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**Publication Date**

2008-06-02

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# The Journal of John Waldie Theatre Commentaries, 1798-1830

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This edition is transcribed from the Journal of John Waldie, Young Research Library UCLA Special Collections, Collection 169. