complaint).⁷⁸⁰ Godwin noted Shield's death, but did not record attending his funeral. As an atheist and republican, he may have preferred to avoid the Westminster Abbey service, or been *persona non grata* with the authorities there.⁷⁸¹

In many cases, the limited number of meetings Godwin recorded does not reflect Shield's frequent and close contact with mutual acquaintances elsewhere. Holcroft and Ritson were Shield's long-term friends, before either met Godwin. He may have encountered actress, playwright and novelist Elizabeth Inchbald as early as 1777 in Tate Wilkinson's York theatre company, before working with her in London during the 1780s.⁷⁸² Many professional musicians mentioned by Godwin were Shield's colleagues, including: Henry Condell, harpsichordist and violinist; string player James Smith; theatre band leader and ballet composer Cesare Bosse; the wife of concert and opera violinist Joseph Soderini; Henry Bishop, violinist and dancing master; a bassoonist named Bicknell; Dutch string player and chamber music composer Johan Arnold Dahmen; cellist John Crosdill; pianist, composer and publisher Muzio Clementi; Polish-Lithuanian violinist and composer Feliks Janiewicz, who shared Shield's interest in national song; Johann Peter Salomon, the

⁷⁷⁸ WGD, 'Holcroft, Thomas'.

⁷⁷⁹ WGD, 14 July, 2 and 4 November 1788; 19 November 1789; 3 November 1790; 18 December 1791; 11 August 1793; 23 October 1794; 12 October 1795; 4 August 1796; 23 August 1798; 3 August 1803.

⁷⁸⁰ WGD, 1, 13 and 23 April 1809; 11 and 19 May 1811; Ayrton, p. 51; *Annual Biography and Obituary*, pp. 97-98; Parke, II, pp. 274-79.

⁷⁸¹ WGD, 25 January 1829.

⁷⁸² Jane Spencer, 'Inchbald [*née* Simpson], Elizabeth (1753-1821)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

orchestra leader and impresario who brought Haydn to London; and his pupil George Frederick Pinto, a twelve-year-old violin prodigy already performing in London theatres.⁷⁸³

A few meetings involved music-making. The transcribers understand the entry 'Shield at the Bedford' on 14 July 1788 to mean Godwin attended a performance at the Bedford Theatre (though McVeigh's calendar lists no concerts on that date). On 6 July 1792 the note 'Quartets' accompanies a gathering of six professional musicians with Holcroft, a sporadically enthusiastic fiddler, and amateur cellist Major Henry Waller; an opportunity for Godwin to hear some of London's best musicians, performing their own works or masterpieces of the emerging genre.⁷⁸⁴ Shield's music library included string quartets by Mozart, Pleyel, Boccherini, Baumgarten, Giardini, Vanhall, Abel and others, plus quartet arrangements of Gibbons' Fantasias, J. S. Bach's Fugues, Gluck's opera overtures and Romberg's symphonies. Haydn's intimate, witty and subtle Op. 33 would have been well chosen for those present; the second violin parts probably lay within Holcroft's grasp, and the first London edition included figured bass, facilitating keyboard participation.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸³ WGD, 29 June, 17 July, 2 November, 3 December 1788; 13 September 1789; 31 March 1790; 7 July 1791; 4 and 19 February, 13 and 21 March, 6 June, 6 July, 2 and 26 August 1792; 11 August, 22 and 29 September, 4 December 1793; 1 March, 22 April, 27 September, 11 and 12 October 1795; 8 November 1797; 23 August 1798. *BDA*, II, pp. 112, 138, 240-41; IV, p. 121; XIV, pp. 148, 193. Doane, pp. 7, 14, 16. EPH, 'Condell, Henry', 'Smith, James, musician', 'Bosse, Cesare', 'Soderini' (21 July 2012), 'Bicknell', 'Bishop' (24 July 2012), 'Dahmen' (28 July 2012). Jacek Berwaldt, rev. by Margaret Mikulska, 'Janiewicz, Feliks [Yaniewicz, Felix]' and Hubert Unverricht, 'Salomon, Johann Peter', *GMO* (20 January 2001); Nicholas Temperley, 'Pinto, George Frederick' *GMO* (16 October 2013); Leon Plantinga, rev. Luca Lévi Sala, 'Clementi, Muzio' *GMO* (30 December 2019). Josie Dixon, 'Felix Yaniewicz and the metamorphoses of song', <<https://rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk/felix-yaniewicz-and-the-metamorphoses-of-song/>> (Romantic National Song Network, 29 April 2022). 'Memoir of George Frederic Pinto', *The Harmonicon*, 6 (1828), 215-16. *LS5*, II, pp. 1249, 1287-88, III, pp. 1965, 2047, 2050. W. B. Squire, rev. by Fiona M. Palmer 'Condell, Henry (bap. 1757, d. 1824)' *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Fiona M. Palmer, 'Crosdill, John (1751/5-1825)' *ODNB* (11 June 2020); Clive Brown, 'Pinto [real name Saunders or Sanders], George Frederick (1785-1806)' *ODNB*, (28 September 2006). Parke, II, pp. 232-33, 278.

⁷⁸⁴ Hazlitt, I, pp. 7-9, 140-45, II, pp. 192-93, 210, 241, 254; EPH, 'Waller, Henry' 28 July 2012; GB-Lna, PROB 11/1248/17.

⁷⁸⁵ Musgrave, pp. 5, 10, 14, 16-17; Haydn, *Quartettos for Two Violins, Viola, & Violoncello with a Thoroughbass*, op. 33, 2 vols (London: Forster, [1785]) [parts]; Georg Feder and James Webster, 'Haydn, (Franz) Joseph' *GMO* (20 September 2001).

Shield's theatrical and literary colleagues are also well-represented in Godwin's diary. Irish actor James Aickin played at the Haymarket and Drury Lane from 1767 to 1800, often taking minor Shakespearean roles.⁷⁸⁶ Robert Merry, an avowed republican, published romantic poetry under the pseudonym 'Della Crusca' and anti-government epigrams under that of 'Tom Thorne'; inspired by a 1789 visit to revolutionary France, he composed odes to liberty and contributed with Shield to *The Picture of Paris in the Year 1790*.⁷⁸⁷ Mancunian tenor Wright Bowden took the title role in a 1787 production of Shield's *Robin Hood*, also appearing in *Marian* (1788) and revivals of *The Woodman* (1794) before becoming a stockbroker in 1797.⁷⁸⁸ Soprano Elizabeth Clendenning sang in Dublin and Bath before making her debut at Covent Garden in 1792.⁷⁸⁹ William Radcliffe was married to Ann, whose popular Gothic novel *The Mysteries of Udolpho* loosely inspired a 1795 Covent Garden piece, *The Mysteries of the Castle*, for which Shield composed the music; Welsh actress Elizabeth Mansel joined the company that year and in 1799 married the play's co-author, Frederick Reynolds.⁷⁹⁰

Individuals well-known to Shield and Godwin (though his diary records no simultaneous meetings between them) include writer and impresario William Ayrton; artist and dramatist Prince Hoare, who first met Godwin around the time Shield scored his *The Lock & Key* (1796) and *The Italian Villagers* (1797); and actor-singer Jack Bannister, who married Elizabeth Harper having played opposite her in Shield's *Rosina*; they christened their second daughter after her title role, and remained Shield's good friends.⁷⁹¹ Bannister dined with Godwin, Aickin and

⁷⁸⁶ Peter Thomson, 'Aickin, James (c. 1736-1803)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); *LSInd*, p. 9.

⁷⁸⁷ Corinna Russell, 'Merry, Robert (1755-1798)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Mee, pp. 113-31.

⁷⁸⁸ *WGD*, 29 December 1794; *BDA*, II, pp. 248-50; *LS5*, II, pp. 1014, 1067, III, p. 1748.

⁷⁸⁹ *LSInd*, p. 165; *BDA*, III, p. 328; Baldwin and Wilson, 'Clendinning [née Arnold], Elizabeth (bap. 1767, d. 1799)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); EPH, 'Clendenning, Elizabeth'.

⁷⁹⁰ *WGD*, 23 May 1794, 11 October 1795, 'Radcliffe, William', 'Reynolds, Elizabeth (née Mansel)'; John Russell Stephens, 'Reynolds, Frederick (1764-1841)' *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Reynolds, II, pp. 289-99; *LS5*, III, p. 1724.

⁷⁹¹ *LS5*, III, pp. 1827-28, 1956; Hoare, *Lock and Key: a Musical Entertainment [...]* (London: Longman, 1796), and *Airs, Duets, Trios, &c. in Italian Villagers* (London: Rickaby, 1797); 'The Theatre', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 100 (1797), 364-65; *BDA*, I, pp. 259-75;

Holcroft in 1789, and in 1796 appeared in *The Iron Chest*, George Colman junior's adaptation of Godwin's novel *Caleb Williams*, at Drury Lane.⁷⁹² Before becoming an actor Bannister briefly studied at the Royal Academy of Arts, forming friendships with artists including 'the Cornish Wonder' John Opie, who in 1787 painted Shield's earliest known portrait, potentially viewed by Godwin in 1788. Shield appears in Godwin's diary with Opie and his second wife, novelist and poet Amelia Alderson.⁷⁹³

Godwin's diary also places Shield in contact with newspapermen, including Henry Sampson Woodfall, editor of the *Public Advertiser*, and his brother William, printer of the *Morning Chronicle*; James Perry, journalist and proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*; and John Taylor, drama critic and owner of *The Sun*.⁷⁹⁴ These were both professional contacts (whose periodicals carried reviews of Shield's works) and anti-establishment connections. Godwin dined twice with Shield and Perry in February 1792 after both returned from France, where Perry had been acting as political correspondent for the London Revolution Society.⁷⁹⁵ Alongside Godwin, Shield also met prominent activists outside his professional circle, including Thomas Brand Hollis, founder of the Society for Constitutional Information (SCI) and member of the Revolutionary Society; John Thelwall, political reformer, lecturer and leading member of the Society for Free Debate and London Corresponding Society (LCS); John Horne Tooke, writer, philologist and key member of both SCI and LCS; and barrister Joseph Clayton Jennings, another SCI activist.⁷⁹⁶

Peter Holland, 'Bannister, Charles (bap. 1741, d. 1804)', Joseph Knight, rev. by Nilanjana Banerji 'Bannister, John (1760–1836)' *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Doane, p. 5.

⁷⁹² WGD, 10 June 1789, 'Bannister, John'; *LS5*, III, pp. 1835-36.

⁷⁹³ WGD, 22 April 1795, 4 August 1796, 31 October 1797, 'Alderson, Amelia (Opie)', 'Opie, John', 'Events' 18 July 1788; Robert Dunkarton after John Opie, 'William Shield', 1788, mezzotint, 369 mm x 270 mm, National Portrait Gallery NPG D19985 <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw81217>> (National Portrait Gallery, 2023).

⁷⁹⁴ WGD, 3 December 1788, 4 and 19 February, 21 March 1792, 'Woodfall, Henry Sampson', 'Perry, James (Pirie)', 'Taylor, John'.

⁷⁹⁵ WGD, 4 and 19 February 1792.

⁷⁹⁶ WGD, 23 May 1794, 1 March 1795, 3 August 1803, 'Hollis, Thomas Brand', 'Jennings, Joseph Clayton (Jennyns)', 'Thelwall, John', 'Horne Tooke, John'.

As well as the broad reforming objectives shared by progressive groups, mutual contacts of Godwin and Shield espoused specific political causes. Several were prominent campaigners for the abolition of slavery, including Thelwall, Horne Tooke, and poet and essayist Anna Letitia Barbauld.⁷⁹⁷ (Shield's connection with abolitionist Granville Sharp is not reflected in Godwin's diary, but may have developed further through mutual acquaintance with Holcroft, who was briefly Sharp's secretary before embarking on his northern acting career.⁷⁹⁸) Shield may have encountered abolitionists' ideas before meeting them in person. Horne Tooke inspired Newcastle citizens to fundraise for the relief of American prisoners, widows and orphans during the War of Independence, and while organised opposition to the slave trade gathered pace in the 1780s, anti-slavery material had long been circulating in the North East via Quaker networks, and the *Newcastle General Magazine* published Benjamin Franklin's adverse reflections on slavery in 1755.⁷⁹⁹ Bewick (whose famous 1787 engraving of a slave was captioned "Am I not A Man and A Brother?") reflected that political reform could never achieve 'liberty' in Britain while the mercantile and governing classes remained so deeply morally compromised by involvement in, and financial dependence on, the slave trade.⁸⁰⁰ In 1792, Shield's subscriber and Scarborough organist Thomas Beilby, and theatre composer William Reeve, both published abolitionist songs which became widely known; but if Shield himself contributed to this repertoire, he must have done so anonymously.⁸⁰¹

Another interesting subset of political activists links William Shield with the republican Society of United Irishmen, formed in 1791. Curtin stresses that early Irish republicanism did not always equate to Irish nationalism or to Roman

⁷⁹⁷ WGD, 3 August 1803, 'Barbauld, Anna Letitia (née Aikin)'.

⁷⁹⁸ George Taylor, 'The First English Melodrama: Thomas Holcroft's Translation of Pixérécourt', in Hambridge and Hicks (eds), 137-50 (p. 139).

⁷⁹⁹ Wilson, p. 240; Creighton, 'The Day of Jubilee is Come', p. 4.

⁸⁰⁰ Bewick ed. by Blunden, p. 169; Creighton, 'The Day of Jubilee is Come' p. 5; Olusoga, p. 220, illustration 24.

⁸⁰¹ Beilby, 'The Dying Negro' (London: Longman & Broderip, 1792); Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, pp. 200-02; Reeve, 'The Desponding Negro' ([London]: Longman & Broderip, [1792]); Julia Hamilton, "'African" Songs and Women's Abolitionism in the Home, 1787-1807', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 50 (2021), 153-68 (pp. 153-54).

Catholicism; the United Irishmen framed their struggle to overthrow the dominant Anglo-Irish establishment as ‘a contest between the people and the corrupt government’, while their aims of erasing sectarian divides and achieving liberty for all initially attracted diverse adherents, from middle-class Presbyterian democrats excluded from mainstream politics, to Catholic peasants desperate for relief from destitution following the climate-related famine of 1740 to ‘41.⁸⁰² In the immediate aftermath of that disaster, Dublin performances of Handel’s *Messiah* raised funds for those affected, but since the Anglo-Irish government failed to remedy their long-term distress, rural Ireland remained a byword for extreme poverty; a situation O’Keeffe satirised in *The Poor Soldier*.⁸⁰³

In the early 1790s Irish reformers ‘regarded the British ministry as a potential ally’, but when it failed to address their grievances, many became convinced that only independence could secure societal transformation, and sought French support to overturn British rule and establish a new democracy in Ireland. To British ministers the Society’s widespread membership, effective propaganda and increasingly militant resistance represented a significant national security issue; they saw United Irishmen ‘threatening to sever Ireland’s connection to Great Britain, [...] and plotting with British Republicans to bring down the state’, and reacted with increasingly repressive measures to safeguard law and order.⁸⁰⁴ Members or supporters of the United Irishmen among Godwin and Shield’s associates included Irish ‘radical’ John Fenwick and his estranged wife Eliza (also a dissenting author), and barrister John Philpot Curran, who defended United Irishmen facing execution in several sensational trials.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰² Curtin, pp. 3-6, 10-11, 14-16, 215; S. Engler et al. “The Irish Famine of 1740–1741: Causes and Effects”, *Climate of the Past Discussions*, 9.1 (2013), 1013–52; Mary E. Daly, ‘Famines and Famine Relief, 1740-2000’, in *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 38-52 (pp. 38-40).

⁸⁰³ H. Wendell Howard, ‘Handel’s *Messiah* in Dublin’, *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, 10.2 (2007), 57-68; *PSbook*, p. 6.

⁸⁰⁴ Curtin, pp. 3-7, 9-12, 16.

⁸⁰⁵ WGD, 23 August 1798, 3 October 1799, ‘Fenwick, John’, ‘Fenwick, Elizabeth (Eliza née Jaco, pseudonym Reverend David Blair)’; Curtin, pp. 86-87.

Godwin spent six weeks in Ireland with Curran in summer 1800, and they continued to meet in London with friends including Clementi, actor John Philip Kemble, and Frederick and Elizabeth Reynolds.⁸⁰⁶ On 20 October Dr John Wolcot (*alias* Peter Pindar, anti-royalist satirical poet), in a note whose brevity and informality implies a close friendship, invited Shield to

Pray dine with me [...] Curran and Godwin will be of the party.⁸⁰⁷

Shield and Wolcot first dined together with Godwin in 1792, having already collaborated to adapt a French comic opera, *Nina*, for Covent Garden in 1787.⁸⁰⁸ Godwin's diary does not record that Shield accepted Wolcot's invitation, but the previous Friday he noted '... (Meet Sh.^d) Curran & Wolcot dine...' - perhaps suggesting a mutual effort to introduce Shield to Curran.⁸⁰⁹

Progressive movements shared democratic ideals across national borders; both English and Irish reformers looked to Magna Carta and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 for constitutional precedents, and to the new republics of America and France as models for transforming British society. As the French Revolution degenerated into the Terror and despotism and corruption re-emerged in new guises, English reformers' hopes shifted towards Ireland; but promising ideology again failed to establish a new democratic reality, as the United Irish movement fractured into competing sectarian, loyalist and nationalist factions.⁸¹⁰ His interest perhaps awakened by conversations with Irish theatrical colleagues, Shield may have hoped to see Irish reformers set an example for English government, even as his works helped popularize Irish traditional music in England. His Border heritage may also have predisposed him to sympathize with other marginal regions resisting London-centric English dominance.

⁸⁰⁶ WGD, 'Curran, John Philpot', 3 July–10 August [Ireland], 29 August, 2-3, 9, 23, 25, 28-29 September, 17 October 1800.

⁸⁰⁷ NYPL, Pforz MS G'ANA0043, John Wolcot MS material, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle <<https://archives.nypl.org/cps/24357>>; William R. Jones, 'Wolcot, John [pseud. Peter Pindar] (bap. 1738, d. 1819)' *ODNB* (24 May 2008).

⁸⁰⁸ WGD, 21 March 1792, 'Wolcot, Dr John (pseudonym Peter Pindar)'; *LS5*, II, pp. 968-69.

⁸⁰⁹ WGD, 17 and 20 October 1800.

⁸¹⁰ Curtin, pp. 13-17, 260-81.

The early 1790s saw a crackdown on reforming and revolutionary activity throughout Britain. Government spies infiltrated progressive societies and persuaded members to inform on one another; journalist John Taylor was among those who turned 'King's evidence'.⁸¹¹ This was a dangerous time for anyone with 'radical' associations. Members of revolution societies risked arrest, imprisonment and (theoretically) execution, while landlords of taverns they met in and publishers of their pamphlets were threatened, fined and driven out of business.⁸¹² In 1794 Thelwall, Horne Tooke, Unitarian minister Jeremiah Joyce and sculptor Thomas Banks were arrested and charged with high treason; Holcroft voluntarily committed to give an account of himself on the same charge, and John Foulkes was their defending counsel. Shield met all these men in Godwin's company, some before, and some after the trials.⁸¹³

Available evidence suggests Shield guarded his own reputation and livelihood by exercising his interest in 'philosophy, religion, politics, poetry' within private sociable gatherings, rather than signing up for membership of controversial organisations.⁸¹⁴ However, proof of his political affiliations may have been destroyed. To protect them from government persecution, Foulkes excised from the LCS' minute book

many names of eminent, and excellent men [...] who were true friends to the cause of reform, [...] and to whom the society voted thanks for their assistance.⁸¹⁵

As late as 1833, Ritson's nephew censored his letters before publication to avoid damaging the reputation or legacy of public figures by implicating them in

⁸¹¹ Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 123; Nancy E. Johnson, 'Fashioning the Legal Subject: Narratives from the London Treason Trials of 1794', *Eighteenth Century Fiction*, 21.3 (Spring 2009), 413-43 (pp. 420-21).

⁸¹² Mee and Fallon (eds), p. 9; Mee, pp. 1-3, 9, 15; GB-Lbl Add. MS 27811, 'Original letterbook of the London Corresponding Society', A, fols 14-15.

⁸¹³ WGD, 22 April 1795, 8 November 1797, 3 August 1803, 'Joyce, Jeremiah', 'Banks, Thomas', 'Foulkes, John', 'Events'; Gary Kelly, 'Holcroft, Thomas (1745-1809)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); Wilson, p. 240; N. E. Johnson, pp. 418-423; Taylor, p. 141.

⁸¹⁴ Hazlitt, I, pp. 287-293.

⁸¹⁵ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 27812, 'London Corresponding Society Original Journl or Minute Book April 2. 1792 to 2 Jany 1794', note by Thomas Hardy (secretary) in front matter.

revolutionary activity.⁸¹⁶ Godwin recorded no meetings with Shield between May and November 1794, but their overall pattern of encounters is too irregular to conclude from this, that Shield avoided associating with ‘radicals’ during the most intense period of arrests and trials. However, a poignant letter from Holcroft to Shield, dated 1804, expresses his disappointment that their formerly ‘unshaken and eternal’ friendship had lapsed. Somewhat obliquely, he recalls how their

similar yet different [...] views of moral conduct and the duties of man [...] led to some thing of caution and estrangement on your part, concerning which till now though I have been resolutely silent I have severely felt. Now however persecution I believe has nearly exhausted its’ anger, my determinedly peaceable principles are better known, and I am become not so dangerous a man to the cautious, as I was ten years ago. ⁸¹⁷

If Shield had become cautious of mixing with avowed republicans, he had reason, since he was also associated, sometimes closely, with the royal family.

Chamber music at court; propaganda and censorship in theatres

William Parke recorded Shield’s involvement in private chamber music activities at royal residences from 1786, pre-dating his formal appointment to the King’s household band in 1787.⁸¹⁸ Parke also describes Carlton House concerts involving Cramer, Shield, the Parke brothers and other professionals, where the Prince of Wales played cello alongside Crosdill (his teacher), and the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland played cello and violin. In September 1789 Shield and Parke joined a musical party at Cumberland’s Windsor hunting lodge, and Cumberland later asked for them in his deathbed delirium. In March 1795 the Duke of York and Prince of Wales hosted grand concerts where Salomon led an orchestra including Shield, with Haydn at the keyboard.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁶ Bronson, I, p. viii.

⁸¹⁷ GB-Ob, MS Montague d.7, fols. 468-69, Letter from Thomas Holcroft to William Shield, 16 October 1804.

⁸¹⁸ Robert O. Buchholz (ed.), ‘Index of Officers-S’ [pdf] in *The Database of Court Officers 1660-1837*, <courtofficers.ctsdh.luc.edu> (2019).

⁸¹⁹ Parke, I, pp. 88-89, 121-22, 134, 196-99.

Parke's memoirs express admiration for these royal music-lovers and delight in their approbation, but he also recorded that musicians were expected to eat with the servants in royal households, only the Prince of Wales inviting them to socialise with him.⁸²⁰ It would be misleading to suggest that close, equal or sustained friendships existed between Shield and his royal masters; but chamber music partners, however diverse their backgrounds, come to know one another's temperament and character intimately, for good or ill. That the princes' musical aptitude and enthusiasm promoted mutual respect and appreciation is apparent in two sources where Shield directly addressed the Prince Regent, later George IV. The dedication of his revised *Introduction to Harmony* declares,

[...] the judicious remarks of Your Royal Highness, on the musical productions of the Moderns, and even of the Ancients, [...] could proceed only from a person possessed of an accurate ear, a tenacious memory, and a taste delicate and refined. [...] they have assisted me greatly in distinguishing what to admire, and what to condemn, what are imitations, and what are plagiarisms.⁸²¹

Shield's comments on the Prince's musical discernment are more specific than most composers' prefatory compliments to wealthy patrons, suggesting his 'profoundest respect' was genuine (though his valuation of his own judgment appears unduly modest). Shield even bequeathed his best instrument to George IV, citing his King's appreciation of its qualities:

The tone of my Viola commonly called a Stainer tenor having been noticed at the Concerts of Ancient Music by England's late Revered Sovereign George the Third as well as by its present discriminating beneficent Monarch George the Fourth are recollections which prompt me to take the liberty of thus disposing of the same Musical Instrument. [...] I give and bequeath the aforementioned favorite Musical Instrument [...] to His Most Sacred and Gracious Majesty [...]⁸²²

This gesture 'of duty loyalty and gratitude' appears infused with a genuine warmth towards his patrons. It could hardly be thought self-interested, since Shield had no heirs to benefit from royal appointments after his death; yet, perhaps still conscious of his humble background, he agonized over how to prevent his gesture being misinterpreted:

⁸²⁰ Parke, I, pp. 239-44.

⁸²¹ *Introduction*, 2nd edn.

⁸²² GB-Lna, PROB 11/1753/461.

... my fear almost amounts to despair of performing this act which I consider to be a duty with suitable words to prevent Sophisticators attempting to prove my veneration to be presumption.

Despite his protestations, this bequest clearly exceeded the expectations of duty. A letter from Shield's executor Thomas Broadwood records that the King ordered the instrument to be valued, and accordingly paid Shield's widow 50 guineas' compensation.⁸²³ (The location of Shield's viola is sadly unknown, but images of a Stainer in the National Music Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota suggest it was a beautiful instrument).⁸²⁴

Although he must have qualified to vote fairly soon after settling in London, there is no record of Shield openly endorsing any political party or candidate. Fire insurance records reveal he owned a property at 1 Great Piazza, Covent Garden, by 1 January 1785; at 39 Goodge Street, by 1 January 1787; and 31 Berners Street, from 14 July 1796.⁸²⁵ All three addresses lay within the City of Westminster, where any man who paid parish rates could vote, so his absence from poll books suggests he abstained.⁸²⁶ George III and his heir were famously at odds both personally and politically, so Shield, appointed to serve the father but apparently closer to the son, may have found it embarrassing to endorse either government or opposition candidates in public ballots.⁸²⁷ His abstention could represent professional self-preservation, or possibly, the boldest gesture of disapprobation for a corrupt system he felt able to make.

Royal influence extended to Shield's theatrical career. Oakley describes Thomas Harris, Covent Garden manager, as 'a devoted servant to George III and his

⁸²³ GB-Lna, LC 3/68/94263.

⁸²⁴ Michael Judge, 'Jacob Stainer tenor viola c. 1650', in *the Strad*, poster suppl. (March 2010).

⁸²⁵ 'Fire Insurance Registers: Fire Insurance Policy Register, 1777-1786' from Floud, R., and B. E. Supple (1983), *Index to Eighteenth Century Fire Insurance Policy Registers, 1777- 1786* UK Data Service, ref: fire_1780_1785_600_121997, accessed via *London Lives* (online); LMA, Sun Fire Insurance Records, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/407/655852, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/498/1006316.

⁸²⁶ Hitchcock, Shoemaker, Howard, McLaughlin et al., 'Historical Background. Westminster', *London Lives*

<<https://www.londonlives.org/static/WestminsterLocalGovernment.jsp#toc6>> (2010-2018).

⁸²⁷ Christopher Hibbert, 'George IV (1762-1830)', *ODNB* (03 January 2008).

ministers [who] nurtured an easy intimacy with the King', ensuring the theatre continued to enjoy royal patronage.⁸²⁸ However, in 1789 there was huge public demand for theatrical representations of early events in the French Revolution. A Whitby playbill proclaimed:

Mr. Cawdell will sing a new COMIC SONG on the REVOLUTION in FRANCE,
In Character of a Run-away Frenchman from the Bastille.⁸²⁹

In London, to compete with spectacles staged by unlicensed theatres like Sadler's Wells and the Royal Circus, Harris courted controversy by commissioning O'Keefe to write *The Grenadier*, based on his own son's eyewitness account of the storming of the Bastille. Despite Harris' loyal Tory stance, Henry Larpent, the Examiner of Plays, vetoed the script and it was never staged, though Shield's score was recycled for Reynolds' *The Crusade* in 1790.⁸³⁰ Rice details how Harris, realising that only by devious tactics would he get plays interpreting revolutionary events past the censor, deliberately omitted incriminating details of songs or mimes and names of 'radical' contributors from the approval script for *The Picture of Paris in the Year 1790*.⁸³¹

The most controversial element of this production was Shield's arrangement of the revolutionary song 'Ah! Ça ira' embodying the struggle of the *sans culottes*, which framed the entire piece. The instantly recognisable tune provided the thematic basis for the scene-setting orchestral Overture and, in a chorus arrangement, concluded the Finale; yet by substituting an innocuous English text for the original militant French lyrics, Harris prevented Larpent from anticipating the likely impact on audiences.⁸³² In performance the realist agenda of the work became clear, and though Larpent did not retroactively suppress it, pro-government newspapers condemned it; with some artistic justification, since semi-disguised political reportage sat uneasily within the romantic comedy plot. Although no serious

⁸²⁸ Oakley, p. 9.

⁸²⁹ WML, 23 October 1789.

⁸³⁰ Rice, pp. 71, 76-77, 112-14; O'Keefe, *Recollections*, II, pp. 143-44; Reynolds, II, pp. 54-57, 198-99.

⁸³¹ Rice, pp. 135-161.

⁸³² *The Songs, Duets, Quartets, Chorusses &c. in The Picture of Paris* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1790]), pp. 1-3, 35-37.

repercussions followed for Shield or Harris, they must have realised they were treading on dangerous ground.⁸³³

Whether Shield's arrangement of 'Ah! Ça ira' constitutes a personal declaration of republican sympathies is debatable. It certainly reflects both his lifelong interest in popular song, and the drive for authenticity which inspired theatres to advertise the inclusion of genuine French music in representations of revolutionary events. Rice considers it 'well-crafted, if not adventurous harmonically', but suggests the use of Alberti bass 'dilutes the rhythmic insistence of the original and tames its elemental power'. As usual, the full orchestral score does not survive and we do not know who reduced it for publication; but this apparently uncharacteristic accompaniment may be another example of Shield deliberately employing a 'foreign' idiom, or simply adapting his composition for the popular domestic market. Rice laments that 'a cry of defiance has been turned into genteel parlour music', but this very transformation undoubtedly drove sales of the arrangement.⁸³⁴ Horgan credits print circulation of Shield's version with helping to popularize the notorious republican anthem among middling households, to the consternation of British authorities.⁸³⁵ Within two years Ritson wrote to a friend,

I know I was to send you the song or tune of *Ça ira*, but as it is become high treason either to sing or whistle it, and of course, I presume, misprision of treason, at least, to possess, communicate, or speak of it, you will excuse my breach of promise for the present. If I can pick up a German book or two, and find a safe hand to trust to, I may possibly venture to stick it between the leaves.⁸³⁶

Though Ritson's typically caustic note implies scorn for a ridiculous measure imposed by a paranoid government, evidently the potential consequences of circulating this music were severe enough that he took steps to avoid them. Bewick recalled a widespread crackdown on street-singing in general, motivated by ministers' fear that song could foment rebellion:

With the singing of [old ballads], the streets of Newcastle were long greatly enlivened [...] This state of things, however, changed when public matters cast a surly gloom over the character of the whole country; and these singing days,

⁸³³ Rice, pp. 120-26, 134-35, 139, 141-42, 148-150, 154.

⁸³⁴ Rice, p. 154.

⁸³⁵ Horgan, p. 151.

⁸³⁶ Ritson, *Letters*, I, p. 223.

instead of being regulated by the magistrates, were, in their wisdom, totally put an end to.⁸³⁷

Rice notes that composers of music for revolutionary spectacles at the 'summer' theatres (often including medleys of French folk songs) were rarely named in publicity or surviving scores. Shield, prevented by censorship from creating artistically credible musical representations of topical events for his primary employer, might have contributed clandestinely to productions elsewhere. Preserving anonymity would avoid either antagonising Harris by working overtly for other theatres (as predecessors like Arne had done), or attracting negative publicity for himself.⁸³⁸

Outside court and theatre, the popularity of songs and glees assisted the rise of amateur musical clubs, where professional musicians could interact with prominent and wealthy men whose patronage might advance their careers. Shield's name is conspicuously absent from studies of the famous Catch Club, despite being well-known to many who could have proposed his membership: the Prince Regent and Dukes of Cumberland, York, Gloucester and Clarence were all subscribers, and professional members included Abel, Giardini, Barthélemon, Fisher, Tenducci and William Parsons, Shield's predecessor as Master of the King's Musick. Similarly, where Parke, Cramer, Cervetto, Arnold, Wesley, Paxton, Vernon, Linley the elder and Haydn attended meetings of the Anacreontic Society, Shield is not mentioned.⁸³⁹ Shield certainly had no aversion to their principal activities of part-singing and bibulous conviviality; Parke enjoyed his company at weekly gatherings of a post-theatre supper club (generally resulting in hangovers all round) and an informal fortnightly Glee Club of theatre professionals.⁸⁴⁰

Many of Shield's theatre works include glee-like choruses, some of which circulated independently. A 1799 publication of the Bath Harmonic Society contained drinking choruses and pastoral love lyrics from *The Flich of Bacon*, *The Woodman* and *Arrived at Portsmouth* (for which a complete score was never published), as well as Shield's

⁸³⁷ Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 63.

⁸³⁸ Rice, pp. 82, 84, 117, 126; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 213, 224-25, 359, 366, 368.

⁸³⁹ Robins, *Catch & Glee Culture*, Appendices A-C, pp. 69, 74-75.

⁸⁴⁰ Robins, pp. 81, 130-34; Parke, I, pp. 87-88, 175-78.

settings of Shakespearean texts from Covent Garden productions of *Othello* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.⁸⁴¹ The extremes of taste exhibited at such clubs, from literary romantic reflection to bawdy, boozy humour, are represented in two Shield examples copied into a contemporary manuscript; an attractive, evocative four-part glee from *The Woodman* entitled 'What is love?', and a blithe, brutal catch (**Example 5.1**).⁸⁴² The casual misogyny of the latter's text apparently does not reflect Shield's own domestic life; his marriage, while never solemnized in church and childless, was enduring and reportedly happy.⁸⁴³ This melody perfectly exemplifies a self-contained, self-harmonising catch: memorably simple and singable, using only tonic and dominant chords, terse yet compelling in its journey from stark opening statement to irreverent conclusion.

My wife's dead
 There let her lie
 She's at rest and
 So am I

Example 5.1 Catch

⁸⁴¹ *A selection of favourite catches, glees, &c. as sung at the Bath Harmonic Society*, 2nd edn (Bath / London: Cruttwell / Dilly, 1799), pp. 39, 86, 88-89, 96, 102, 121; *The Flich of Bacon*, pp. 32-37, *The Woodman*, pp. 12-13, 22-23, 59-61, 84-85; Shield, 'O why to be happy [...]' and 'Shakespeare's Celebrated Poor Barbara [...]' (London: Preston, [1795]), 'Shakespeare's Duel and Loadstars' (London: Preston, [1797]).

⁸⁴² *The Woodman*, pp. 22-23; GB-Lcm, MS 1123, fols. 127-29.

⁸⁴³ Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 408-09.

Shield may have chosen to socialise primarily with his equals, rather than potential patrons, in a tacit rejection of upper-class attitudes and values; or, he may have felt secure enough in his various employments that he had no professional need to court the aristocracy. However, some close relationships existed between Shield and members of the nobility. A manuscript of easy keyboard minuets dedicated to Princess Elizabeth (seventh child of George III and Queen Caroline) suggests his appointment as Musician in Ordinary to the King involved some tuition of the royal children.⁸⁴⁴ The first edition of *Introduction to Harmony* was posthumously dedicated to Lady Charlotte Bertie, daughter of the Earl of Abingdon, as 'a testimony of respect for virtue, duty, and accomplishments', implying she too may have been his student. (Haydn also dedicated a set of *English Canzonettas* to Charlotte, who is shown playing the harp in a family portrait.)⁸⁴⁵

Abingdon himself was well-educated, well-travelled, but criticised for eccentricity and rough manners; an accomplished amateur musician who sponsored the Bach-Abel concerts and Haydn's London tours, and socialised with professionals he employed. Having travelled to Geneva with John Wilkes, Abingdon was credited with progressive sympathies, up to a point; he delivered parliamentary speeches and pamphlets criticising the American war and opposed the Seditious Meetings Bill which suppressed constitutional reform societies, but also spoke vehemently against the French Revolution, and opposed both the relaxation of English control over Ireland and regulation of the slave trade.⁸⁴⁶ Another sociable music-maker, friend and supporter of Shield was John 'Mad Jack' Fuller, who opposed William Wilberforce in parliamentary debates on abolition and inherited a gun foundry in

⁸⁴⁴ GB-Lcm, MS H160/6; A. W. Purdue, 'George III, daughters of' (28 May 2015), and Jennett Humphreys, 'Elizabeth, Princess of England and Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg (1770-1840)', *ODNB* [archive, publ. 1888].

⁸⁴⁵ *Introduction*, 1st edn, Dedication; J. Debrett, rev. by Henry Collen, 'Abingdon', *Debrett's Genealogical Peerage of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Pickering, 1847), pp. 8-9; Derek McCulloch, 'The Musical 'Oeuvre' of Willoughby Bertie, 4th Earl of Abingdon (1740-99)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 33 (2000), 1-27 (pp. 2-8).

⁸⁴⁶ William C. Lowe, 'Bertie, Willoughby, fourth earl of Abingdon (1740-1799)' *ODNB* (23 September 2004); McCulloch, p. 2.

East Sussex and considerable estates in Jamaica, with several hundred slaves.⁸⁴⁷

Fuller intended to leave Shield a legacy of £100 but Shield predeceased him, bequeathing him a portrait of Thomas Arne and a landscape painting of Rome.⁸⁴⁸

In addition to his widely appreciated talent, Shield's character, combining geniality and reticence, was surely key to maintaining his many diverse relationships.

Contemporaries remembered him as honest, generous, sociable and kind. He was evidently interested in people and ideas, including some progressive views, but clearly knew when to keep his own counsel and was cautious about publicly committing himself to passionate convictions. His reluctance to identify living composers in his critical writings also shows he cared about the impact publishing his opinions might have on others.⁸⁴⁹ Holcroft recalled that Shield appreciated wide-ranging cultural conversation and enjoyed, with amusement yet without malice, the company of singular, opinionated, larger-than-life characters; hence his friendships with Holcroft himself, Cunningham, Ritson, Edwin, Sharp, Godwin, Bannister, Abingdon, Fuller and George IV.⁸⁵⁰

Shield's was not the only network to involve relationships and collaborations between people of contrasting views, or harbour apparent contradictions between individuals' principles and their economic actions. In 1786 a philanthropic committee founded to relieve destitution among black Londoners, especially former slaves who had served with loyalist troops in the American War, included prominent slave owners alongside abolitionists.⁸⁵¹ Granville Sharp's diary also offers a relevant insight, from his own experience of performing for royalty in an informal social setting:

⁸⁴⁷ J. P. J. Entract, 'Fuller, John (1757-1834)' *ODNB* (11 March 2021); 'John Fuller 'Mad Jack'', Legacies of British Slavery database, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1047169191>> (UCL Department of History, 2023); 'John 'Mad Jack' Fuller: William Shield - Composer 1748-1829', <<http://johnmaddockfuller.homestead.com/WilliamShield.html>>.

⁸⁴⁸ GB-Lna, PROB 11/1753/461, 11/1832/305.

⁸⁴⁹ GB-Lbl, Add. MS 11730, fols 189-90; *Introduction*, p. 32; O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, II, pp. 71, 108, 370; Parke, II, pp. 56-58, 152-53, 274-79; Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 408-09; *Annual Biography and Obituary*, p. 98.

⁸⁵⁰ Hazlitt, I, pp. 289-93.

⁸⁵¹ Olusoga, pp. 161-62.

His Majesty [...] was very gracious to us. I wish we accorded as well in politicks as in musick; or that we could as easily convey to His Majesty's Ears our political Sentiments. We should not, I suppose, be so favourably heard in such jarring strains; and yet His Majesty cannot be ignorant of our opinions...⁸⁵²

Evidently, people with incompatible political views could set them aside while making and appreciating music together; and music played an often central role in most of Shield's known relationships, across the political spectrum.

Shield in Europe

Shield's 1791 sabbatical represents an intriguing hiatus in his theatrical career. His own writings describe a cultural pilgrimage to study vocal pedagogy, traditional music and landscape painting in Italy, but his contacts of all political persuasions must also have recognised the potential opportunities his journey offered for gathering intelligence.⁸⁵³ Many of Shield's colleagues sought both professional and political inspiration on visits to Paris. In 1784, Harris sent Charles Bonnor (later also a contributor to *The Picture of Paris*, though not an overt republican) on an unsuccessful mission to establish an English theatre there, while Holcroft, assisted by a French friend, transcribed Beaumarchais' *Le mariage de Figaro* from live performances to produce a Covent Garden adaptation, *The Follies of a Day*, for which Shield provided incidental music and songs. In 1789, Merry and Stuart were among those who observed revolutionary events and reported back to progressive groups, while in 1814 Harris dispatched Charles Farley to observe Parisian theatrical fashions and innovations, a mission Oakley believes was cover for political espionage.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵² Crosby, p. 47; Grant, pp. 137-40.

⁸⁵³ Trio I 'Giucoco: Alla Sclavonia', Trio VI 'Aria, Stile Livonia' in *Six Trios for Violin, Tenor and Violoncello*, pp. 3, 16 [in all parts]; *Introduction*, pp. 17-21, 119; *Rudiments*, pp. 46-47; 'Preface' in G. G. Ferrari, *A Concise Treatise on Italian Singing*, trans. by Shield (London: Schulze & Dean, [1818]).

⁸⁵⁴ Rice, pp. 136-39; Saglia, p. 52; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 301; 'Ah weladay my poor heart' ([London]: Longman & Broderip, [1784]); *LS5*, II, p. 758; *LSInd*, p. 421; Oakley, pp. 38-41.

Harris could have capitalised on Shield's desire to travel by commissioning him to gather information or meet contacts for professional or political purposes; and unlike most of Shield's progressive acquaintances, Harris was in a position to finance the trip. Covent Garden Theatre ledgers record that Shield repaid about twelve days salary in mid-June 1791, implying a sudden departure.⁸⁵⁵ Some sources suggest he quarrelled with Harris, whose financial ruthlessness made many enemies, but Shield was not a bellicose character; an elegy even claimed he had 'not one foe'.⁸⁵⁶ However, a rumoured dispute could have dispelled suspicion that he was working for Harris abroad.

An obituary stated that Shield visited his mother on Tyneside that summer before travelling to Paris with Ritson, whose letters date their departure to late August.⁸⁵⁷ Ritson professed his satisfaction at seeing revolutionary principles applied in practice:

I admire the French more than ever. They deserve to be free, and they really are so. You have read their new constitution: can any thing be more admirable? [...] The French read a great deal, and even the common people (such, I mean, as cannot be expected from their poverty to have had a favourable education, for there is now no other distinction of rank) are better acquainted with their ancient history than the English nobility are with ours [...]. Then, as to modern politics, and the principles of the constitution, one would think half the people in Paris had no other employment than to study and talk about them. I have seen a fishwoman reading the journal of the national assembly to her neighbour [...]⁸⁵⁸

Shield confessed to having 'only a dozen words of the language', so must have relied on Ritson to facilitate his engagement with French culture and politics, witnessed and probably shared his enthusiasm for a literate populace with free access to libraries and museums.⁸⁵⁹ Shield moved on from Paris to Lyons, Chambéry, Turin, Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Florence, Sienna and Rome, where

⁸⁵⁵ GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 2291, fol. 143v.

⁸⁵⁶ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 9; Busby, *Public Characters*, pp. 405-06; 'Obituary - William Shield, Esq.', *The Gentleman's Magazine & Historical Chronicle* (April 1829), 376-77; 'Tributary Lines to the Memory of the Late William Shield, Esq.', *The Gentleman's Magazine & Historical Chronicle* (June 1829), 546-47; O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, II, pp. 80-81; Parke, II, p. 248; Oakley, pp. 105-10, 189.

⁸⁵⁷ Ayrton, p. 50; Busby, *Concert Room Anecdotes*, II, p. 186; Sainsbury, I, p. 433; *Annual Biography and Obituary*, p. 91; Ritson, *Letters*, I, pp. 197-98.

⁸⁵⁸ Ritson, *Letters*, I, pp. 202-05.

⁸⁵⁹ Hazlitt, III, p. 299.

Scottish landscape painter Jacob More became a valued friend.⁸⁶⁰ In Rome he also met Sir William Hamilton, diplomat and foster brother of George III. Their interactions may have been purely musical; Sir William was a former violin student of Shield's colleague and mentor Felice Giardini, and his new wife Lady Emma Hamilton later purchased several of Shield's songs.⁸⁶¹ However, Shield may also have had opportunities to observe elite diplomatic and military society, and learn or pass on political information.

On 22 September Shield wrote from Turin to assure Holcroft he had safely, though arduously, crossed the Alps. Although the journey by mule and on foot required 'no common share of that inestimable quality which you so eminently possess (fortitude)', he wrote cheerfully and appreciatively of his good health, the beauty of mountain landscapes and the 'uncommon' qualities of his international travelling companions, who included 'a very accomplished Russian' and 'a Chinese, of a small stature, but of a capacious memory', fluent in multiple languages. There is no mention of any political agenda, but Shield hints that a breakdown in physical or mental health necessitated his departure from London:

I thought change of scene would prove the best medicine for me, and I seem to have been right [...] for I find myself in the full possession of my faculties, and am determined to exert myself in my profession.⁸⁶²

In reply, Holcroft enthused over Shield's opportunity to see 'the noble works of art [...] which are to be met with in almost every city of Italy', despite commenting that they 'form a surprising contrast to the ignorance, poverty, sloth, and present depravity of its inhabitants'; faults he attributed to 'the baneful influence of

⁸⁶⁰ 'Biographical Sketch', p. 9; Busby, *Public Characters*, p. 405, *Concert Room Anecdotes*, II, p. 186; Sainsbury, I, p. 433; Ayrton, p. 50; *Annual Biography and Obituary*, p. 91; Shield, *Six Trios for Violin, Tenor and Violoncello*, title page; Patricia R. Andrew, 'More, Jacob (1740-1793)' ODNB (23 September 2004).

⁸⁶¹ Geoffrey V. Morson, 'Hamilton, Sir William (1731-1803)', ODNB (25 September 2014); 'Biographical Sketch', p. 8; Southey (thesis), I, pp. 69-70; Ayrton, p. 49; Christopher Hogwood and Simon McVeigh, 'Giardini [Degiardino], Felice de.', *GMO* (20 January 2001). Parke, I, pp. 51-52; NMM, E6757/1 784.3.084 'The Maid of Lodi', 'The Thorn' in *Emma, Lady Hamilton's Songs*, I.

⁸⁶² Hazlitt, III, pp. 297-300.

priesthood and bad government'.⁸⁶³ By contrast, Shield's obituarists claimed his experiences in Italy,

removed many prejudices at that time not uncommon among English musicians, and furnished him with abundant materials for thinking, of which his active and intelligent mind made the best possible use.⁸⁶⁴

While applauding Shield's desire to improve himself, Holcroft issued what seems an acknowledgment of political pressure on the composer, a veiled reproof for a failure of moral courage, and an exhortation to express his convictions more transparently:

Your works are already an honour to your nation and your art; and had you not been under the malignant influence of absurd prejudices, they would have been infinitely more honourable. We are at present all, more or less, under similar influences, and obliged to obey the dictates of necessity. I hope, however, that you will be less so in future than heretofore; and the end of my present very severe labours is to free myself from them if possible. There needed not any caution relative to the newspapers; I believe you are too generally beloved to be in danger of attack; but should illiberality or envy shew their fangs, be certain, you will not want a defender.⁸⁶⁵

Holcroft's 'very severe labours' were then directed towards his most successful satire, *The Road to Ruin*, through which he hoped to advance 'reformist social criticism'.⁸⁶⁶ This letter implies Shield had been obliged to exercise self-censorship, and avoid publicly endorsing Holcroft's work. Even before his involvement in publishing Paine's acclaimed yet controversial *Rights of Man*, Holcroft's French connections and refusal to renounce revolutionary ideals had prejudiced critics against him, impacting his ability to attract or retain audiences for his plays, so that (their continued friendship notwithstanding) Shield had already risked reputational and financial injury by working with him.⁸⁶⁷ In 1785 a reviewer blamed the failure (despite a favourably received royal command performance) of their last collaboration, *The Choleric Fathers*, on its 'common' plot and 'prosaic' lyrics, condemning Holcroft for seeking inspiration from French theatre (while 'Mr Shields the composer [...] steals his fire from heaven'), and concluding,

⁸⁶³ Hazlitt, III, pp. 300, 302.

⁸⁶⁴ Ayrton, p. 50; *Annual Biography and Obituary*, p. 93.

⁸⁶⁵ Hazlitt, III, pp. 304-06.

⁸⁶⁶ Kelly, 'Holcroft, Thomas', *ODNB*; *LS5*, II, pp. 1379, 1428.

⁸⁶⁷ Taylor, pp. 140-41.

we regret [Shield's] talents are not united to those of some kindred genius, who instead of hanging on his skirts might lead his way to splendid immortality.⁸⁶⁸

Some sources claim Shield remained abroad well into 1792; but on 18 December 1791 Godwin called on Shield's wife, perhaps having heard he was expected back, and two days later the Covent Garden ledger recorded:

Paid Mr Shields Rent & Ins. £525.⁸⁶⁹

There is no obvious explanation for such an extraordinary payment, far exceeding Covent Garden's weekly wage bill which that season averaged £390 (nightly box office receipts were just over £217).⁸⁷⁰ The reference to rent and insurance may relate to the property Shield insured in 1785.⁸⁷¹ On moving to his new home in Goodge Street, he might have retained the Covent Garden dwelling, in convenient proximity to the theatre, as a rehearsal or teaching space; or leased it to Harris, perhaps for the accommodation of seasonal artists. It seems unlikely any such agreement could result in a payment far exceeding the original insurance valuation of £200, so the ledger entry may be evidence that Shield's European tour was sanctioned by Harris. Oakley's detailed analysis of his financial interests and involvement in George III's fledgling 'Secret Service' suggests Harris laundered both the profits of various private enterprises, and payments to political agents, through the theatre accounts.⁸⁷²

If the notion of Shield operating as some sort of double agent seems far-fetched, it is not unparalleled. Dublin-born barrister and playwright Leonard Macnally, despite attracting mockery for the excessively loyalist tone of his adaptation for Covent Garden of Gretry's *Richard Coeur de Lion* in 1786, was an apparently committed supporter of the Society of United Irishmen, writing poetry and propaganda in their cause and defending members eloquently and passionately in court. However, he was posthumously exposed as a high-level government informer.⁸⁷³ Having taken

⁸⁶⁸ *Stamford Mercury*, 18 November 1785; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 19 November 1785; *Hereford Journal*, 24 November 1785; *LS5*, II, pp. 823, 841-5.

⁸⁶⁹ Ayrton, p. 50; WGD, 18 December 1791; GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 2292, fol. 54.

⁸⁷⁰ *LS5*, II, p. 1383.

⁸⁷¹ Hitchcock, Shoemaker, Howard, McLaughlin et al., *London Lives*, ref: fire_1780_1785_600_121997 (online).

⁸⁷² Oakley, pp. 38-41.

⁸⁷³ *LS5*, II, pp. 696, 927; Horgan, pp. 57-58.

casual bribes since at least 1794, from 1800 he received an annual stipend of £300 from secret service funds. His early reports contain indications he felt conflicted about this role or attempted to play a double game, but his later actions - such as leaking vital information about his own client's defence to crown prosecutors, or consoling a condemned man he'd accepted £200 to betray - were truly treacherous.⁸⁷⁴

Horgan points out that Macnally, an Irish Catholic, was vulnerable to pressure as a socio-political outsider, striving to make his way in the capital. To a lesser extent perhaps, the same might be said of Shield. There is no evidence that he collaborated with Macnally politically, or knew anything of his duplicity; but it seems likely Thomas Harris did, perhaps even recruited Macnally as an informer. Harris' professional power and court connections would enable him to offer similar inducements, or apply similar pressure, to Shield. The mysterious payment seems the only evidence to suggest Shield engaged with any attempt to recruit him; whether he did so willingly, or passed on any useful or sensitive information, are open questions. He may have considered it safest to focus on his personal objectives of musical learning, and to prove himself deliberately ineffectual on political fronts. During his travels Shield collected various examples of Alpine and Italian music which appear in his treatises, and later compositions. 'The Maid of Lodi', (**Example 5.2**), provides the only instance where Shield claimed authorship of lyrics:

A favorite Ballad [...]
The Music Collected by Mr. Shield, When in Italy
The Words are the sole property of Mr. Shield.⁸⁷⁵

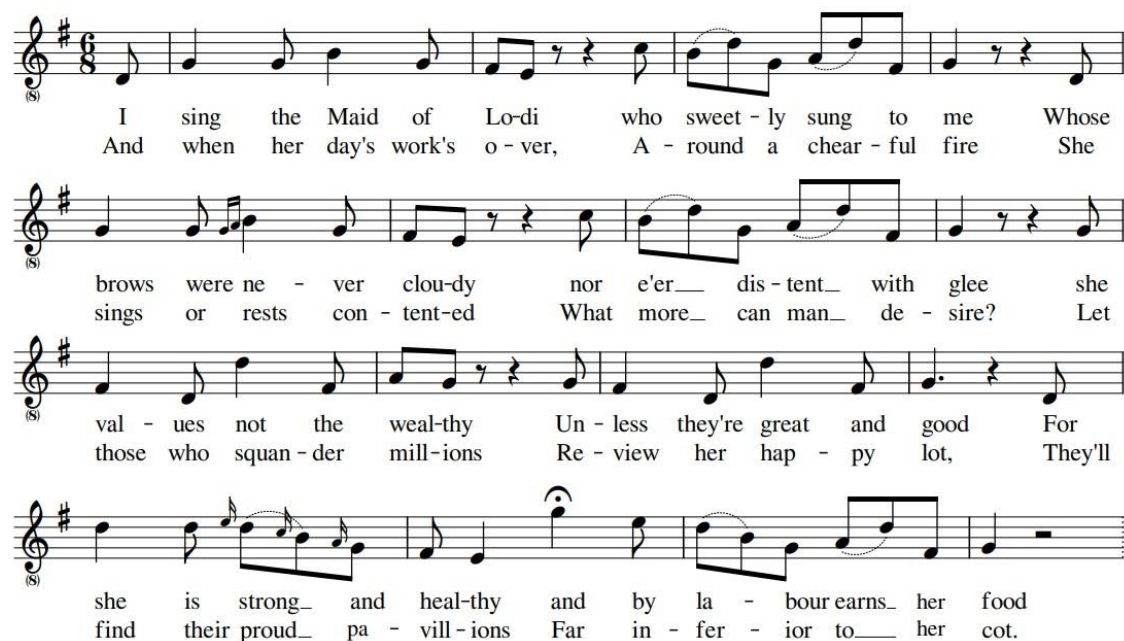
Later verses (possibly autobiographical) describe sheltering in a peasant girl's cottage following an attack by bandits, after the first praises her practical self-determination and libertarian, meritocratic attitude:

she values not the wealthy, unless they're great and good
For she is strong and healthy and by labour earns her food.

⁸⁷⁴ J. M. Rigg, rev. by Mihail Dafydd Evans, 'Macnally, Leonard (1752-1820)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004); *WGD*, 4, 5 and 10 July, 6 August 1800, 2 August 1817; *EPH*, 'Macnally, Leonard' (21 July 2013).

⁸⁷⁵ 'The Maid of Lodi', (London: Clementi et al, [1801]), p. 1.

Verse 2 concludes with a rebuke to ‘those who squander millions’ on ‘proud pavilions’, surely directed at the Prince of Wales who had recently embarked on expanding and redecorating his Brighton pleasure palace, at vast expense.⁸⁷⁶ Having couched disapproval of such extravagance among generic Romantic sentiments praising the virtue, contentment and resilience of rural labourers, if challenged, Shield could easily disclaim any such interpretation.



I sing the Maid of Lodi who sweet-ly sung to me Whose
And when her day's work's o-ver, A-round a cheer-ful fire She
brows were ne-ver clou-dy nor e'er dis-tent with glee she
sings or rests con-tent-ed What more can man-de-sire? Let
val-ues not the weal-thy Un-less they're great and good For
those who squan-der mill-ions Re-view her hap-py lot, They'll
she is strong and heal-thy and by la-bour earns her food
find their proud pa-vill-ions Far in-fer-ior to her cot.

Example 5.2 ‘The Maid of Lodi’, verses 1 and 2

I have yet to find any source verifying this as an Italian traditional melody. Shield did not pass off his own compositions as traditional airs elsewhere, but this tune shares simplicity of structure and character with his ‘imitation’ songs. If he wrote the melody himself, claiming a traditional source may have provided a safer context for expressing egalitarian views, where proclaiming the entire composition as his own might have seemed too pointed a gesture. The idealized portrayal of a girl of humble origins may explain why Lady Hamilton liked the song; a copy signed by Shield and

⁸⁷⁶ ‘The Maid of Lodi’, pp. 2-3; Geoffrey Tyack, ‘A Pantheon for Horses: The Prince Regent's Dome and Stables at Brighton’, *Architectural History*, 58 (2015), 141-58 (p. 141).

Emma survives in a volume collected by her daughter Horatia, now displayed in the National Maritime Museum.⁸⁷⁷

Musical themes reflecting class and race

The authors of Shield's theatre works used various methods of incorporating topical references while evading censorship. Some dropped hints of political satire within innocuous romantic comedy or pantomime plots; some transposed contemporary scenarios to an alternate historical period, or an indeterminate pseudo-historical realm we might call 'Olde England'; others reimagined and reinterpreted stories from folklore. Several of Shield's theatre works drew on ballads and legends of the outlaw Robin Hood. *Robin Hood, or Sherwood Forest* and *Marian* present elements of the myth in the form most recognisable today (though lacking the romance between those characters common to later productions), while *The Woodman* features an archery contest between female competitors, a contemporary twist inspired by a fashionable ladies' leisure pursuit.⁸⁷⁸

Holt notes that the now archetypal reading of Robin Hood as a 'social rebel' or political 'freedom-fighter' who 'robbed the rich to pay the poor' is absent from medieval sources, and that Shield's friend Joseph Ritson, motivated by his own sense of social justice, was the first to emphasize those elements and versions of the legend where Robin champions the rights of common people and acts to rescue them from oppression.⁸⁷⁹ Knight reflects that the 'good outlaw' myth 'represents principled resistance to wrongful authority' and 'holds out a promise of greater freedom'; hence revivals and reworkings of the legend have often gained popularity during periods of social inequality and authoritarian government.⁸⁸⁰ Shield's productions on this

⁸⁷⁷ NMM, E6757/1 784.3.084; 'Nelson, Navy, Nation Gallery', Royal Museums Greenwich, <www.rmg.co.uk/national-maritime-museum/attractions/nelson-navy-nation-gallery> (2023).

⁸⁷⁸ Brooke, *Airs, [&c.] in Marian*; Henry Bate Dudley, *The Woodman*, 2nd edn (London: Cadell, 1791); *LS5*, I, p. 696, II, pp. 1067, 1326; Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 543.

⁸⁷⁹ Holt, pp. 35-36, 43, 182; Ritson, *Robin Hood: a collection of ancient poems, songs and ballads* (London: Longman et al, 1820), pp. vi, ix-xiii.

⁸⁸⁰ Knight, pp. xi, 64-65, 98, 100-01.

theme all appeared between the end of the American War and the early years of the French Revolution.

While Ritson's research on Robin was not published until 1795, he had been gathering material for years and may have discussed his sources with Shield, Godwin and others.⁸⁸¹ Meanwhile, Thomas Evans' *Old Ballads, Historical And Narrative* (1784) provided the immediate source for many characters and scenarios in contemporary theatrical productions on this theme.⁸⁸² Shield and Holcroft's *The Noble Peasant* drew on a parallel Cumbrian tradition of forest outlaws Adam Bell, Clym o' the Clough and William of Cloudesley, which shares elements including disguises, jail-breaks and astounding feats of archery with both the Robin Hood legend and Border ballads like 'Kinmont Willie' and 'Jock o' the Side'.⁸⁸³ Both Ritson, whose grandfather was a tenant farmer in Westmorland, and Holcroft, who toured Cumberland as an actor, must have encountered these ballads in oral as well as literary form.⁸⁸⁴ That Bewick too recalled these tales suggests they would also be familiar to Shield; though far from glorifying outlaws' deeds, Bewick regretted that war-mongering politicians shared their 'wicked' and 'ferocious' instinct to prove by murder that '*might was right*'.⁸⁸⁵

Outlaw traditions also relate to constructions of English and British national identity. Decades before Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* popularised the historiography of Robin Hood supporting freeborn Anglo-Saxon peasants and yeomen against invading Norman overlords, Thomas Paine framed his approach to the French Revolution and American War of Independence in similar terms, equating corrupt aristocrats with historical Normans and ordinary citizens with Anglo-Saxons.⁸⁸⁶ In *The Noble Peasant*,

⁸⁸¹ Ritson, 'Preface' in *Robin Hood*, pp. i-ii.

⁸⁸² T. Evans, *Old Ballads, Historical And Narrative*, 2nd edn ([London]: 1784) I, pp. 86-232.

⁸⁸³ Holcroft, *The Noble Peasant* (London: G. Robinson, 1784); T. Evans, I, p. 87; Ritson, *Robin Hood*, p. 108; Holt, pp. 58, 69-76; Firth Green, pp. 112, 114-15; Linda Troost, 'The noble peasant', in *Robin Hood: Medieval and Post-Medieval*, ed. by Helen Phillips (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 145-53 (pp. 145-47).

⁸⁸⁴ Bronson, I, pp. 8-9; Hazlitt, I, pp. 232-41.

⁸⁸⁵ Bewick, ed. by Bain, p. 159.

⁸⁸⁶ Holt, p. 180; Knight, p. 111; Ian Duncan, 'Introduction', in Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. vii-xxvi.

the Cumbrian outlaws and the mysterious warrior peasant, Leonard, aid noble Saxons to repel invading Danes; Leonard is eventually identified as Leoline, Prince of the Britons, and marries the Saxon princess Adela. I believe Leoline's name and title represent an anglicised, idealised amalgam of the historical Welsh princes Rhodri Mawr (d. 877), who fought off a Danish invasion of north Wales, and Llywelyn Ap Iorweth (d. 1240), who married an illegitimate daughter of King John of England in 1205 before allying himself with the barons who orchestrated Magna Carta in 1215.⁸⁸⁷ Through this symbolic figure, Holcroft could weave a myth of British unity and national character as a bulwark against both foreign invaders and corrupt or unworthy rulers.⁸⁸⁸

Both Evans and Ritson published the Robin Hood texts without tunes, making it impossible to determine whether Shield selected traditional melodies already associated with the legend for works on this theme. In *Robin Hood* he used the Scots reel 'Tibbie Fowler in the Glen', a jig subtitled 'Irish Tune' (known to William Vickers as 'Patecoats Loos' [Petticoats Loose]), an unidentified 'Old Tune' and another 'Irish Tune'.⁸⁸⁹ In *Marian* Shield included Scots air 'Gilderoy' (an arrangement he reworked for Napier's collection) and Irish tune 'Peggy Band', while *The Noble Peasant* includes a 'French Tune'.⁸⁹⁰ Otherwise, songs in these works predominantly represent Shield's successful 'imitation' style. Many begin with traditional-sounding melodies based on gapped scales, with metres, rhythms and cadential formulae reminiscent of jigs or hornpipes (including one danced entr'acte in *Marian*). Accompaniments consist of simple on-beat bass lines or drones, often scored for oboes with bassoons or harpsichord with pizzicato strings, recalling

⁸⁸⁷ James MacKillop, 'Rhodri Mawr' in *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford University Press, 2004), *ORO*; 'Llywelyn-ap-Iorwerth' in J(enkyn) Beverley Smith, 'Wales', <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Wales/Llywelyn-ap-Iorwerth>> (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023).

⁸⁸⁸ Troost, 'The noble peasant', pp. 148-53.

⁸⁸⁹ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *Robin Hood* (London: Harrison, Cluse [c. 1800]), pp. 27, 86-87, 90-91; GB-En, MS 21715, Duke of Perth MS, p. 76; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 42; Seattle (Vickers), p. 49.

⁸⁹⁰ GB-LEbc, Fiske-Platt SHI, *Marian*, pp. 26, 52; *The Noble Peasant*, p. 62; Napier, I, p. 8; Kirsteen McCue (ed.), *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, IV: Songs for George Thomson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 636-37.

traditional instruments, the pipes and harp.⁸⁹¹ These imitations include some of Shield's most popular songs, widely published, collected and performed independently of the theatre; such as 'I travers'd Judah's barren sands', a ballad in unusual, flowing triple metre, and 'The streamlet', a love lilt featuring dotted rhythms and a gapped-scale melody.⁸⁹²

Henry Atkinson MS

The image shows a musical score for two pieces. The top piece is 'Adam Bell' by Shield, from *The Noble Peasant*. It is in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). The melody is written in a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are: "Oh my bon-ny bon-ny Ad-am Bell I'd trip_o'er the hills_and_ far a - way". The bottom piece is 'Over the hills and far away' by Haydn, from *Napier (ed.), III*. It is also in G major and common time. The melody is written in a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are: "Joc-ky_ met_ with_ Jen-ny fair And it's o'er_the_ hills_and_ far a-way". Both pieces feature a simple, folk-like melody with a mix of eighth and quarter notes.

Example 5.3 'Adam Bell', compared with 'Over the hills and far away'

Sometimes Shield's original melody echoes, mirrors or briefly quotes a familiar traditional tune. In the air titled 'Adam Bell', the lyric '[I'd trip] o'er the hills and far away' is set to a phrase from the eponymous ancient tune (**Example 5.3**).⁸⁹³

⁸⁹¹ *The Noble Peasant*, pp. 37, 39, 42-48, 59-62; *Robin Hood*, pp. 32-33, 50-52, 66-67, 80-85, 97; *Marian*, pp. 12, 32-33, 37, 44, 49-51; *The Woodman*, pp. 20-21, 24-25, 30-31, 34-37, 52.

⁸⁹² *Robin Hood*, pp. 28-29; *The Woodman*, pp. 26-27; e.g. 'I travers'd Judah's barren sands' (London: Bland [1786] / [1790] / [?1795]); 'The Streamlet' (London: Longman & Broderip [1791] / Broderip & Wilkinson [1800] / Preston [1805] / Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine [1805]) (Dublin: Hime [1800]), etc.

⁸⁹³ *The Noble Peasant*, pp. 44-45; GB-AS, Atkinson MS, pp. 26, 102; Haydn (arr.), 'Over the hills and far away', in Napier, III, p. 50; Seattle (Dixon) pp. 6-7, 10-12, 19-20, 86-87.

Similarly, *Marian's* Overture opens with a characteristic pattern of repeated notes followed by mostly triadic movement, reminiscent of the popular north-eastern song 'Bobby Shafto' (Example 5.4).⁸⁹⁴

Example 5.4 *Marian* Overture, bars 9 to 14, compared with 'Bobby Shaftoe'

Invariably, harmonic development and expression reveal the composer's hand. Working within a classical movement structure, Shield transposes the borrowed melody to the dominant in 'Adam Bell'; a herdsman's song in *Marian* modulates where the singer describes leading 'stray'd lambs to the fold'; and chromatic or minor touches often colour the expression of disappointed love.⁸⁹⁵

Shield's imitation style, merging traditional and operatic elements, reflects the ambiguity in both ballad sources and theatrical plots over whether 'noble outlaws' Robin, Adam and Leonard/Leoline are 'noble' by birth; and whether nobility of character alone is, or ought to be, enough to win the rewards of love and prosperity. Holt concludes that the spurious tradition casting Robin as a dispossessed nobleman was added to ballads as a point of relatability by late medieval minstrels performing

⁸⁹⁴ *Marian*, pp. 2-4; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 46; Seattle (Vickers), p. 52; Topliff, p. 37, [FARNE].

⁸⁹⁵ *The Noble Peasant*, p. 59; *Marian*, p. 27.

to aristocratic households.⁸⁹⁶ Knight notes that, despite his evident relish for ballads where Robin exposes and humiliates corrupt aristocracy and clergy, Ritson embraced the gentrified outlaw: he despised the abuse of privilege, rather than rejecting wealth and power outright; and saw in this Robin a noble character betrayed and exiled by his own class, who could identify with labouring people and champion their just cause as legitimately, and more effectively, than one of their own.⁸⁹⁷ Though such a reading could revive accusations of appropriation, Shield's music perhaps represents a cultural parallel with this idea: the professional musician who understands, affirms and celebrates labouring-class traditions is best placed to promote them; equally, formal musical constructions and techniques need not be rejected by one using them to serve, promote and enrich traditional and popular culture.

Throughout Shield's theatre works, his selection, arrangement and composition of borrowed and original music complicates or adds depth and nuance to possible readings of a character's sentiments or situation. One problematic example relates to theatrical representation of colour and race, at a period when increasing interest in indigenous musical cultures was heavily mediated through colonial dynamics. Several scholars have interrogated O'Keeffe and Shield's Covent Garden pantomime *Omai* (1785), inspired by the visit to Britain ten years earlier of the young Polynesian Mai, following an encounter on Captain James Cook's second voyage.⁸⁹⁸ Parke recalled visiting the British Museum with friends, perhaps including Shield, to examine native flutes and a conch shell brought back by Cook's ships.⁸⁹⁹ Shield also consulted Charles Burney's son James, who had travelled with Cook and transcribed the music of Pacific islanders, before composing music for *Omai* which reviews

⁸⁹⁶ Holt, pp. 43, 107-18.

⁸⁹⁷ Knight, pp. 97-98.

⁸⁹⁸ Irving, pp. 205-229; Vanessa Agnew, Review of 'William Shield (1748-1829)', ed. Robert Hoskins, orchestrated by David Vine ODE TO CAPTAIN COOK, FROM OMAI, OR, A TRIP ROUND THE WORLD (Hong Kong: Artaria, 2014)', *Eighteenth Century Music*, 13.2 (2016), 319-21; C. Conway, pp. 26-46; Andrew C. F. David, 'Cook, James (1728-1779)' *ODNB* (3 January 2008); Nicholas Thomas et al., 'Letter: 'Portrait of Omai' is unique and must remain in Britain', *Financial Times*, 28 June 2022, <<https://www.ft.com/content/c3480471-b9c8-4896-b7de-4c3b796cf735>> (The Financial Times Limited, 2023).

⁸⁹⁹ Parke, I, p. 26.

claimed was 'characteristic' of and modelled on 'the vernacular airs of Otaheite'.⁹⁰⁰ In fact, British sources often failed to distinguish between various musical cultures encountered on Cook's expeditions, and Shield did not incorporate Burney's transcriptions even in songs for characters representing Pacific islanders.⁹⁰¹

Generally, where Shield had access to authentic tunes associated with 'foreign' settings or characters he made extensive use of them, as in *The Poor Soldier*, *The Highland Reel* and *The Czar*, whose unpublished score contained multiple Russian folk tune arrangements.⁹⁰² However, according to Burney and others, Polynesian melody involved repeated cyclical patterns of just a few pitches. Authenticity would be challenging to reconcile with the commercial imperative of providing memorable, marketable songs that, in Locke's words, would 'be recognized by the listener [the London theatre-goer] as "music"'.⁹⁰³ Shield therefore made subtler allusions to Pacific island music through prominent use of orchestral wind instruments (since real Polynesian flutes sounded too faint for theatrical use), employed a conch in a processional scene, and for ceremonies invoking spirits, combined Polynesian drums with a celestina to create a supernatural atmosphere.⁹⁰⁴

Otherwise, Shield largely adhered to his usual practice of borrowing melodies or idioms from British traditional music, while following European baroque and classical conventions in recitative and incidental sections. This approach echoes a precedent Locke identified in operas by Handel and Rameau, who instead of assigning 'exotic-sounding' music borrowed from non-European traditions to characters from the Orient or New World, employed conventional European affective devices, in combination with textual and scenic elements, to portray 'exotic' societies and cultures in ways that upheld Western perceptions.⁹⁰⁵

⁹⁰⁰ Irving, p. 207; Agnew, pp. 319-21; *Morning Herald*, 21 December 1785, p. 37, and 'Omai, or A Trip round the World', *The European Magazine and London Review* (December 1785), 468-69, quoted in C. Conway, pp. 32, 38-39.

⁹⁰¹ Irving, p. 216; C. Conway, pp. 32, 37.

⁹⁰² Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 541.

⁹⁰³ C. Conway, pp. 35-36, 39; Locke, 'Doing the Impossible', p. 351.

⁹⁰⁴ C. Conway, p. 34; *Omai*, pp. 7, 16-17, 36, 49.

⁹⁰⁵ Locke, 'A Broader View of Musical Exoticism', pp. 478-79, 494-505.

Omai's score explicitly labels only three traditional tunes. The song 'When I come back to bonny Shadwell dock', set by Shield to an 'Old Tune', rapidly became established in nineteenth-century broadside ballad and shanty repertoire.⁹⁰⁶ Shield also used two 'Irish' tunes, one a jig and the other, to be discussed further below, an unusual variant of a Jacobite air.⁹⁰⁷ His diatonic Northumbrian hornpipe style is also present, most notably in 'O Groves of coral' sung by Mrs Kennedy as Oeddidee.⁹⁰⁸ Many other tunes have swinging jig-like rhythms, sometimes with a drone bass.⁹⁰⁹ Anna Della Subin has contrasted the cult-like adulation with which Cook was celebrated and memorialised in the final choral 'Ode' and backcloth of *Omai*, with the almost total dismissal, until very recently, of indigenous Hawaiian perspectives on the interactions preceding his death and their many destructive effects on islanders' subsequent health, environment and community.⁹¹⁰ Conway also highlights the complexities of a work that simultaneously foregrounds and subsumes the 'other', by an author (O'Keefe) who embodied multiple, sometimes contradictory aspects of Anglo-Irish identity.⁹¹¹ As we have seen, Shield's northern British musical heritage also encompassed ambiguous and conflicting identities. His background would predispose him to admire James Cook, a skilled mariner with modest beginnings in the Whitby coal trade and a 'zealous patron' in Ralph Jackson's older brother, a senior naval administrator.⁹¹² However, *Omai*'s score also offers subtle indications of sympathy with the outsider, in this case representatives of indigenous Pacific cultures who visited Britain. Shield may even have met the real Mai, or at least heard friends relate their encounters with him. In August 1775 Cook's naturalist, Joseph Banks, introduced Mai into Yorkshire circles including

⁹⁰⁶ *Omai*, pp. 54-55; GB-Lcs, Roud V298.

⁹⁰⁷ *Omai*, pp. 30-31, 40-41.

⁹⁰⁸ *Omai*, pp. 16-17; C. Conway, p. 40.

⁹⁰⁹ *Omai*, pp. 9, 21, 23, 26, 32-33, 36-37.

⁹¹⁰ Anna Della Subin, 'How to kill a god: the myth of Captain Cook shows how the heroes of empire will fall', *The Guardian*, 18 January 2022

<<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2022/jan/18/how-to-kill-a-god-captain-cook-myth-shows-how-heroes-of-empire-will-fall>> (Guardian News & Media Limited 2023).

⁹¹¹ Baldwin and Wilson, 'O'Keefe, John' *ODNB*; C. Conway, pp. 28-29, 43-44.

⁹¹² RJD/L, 14 November 1766; RJD/O, 24 October 1771; RJD/R, 17 May 1782; Duffy, 'Duckett [formerly Jackson], Sir George', *ODNB*.

Shield's subscribers, and he remained in England that winter, when Shield was performing in Cook's hometown of Whitby.⁹¹³

Example 5.5 shows a song (transcribed here without the broken chord violin accompaniment) caricaturing an 'Otaheitian' voyager to England. Britons who met Mai, like Fanny Burney, commented on his sophistication and gracious conduct; yet this character speaks broken English, is confounded by everyday domestic and urban objects, and makes social blunders – a portrayal which undeniably plays to racist stereotypes (including reported use of a racist slur).⁹¹⁴

The image shows a musical score for a song in 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines. The first system has the lyrics: "In de big Ca-noe I o'er o-cean swim me, Jack and mer-ry crew Give good liq-uor to me." The second system has the lyrics: "O-ver sand and rocks Teach me sail no padd-le Teach me den to box, So to use my dadd-le." The third system has the lyrics: "Tol lol lol lol li tol lol lol lol lod di tol lol lol lol li tol lol lol lol lod di". The piano accompaniment consists of simple rhythmic patterns in the right hand and bass lines in the left hand.

Example 5.5 'Irish Tune Sung by Mr Edwin in the Character of an Otaheitean Traveller'

However, O'Keeffe's lyrics simultaneously satirise the hard drinking, foolish fashions, adulterous affairs and false superiority of Britons who corrupt, exploit and abuse the traveller - notably, those commonly perceived as heroic (the sailors), or

⁹¹³ RJD/P, 8 August 1775.

⁹¹⁴ Irving, p. 221; Chisholm, pp. 37-38; John Gascoigne, 'Omai (c. 1753-c. 1780)', *ODNB* (23 September 2004).

civilised (the gentry).⁹¹⁵ Lowe discusses similar dynamics in orientalist novels and travelogues, in which white Western European authors problematized features of their own society by voicing the imagined impressions, reactions, and attempts either to sublimate or sustain their cultural difference, of foreign visitors representing a homogenized or idealized racial or cultural 'other'; Shield owned several examples, reflecting South American, African and European cultures.⁹¹⁶

O'Keeffe's minority characters, while functioning as the butt of crude jokes, also personify the adage that whoever points one finger at an 'other', points three fingers back at himself. On stage, a black servant, French hairdresser or Irish labourer might speak, act and dress in accordance with popular prejudice; yet their interactions also exposed the hypocrisy, corruption or cruelty of primary, dominant characters, allowing the playwright to articulate an outsider's unflattering perspective on mainstream British society. Such characters manifested the contemporary negotiation and expression of identities by reflecting the ambiguities and contradictions in people's lived experience of difference. In any given audience, some would feel their prejudices validated by these caricatures; others might notice disturbing undercurrents of social criticism, or recognise their own flaws, foibles and biases projected back at them from the stage. (Stereotyping was also directed at the establishment; the wordbook of *Fontainebleau*, featuring not only a French colonel, Welsh farmer, Irish landlady and French maid, but also 'Sir John and Lady Bull' and various hapless young Englishmen, reads like a 1780s episode of 'Allo 'Allo!'.)⁹¹⁷

Whether or not Shield personally met Mai, he almost certainly had opportunities to work alongside people of colour within the music profession. In 1787 French Caribbean violinist, composer and fencing-master Joseph Bologne, known as the Chevalier de Saint Georges, arrived in England and 'was immediately visited by all the musical professors of repute, and the amateurs'; he played a concerto he had composed in a concert hosted by the Duke of Cumberland, was honoured by the

⁹¹⁵ *Omai*, pp. 40-41.

⁹¹⁶ Musgrave, pp. 22-23; Lowe, pp. 118, 120-25, 128-29.

⁹¹⁷ O'Keeffe, *Fontainebleau, or Our Way in France* (Dublin: 1790), p. 2; 'Allo Allo!', <www.bbc.co.uk/comedy/alloallo/> (BBC Comedy, 24 September 2014).

Prince of Wales and became 'the chief support of the higher musical parties'. Newspapers proclaimed, 'his stile is masterly and brilliant', 'he pre-eminently shines on the violin' and 'is even said to transcend the first masters of that instrument'.⁹¹⁸ From 1789 to '90 George Bridgtower, another violinist then believed to be an African prince and credited with 'astonishing musical powers' for his young age, played 'with much elegance and facility the most difficult compositions of the modern masters' at concerts in Bath and London, where other performers included Incedon, Cramer and Parke.⁹¹⁹ The involvement of Shield's royal employers and close colleagues suggests he also participated in these performances.

In the late 1790s William Parke gave oboe lessons to a young Senegalese man brought to London by General O'Hara, who 'became an excellent English and French scholar' and showed great aptitude for music. Parke concluded:

This black man's ability, and his attachment to his patron and benefactor, prove that an African with a cultivated mind differs from an European in nothing but his colour, which is not the effect of sin, but sun.⁹²⁰

The implication that the African was required to assimilate European culture and language in order to become 'cultivated' (and to appreciate the opportunity) remains troubling, not least because O'Hara was a former Governor of Senegambia and co-owner of Rosalie plantation in Dominica; so despite Parke's warm description of their relationship, this man had probably been O'Hara's slave.⁹²¹ Nevertheless, Parke's personal, musical interactions with this student moved him to refute the racist notion, often reflected in memorial inscriptions of Christianized black servants like that of 'Scipio Africanus' in Bristol, that darkness of skin tone corresponded with darkness of mind and soul.⁹²² Parke may have mentioned or introduced his

⁹¹⁸ Gabriel Banat, 'Saint-Georges [Saint-George], Joseph Bologne, Chevalier de', *GMO* (20 January 2001); *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 and 26 March 1787; *Ipswich Journal*, 31 March 1787.

⁹¹⁹ George Grove, rev. by McVeigh, 'Bridgtower [Bridgtower], George (Augustus) Polgreen', *GMO* (20 January 2001); *Derby Mercury*, 10 September 1789, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 3, 17 and 24 December 1789, *Ipswich Journal*, 12 December 1789; Parke, I, p. 129.

⁹²⁰ Parke, I, pp. 263-64.

⁹²¹ 'Charles O'Hara', Legacies of British Slavery database, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656111>> (UCL Department of History, 2023).

⁹²² Olusoga, p. 105.

promising pupil to fellow musicians like Shield, who could also have encountered black fiddlers, French horn-players and trumpeters in London taverns, among military bandsmen and the servants of wealthy patrons.⁹²³

The traditional origins of the simple melody Shield assigned to O’Keeffe’s ‘Otaheitean traveller’ further complicate the superficial stereotype. Its underlying harmonic-rhythmic structure immediately reminded me of the Scots tune ‘Came ye o’er frae France’ (Example 5.6), that I first encountered through Northumbrian fiddler Stewart Hardy’s workshops.⁹²⁴ The original bawdy Scots lyrics ridiculed George I and his foreign mistresses, and lauded leaders of the 1715 Jacobite Rising, including John Erskine, Earl of Mar (nicknamed ‘Bobbing John’ because he wavered between factions).⁹²⁵

Came ye o'er frae France? Came ye down by Lun - non?_
 Hey for San - dy Don! Hey for Cock - o - lor - um!_

Saw ye Geor - die Whelps And his bon - ny wo - man?_
 Hey for Bobb - ing John, And his High - land quo - rum!_

Were ye at the place Ca'd the Kit - tie Hoos - ie?
 Mony a sword and lance Swings at High - land hurd - ie;

Saw ye Geor - die's_ grace Rid - ing on a goo - sie?_
 How they'll skip_ and_ dance O'er the bum o' Geor - die!_

Example 5.6 ‘Came ye o’er frae France?’, Hogg’s *Jacobite Relics* (1819)

⁹²³ Olusoga, pp. 81, 87-89, 100; RJD/O 19 July 1774, RJD/P 5 and 15 November 1774.

⁹²⁴ James Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1819), pp. 87-88.

⁹²⁵ Christoph v. Ehrenstein, ‘Erskine, John, styled twenty-second or sixth earl of Mar and Jacobite duke of Mar (bap. 1675, d. 1732)’ *ODNB* (17 September 2015).

The printed subtitle 'Irish Tune' in *Omai* caused Fiske to assume O'Keeffe selected this melody, but several striking variants also survive in Vickers' tune book.⁹²⁶ It seems unlikely Shield was ignorant of its Jacobite heritage, as one is entitled 'Bob and Jone' (corrupted from 'Bobbing John'). The Jacobite-Hanoverian struggle involved so many claims and counterclaims of national and political identity that I initially wondered whether Shield, drawn to the tune by its distinctive rocking rhythm but conscious of problematic historical associations, had disguised his choice by converting the traditional melody from minor to major. However, earlier versions also display significant discrepancies in tonality (**Example 5.7**).

Vickers' notation was careless and his application of accidentals, key and time signatures often haphazard, but Shield's published scores are almost entirely error-free, so comparisons may identify oral variants in Vickers which might otherwise be dismissed as mistakes, attributable to rushed copying by an amateur musician. The song published by James Hogg is predominantly in A minor, each strain closing on a G major chord. Vickers' 'Bob and Joan' and another variant, closer in melodic shape and rhythms to Hogg's, entitled 'Jack Lintels Jigg', appear to open with an A tonic; yet he applied a key signature of two sharps (and in the former at least, this was no accidental hangover from the previous tune, which had none). In both cases Seattle removed the sharps, rationalising that the tune, like the song, should be in A minor (and incidentally creating a C major second strain almost identical to Shield's).⁹²⁷

However, this solution ignores the fact Hogg's publication considerably postdates Vickers' manuscript. Moreover, the tune 'New Way to Morpeth' in the William Dixon MS, which Seattle recognises as an earlier relative, when transposed into modern notation displays the same combination of an A tonic with two sharps.⁹²⁸ If taken literally, Vickers' key signatures indicate alternation between A major and G major chords, or a Mixolydian mode with major third, but flat seventh; Stewart's recent recording compromises by using the Dorian mode on A, removing the C# but

⁹²⁶ *English Theatre Music*, p. 471; GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 50, 80, 133.

⁹²⁷ GB-AS, Vickers MS, pp. 50, 80; Seattle (Vickers), pp. 40, 55, 144-45, 165.

⁹²⁸ Seattle (Dixon), pp. 66-67.

retaining the F#. ⁹²⁹ Shield's arrangement, though apparently in C major, could also be interpreted as G Mixolydian; the accompaniment alternates only between C and G⁽⁷⁾ chords with no real cadences, and excluding symphonies, concludes on G.

The image displays a musical score for the first two strains of a traditional tune in *Omai*. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'Hogg' and the second 'Vickers 'Jack Lintels Jigg''. The third and fourth staves are labeled 'Vickers 'Bob and Jone'' and 'Vickers 'Seller Door Key'' respectively. The fifth staff is labeled 'Shield' and is a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music is in 3/4 time and features various melodic lines and accompaniment patterns.

Example 5.7 variants (first two strains) of traditional tune in *Omai*

⁹²⁹ Stewart Hardy, 'Bob and Joan', *The Tune Vault*, YouTube <https://youtu.be/8OIfL528R-0?list=PLyNZ6pBjCNzsjzR8q2714XCnL6ttRzm_-> (27 January 2023).

Vickers notated a third variant, 'The Seller Door Key', in G major; which Seattle ruled 'unlikely' and ignored, again introducing a B \flat to give minor thirds, matching the sung version. However, I prefer to explore the possibilities raised by any suspected 'errors' on the part of historical composers or transcribers, before dismissing them as such. If transposed into C major, the first bar becomes identical with Shield's melody, which combines elements from all three Vickers variants with identical or parallel intervals in many places (**Example 5.7**). Even allowing for possible errors by Vickers or adaptations by Shield, these corresponding elements argue that at least one variant favouring major over minor thirds existed in oral tradition, as with 'Gan t' the Kye/Kirk' (Chapter 3, **Example 3.19** and **Example 3.20**).⁹³⁰

Laying aside notational for political controversy, in the context of *Omai*, there is considerable and complex irony in the marriage of lyrics mocking both a representative of an overseas culture and the supposedly civilised British society he hoped to enter, with a tune whose traditional text originated with an indigenous British populace mocking their immigrant rulers - who had since come to embody the establishment. If, as my comparison with Vickers' MS suggests, Shield had known this tune all his life, it may also carry personal significance. If he experienced homesickness and prejudice as a northerner in London, he may have incorporated and imitated familiar traditional tunes within his compositions partly to counteract that sense of dislocation and devaluation of his own heritage. If so, for a borderline 'north Briton' to put a rebellious song in the mouth of a put-upon and derided foreigner could represent a subliminal expression of solidarity.⁹³¹

There are lots of 'if's here; but Shield had lifelong experience of songs and singers simultaneously expressing and disguising contradictory messages. Crosbie identifies political ballads sung in Newcastle streets whose lyrics appeared to endorse establishment figures, 'but the intended sarcasm could easily be made explicit in any

⁹³⁰ GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 133; Seattle (Vickers), pp. 92, 147, 190.

⁹³¹ Bewick, ed. by Bain, pp. 90-97; Gottlieb, p. 48.

rendition'.⁹³² Music, and other performative elements like costume and gesture, could render a seemingly innocent text subversive; they also had the potential to inject sympathy into otherwise offensive characterisations.

Comparisons and conclusions

It has so far proven impossible to determine whether Shield supported any political party, whether he actively promoted (or undermined) causes including parliamentary reform, Irish independence and the abolition of slavery, or whether he intended to make political points through his music. His professional relationships and friendships demonstrate exposure to, and suggest sympathy with, progressive movements and ideas; but he was financially, and to some extent, socially dependent on employers within the political establishment. He avoided openly endorsing controversial views, allowing him to maintain good relations simultaneously with people of opposing political convictions. While displaying respect, loyalty and affection for aristocratic patrons and friends, his own writings express rejection of opulent lifestyles as well as genuine interest in, and admiration for, labouring and traditional musical culture, and foreign musicians.

Arnold's analysis of Grétry, Shield's French contemporary, allows me to observe instructive similarities and distinctions between their careers. Both socialised in 'literary and intellectual circles' (though Shield maintained a stronger focus on practical music-making), and both experienced a career dip during the turbulent 1790s, but the continuing popularity of earlier works and the respect of peers sustained their reputations. Arnold suggests that Grétry enjoyed 'longevity, productivity, and apparent imperviousness to political upheaval' because he 'avoided attachments to patrons or the court' and rarely composed music for political rallies or ceremonies; he 'professed a general enthusiasm for progressive politics' including social improvement through education, 'while reserving criticism

⁹³² Barbara Crosbie, 'Between the Broadside Ballad and the Folksong: Print and Popular Songs in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle-upon-Tyne', in Southey, Carter and Gibson (eds), 261-81 (p. 276).

for its excesses'. He somewhat adapted his operas to accommodate revolutionary themes, but 'remained fundamentally flexible on political questions [...] without substantially altering [his] aesthetic values'.⁹³³

Shield borrowed occasional songs from Grétry, and contributed to Covent Garden productions inspired by two of his most successful pre-revolutionary operas, *Richard Coeur de Lion* (1786) and *Pierre le Grand* (adapted by O'Keeffe as *The Czar*, later reduced to *The Fugitive*, 1790).⁹³⁴ Both works avoided problematic references to contemporary figures by framing patriotic themes in an alternate place and time, calculated to exert strong populist appeal by association with the legendary Robin Hood and Deptford naval dockyard, respectively; yet neither enjoyed much success. (Of Shield's score for *The Czar* only a 'favourite hunting song' was published; Chapter 6, **Example 6.3**).⁹³⁵ Both portrayed a historical king as 'an embattled, human, almost bourgeois figure' and 'a modern monarch, willing to live simply, work with his hands and marry beneath his station, in the interests of modernising his empire'; a sympathetic, earthy ruler, calculated to resonate with British moderates who desired reform, rather than removal of the monarchy. In France, such themes initially 'tapped into widespread hopes for the viability of the new limited monarchy', but the 'admiring portrayal of an enlightened despot' palled as the Revolution accelerated.⁹³⁶

The most dangerous moment of Grétry's career mirrored that of Shield's. Where Shield excited controversy by introducing a political song into the theatre, in Grétry's case the immensely popular and familiar air 'Ô Richard! ô mon roi!' from *Richard Coeur de Lion*, sung out of context in the streets, was interpreted by journalists as a militant royalist rallying cry, evidence that 'the theatres of Paris were engaged in [...] counter-Revolutionary conspiracy'. Arnold cites Mason's description

⁹³³ R. J. Arnold, pp. 3, 111, 113-16, 120, 122-23.

⁹³⁴ LS5, II, pp. 927, 1234, 1300; Shield and Grétry, [Anfossi, Bertoni, Dr. Hayes, Dr. Wilson, Carolan], *Richard Coeur de Lion* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1793]); O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, II, pp. 152-56.

⁹³⁵ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 541; 'Old Towler A favorite Hunting Song [...]' (London: Longman and Broderip, [1790]).

⁹³⁶ R. J. Arnold, pp. 114, 123-24.

of ‘almost antiphonal contests between rival singers’ performing ‘Ô Richard!’ or ‘Ah! Ça ira’ to signal their political allegiance, but insists ‘it was appreciated that there was a distance between performance and compositional intention’ and ‘there was never the slightest tendency to associate Grétry with the uses to which his music was put’.⁹³⁷

Shield could never claim, as Hiller did in 1784, ‘I write as a citizen of the world who serves no prince’; but nor could his intimate awareness of regional, political and class divisions allow him to rely on the approval of a culturally unified national ‘public’, to whom Grétry and Hiller both appealed.⁹³⁸ Grétry’s political allegiances have received far more scholarly attention than Shield’s, but with equally inconclusive results; he has been characterised as unworldly and innocent of intrigue, as a canny political shape-shifter who subtly altered his position over time, or a covert actor who was far more deeply involved in and committed to republican activity than he admitted.⁹³⁹ Shield’s apparent silence on political issues could represent an act of social and economic self-preservation in a turbulent time; it could indicate that his own views were moderate, allowing him to tread a line between the more extreme positions of his contemporaries; or simply that he was preoccupied with music to the exclusion of political considerations.

Recently scholars have highlighted the key role played in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century melodrama by mute characters, whose unspoken emotions were conveyed or translated by physical and musical gestures, allowing for multiple readings of those emotions. Taylor proposes that Holcroft was particularly drawn to write such characters by his own experience of being ‘rendered mute’ (i.e. boycotted, bankrupted and exiled) through the cultural repression of political and moral principles he refused to abandon.⁹⁴⁰ Shield avoided equivalent pariah status because, through his medium of music, he could express himself and potentially influence the

⁹³⁷ R. J. Arnold, pp. 8, 125-27, 135-36.

⁹³⁸ Joubert, pp. 227-28; R. J. Arnold, pp. 1, 24, 73.

⁹³⁹ R. J. Arnold, p. 113.

⁹⁴⁰ Ellen Lockhart, ‘Forms and Themes of Early Melodrama’ 25-42 (pp. 28, 34, 41-42), Jens Hesselager, ‘Music and Subterranean Space in *La citerne* (1809)’, 117-136 (pp. 123, 126-27), and Taylor, pp. 147-50 in Hambridge and Hicks (eds).

sympathies (if not the policy or polemic) of others, without publicly committing himself to any definite political position.

The auction catalogue of Shield's library lists several works of political satire, including the collected letters of "Junius", a series of eloquent, vicious Wilkite attacks on George III and his ministers printed in the *Public Advertiser* from 1769 to '72. The author (variously claimed to be Ralph Jackson's brother George Duckett, or a friend of publisher Henry Sampson Woodfall, among others) specifically warned of a coming revolution.⁹⁴¹ Considering the political backdrop to his early life and his later royal appointment, it seems natural that Shield should have read this work; perhaps more surprising that he kept it. He also owned an English translation of sixteenth-century Jesuit-educated historian and administrator Traiano Boccalini's *Advertisements from Parnassus*, of which Diffley's summary highlights several features similar to the approach of writers like Holcroft and Godwin: 'ironic and humorous denunciations' of a tyrannical regime, by a writer who viewed politics as 'a truth-seeking and virtuous activity' and believed 'the cultivation of literature [...] makes it possible for men to identify and unmask tyranny' because, 'once able to read, all men [...] have access to moral and political truth'.⁹⁴²

By contrast, Samuel Butler's seventeenth-century mock epic poem *Hudibras* was a ruthless caricature of non-conformist sects (including their attempts to purge 'sinful' pursuits like fiddle-playing from popular culture), greeted with immediate and enduring relish by reactionary royalists. Shield's ownership of this work could indicate that he approved Butler's condemnation of dissenters and revolutionaries, but equally that he doubted the ability of government to reconcile and rule a divided society, was interested in the events leading to the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, or wanted to understand the tactics of anti-libertarian propagandists.⁹⁴³ The

⁹⁴¹ Brian Findlay, 'Junius', *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford University Press, 2010), ORO; Duffy, 'Duckett [formerly Jackson], Sir George', ODNB.

⁹⁴² Paul Diffley, 'Boccalini, Traiano (1556-1613)', *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Hainsworth and David Robey (Oxford University Press, 2005), ORO.

⁹⁴³ Dinah Birch (ed.), 'Hudibras', 'Junius', in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 7th edn (Oxford University Press, 2009), ORO; Peter Black, 'William Hogarth (1697-1764), "Hudibras" and house decoration' *The British Art Journal*, 17.1 (2016), 43-53 (p. 45); Ashley

combination of texts in his library does not paint Shield into any political corner, but suggests a general appreciation for satire and a broad-based socio-political consciousness, continuously developed through lifelong learning; as late as 1815, he bought an economics treatise subtitled 'An Inquiry Concerning Population, the Modes of Subsisting and Employing It, and the Effects of All on Human Happiness'.⁹⁴⁴

Shield's library demonstrates a deep and sustained interest in other topics on which he did not broadcast his views, such as Christian theology and worship.⁹⁴⁵ The absence of explicit political comment in his life, therefore, should not be interpreted as absence of political thinking. Moreover, in a professional context where censorship forced playwrights and producers to convey controversial perspectives on current affairs by indirect or non-verbal means, Shield had an important role to play. British theatres were commercial enterprises; to remain financially viable, they had to attract and entertain socially diverse audiences, from royalty to soldiers and servants. Theatrical plots, characters, jokes and songs had to be recognisable and meaningful to all, so playwrights became skilled at infusing crowd-pleasing slapstick, shenanigans and sentimentality with elements of irony, allowing people of widely varying backgrounds, interests, education and allegiances to apply their own understanding, infer their own interpretation and draw their own parallels.⁹⁴⁶

Shield, whose own personal tastes and professional background encompassed distinct but overlapping musical worlds, succeeded in absorbing a range of national influences into a hybrid compositional style, appealing both to wealthy aficionados of Italian opera and 'ancient music', and humbler fans of street ballads and tavern jigs. Arnold credits Grétry with composing attractive, natural-sounding and memorable vocal melodies that 'bridged the divide' between operatic and popular

Marshall, 'The Aims of Butler's Satire in Hudibras', *Modern Philology*, 105.4 (2008), 637-65 (pp. 638-41, 647-50, 654-62).

⁹⁴⁴ Musgrave, p. 23; Simon Gray, *The Happiness of States* (London: Hatchard, 1815).

⁹⁴⁵ Musgrave, pp. 4-5, 8-11, 15, 17, 19, 23.

⁹⁴⁶ Arnold Kettle, 'Dickens and the Popular Tradition', in *Marxists on Literature: an Anthology* ed. by David Craig (1975; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 214-44 (p. 220), quoted in Ledger, pp. 3-4.

song cultures, alluding to and resonating with listeners' broader cultural experience and memory.⁹⁴⁷ Shield's integration and imitation of traditional tunes with pre-existing associations within his works went further, contributing to the complexity of multi-layered characters and texts, and opening up interpretational possibilities that stretched and exceeded superficial caricatures.

⁹⁴⁷ R. J. Arnold, p. 5.

Chapter 6 Tracing and Furthering Shield's Legacy

Success: long-lived and far-reaching

How long Shield's theatre works remained in repertories has yet to be thoroughly investigated. When examining playbills and advertisements in north-eastern regional archives, my primary focus was on Shield's early career and a comprehensive survey was beyond my scope, but I can provide some headline statistics and representative examples. **Figure 6.1** offers a preliminary sketch of the transfer of Shield's works to northern circuits during his lifetime, showing the earliest performances I have found in *The Yorkshire Stage* and playbill collections in Newcastle, Whitby and York. (Where I cannot be sure there was no earlier example, entries are in italics.) Many Shield works transferred remarkably quickly – often within six months, sometimes in just a few weeks – from London to Wilkinson's Yorkshire circuit; and relatively quickly to Cawdell's (later Butler's) coastal circuit, and Austin and Whitlock's (later Kemble's) Newcastle theatre.

Playbills suggest that Shield facilitated these rapid transfers, via contact with former colleagues or current members of those companies who were simultaneously active in London. A December 1778 advertisement for *The Flich of Bacon* reads:

The above pieces not being Publish'd, Mr Hitchcock, as a particular favour, has obtained Permission of their Respective Authors, to perform them (for his Benefit only) at the Theatres Royal in Hull and York.

In September 1783, Scarborough audiences learned of *Rosina* that,

The Music of this Delightful Ballad [Opera] is mostly composed by the Celebrated Mr. SHIELD, who for several Years led the Band for this Company and who is now allowed to be the first English Composer; he has Oblig'd Messrs BATES and CAWDELL with all the Accompanymts and has therefore afforded them an Opportunity of performing it in a Stile superior, to most of the Country Companies.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁸ GB-Y, SCC Playbills: VII (1777-1779), 22 December 1778; Box 8: 8/56.

Work	London premiere	Months ↔	Early provincial performances
<i>The Flich of Bacon</i>	17 August 1778 (Haymarket)	4 15	22 December 1778, Hull (Wilkinson) 1 November 1779, Whitby (Bates/Cawdell, 2nd time)
<i>The Deaf Lover</i>	2 February 1780 (CG)	1 25	18 March 1780, York (Wilkinson) 15 March 1782, Whitby (Bates/Cawdell)
<i>Rosina</i>	31 December 1782 (CG)	9 12	22 April 1783, York (Wilkinson) 8 December 1783, Whitby (Strickland)
<i>The Poor Soldier</i>	4 November 1783 (CG)	6 9	12 May 1784, York (Wilkinson) 2 August 1784, Scarborough (Bates/Cawdell)
<i>Robin Hood</i>	17 April 1784 (CG)	8 35	21 December 1784, Hull (Wilkinson) 7 March 1787, Newcastle (Austin/Whitlock)
<i>Fontainbleau</i>	16 November 1784 (CG)	15 17	26 February 1786, York (Wilkinson) 3 April 1786, Newcastle (Austin/Whitlock)
<i>The Follies of a Day</i>	14 December 1784 (CG)	5 7 14	10 May 1785, York (Wilkinson) 16 July 1785, Scarborough (Cawdell) 24 February 1786, Newcastle (Austin/Whitlock)
<i>The Farmer</i>	31 October 1787 (CG)	6 24	26 April 1788, York (Wilkinson) 16 October 1789, Whitby (Cawdell)
<i>Marian</i>	22 May 1788 (CG)	7	3 December 1788, Hull (Wilkinson)
<i>The Highland Reel</i>	6 November 1788 (CG)	5 23	14 April 1789, York (Wilkinson) 25 October 1790, Whitby (Cawdell)
<i>The Woodman</i>	26 February 1791 (CG)	2 3	26 April 1791, York (Wilkinson) 27 May 1791, Newcastle (Kemble)
<i>Hartford Bridge</i>	3 November 1792 (CG)	4 13	9 March 1793, York (Wilkinson) 4 December 1793, Whitby (Butler)
<i>Sprigs of Laurel</i>	11 May 1793 (CG)	8 30	28 January 1794, Hull (Wilkinson) 18 November 1795, Whitby (Butler)
<i>Netley Abbey</i>	10 April 1794 (CG)	2 21 21	23 June 1794, Leeds (Wilkinson) 4 December 1795, Newcastle (Kemble) 7 December 1795, Whitby (Butler)
<i>The Lock and Key</i>	2 February 1796 (CG)	1 18 29	29 March 1796, York (Wilkinson) 22 November 1797, Whitby (Butler) 2 August 1798, Scarborough (Cawdell)
<i>Abroad and At Home</i>	19 November 1796 (CG)	3 12 13	2 February 1797, Hull (Wilkinson) 3 November 1797, Newcastle (Kemble) 15 December 1797, Whitby (Butler)

Figure 6.1 Selected examples showing transfer of Shield works from London to northern circuits⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴⁹ LS5, I, pp. 187, 316, 582, II, pp. 656, 696, 752, 758, 1017, 1067, 1108, 1326, III, pp. 1498, 1546, 1636, 1827, 1915; YS, pp. 298, 341, 431, 460, 480, 486, 569, 583, 593, 647, 696, 716, 727, 776, 794, 799; GB-NTp, L792 N536T 960254A (1786-1791), 592407A (1794-1796); WML playbills.

Shield's most popular pieces were revived in northern theatres into the nineteenth century, especially when Covent Garden stars like Incledon, Munden, Blanchard and Mrs Clendinning toured there, reprising their most famous roles.⁹⁵⁰ Figure 6.2 shows Shield's most often repeated works on the Yorkshire circuits.

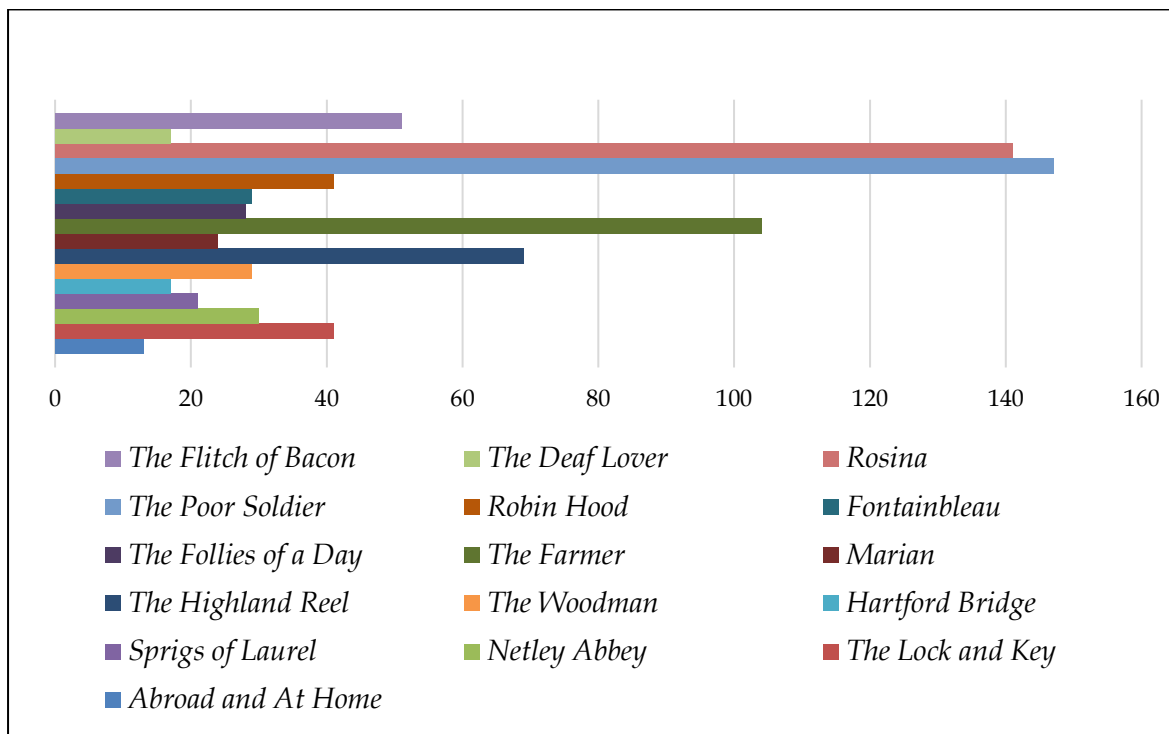


Figure 6.2 Total performances of popular Shield works indexed in *The Yorkshire Stage* (1778 to 1804)⁹⁵¹

Northern companies capitalised on the success of Shield's works, with advertisements boasting they had 'played last season in London near Fifty nights', been 'Repeatedly Acted last Summer with uncommon Marks of Approbation' or were 'now performing to crowded Houses [...] with the most astonishing Applause'.

⁹⁵⁰ YS, pp. 731, 788, 934, 943, 951, 953, 961, 971-72, 986, 988, 993, 995; GB-NTP, Newcastle Theatre Bills: L792 N536T 592407A (1794-1796), 25 and 30 June 1794, 30 July, 1 August 1796; 594208A (1797-1800), 3 and 14 December 1798, 25 - 27 August 1799. GB-Y, SCC Playbills Box 11: 11/174, Box 12: 12/20, 12/44, 12/49, 12/135, 12/138, 12/150, Box 16: 16/38, Box 18: 18/115. BDA, X, pp. 379-86.

⁹⁵¹ YS, pp. 1026, 1039, 1045-47, 1052-53, 1061, 1065, 1067-70, 1074, 1079-81, 1086, 1096.

Audiences also continued to request them. Bates staged *Rosina* in Scarborough ‘BY DESIRE OF Lady Cooke’; Cawdell revived *The Flitch of Bacon* for ‘the Gentlemen of the Cricket Club’ in Whitby; two Sheriffs of Newcastle and ‘the Gentlemen of the Newcastle Hunt’ requested Shield works; and Whitby Freemasons called for *Rosina*.⁹⁵² Numerous actors (both former colleagues and performers personally unknown to him) chose songs or entire works by Shield for their benefit nights, indicating they enjoyed performing his compositions and expected them to attract good audiences. Wilkinson frequently programmed at least one Shield work for his own benefit on opening nights in York, Hull or Leeds, and they were also chosen for benefits by ‘the Doorkeepers’ and ‘the Band’.⁹⁵³

From the 1780s onwards many Shield works were staged in America within a few years of their London premiere. *Rosina* opened in New York on 10 May 1786, followed later that season by *The Poor Soldier*, which was also performed at the opening of a new theatre there in 1796; *The Lock and Key* was still in the New York repertory in 1806.⁹⁵⁴ The Haymarket Theatre Boston opened its season in December 1794 with *Rosina*, but the character of Bagatelle in *The Poor Soldier* sparked controversy there, as jokes targeting Frenchmen (a mainstay of wartime English comedy) were deemed offensive.⁹⁵⁵ Musicologist Irving Lowens noted that *The Poor Soldier* was a favourite of George Washington, perhaps due to *schadenfreude* excited by its depiction of British defeat, or interest in Shield sparked by his own family’s County Durham origins.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵² GB-Y, SCC Playbills: VII (1777-1779), 22 December 1778; Box 8: 8/60. GB-NTp, L792 N536T 960254A (1786-1791), 31 March 1786, 21 February 1791; 592407A (1794-1796), 12 November 1794, 20 January 1796. WML: 4 July 1785, 12 February 1802.

⁹⁵³ WML: 5 February 1800, 11 January 1802, 6, 8, 15, 27 and 29 January 1806, 2 October 1817; YS, pp. 298, 361, 431, 475, 511, 593, 595, 647, 704, 716, 728, 769, 776, 799, 994.

⁹⁵⁴ William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre* (New York: Harper, 1832), pp. 60, 62–63, 153, 338; T. Allston Brown, *A History of the New York Stage*, 3 vols (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1903), I, pp. 8–9, 11–13.

⁹⁵⁵ Dunlap, pp. 74, 141.

⁹⁵⁶ Irving Lowens, *Music and musicians in early America* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 111; ‘History of Washington Old Hall’, <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/north-east/washington-old-hall/history-of-washington-old-hall>> (National Trust, 2023).

American theatres initially relied on British actors crossing the Atlantic, including many performers of Shield's works. Mr Hodgkinson, manager of the New York theatre, and his wife (formerly Miss Brett) were gifted singers who had taken Shield roles in London and on provincial circuits, while Louisa Fontenelle ('Moggy' in *The Highland Reel*) married Boston theatre manager J. B. Williamson. Alexander Reinagle co-managed theatres in Philadelphia and Baltimore, where he directed music and composed ballad operas for a company including Darley (the original 'Farmer Blackberry' in *The Farmer*), Georgina Oldmixon (née George, 'Adela' in *The Noble Peasant*), Mr and Mrs Whitlock (formerly of Newcastle Theatre Royal), and Ann Merry (wife of poet and playwright Robert, co-author of *The Picture of Paris*).⁹⁵⁷ Shield's works travelled even further afield via colonial networks. Simon Fleming recently uncovered evidence showing the popularity of *Rosina* and *The Poor Soldier* among Anglo-Indian expatriates in Calcutta, where society hostess Emma Bristow staged productions at a private theatre in 1789; I have also found Calcutta newspapers advertising performances and editions of Shield's works in 1787.⁹⁵⁸

Memorials in music and marble

On his death in 1829 Shield received a public, though 'simple and unostentatious' funeral and burial in Westminster Abbey in recognition of his professional achievements, culminating in his appointment as Master of the King's Musick twelve years earlier. Accounts describe a service attended by many fellow musicians, featuring music Shield knew well and admired by earlier English composers: the Burial Service in G minor by William Croft, incorporating Henry Purcell's 'Thou knowest Lord the secrets of our hearts' (since heard at many state funerals, most recently that of Queen Elizabeth II); and Maurice Greene's 'Lord let me know mine

⁹⁵⁷ Dunlap, pp. 22, 92-93, 99-100, 122-23, 136, 138-42, 146, 155, 173-77, 190-93, 227, 268, 298; Hopkins, 'Reinagle, Alexander', *GMO; BDA*, II, pp. 323-25, IV, pp. 152-55, V, pp. 322-23, VI, pp. 154-58.

⁹⁵⁸ Fleming, 'Subscribers to William Bird's *The Oriental Miscellany* (1789): an insight into late eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian society', *Consort*, 78 (Summer 2022), 40-70 (pp. 47, 67); *Calcutta Gazette; or, Oriental Advertiser*, 30 August 1787; *Calcutta Chronicle; and General Advertiser*, 27 September 1787.

end'.⁹⁵⁹ However, this prominent, respected and well-liked musician was not permanently honoured among the pantheon of cultural heroes within the nation's state cathedral. He rests in the cloisters alongside Salomon and Clementi; in good company, but literally laid out in the cold for people to walk over.⁹⁶⁰ Clementi and Salomon, their thorough integration into British society and considerable impact on public and domestic musical culture notwithstanding, were born foreigners and adherents to other faiths; that Shield, an Anglican Englishman, received the same treatment hints at establishment prejudice towards professional musicians, and perhaps also his own (northern, industrial) origins.

Circumstantial evidence appears to support this. Shield's friend 'Mad Jack' Fuller had commissioned a memorial (**Figure 6.3**) intended for display in the Abbey (perhaps close to Handel's monument in Poets' Corner, where a plaque also records the centenary commemorations in which Shield performed).⁹⁶¹ However, the Dean allegedly refused permission because the inscription described Shield as a 'gentleman', on the grounds that after death all men are equal before God - an undeniably biblical argument which might seem less hypocritical, had royalty and peers memorialized in the Abbey also been stripped of their worldly titles.⁹⁶² Shield evidently felt entitled to subscribe himself 'Esquire' based on professional standing and property ownership, achieved through his own talent and hard work; and

⁹⁵⁹ *Annual Biography and Obituary*, pp. 96-99; Musgrave, pp. 9, 11-13; Croft, 'The Burial Service' in *Musica Sacra*, 2 vols (London: Walsh, 1724), I, pp. 177-84; Order of Service, *Westminster Abbey: The State Funeral of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London: Barnard & Westwood, 2022) [pdf downloaded from 'Queen Elizabeth's funeral: Order of service at Westminster Abbey', <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-62948934>> (BBC News, 19 September 2022)], p. 5; Greene, 'Full Anthem XIV: Psalm 39' in *Cathedral Music, or Forty Select Anthems in Score*, 2 vols (London: Bennett, [c. 1770]), II, pp. 150-56.

⁹⁶⁰ 'William Shield: Musician and Composer', Westminster Abbey, <<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/william-shield>> (Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 2023).

⁹⁶¹ 'George Frederic Handel: Musician and Composer', Westminster Abbey, <<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/george-frederic-handel>> (Dean and Chapter of Westminster 2023).

⁹⁶² Geoff Hutchinson, *Fuller of Sussex: A Georgian Squire*, revised edn ([self-published], 1997), pp. 96-97.

Fuller's memorial (eventually installed in his own parish church at Brightling, Sussex) was designed to endorse Shield's worth both professionally and socially.

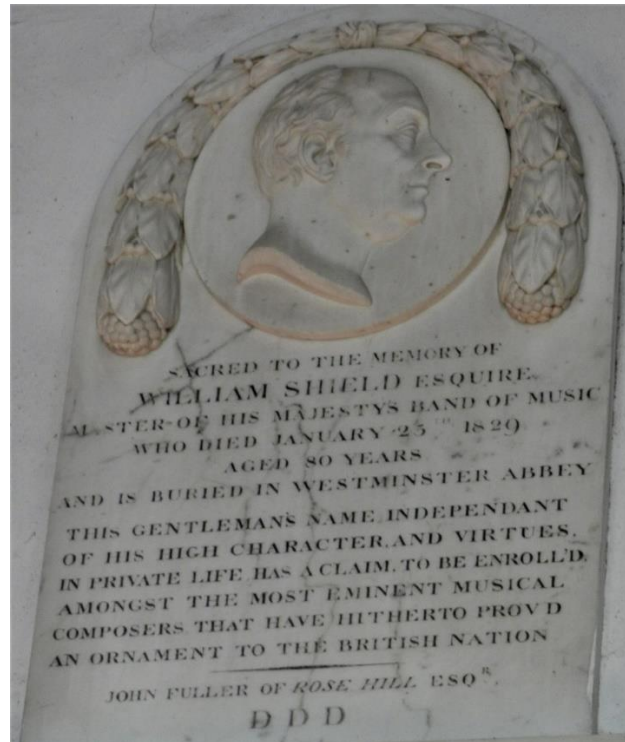


Figure 6.3 Shield Memorial, Brightling (photograph: Judy Tarling)

Shield's Westminster Abbey grave remained unmarked until a campaign by Tyneside citizens provided a marble tombstone and brief epitaph in 1892.

Conversely, the modest memorial cross erected by public subscription in Whickham stands near the main south door of the church at the intersection of two paths, where parishioners climbing the steep hill from Swalwell or approaching from Whickham village would see it, and remember Shield's fame was theirs (**Figure 6.4**).⁹⁶³

⁹⁶³ J. Robinson, *The Swalwell Musician: His Life and Works* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Committee of the Memorial Fund, 1891), pp. 17-20.



Figure 6.4 Shield Memorial, Whickham

As a teenager I passed this memorial often, and was always struck by the oddness of commemorating a musician with a silent stone. Other composers I knew first by hearing their music, then playing or singing it, and only later through researching their biographies or visiting their graves. For over two decades I knew Shield's name, yet lacked virtually any (conscious) experience of his music. In this final chapter, I challenge assumptions that Shield's legacy quickly faded from national musical memory, and discover where it remained alive.

Scotching myths

In 2009 a blue plaque commemorating Shield was installed in Swalwell, in a small green space between the steep terraced streets of my childhood home, and the pubs and takeaways on the main road. Unfortunately, to basic facts of his life it adds the achievement now most often attributed to Shield, naming him as the ‘Reputed composer of Auld Lang Syne’. This is at best unverifiable, and (having weighed all the evidence, and with apologies to all who prize the association), almost certainly untrue.⁹⁶⁴

In my 2020 *Folk Music Journal* article I briefly addressed recurrent claims that Shield was the original composer of two famous tunes: the melody now commonly sung with Robert Burns’ lyrics, found in the Overture to *Rosina*; and naval ballad ‘The Arethusa’ from *The Lock and Key*, best known from its inclusion in Henry Wood’s *Fantasia on British Sea Songs*, frequently performed on the Last Night of the BBC Proms.⁹⁶⁵ No attribution or label in either score asserts that either tune was or was not composed by Shield, but I concur with researchers including Fiske and Kirsteen McCue, that evidence from earlier traditional tune collections confirms both were already in circulation before Shield selected and adapted them.⁹⁶⁶

Additionally, I would argue that internal musical evidence indicates a traditional origin. No movements, except Parke’s Overture and a duet borrowed from Paisiello, are attributed within *The Lock and Key* score; but while ‘The Princess Royal’ on which Shield based ‘The Arethusa’ has a more extensive melodic range and harmonic scope

⁹⁶⁴ ‘William Shield 1748-1829’, Open Plaques, <<https://openplaques.org/plaques/7827>> (2023).

⁹⁶⁵ Addison, ‘William Shield: A Lifelong Relationship with ‘National Airs’’, *Folk Music Journal*, 11.5 (2020), 27-51 (pp. 45-46); *Rosina*, p. 5; *The Lock and Key*, pp. 38-39; ‘Have auld connections been forgot?’, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/243684.stm>> (BBC Entertainment, 31 December 1998); ‘Should Auld Lang Syne composer be forgot?’, *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 25 January 2009 <<https://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/should-auld-lang-syne-composer-1448633>>; Arthur Jacobs, ‘Wood, Sir Henry J(oseph) (opera)’, *GMO* (20 January 2001).

⁹⁶⁶ *English Theatre Music*, pp. 457-59; McCue (ed.), pp. 82-83, 411-14; Anon., ‘New Lights upon Old Tunes: “The Arethusa”’, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 35.620 (October 1894), 666-68.

than many early traditional tunes, the walking bass line, with occasional held notes and moving passages, matches Shield's style of accompaniment for old tunes of a similar character such as 'Gilderoy'.⁹⁶⁷ Most songs in *Rosina* (though not quite all) are either attributed (to Shield, or other composers including Paxton and Sacchini) or if traditional, headed 'French Tune' or 'Scots Tune'.⁹⁶⁸ However, traditional tunes within medley overtures (*The Highland Reel, Fontainbleau*) or overtures combining *galant* and traditional material (*The Flich of Bacon*) are rarely individually labelled, so the fact the 'Auld lang syne' melody in *Rosina's* overture has no printed attribution to a traditional source, does not confirm it was Shield's original composition.⁹⁶⁹ His setting for oboe, with ornaments reminiscent of piping graces, and a pair of bassoons playing tonic drones throughout 'to imitate the Bagpipe', is typical of his traditional tune arrangements including several in *The Poor Soldier*, and sections of Shelly's songs in *The Highland Reel*.⁹⁷⁰

Provocative claims that this unofficial anthem of Scotland was composed by an Englishman (stoked by the coincidence that Shield died on 'Burns' Night', 25 January) are red herrings; it is far more likely that Shield and Burns both encountered variants of the same tune circulating in the cross-Border cultural context described in Chapter 3. Shield never claimed these famous melodies, and if they were not his compositions, that need not diminish our perception of his ingenuity or importance as a musician. By arranging and utilising them as he did, Shield contributed to their survival in national, even global oral culture; 'Auld lang syne' remains the closing anthem of New Year parties the world over, and I am anecdotally informed that 'The Arethusa' is still sung in the mess by British navy reservists. Shield must share credit for the survival of these tunes with playwrights, performers, and the intrinsic qualities of the original airs, but these examples demonstrate his gift for creating arrangements of appealing tunes which furthered their popularity.

⁹⁶⁷ GB-Lcs, QS 35.1 Mf, I, p. 5; Napier, I, no. 8.

⁹⁶⁸ *Rosina*, pp. 6, 9-13, 17-18, 26, 28-29, 31-32, 34-36.

⁹⁶⁹ *The Highland Reel*, pp. 6-8; *Fontainbleau*, pp. 2-7; *The Flich of Bacon*, pp. 1-5.

⁹⁷⁰ *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 9, 11, 16; *The Highland Reel*, pp. 12-13, 36-37.

Song survival, in print, manuscript and oral tradition

Although most of Shield's theatre scores went through only one or two editions, this does not mean his music ceased being purchased once they were out of print. Many individual songs – both those extracted from theatre works and those composed to stand alone – were repeatedly reprinted by various publishers, singly or in collections. In my 2019 blogpost on 'Down the bourn and thro' the mead', I listed a selection of these subsequent editions, whose titles and format reveal significant details of how such songs were received and marketed.⁹⁷¹ Holcroft's memoirs tell us this song was widely accepted as a traditional Scottish air, despite attempts by himself and Shield to reclaim it as their own composition. Its original title had no national associations and though Hazlitt claimed it was 'written in the Scottish dialect', several words have a definite Northumbrian inflection (e.g. 'bourn' rather than 'burn', meaning 'stream').⁹⁷²

Early editions (including Napier's, the first to claim this as a Scots song) advertise it as performed by celebrated siren Nan Catley in revivals of Arne's *Love in a Village*, and reprised in theatres and pleasure gardens by other famous sopranos.⁹⁷³ It was later included in many general collections of popular songs, some of which contain no music, indicating the tune was by then well-known.⁹⁷⁴ Not all, but some were supposedly specifically Scottish collections; notably, *The Scots Musical Museum*.⁹⁷⁵ By

⁹⁷¹ Addison, 'What makes a song national?', Romantic National Song Network, 2019 (online).

⁹⁷² Hazlitt, I, pp. 281-82.

⁹⁷³ Baldwin and Wilson, 'Catley, Ann (1745-1789)', ODNB (25 September 2014); 'Johnny and Mary. A Scots Song. Introduc'd by Miss Catley in *Love in a Village*', in *A Collection of Songs, sung at Vauxhall by Mrs. Weichsell, [...]* (London: Napier, [c. 1780]), pp. 14-15; 'Johnny and Mary. A Scots Song. Sung at Vauxhall by Mrs. Cubitt 1782. Introduc'd by Miss Catley in *Love in a Village*' ([London], [c. 1785]); *The Billington: or, town and country songster [...]* In Which Are Included, All The Favourite Airs That Have Been Sung At The Theatres [...] And The New Songs Sung At Ranelagh And Vauxhall [...] (London: Wenman, [1790]), pp. 197-98; 'Johnny and Mary, a favorite Scotch song [...] sung by Mrs Billington, in *Love in a Village*' (London: Bland & Weller, [c. 1800]).

⁹⁷⁴ *The Vocal Enchantress* (London: Fielding, [1783]), pp. 278-79; *The goldfinch, or new modern songster* (Glasgow: [c. 1785]), pp. 195-96; *The Sky Lark* (London: [1791]), pp. 178-79; *The Cheerful Companion*, ed. by G. Cunningham (Bath: Cruttwell, 1797), pp. 88-89.

⁹⁷⁵ *SMM*, I, p. 100; *Antient and Modern Scottish Songs [...]*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Lawrie & Symington, [c. 1791]), II, pp. 324-25; 'Johnny and Mary. A favorite Scots song' (Glasgow: Stevens, [c. 1810]).

the late 1790s new versions had appeared in America, with variations in melody, rhythm and accompaniment suggesting they were transcribed and adapted from theatre performances, not copied from earlier British publications.⁹⁷⁶ Instrumental arrangements were also published in London, including versions for guitar and for a pair of flutes, flageolets or violins.⁹⁷⁷

Shield's compositions and arrangements also featured in instrumental tutors. Ingrid Pearson of the Royal College of Music brought to my attention several examples in late eighteenth-century London clarinet tutors, noting that some may have been selected because clarinets were prominent in the original scoring.⁹⁷⁸ I have since discovered further examples in early nineteenth-century compilations of popular melodies, simplified, transposed for woodwind instruments and published by music teachers in Philadelphia, United States. Only a few are attributed to Shield; most are identifiable only by titles referencing the original lyrics.⁹⁷⁹ My former colleague Caroline Lisk points out that 'The Ploughboy' (arranged by Hywel Davies) has been on the ABRSM Grade 2 Saxophone syllabus since 2018.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁶ 'Johnny and Mary', (New York: Hewitt / Philadelphia: B. Carr / Baltimore: J. Carr, [1798]).

⁹⁷⁷ 'Johnny and Mary [...]', (London: [Fentum], [c. 1780]); *A Selection of the Most Beautiful Scotch Melodies [...]*, 2nd edn (London: Blackman, 1820), pp. 10-11.

⁹⁷⁸ Ingrid Pearson, 'The Growing Repute of the Clarinet: Interrogating Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs in late Eighteenth-Century Tutors', unpublished paper presented at EFDSS Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs Conference: Exploring Musical Resemblance, 10 October 2020 (online).

⁹⁷⁹ 'Hey dance to the Fiddle and Tabor' [*The Lock and Key*, pp. 36-37] and 'The Ploughboy' [*The Farmer*, pp. 32-33], in *A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet* (Philadelphia: Blake, [1804]), pp. 18-19; GB-Lcm G94/3, 'The Maid of Lodi', 'Tell her I'll love her: Shield', 'Sally Roy', 'Bet sweet blossom' [*The Farmer*, pp. 12-13], 'The girl of my heart: Shield' [*The Woodman*, pp. 10-11], 'No twas neither shape nor feature' [*The Flitch of Bacon*, pp. 22-23] in *Blake's Evening Companion for the flute, clarinet, violin or flageolet*, III, (Philadelphia: Blake, [c. 1813]), pp. 4, 7, 9, 14, 18, 20; GB-Lcm G94/4, 'The Rose Tree' [*The Poor Soldier*, pp. 14-15], 'Sicilian Mariners Hymn' [*The Mysteries of the Castle*, p. 24], 'A Smile from the Girl of my Heart' [*The Woodman*, pp. 10-11], 'The Streamlet', in *Shaw's Flute Preceptor* (Philadelphia: Shaw, [1802]), pp. 23, 30, 34.

⁹⁸⁰ Shield, arr. by Davies, 'A:3 The Ploughboy' in *Saxophone Exam Pieces 2018-2021*, ABRSM Grade 2 (London: ABRSM, 2018); ABRSM Saxophone Exam Syllabus 2018-2021 <https://gb.abrsm.org/media/62989/sax_-_all_grades.pdf>, 2022-2025 <<https://gb.abrsm.org/media/66072/saxophone-grades-1-8.pdf>>.

Among my own small, random collection of twentieth-century songbooks acquired via charity shops or house clearances, several volumes contain songs by Shield. Shaw's *Sociable Songs* (1928) includes 'Old Towler', the lively, jig-like hunting song from *The Czar*; unattributed, but with the original lyrics and a transposed pianoforte accompaniment that picks up some features of the original orchestration, though the arranger rejected Shield's frequent use of a drone-like pedal over several bars.⁹⁸¹ Shield's eventual successor as Master of the King's Music, H. Walford Davies, included 'The Arethusa', described as 'Old Tune. Adapted by Shield', in *The New Fellowship Songbook* (1931), providing a slightly simplified melody and a more consistently homophonic piano accompaniment with shortened introduction, transposed from the original G minor to C minor for ease of amateur singing.⁹⁸² Introductions explain these collections were designed for the use of single singers or groups, with or without accompaniment, in educational and social settings, in or out of doors; if they achieved this aim, Shield's songs were being sung by schoolchildren, scouts and guides, church youth groups and adults attending evening classes all over England between the wars.⁹⁸³

'The Arethusa' is among many pre-existing traditional airs that, once adapted by Shield for the theatre, became widely known in his version or under titles associated with the lyrics he set. Fiske identified another in the Irish tune Shield used for the song 'A rose tree full in bearing' in *The Poor Soldier*, since widely published as 'The Rose Tree'.⁹⁸⁴ Elaine Bradtke notes that both 'The Rose Tree' and 'Princess Royal' (known in one village as 'Nelson's Praise' in reference to 'The Arethusa' lyrics) were used by South Midlands Morris dancers in the 1930s, when the editor of *The Oxford Song Book* categorised the former under 'Fiddle Tunes' as a 'Traditional English Country Dance'. Bradtke's transcriptions from cylinder recordings of live performances by '30s Morris musicians show both simplification and decoration of the melodies as known to Shield, as well as shifts in tonality from minor to major

⁹⁸¹ *Twice 44 Sociable Songs*, ed. by Geoffrey Shaw (London: Hawkes, 1928), pp. 15-16.

⁹⁸² Jeremy Dibble, 'Sir (Henry) Walford Davies (1869-1941)', *ODNB* (6 January 2011); H. Walford Davies (ed.), *The New Fellowship Songbook*, (London: Novello, 1931), no. 6.

⁹⁸³ W. H. Hadow, 'Preface' in Shaw (ed.); Walford Davies (ed.), p. v.

⁹⁸⁴ *English Theatre Music*, p. 461; *The Poor Soldier*, pp. 14-15.

and substitution of altered chords; e.g. a subdominant in place of a dominant, or an added minor seventh.⁹⁸⁵ In 2020 Gwilym Davies, then researching the origins of Cotswold Morris at Newcastle University, alerted me to historical Morris usage of 'Ere around the huge oak', an original Shield song from *The Farmer*, in Gloucestershire.⁹⁸⁶ I have been told by participants in the Historically Informed Summer School belonging to Morris sides in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, that they recognise tunes associated with Shield from the repertoire of musicians who play for their dancing today.⁹⁸⁷

Early in this project I began combing traditional tune collections for alternate versions of national airs arranged by Shield, seeking as many examples as possible to inform my assessment of his interactions with this material, and his approach to selecting, adapting and using these melodies. An unexpected outcome was my discovery of many incidences of original songs composed by Shield appearing, often unattributed, within late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscript tunebooks and printed collections. The volume and spread of occurrences, and the nature and extent of discrepancies between these sources and Shield's extant published scores – for example, changes in key, metre, melodic rhythm and accompaniment – suggest they represent the absorption of his original songs into oral tradition, before their subsequent transcription in another context. Georgina Bartlett's recent study of the 'migration' of theatrical songs into the broadside ballad tradition identifies several such examples by Shield, but as broadside publishers printed only lyrics, not music, she has to hypothesize alterations street-singers might make to technically challenging composed melodies, to enable oral circulation.⁹⁸⁸ The process she describes is a likely intermediate link between professional theatrical performances

⁹⁸⁵ Bradtke, 'Reusing Popular Tunes for Morris Dancing', *Folk Music Journal*, 11.5 (2020), 96-108 (pp. 96, 100-04); Thomas Wood (ed.), *The Oxford Song Book, Melody Edition*, II, 2nd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 166.

⁹⁸⁶ *The Farmer*, p. 10; Gwilym Davies, 'Ere around the huge oak', <<http://glostrad.com/ere-around-the-huge-oak/>> (18 March 2016).

⁹⁸⁷ 'Early, folk and traditional music – the common grounds', <<https://www.hiss.org.uk/>> (Historically Informed Summer School, 2023).

⁹⁸⁸ Georgina Bartlett, 'Transformation or Conformation? The English Broadside Ballad and the Playhouse, 1797-1844', *Music and Letters*, 103.4 (November 2022), 662-84 (pp. 662-67, 671-72, 676, 679-84).

and manuscripts I analyse here, which demonstrate what happened to the actual notes of Shield's songs in the mouths or under the fingers of amateur instrumentalists.

My limited investigations to date already demonstrate that manuscript collections containing evolved or adapted versions of Shield's compositions cover a considerable social and geographical range. The National Library of Scotland holds an early nineteenth-century tunebook containing the melodies of 'Good morrow to your nightcap', the refrain lyric from *The Poor Soldier* to a rant or reel elsewhere entitled 'The Drummer' (set by Shield in B minor, but in A minor here), and 'The Morpeth Rant' (in G, as in Bell's MS); both of these display melodic variation and slurs conducive to fiddle bowing. Another contributor to this manuscript had access to and apparently copied the vocal melody directly from published versions of 'Old Towler'; and in transcribing 'The Thorn', a setting of Robert Burns' poem composed by Shield for Incedon, retained the exact rhythm, ornaments and performance directions found in the original printed version, yet competently transposed the melody into D major, with an octave transposition at the final cadence possibly indicating adaptation for flute.⁹⁸⁹

In 2017 Niles Krieger discovered several melodies associated with Shield in the tunebook of John Gaylord Junior of Windsor, Connecticut, and I was able to identify more, both national air arrangements and original songs.⁹⁹⁰ Gaylord labelled those with a traditional source using titles or lyrics from Shield's theatrical works, suggesting he either absorbed them through attending plays (Hartford had a theatre from 1795), or encountered theatre airs transmitted via domestic, tavern, or street performances.⁹⁹¹ That his versions often differ significantly from contemporary published editions argues against copying from a printed source, and transpositions

⁹⁸⁹ GB-En, MS 21721, William Anderson MS, [c. 1805], pp. 56, 88, 90, 107; *The Poor Soldier*, p. 7; GB-AS, Vickers MS, p. 17, Bell MS, p. 24 [*FARNE*]; J. Aird, I, p. 45; 'The Thorn [...]', (London: Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine [c. 1805]).

⁹⁹⁰ Krieger, 'The Gaylord Manuscripts: Untapped Resources from Early Nineteenth-Century New England', unpublished paper presented at Traditional Tunes & Popular Airs Conference, Cecil Sharp House, London, 6 October 2017; Windsor Historical Society, 1962.25.2, Gaylord MS, pp. 12, 32, 36, 45, 75, 79, 97, 98, 125, 129, 136, 143.

⁹⁹¹ Dunlap, p. 139.

and adaptations suggest he played these tunes on the fiddle. Noteworthy among them for evidence of adaptation are: 'When bidden to the wake or fair' from *Rosina*, originally set by Shield in C minor to a 'Scots Tune' identified by Fiske as 'My Nanny O', transposed by Gaylord to E minor; 'No 'twas neither shape nor feature' from *The Flitch of Bacon*, transposed from A to G with added ornaments, retaining the concluding symphony; Shield's version of 'Fairly shot of her' from *The Highland Reel*, headed 'Shelty's Pipes' and transposed from G minor to E minor; 'The Maid of Lodi' transposed from G to B \flat , lacking the introduction and with a homorhythmic accompaniment replacing the original arpeggiated broken chords; and 'We be de merry Savoyard' from *The Picture of Paris*, transposed from A to D. Tunes from *The Follies of a Day*, *The Woodman*, *The Czar*, *Sprigs of Laurel*, *Travellers in Switzerland* and *Wicklow Mountains* also appear.⁹⁹²

Elizabeth French alerted me to a manuscript c. 1805 at Chatsworth House, containing an incomplete transcription of Shield's song 'The Wolf' transposed from E \flat to F major (with occasional errors), which attempts to combine the vocal melody and harmony line on one staff for ease of domestic keyboard performance.⁹⁹³ The fiddle tunebook of William Calvert, a farmer of Leyburn, North Yorkshire (c. 1812) contains versions similar to Shield's of 'Green grows the Rushes', 'Pease upon a trencher', 'The Keel Row' (fingered for fiddle) and 'The Gabio', as well as 'The Heaving of the Lead', a song from *Hartford Bridge* (**Example 6.1**).⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹² *Rosina*, pp. 9, 28, 36-38; *The Flitch of Bacon*, p. 22; *The Highland Reel*, pp. 36-37; *The Picture of Paris*, pp. 8-9; 'Ah weladay my poor heart' ([London]: Longman & Broderip, [1784]); *The Woodman*, pp. 26-27; 'Old Towler'; *Sprigs of Laurel* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1793]), p. 46; *The Travellers in Switzerland* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1794]), p. 27; *The Wicklow Mountains*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁹³ 'The Wolf [...]', (London: Walker, [c. 1785]); Chatsworth House, The Devonshire Collections, DF27/7/3, Volume G, Louisa O'Callaghan Manuscript Music, p. 16.

⁹⁹⁴ William Calvert MS

<<https://archive.org/details/WilliamCalvertsMusicManuscriptBook>>, pp. [not numbered] 13, 20-21, 35, 46; GB-LEbc, FISKE-PLATT SHI, *The Poor Soldier* (London: Harrison, Cluse [1800]), pp. 34-35; *The Highland Reel*, p. 12; *Rudiments*, p. 35; *Wicklow Mountains*, pp. 2-3, 5-7; *Hartford Bridge*, pp. 44-45.

For Eng - land, when with fav' - ring gale, Our gall - ant Ship up

Chan - nel steer'd And, scudd - ing un - der eas - y sail, The high blue wes - tern

land app - ear'd To heave the lead the

Ad libitum
Sea - man sprung, And to the Pi - lot cheer - ly sung, "BY THE DEEP NINE!"

"BY THE DEEP NINE!" To heave the lead the Sea - man sprung, and

to the Pi - lot cheer - ly sung, "BY THE DEEP NINE!"

Example 6.1 Shield, *Hartford Bridge*, 'The Heaving of the Lead'

Calvert's version (**Example 6.2**) is transposed into G, with slight alterations to rhythm and articulation in the second half to facilitate bowing, and a direction 'slower' where the original score is marked 'Ad libitum'.



Example 6.2 William Calvert MS, 'The Heaving of the Lead'

A mid-nineteenth century Northumberland tunebook contains particularly interesting examples. The archive catalogue record states it belonged to William Henderson, an estate gardener possibly of Blaydon, near Swalwell, but there is no other known connection with Shield. At least two different hands are identifiable, so it may have been passed down through a family or shared among friends. The contents include many Scottish tunes, 'The Keel Row' in a version virtually identical to Shield's, and four of his original songs.⁹⁹⁵ 'Bright Chanticleer' (the opening lyric of 'Old Towler') is in the original key with subtle melodic variations (sometimes reflecting features of Shield's original accompaniment) and missing accidentals; **Example 6.3** shows their versions in parallel, omitting Shield's symphonies and interludes. 'The Streamlet' is virtually identical to printed versions and displays the same method of marking first and second time bars (which could indicate copying), but is also transposed from C major to D.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁵ GB-AS, NRO 07231-8, William Henderson MS (c. 1850) [henceforth Henderson MS], pp. 41, 46, 89, 100, 105.

⁹⁹⁶ GB-AS, Henderson MS, pp. 89, 105; *The Woodman*, pp. 26-27.

Henderson

Shield

Example 6.3 Henderson MS, 'Bright Chanticleer' / Shield, 'Old Towler'

‘The Maid of Lodi’ and ‘The Heaving of the Lead’ are among several tunes arranged on two treble staves with a range of d’ to d’’, suggesting intent to perform them on a pair of flutes or whistles. ‘The Maid of Lodi’ retains the original key and metre (Chapter 5, **Example 5.2**) with slight melodic variations; the arranger imitated the prevalent triplet arpeggio figure in the published accompaniment, but not exactly or consistently, suggesting they retained an aural impression of the song but did not have access to a printed score (**Example 6.4**).⁹⁹⁷

Example 6.4 Henderson MS ‘The Maid of Lodi’

Henderson’s version of Shield’s ‘The Heaving of the Lead’ (**Example 6.1**) is transposed from F into D major, notated in common instead of cut common time, with most note lengths doubled and the rhythm simplified (**Example 6.5**). Whoever devised the second part had some understanding of harmony but relied heavily on consonant parallel motion, and did not always handle cadences correctly.⁹⁹⁸ Such examples show amateur musicians freely adapting theatre songs for social music-making on available instruments; often demonstrating a similar approach to that

⁹⁹⁷ GB-AS, Henderson MS, p. 41.

⁹⁹⁸ GB-AS, Henderson MS, p. 46.

Shield himself applied to traditional tunes, despite their lesser degree of skill and training.



Example 6.5 Henderson MS, ‘The Heaving of the Lead’

In the early 1990s my family sometimes attended ceilidhs in the Caedmon Hall at Gateshead Central Library, and my dad also took me along to a folk club held weekly in the bar. Although, aged 10, I lacked confidence to fully join in, I still have my copy of Folkworks’ *Ceilidh Band Pack* with play-along cassette. The first tune, in a set with the ‘Dorset Four-hand Reel’, I now recognise as Shield’s ‘The Ploughboy’, from *The Farmer* (also included by Benjamin Britten in his *Folksong Arrangements* of the 1940s, and thus widely performed and recorded by concert singers).⁹⁹⁹ The

⁹⁹⁹ Robin Dunn, ed. by Alistair Anderson, *Folk Pack 1: The Ceilidh Band Pack* (Gateshead: Folkworks Publishing, 1993), p. 9; *The Farmer*, pp. 32-33; Troost, ‘Shield, William’ *GMO*; Britten, Benjamin, *Folksong Arrangements*, 3 vols, III [of the British Isles] (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1947).

Folkworks version is unattributed, transposed to D (from B \flat), omits a transitional strain featuring theatrical repetitions and modulation, and displays evolution through melodic turns and passing notes, but retains Shield's title and the instantly recognisable, jaunty opening and closing bars (**Example 6.6**).

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B \flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The first system is labeled 'Dunn [transposed]' and 'Shield'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the bass and chords in the treble. The second system includes a first ending bracketed and labeled '1. transitional section omitted from dance tune'. The third system includes a second ending bracketed and labeled '2.'. The score concludes with a final cadence in the fourth system.

Example 6.6 'The Ploughboy'

I only recently rediscovered this and realised I had heard, danced to, and tried to play along with Shield, long before I knew this melody as his composition. More importantly, well within living memory a lot of other people attending ceilidhs, workshops and sessions on Tyneside and elsewhere, have experienced this as a popular, staple tune. Comments alongside a version entitled 'The Curly Headed Ploughboy [reel]' on 'The Session' tune-sharing site include various claims and counter-claims for its origin, none of which mention Shield; but this matters less than the evidence it provides that, even unrecognised and detached from his name and reputation, Shield's music has remained alive - a more fitting memorial than any marble monument.¹⁰⁰⁰

Theatrical revivals: challenges and possibilities

Recent scholarship on the emergence of melodrama has challenged earlier critics who rejected late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century theatrical works as 'impure' and 'low', dead-ends in the evolution of musical drama. Although often characterised as corrupted or contaminated by their absorption of international, 'transcultural' and cross-genre influences, the intrinsic hybridity of forms like ballad opera, pantomime and melodrama can be viewed as an advantage, reflected in their often considerable commercial success and popularity.¹⁰⁰¹ Similarly, I consider the most interesting and impressive feature of Shield's career his ability to integrate diverse aspects of his own performing experience into compositions that met the demands of various employers and audiences; demonstrated in his framing of traditional airs as theatrical songs, his use of orchestration for scene-painting, his exploitation of performers' vocal and comedic technique, and his 'imitations' merging the musical dialect of folk song into classical operatic structures. I cannot

¹⁰⁰⁰ 'The Session: The Curly Headed Ploughboy [reel]', <<https://thesession.org/tunes/8948>>.

¹⁰⁰¹ James Chandler, 'Foreword', ix-xii (p. x), Hambridge and Hicks, pp. 7-11, 18-19, Sagla, pp. 43, 49, 51-52, 58, Matthew Head, 'Benevolent Machinery: Techniques of Sympathy in Early German Melodrama', 151-70, (p. 151), Jacqueline Waeber, 'Afterword: Looking Back at Rousseau's *Pygmalion*' 191-98, (pp. 194-95, 198), in Hambridge and Hicks (eds).

lay claim to any new insight here: Shield acknowledged as much himself, and his assessment was endorsed by colleagues and consumers of his work.¹⁰⁰² It is time we took him at his word.

It is undoubtedly problematic to compare Shield's works directly with those of canonical contemporaries, not only because so few survive in full score, but because he lacked opportunities to compose the quantities of cantatas, oratorios, string quartets, symphonies, concerti and through-sung operas for which they are most celebrated. My own impression (formed by studying his treatises, rehearsing and performing his string chamber music and songs and examining his theatre scores), is that Shield was thoroughly competent in the compositional techniques employed by his better-remembered contemporaries, and able to apply them imaginatively; but he was working on a smaller canvas for a broader audience, and adapted his methods and media accordingly.

If Shield's music deserves a fresh hearing, can the same be said for the narratives and texts of his works? Contemporary critics classed these musical comedies as entertainment rather than 'high' art, often praising composers or individual performers for redeeming lightweight, clichéd plots; of course, such criticism endorses these productions as representative of, and offering insights into, popular culture. I have found that to divorce music from text and evaluate the two separately is unproductive; to assess fairly the quality, effectiveness and impact of Shield's contribution, it is essential to cross-reference scores and texts, and consider the immediate context of individual musical numbers within both narrative and staging. This requires envisaging how musical and textual details interacted and combined in performance, extrapolating a full orchestral texture from a skeleton score, and inferring the actions and gestures with which actor-singers enlivened their delivery of dialogue and lyrics.

Applying imagination to analysis of *The Highland Reel* in this way highlighted the importance of slapstick, gesture and mimicry, and the vital role music played in facilitating and highlighting this physical and aural humour. Musical numbers that

¹⁰⁰² *Rudiments*, p. 3.

appeared insubstantial, simplistic, crude or chaotic on paper often proved to be carefully and thoughtfully constructed or adapted to illustrate dynamics between characters, or respond to external events. Similarly, the humour in many patter, nonsense or onomatopoeic lyrics relied heavily on their being heard in conjunction with instrumental effects and physical gestures, to ridiculous, scandalous or hilarious effect. Of Grétry, Arnold argues that ‘the modest claims of his music when examined on the page’ resulted in its dismissal from the canon, yet ‘the success of his operas in their contemporary context depended on a unique alchemy between creator, players and audience in the moment of performance’. These dynamic relationships between music, text and action have been insufficiently explored in the works of both composers, because of practical barriers to the development of ‘a robust, continuing performing tradition’; i.e. one that is historically informed, skilfully executed and welcomed by audiences.¹⁰⁰³

Does all this add up to a case for reviving works like *The Highland Reel*? Laying aside the need for funding (the major barrier to any such attempt), I believe so; but new performances must be carefully realised and contextualised, to provide the richest possible experience in terms of both entertainment and education. I have participated in several mini-revivals of works by Shield including *Rosina*, *The Farmer*, *Robin Hood* and *The Poor Soldier*, with Community Music Whickham and Swalwell and Rocket Opera, directed by John Treherne MBE.¹⁰⁰⁴ While it was enjoyable and instructive to hear overtures and songs performed live, the experience also brought home how much texture and colour was lost from Shield’s original orchestration in adapting it for available forces, and how far physical comedy was weakened through performing, without scenery and with minimal costumes and props, in a school sports hall or church rather than a theatre. The professional soloists tackled their roles gamely, but elements of plot and characterisation were undoubtedly lost on them as well as their audience. I offer this as reflection rather than criticism, since

¹⁰⁰³ R. J. Arnold, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰⁴ ‘William Shield Festival’ <<https://www.communitymusicws.com/events>> (Community Music Whickham and Swalwell, 2019); ‘Rocket Opera: Past Performances’ <<https://rocketopera.weebly.com/performances.html>>.

prioritising accessibility and community involvement over historical authenticity was entirely appropriate in this context.

Having been invited to deliver pre-concert talks, I was able to provide some supporting background and explanation, but modern performers and audiences would benefit from opportunities to explore in greater depth the more contentious theatrical tropes and socio-political issues reflected in these works, which they may otherwise find incomprehensible or offensive. I would like to see performances staged in historically appropriate secular venues like the Georgian Theatre Richmond, Hexham Moot Hall, Seaton Delaval Hall, or an outdoor stage in the Gibside stable block recalling the temporary inn yard theatres of Shield's youth, alongside public heritage, drama and music workshops, or exhibitions of source material, period costumes and props, contemporary portraits and other artefacts illustrating not only the story of the piece, but the cultural background to its creation.¹⁰⁰⁵

A more radical intervention would be to incorporate explanation and reflection within the action on stage. At key points, actors could freeze in place allowing one spotlighted character, whose situation or motivation requires explanation, to present their perspective directly to the audience. An obvious candidate for such emancipation is Benin in *The Highland Reel*. He could be provided with an origin story drawing on contemporary testimonies like Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*, which (without disrupting or confusing the plot) would let him voice his own sense of identity, feelings about his situation and hopes for change. Female characters (particularly wards), and others whose background or circumstances may not be instantly recognisable today, could be similarly empowered. If devised by a skilled writer and director with historical and cultural knowledge and sensitivity, brief yet

¹⁰⁰⁵ 'The Georgian Theatre Royal Richmond', <<https://www.georgiantheatreroyal.co.uk>> (2023); 'The Moot Hall', <<https://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1042577>> (Historic England 2023); 'Seaton Delaval Hall', <<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/visit/north-east/seaton-delaval-hall>> (National Trust, 2023).

telling and historically-informed interpolations could inform audiences about contextual issues in a more relatable and powerful way than lectures or exhibitions. Interpolating new songs, especially if inspired by traditional or popular culture, would be entirely in keeping with the pragmatism and flexibility of eighteenth-century theatrical practice and with Shield's compositional approach, which allowed for adaptation in response to changing circumstances. If Benin were given a song to express cultural and perhaps spiritual aspects of his identity, this would provide a point of recognition and exchange with West African traditions in which song forms one element in a multimedia 'total theatre spectacle'.¹⁰⁰⁶ Moreover, in modern-day Nigeria (whose territory includes the historical kingdom of Benin), song is an important tool for expressing political dissent and articulating resistance to oppression and corruption.¹⁰⁰⁷ A musician or animateur able to draw on that heritage could be commissioned to select or compose such a song, and facilitate workshops enabling cast and community to explore the ongoing relevance of issues exposed by the original characterisation of Benin.

Where a historical work contains material now considered discriminatory, abusive or offensive, it is vital to consider carefully whether such scenes can be legitimately performed for the purpose of confronting and learning from the past, or should simply be cut as unworthy of attention and repetition. Many black actors have declined to play Shakespeare's Othello, while others have wrestled with how to present this complex, yet stereotyped character without betraying either the text or their own identity. Those who choose to engage with the role are compelled by the power of story and poetry, of which a lightweight piece such as *The Highland Reel* undeniably offers far less than the works of Shakespeare.¹⁰⁰⁸ And yet it seems a

¹⁰⁰⁶ Olusegun Stephen Titus, 'From Social Media Space to Sound Space: Protest Songs during Occupy Nigeria Fuel Subsidy Removal', *Muziki*, 14.2 (November 2017), 109-28 (p. 117).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Garhe Osiebe, 'The opportunism of political music culture in democratic Nigeria', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 28.1 (July 2015), 13-27, and 'The alternative theory of state-minded protest texts in the music of democratic Nigeria', *Critical African Studies*, 13.2 (September 2020), 216-32.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Healy, Patrick, 'Classically Innovative: Actors find new ways to approach 'Othello' [interview with Adrian Lester and Rory Kinnear], *New York Times*, 12 September 2013;

double standard to reject the musical comedies of O’Keeffe and Shield, but continue staging works like *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice* or *The Taming of the Shrew* despite their racist, antisemitic and misogynistic elements, when historically both were performed by the same actors, for the same audiences, within the same cultural landscape.¹⁰⁰⁹

As a period instrument specialist I learned there is much to be gained from replicating historical practice, within reasonable and useful limits. I read eighteenth-century treatises and used reproduction instruments and bows so that my understanding, technique and interpretation was informed by experiencing elements of the sensory and aesthetic world inhabited by period composers. However, as a female professional cellist, my every performance of eighteenth-century repertoire is inherently anachronistic; equality and practicality must trump historical precedent if I am ever to play at all. Similarly, to perpetuate the exclusion of people of colour from white-dominated social, creative and commercial spaces by imitating the historical practice of white actors using ‘blackface’ would be unjustifiable. However, should black actors be expected to revive stereotyped roles like Benin, even if offered opportunities to reimagine and humanise them, merely to expose historical attitudes and abuses which are already well known?

Cutting scenes more likely to sicken than amuse a modern audience would not diminish the narrative, comedic or musical value of the piece; but to remove Benin, or even the insults directed at him, could compound the original denial of agency and expression to this character by erasing a cultural record of injustice and oppression. For example, Benin’s situation - in servitude in a middling, rural household - highlights the fact often overlooked, until projects such as UCL’s ‘Legacies of Slavery’ database foregrounded the evidence, that not only slave traders

Catherine Conroy, ‘There’s a whole group of black actors who won’t do Othello’ [interview with Peter Macon], *Irish Times*, 1 June 2016
<<https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/stage/there-s-a-whole-group-of-black-actors-who-won-t-do-othello-1.2667200>>

¹⁰⁰⁹ LS5, II, pp. 791, 866, 1112, 1203.

and plantation owners but some relatively 'ordinary' Britons kept domestic slaves.¹⁰¹⁰

It should be possible to find creative, practicable and equitable solutions to dilemmas like this through conversation, compassion and constructive compromise. Continuing to study, perform and watch works that make us angry, uncomfortable or ashamed lets us acknowledge past realities and continue to consider and discuss what has changed, and what still needs to change. My exploration of the role played in such works by Shield's compositions has shown that a contextual approach to music can enable more nuanced interpretations, offering opportunities for cross-cultural conversation and collaboration that could strengthen understanding of diverse perspectives on shared history. Opera North's recent and upcoming productions of Monteverdi's *Orpheus* with South Asian Arts UK, and Bizet's *The Pearl Fishers*, demonstrate potential collaborative and educative approaches to similarly problematic, though better-known works.¹⁰¹¹ Precedents like this, combined with an interdisciplinary approach to researching content and context, could inform pathways towards professional and community performances enabling diverse audiences to understand, appreciate, wrestle with and ultimately benefit from interacting with their own and other cultural histories.

Future directions

Biography

A biography of Shield is long overdue and a project I would love to undertake, ideally to be published and distributed in a form accessible and affordable to interested local people in the Tyneside and Durham area, not just in academic circles. Despite my already extensive archival research, mysteries remain to be

¹⁰¹⁰ Legacies of British Slavery database, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>> (University College London Department of History, 2023).

¹⁰¹¹ 'New Orpheus to be streamed online', <<https://www.operanorth.co.uk/news/new-orpheus-to-be-streamed-online/>> (Opera North, 3 October 2022); 'The Pearl Fishers: Leeds Production', <<https://www.operanorth.co.uk/whats-on/the-pearl-fishers/>> (Opera North).

unravelling in the lives of Shield's immediate family, including his brother's career, his sisters' marriages, his wife's background, a cousin's employment on the Gibside estate, and potential involvement of family members in the founding of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society. More work is also needed to establish a comprehensive timeline of professional engagements, perhaps through surviving letters of prominent people with whom Shield had links, whose archives have so far been studied by general or literary historians with no interest in him. European newspapers and archives might also shed further light on his journey through France and Italy, while materials relating to his royal appointments and his final years will also bear examination in more depth.

Tune-hunting

I originally planned to create a database of traditional tunes used by Shield as part of this project, but it became clear this was beyond my scope at this stage. Whether or not I complete that task in future, I hope to continue comparing versions of both traditional airs and original tunes by Shield with a range of historical tune collections, to further advance understanding of interactions between traditional and popular theatre tunes in domestic and commercial performance contexts.

Where manuscript tune collections can be tied to a particular person, date and/or location, I would combine two aspects of my research so far – comparative analysis of tune versions, and archival searches to establish performance and publication history – to uncover any definite links between performances of Shield's theatre works, and the presence and format of tunes from those works in contemporary local manuscripts. If relevant archives of playbills and advertisements survive and can be accessed, this approach could be applied to the Henderson and Gaylord MSS already examined, as well as others I have yet to access. There is also scope for tracking tunes linked to Shield through audio and video sources documenting oral traditions up to the present day.

In-depth studies or editions of theatre works

A vital source for Paul Rice's analysis of *The Picture of Paris* was the original approval script submitted to the censor, held in the Larpent Collection, Huntington Library, California. Unfortunately, I was unable to utilise an equivalent source as *The Highland Reel* is one of very few Shield works for which the approval script has not survived.¹⁰¹² I hope to draw on relevant scripts from the Larpent Collection in any future analysis of Shield scores, particularly those like *The Poor Soldier*, *Robin Hood*, *The Noble Peasant* and *Fontainbleau*, where discrepancies between published sources indicate missing material, or political controversy may have necessitated revisions. These scripts could further inform future attempts to facilitate performance by reconstructing full orchestral scores and parts.

Pantomime and melodrama

I excluded pantomimes from my comparative survey of Shield's theatrical works (Chapter 4, **Musicological analysis: sources and considerations**) as many remained unpublished, and their through-composed format complicates the definition and comparison of individual movements. However, their success (indicated by repeat performances and positive reviews) merits a future separate study of available scores.¹⁰¹³ These are the only works where Shield employed recitative, which demands analysis in relation to commentary and examples in his treatises and the practice of contemporaries and predecessors.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰¹² Online Archive of California, Collection Guide: John Larpent Plays [mssLA 1-2503], <<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf1h4n985c/>>.

¹⁰¹³ *The Overture, Songs, Duett, Glees, &c. in the Pantomime of the Lord-Mayor's Day [...]* (London: Bland, [1782]); *Friar Bacon, or Harlequin Rambler* (London: Bland, [1784]); *Omai; The Entertainment of the Magic Cavern* ([London]: Longman and Broderip, [1785]); *The Pantomime of The Enchanted Castle* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1787]); *The Overture, Songs, Dances &c. in the Pantomime Entertainment of Harlequin's Museum or Mother Shipton Triumphant* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1792]). LSInd, pp. 17-18, 619-21; 'Account of the pantomime Friar Bacon', *The Lady's Magazine*, 14 (suppl., 1783), 703-07 (p. 704); 'Account of the Magic Cavern', *The Lady's Magazine*, 15 (suppl., 1784), 708-10 (p. 708); 'Account of the new pantomime of Omai', *The Lady's Magazine*, 16 (December 1785), 620-22 (p. 621); *The New Spectator; with the sage opinions of John Bull*, 1 (1784), 7.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Introduction*, pp. 25-26, 85-88, *Rudiments*, pp. 58-60.

Although scholars analysing ‘multimedia’ relationships in melodrama have not counted Shield a direct contributor to that repertoire (his theatrical career was already waning as it developed, and melodrama’s focus on speech and action would have left his affinity for song underused), they have identified melodramatic techniques corresponding sufficiently with elements of his style to suggest evolutionary links, including: instrumental evocations of physical actions, natural phenomena and emotional states; borrowings and imitations of popular pieces and genres; subversion or complication of text by musical means, often introducing irony; and gothic and sentimental tropes.¹⁰¹⁵ Studying Shield’s published pantomime scores would allow further exploration of this common ground, through a focus on incidental music composed to represent particular characters and accompany scenarios of mime, dance and spectacle.¹⁰¹⁶

Chamber music

I have already been invited to propose a new Musica Britannica edition of Shield’s chamber music for strings (violin duets, string trios and quartets), an often-overlooked aspect of his output that nevertheless encapsulates key features of his style, including the influence of composers like Corelli, Giardini, Handel and Haydn, his interest in national music, and a theatrical sense of drama and atmosphere. Complete scores or parts survive in good quality first editions, his treatises provide relevant insights into fingering, bowing and rehearsal techniques, and the complete cycle could be recorded alongside the production of a performing edition.¹⁰¹⁷ This project could also be expanded to include Shield’s Scots song arrangements. I would propose partnering with a university and ensemble in residence to offer an accompanying series of workshops on period song and string-playing techniques.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hambridge and Hicks (eds): Hambridge and Hicks, pp. 19-21, 23, Lockhart, pp. 28, 35-37, Hibberd, pp. 88-89, Hesselager, pp. 123-27, Waeber, pp. 192, 196-97.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Friar Bacon*, pp. 12-20, 28; *Omai*, pp. 11, 23; *The Magic Cavern*, pp. 5-8, 33-34, 41, 47.

¹⁰¹⁷ Shield, *String Quartets*, op. 3, *Six Violin Duets*, op. 1, *Six Violin Duets*, op. 2, *String Trios*, nos 1-9 [issued individually] ed. by Robert Hoskins (Wellington: Artaria Editions, [c. 2000/2002 / 2004]); William Shield, *Trios for Strings*, Trio Szabadi (Hungaroton, HCD32669, 2010).

Conclusion

The focus of my thesis has been to understand what I previously called William Shield's 'lifelong relationship with national airs', in practical, theoretical, professional, cultural and emotional terms.¹⁰¹⁸ I can now define that relationship in considerably more detail. It certainly was lifelong, characterising his childhood memories, his successful productions at all stages of his career, his learning and teaching, his leisure and travel, his friendships and professional partnerships, his reputation, and the reception of his works. This was also a symbiotic relationship. From an early age, traditional melodies captured Shield's interest, emotions and imagination. Perhaps subconsciously at first, he grasped the melodic and harmonic elements that made up their musical language and became fluent in it, able not merely to parrot back learned tunes, but employ their dialect in newly imagined compositions of his own, translate and interpret them for unaccustomed ears, and bring them into intelligible conversation with very different musical styles, forms, instruments and contexts.

Traditional tunes, and the distinctive compositional style Shield developed through their influence, permeated his output and undoubtedly fed his career, contributing significantly to the popular and therefore commercial success of his productions and publications. But this flow of melody between oral tradition and composition was never one-way, as the tunes Shield arranged and the songs he composed, whether in deliberate imitation of traditional airs or simply in the traditionally-inflected accent that became intrinsic to his compositional voice, in their turn fed back into the circulating and evolving repertoire of street ballad-singers, fiddlers, amateur flautists and clarinetists, Morris dancers and ceilidh bands. Long after his death, his melodies have continued to infuse, inspire and sustain the traditions that originally sparked his creativity.

This project has affirmed Shield's worth as a musician and composer, the cultural richness of communities that played a vital role in nurturing his early career, and the

¹⁰¹⁸ 'William Shield: A Lifelong Relationship with 'National Aairs'', *Folk Music Journal*, 11.5 (2020), 27-51.

survival of his creative legacy, albeit often outside the realms of mainstream academic musicology and classical repertoire. It has been exciting and satisfying to discover just how fruitful an interdisciplinary perspective on this kind of repertoire can be, through digging into the detail of published and manuscript musical scores, while drawing on a variety of sources to flesh out the life stories of their creators and consumers, observing our musical ancestors in their geographical, social, economic and cultural landscape and tracing the web of interconnections between them. Applying this forensic yet wide-ranging approach has allowed me to illuminate some previously unknown or poorly understood aspects of Shield's life, open up many avenues for further investigation, and take important steps towards allowing his music to speak for him in the present day.

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EP/Du.SN1/5 (M42/325)	'Baptisms 1750 John son of Thomas Davis a soldier was baptd. November 4'
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, Gateshead St. Mary	
EP/Ga.SM1/3 (M42/145)	'Weddings September 1721 William Shield Sarah Blackett 18'
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, Heworth St. Mary	
EP/Hew1 (M42/652)	'Baptisms 1749 Constabery Nr. Heworth John son to James Galley May 15'
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, Houghton-le-Spring St. Michael and All Angels	
EP/Ho/5 (M42/164)	'Christenings in the Year 1757 Frances the Daughter of John Nesham of West Rainton April 11 th '
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, South Shields St. Hilda	
EP/SS.SH1/5 (M42/1019)	'St Hilds Burials 1759 Aug 2 Wm Shield' [microfilm damaged, original only legible under UV light]
EP/SS.SH1/6 (M42/1019)	'St Hilds Baptisms 1755 Octo. ^r 26 Mary Daug. ^r of Wm & Mary Shield'
EP/SS.SH1/35 (M42/33)	'George Ridsdale of the Parish of St Andrew in the Town of New Castle upon Tyne and Isabella Carrington of the Parish of Jarrow was married by Licence in the Chapel of St Hilds in the County & Diocese of Durham this 6th Day of July 1760'
EP/SS.SH1/79 (M42/40)	'Register of Burials in the Chapelry of St Hilds South Shields in the year 1804 Mary Shields Widow of William Shields Labourer Died Augst 4th Buried Augst 6th Age 85 years'
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, Sunderland Holy Trinity	
EP/SuHT1/3 (M42/186)	'Baptizd 1775 July 10 John son of John & Alice Davis P.H.'
EP/Su HT1/35, p. 221	'James Cawdell of this Parish & Sarah Martin Married in this Church by Licence this nineteenth day of January in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and eighty-two'
EP/SuHT1/96 (M42/203)	'Burials 1778 December 11 George Ridsdale Attorney at Law'
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, Tanfield St Margaret	
EP/Ta1 (M42/436)	'Marriages 1739-40 March 17th Thomas Shields & Elizabeth Hopkins both of this Chap[elry]'
	'Baptisms Anno 1739, 40 April 20th Peter S. of Tho: Shield Beamish'
Ecclesiastical Parish Registers, Whickham St. Mary	
EP/Whm2 (M42/84)	'Christnings 1686[/7] March Peter & Frances twinns to William Sheal 13'

	'Whickham Christnings 1691 October Charles son to Willm Sheal 18'
	'Marriages 1719 June Charles Shield & Ann Arkelass thries published in the Church 01'
	'Marriages May 1738 - Marriages August 1738 July Martin Longridge & Mary Shields thrice published in the Church 13 th '
	'Marriages July 1743 Abraham Shields & Hannah Clark thrice published in the Church 21 th '
EP/Whm3 (M42/84)	'Christnings 1696 November William son to William Sheall 1'
	'Whickham Christnings 1697 October Ann dau. of Edw. Arkelas 21'
	'Christnings 1713 May Thomas son to Petter Sheald W[hickham] [nineteenth-century transcript of damaged pages omits dates in May]
	'Christnings 1716 May 6 Mary daughter to Peter Sheild W[hickham]'
	'Christnings 1722 July Mary daughter of John Cash S[walwell] 09'
	'Christnings 1723 October William son of William Shield L[owhand] 06'
	'Christnings 1723[/4] March Joshua son of John Cash S[walwell] 15'
	'Christnings 1725[/6] February Edward son of William Shield & Sarah his wife L[owhand] 22'
	'Christnings 1726 July William son of Charles Sheild & Ann his wife W[hickham] 25'
	'Christnings October 1727 Joktan son of John Cash & Rebecca his wife S[walwell] 15 th '
	'Christnings Decemb: 1727 February Abraham son of William Sheilds & Sarah his wife L[owhand] 11 th '
	'Christnings 1728 December 8 th Peter son of Peter Sheilds & Elizabeth his wife Whickham'
	'Christnings October 1729 November Catherine Daughter of Willm Sheilds & Sarah his wife Lowhand 9 th '
	'Christnings June 1734 Abraham Son of William Sheilds & Sarah his wife was Born May the 8 th & Baptized June 3 th '
	'Christnings April 1741 Thomas Son of Martin Longridge & Mary his wife Lowhand 12 th '
	'1742 October 31 th Thomas son of Thomas Shields & Elizabeth his wife Whickham'
	'Christnings 14 th May 1744 Abraham son of Abraham Sheilds & Hannah his wife Whickham'
	'Christnings May 1744 June Mary Daughter of Thomas Shields & Elizabeth his wife Whickham 3 rd '
	'Christnings February 1745[/6] March William Son of Thomas Shields & Elizabeth his wife, Whickham 2 nd '

	'Christnings June 1748 Mary Daugh. of Thomas Shield & Elizabeth his wife W[hickham] 26 th '
	'Christnings 1748[/9] March 5 William Son of William Shields & Mary his Wife Sw[alwell] Cr[owley]'
	'Christnings 1749 April 1 st Catherine daugh. of Thomas Shields & Elizabeth his wife Wh[ickham]'
	'Christnings 1751 May 6 th Ann Daugh. of William Shield & Mary his Wife Sw[alwell]'
EP/Whm3 (M42/85)	'Christnings 1752 December 10 th John son of William Shield & Mary his wife Sw[alwell]'
	'Burialls 1734 November Barbara Wid.w to William Sheilds W[hickham] Aged 68 11 th '
	'Burialls May 1737 August Lowh.d William Son of William Sheilds 16 th '
EP/Whm7 (M42/85)	'Marriages 1748 November 19 William Shields & Mary Cash [Banns] Pub.[lished]'
	'Marriages Aprill 1751 Edward Shields & Dorothy Rippon P.[ublished] 11 th '
Estate and Family Records, Bowes	
D/Bo/G 91/38	'Lease for 62 years of the Plating Forge Mill, High Dam Close, the Hardening Shop and half of the Boat Close and the Holm Close, and in Whickham' signed (1) Sir James Clavering of Greencroft, Bart, and Thomas Clavering (2) Ambrose Crowley of East Greenwich, Kent, 1 May 1742
D/Bo/G 91/39	'Extract from a lease from Sir T. Clavering to Ambrose Crowley of land near Swalwell', 5 March 1750
Estate and Family Records, Strathmore estate papers	
D/St/E5/4/16	Gibside wages accounts January 1780 to March 1781 Catherine Shields listed as housemaid
D/St/E5/5/5	Cash book of Gibside estate receipts and expenditure, 1742 - 1745 [sales of firecoals to e.g.:] Andrew Sheild, 30 June 1742 Ann Sheild, Thomas Sheild, 20 August 1742
D/St/E5/5/6	Cash book of Gibside estate receipts and expenditure, 1745 - 1748 [sales of firecoals to e.g.:] Andrew Sheild, 28 October 1748
D/St/E5/5/7	Cash book of Gibside estate receipts and expenditure, 1748 - 1754 'January 22 Paid Thos Shields walling ye Broom Pitt 5s 6d.' 'September 28 paid Thomas Shield for days work winning stones and walling the Woodhead pitt from ye Stonehead £1.2s' [sales of firecoals to e.g.:] Thomas Shield, 19 September 1749 Willi[am] Shield, 18 July 1752 Edw[ard] Sheal, 26 October 1752

	Andrew, Abr[aham], Edw[ard], Willi[am] Shiel, 16 July 1753
D/St/E5/5/16	Day book of Gibside estate receipts and expenditure, 1742 - 1748 'rec'd off Shield 1 boll of rye at 4s 6d', July 27 1744
D/St/E5/5/28	Cash book of Gibside estate receipts and expenditure, 1745 - 1753 'Paid Thos Shields his note 5s 6d', 22 January 1753
D/St/E5/5/40	Accounts of Thomas Lyon's receipts and expenditure for Gibside estate, as administrator of the late Earl of Strathmore, December 1771 - September 1777 (8) 'July 5 [1777] paid Dorothy Shields for Quilting Petticoats 14s' (14) 'April 26 [1776] Hannah Shield for making seven mourning gowns 17s6d'
Miscellaneous Documents 1750-1957 Thomas W. Bell surveyor of Castle Eden	
D/X 35/1/2 (1-3)	'Swalwell: draft plan covering all the works from Archy Bells Bridge to the Pipers Burn and River Derwent in Swalwell, including: Corn Mill, Cottage Road, Slitting Mill, boundary to Swalwell, Holme Close and Pingle [c. 1720]'
D/X 35/2	'Plan of Axwell Park and Low Struddars Farms, Low Shibdon Farm, Mallabar's Closes, and other Lands, in the Township of Winlaton belonging to Sir Thomas John Clavering' [engraved by William Shield c. 1823]
D/X 35/8	'River Derwent, c. 1775 Plans of wagon-ways from Hagg Hill to Derwent Staith'
D/X 35/10	'River Derwent, c. 1785 Plan of lands of Thomas Eyre and Sir Thomas Clavering'
Quarter Sessions 1759-1830, Land Tax Returns: Chester Ward West	
Q/D/L 25 (M/7/22)	'Whickham Parish, 1759: Property of Thomas SHIELD'
Q/D/L 27 (M/7/22)	'Whickham township, 1789: Property of Peter SHELD occupied by Peter COLLIN'
GB-DRu, Durham University Library	
Simon Fleming Collection	
S.F.al.1	Letter from William Shield to Mr Foster, Instrument Maker, dated 13 June 1800
S.F.al.2	Letter from William Shield to 'Sir George [Smart]', dated 7 March 1815
S.F.al.3	Letter from William Shield to William Watts, dated 26 January 1827
SF.ms.54	Manuscript book of Italian songs dated 1777, formerly owned by Louisa Bertie.
SF.ms.55-56	Two manuscripts books of Venetian origin, dated 1825 and formerly owned by Anne Gordon
SF.52(cc)	John Galley, <i>A Favourite Collection of Dances for the Violin or Pianoforte, with Figures for each Dance</i> (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Wright, [1804])
SF.109	Concert Handbill, Newcastle, 27 March 1788

SF.110	Concert Handbill, [Newcastle], 22 March 1791
SF.108	Concert Handbill, Newcastle Musical Festival, 30 August 1791
SF.a.83	<i>The Newcastle Memorandum Book...For the Year MDCCLXV</i> (Newcastle: Slack, 1765)
GB-En, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh	
Adv MS 5.2.21	George Skene MS, [c. 1717]
Adv MS 5.2.25	Forbes of Disblair MS, [late 18th c.]
Glen.91(3)	<i>A Collection of Airs and Marches for Two Violins or German Flutes</i> (London: Bremner, [c. 1765]).
MS 808	James Gillespie MS (Perth, 1768), <i>Collection of the Best and Most Favourite Tunes For the Violin</i> , tunebook and treatise on violin playing
MS 2084, 2085	David Young, Macfarlane MSS, <i>Collection of Scotch airs, with the latest variations</i> , 2 vols [c. 1740-1743]
MS 21703	Alexander Smith MS, [c. 1792-1795]
MS 21714	George Bowie MS, [c. 1705]
MS 21715	David Young, Duke of Perth MS, [c. 1734]
MS 21716	Robert Kelsall MS, [c. 1730]
MS 21717	James Knox MS, [c. 1750-1764]
MS 21718	John Knox MS, 1776
MS 21721	William Anderson MS, [c. 1805]
MS 21722	William Robertson MS, 1811
GB-Lna, National Archives, London	
Royal Household Records, Lord Chamberlain's Department	
LC 3/68, p. 183	Appointment Books Series II, 'Warrant of Appointment as Master of His Majesty's Band of Musicians in Ordinary 20 July 1817'
LC 3/68/94263	Letter dated 24 Feb 1829 from Thomas Broadwood to Sir Frederick Watson, Master of the Royal Household
Probate Records	
PROB 11/1753/461	'Will of William Shield, Master of His Majesty's Band of Musicians, Gentleman of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex'
PROB 11/1859/456	'Will of Ann otherwise Anne Stokes otherwise Shield'
PROB 11/1248/17	'Will of Henry Waller, late Major in the first or Kings Regiment of Dragoon Guards of Buckden, Huntingdonshire'
PROB 11/1832/305	'Will of John Fuller of Brightling, Sussex'
GB-Lbl, British Library, London	
Add. MS 11730, fols 189-90	Collection of Vincent Novello, John Taylor, letter to John Fuller
Add. MS 27811	'Original letterbook of the London Corresponding Society' A
Add. MS 27812	'London Corresponding Society Original Journl or Minute Book April 2. 1792 to 2 Jany 1794'
Add MS 27813	'LCS Minute & Letter Book 30 May to 2nd July 1795'

Add MS 27815	Place Papers, XXVII
Add. MS 33815	manuscript orchestral parts for Shield's <i>Rosina</i>
Egerton MS 2290	'Covent Garden Theatre Ledgers Sept 1789 - Sept 1790'
Egerton MS 2291	'Covent Garden Theatre Ledgers Sept 1790 - Sept 1791'
Egerton MS 2292	'Covent Garden Theatre Ledgers Sept 1791 - Sept 1792'
Royal Philharmonic Society Archives	
RPS MS 272, fol. 1	Founding Book
RPS MS 363, fols 136, 138-39, 141	Letter from Shield dated 26 June 1819
	Letter from Shield dated 26 December 1819
	Letter from Shield dated 25 January 1823
	Letter from Shield dated May 1828
GB-Lcm, Royal College of Music London	
MS H160/6	Shield, 'To her Royall Highness the Princess Elizabeth' [c. 1790]
D2542/7	'No. 5 Overture & Scotch Air in Thomas & Sally adapted by T. Carter', <i>A Duett for Two Performers on One Harpsichord or Piano-Forte</i> (London: Bland, [1790]), 20-23.
G94/3	<i>Blake's Evening Companion for the flute, clarinet, violin or flageolet</i> , III (Philadelphia: Blake, [c. 1813])
G94/4	<i>Shaw's Flute Preceptor</i> (Philadelphia: Shaw, [1802])
Library of Edward Taylor, 7th series: English Dramatic Music [Sacred Harmonic Society Library]	
MS 1123, fols 127-8	Shield, 'Glee. What is love?', 'Catch 4 voices', <i>Glees etc.</i> [copied by William Henry Husk]
MS 2109, fols 30 ^v -32	Charles Dibdin, 'The Anchorsmiths'
GB-Lcs, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London	
SBG/1/3/169 [Roud 13860]	Sabine Baring-Gould Manuscript Collection, 'Langolee - from The Compleat Tutor for the Hautboy London n.d. pub circ 1740'
QS 35.1 Mf	John Johnson (ed.), <i>A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances</i> (London: Johnson, [c. 1740])
GB-LEbc, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds	
Fiske-Platt Collection	
FISKE-PLATT SHI	<i>The Flitch of Bacon</i> (London: Napier, [1778])
	<i>Fontainbleau</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1784])
	<i>The Noble Peasant</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1784])
	<i>The Nunnery</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1785])
	<i>Rosina</i> (London: Napier, [1785])
	<i>The Farmer</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1787])
	<i>Marian</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788])
	<i>The Highland Reel</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788])
	<i>The Songs, Duetts, Quartetts, Chorusses &c. in The Picture of Paris</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1790])
	<i>The Woodman</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1791])
<i>Hartford Bridge</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1792])	

	<i>The Midnight Wanderers</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1793])
	<i>Travellers in Switzerland</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1788])
	<i>The Poor Soldier</i> (London: Harrison, Cluse [c. 1800])
	<i>Robin Hood</i> (London: Harrison, Cluse [c. 1800])
GB-NTp, Newcastle City Libraries	
Local Studies	
Buildings Collection: 012826	William Shield's House Swalwell 1936. Print-black-and-white photograph: 'A view of the house belonging to William Shield's the composer.'
L792 N536T 960254A	Newcastle Theatre Bills 1786-1791
L792 N536T 592407A	Newcastle Theatre Bills 1794-1796
L792 N536T 594208A	Newcastle Theatre Bills 1797-1800
GB-NTu, Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University	
Walter Calverley Trevelyan Collection	
WCT 299	'A list of the Respectable Inhabitants of Newcastle, who signed the Petition from thence, presented to the King on Wednesday, Nov 3. 1775'
Bell-White Collection	
BWC3/10	Papers and cuttings on Clavering family
BWC18/8	Papers and cuttings on Shield family, grocers [no relationship established]
GB-Ob, Bodleian Library, Oxford	
MS Montague d.7, fols 468-69	Letter from Thomas Holcroft to William Shield, 16 October 1804.
GB-Y, York Minster Library	
SCC Playbills	
I, 1766-1768	Wilkinson's York Company in Newcastle, Beverley, Hull, York
II, 1768-1769	Wilkinson's York Company in Newcastle, Beverley, Hull, York; including Easter oratorio festival, York, March 1769
III, 1770-1772	Wilkinson's York Company in Newcastle, Leeds, Hull, York; including Shakespeare Galas, Hull October 1770, York January 1771 and April 1772
IV, 1772-1775	Wilkinson's York Company in Leeds, Hull, York, Beverley; including Shakespeare Galas, Leeds August 1772, Hull October 1772 and December 1774
V, 1775-1776	Wilkinson's York Company in Hull and York; including Shakespeare Gala, York January 1775
VI, 1776-1777	Wilkinson's York Company in Leeds, Hull, York, Halifax, Wakefield, Doncaster
VII, 1777-1779	Wilkinson's York Company in Leeds, Hull, York, Halifax, Wakefield, Doncaster; including Shield's <i>The Flich of Bacon</i> , Hull

VIII, 1779-1780	Wilkinson's York Company performing works by Shield in Leeds, Pontefract, Hull, York, Wakefield, Doncaster
IX, 1779-1780	Wilkinson's York Company in Leeds, York, Edinburgh, including 'Mrs Shield'
X, 1780-1781	Wilkinson's York Company performing works by Shield in Hull, York, Leeds, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Newcastle
BOX 1768-1769 [uncatalogued]	Wilkinson's York Company in Newcastle, Beverley, Hull, York
BOX 8 [1769-1799]	Austin's Newcastle Company, Halifax 1771 Wilkinson's York Company performing Shield works, 1778, 1792, 1797, 1799 Cawdell's Company, Scarborough 1783 to '84, 1798
BOX 11	York Company performing Shield works in York and Hull 1802, 1812, 1838
BOX 12 169, 193	Bates / Cawdell's Company in Scarborough and Whitby, 1777, and performing Shield works in Scarborough, 1784 to '85 York Company performing Shield works in York and Hull, 1802, 1812 to '13
BOX 16	Bates / Cawdell's Company, Whitby, 1777 Shield works performed Whitby 1803, York 1812
BOX 17	Bates / Cawdell's Company performing Shield works in Scarborough, 1794
BOX 18	Handel oratorios in Halifax, 1789 Cawdell's Company performing Shield works in Scarborough, 1784 to '85, 1791 to '98
LMA, London Metropolitan Archives	
Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance Group, Policy registers	
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/407/655852	1796-1797 '14 July 1796 William Shield No 31 Berners Street Gent on his Dwelling House [...] £800'
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/498/1006316	1822-1824 'Jul. 30 1823 William Shield Esq. 31 Berners Street'
LMF, Library & Museum of Freemasonry, London	
<i>Moderns' Grand Lodge, Register of members, c. 1755-1770</i> (uncatalogued)	'Lodge no. 72 Dorothy Jones at Swalwell near Newcastle upon Tyne Edward Shield Mason admitted Member June 24th 1750 Thomas Shield Mason admitted Member March 25 1755'
<i>Moderns' Grand Lodge, Register of Admissions, Country and Foreign, 1768 - 1813</i> (uncatalogued)	Lodge of Antiquity, No. 20, Portsmouth John Price Postmaster made Mason April 20th 1774 Lodge of Industry, no. 61 Swalwell near Newcastle Abraham Shields aged 30 Mason made Mason March 24th 1770 Phoenix Lodge, No. 169 Sunderland John Thornhill Coal Fitter made Mason 1756 Thomas Bates Master of a Company of Comedians joined 1759 Matthew Wilkinson Gentleman joined 4 February 1767 Palatine (Sea Captain's) Lodge, No. 177, Sunderland

	<p>John Biss Gentleman aged 35 made Mason 2 October 1763 joined 8 February 1764 Thomas Dixon, Monkwearmouth Ship Builder aged 28 made Mason 25 December 1773 John Davis Comedian joined 8 December 1774 Tristram Hogg Dancing master made Mason 26 December 1774 William Sheilds Mason aged 31 made Mason 6 December 1791 Marquis of Granby Lodge no. 245, Durham George Nicholson Mason aged 39 made Mason 1757 James Hartley Comedian aged 51 made Mason 24 December 1769 Nathaniel Thorne Stationer aged 31 made Mason 21 December 1773 John Kipling Comedian aged 22 made Mason 7 March 1775 Apollo Lodge no. 450, York Thomas Thackray Musician aged 32 admitted 3 August 1773 Malby Beckwith Gentleman, York aged 34 admitted 3 August 1773 Thomas Atkinson Architect aged 45 made Mason 15 December 1773 Francis Wardale Gentleman, Whitby aged 23 made Mason 10 March 1774</p>
LMA, London Metropolitan Archive	
Royal and Sun Alliance Group Records	
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/407/655852	'Insured: William Shield, 31 Berners Street, gent' 14 July 1796
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/498/1006316	'Insured: William Shield, 31 Berners Street, gent' 30 July 1823
NMM, Caird Library, National Maritime Museum, London	
E6757/1 784.3.084	<i>Emma, Lady Hamilton's Songs, I</i>
NYcro, North Yorkshire County Record Office	
Parish Registers, Whitby St Mary	
PR/WH 1/7	'Baptisms in 1758 Jan. 3 Margaret Daughter of Samuel Campion, master mariner (born April 30 1757)'
PR/WH 1/24	'Francis Wardale Jnr of this Parish a Batchelor Gentleman and Ann Reynolds of this Parish a spinster were Married [...] this Twenty Fourth Day of April in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Five'
PR/WH 1/25	'John Campion of this Parish Batchelor & Elizabeth Holt of the same Parish Spinster were Married [...] this seventh Day of January in the Year One Thousand seven Hundred and Eighty two'

NYPL, New York Public Library	
Pforz MS G'ANA0043	John Wolcot manuscript material, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, < https://archives.nypl.org/cps/24357 >
SLH, Sunderland Local History Library	
623.8 COR, I, II	James W. Corder, <i>Wear Shipbuilders</i>
929.1 COR, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII	James W. Corder, <i>Sunderland Pedigrees & Family Records</i>
TWA, Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle	
General Register for the Parish of St Michael and All Angels, Newburn	
MF 618	'Baptisms 1718 Michael sonne of Tho: Longridge of Walbolks 20 May'
	'Baptisms 1719 25th Oct Wm sonne of Tho Longridge of Walballs'
	'Baptisms 1723 George son of Thomas Langwidge of Wallbottle baptized Sept. 15'
Newcastle St John Banns and Marriages 1777-1791	
MF 273	'1779 Peter Collin and Catherine Shield both of this Parish were married in this Chapel by Banns this Thirty first day of July [...] In the Presence of us Thos Longridge John Collin'
Newcastle, Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas' Parish Records	
EP86/5 (MF 264)	'Weddings 1775 William Vickers and Elizabeth Alder were married this Fourteenth day of May' 'Baptisms 1776 July 24th William son of William Vickers officer of Excise and Elizabeth his wife' 'Baptisms 1778 December 6th John son of John Galley Musician & Ann his Wife'
Guild Records	
GU.SH1-4 (MF 1278) 154/6	Newcastle Company of Shipwrights: Index of indentures
GU.SH1-4 (MF 1278) 154/8	Newcastle Company of Shipwrights: Orders 11 September 1665, 'Order that no brother set up for work at Shields' 8 September 1679, 'Order that no brother work for any woodmonger or other person that build ships or keels' 28 October 1679, 'Order that no apprentice shall be entered in the Company's books that is a Scotchman born' 24 June 1730, 'Order that no brother to work outside the liberties of Newcastle' 24 June 1736, 'Order that no brother work at any keels or boats except those belonging to the Hoastmen and Brethren' Minutes: 1 April 1766 [complaint of members failing to enter apprentices on records] 28 December 1767 [pay restraint due to recession]

GU.TH262	Thomas Kitchin, 'A Map of the County of Northumberland with that part of the County of Durham that is North of the River Tyne, also the Town of Berwick and its Bounds' (Andrew Armstrong & Son, 1769)
D/NCP/1/11	Emmanuel Bowen, 'An Accurate Map of the County of Northumberland' (London: Sayer, Bennett, Bowles, 1777)
D/NCP/1/7	C. Greenwood, 'Map of the County Palatine of Durham from Actual Survey Made in the Years 1818 & 1819' (London: Greenwood, Pringle 1820)
D/NCP/2/8	R. Beilby, 'A Plan of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead, 1788'
DT. BEL1/18/57	'Plan of Whickham Fell' [c. 1811]
DT.BEL1/18/64	Thomas Bell, 'A Map of the Public Carriage Roads set out upon Whickham Fell previous to the Division thereof' 16 May 1820
DT.BEL2/6	Untitled plan of land ownership around Whickham [c. 1805]
DT.BEL2/23	'Plan of Lands in Whickham Low Hand Quarter belonging to Sir Thomas John Clavering, Baronet [c. 1820]'
DT.BEL2/376	John Cary, 'A New Map of Durham' (1801)
WML, Whitby Museum & Library	
uncatalogued playbills	Bates / Cawdell's Company 1779 to '83, 1785 to '86, 1789 to '91 Strickland's Company 1785 Cumberland's Company 1787 to '88 Butler's Company 1791 to 1818 Abbott's Company, Whitby and Tannett's Company, Pickering, January 1797 Holmes' Company 1819
Windsor Historical Society, Windsor, Connecticut	
1962.25.2	Gaylord MS, fiddler's tunebook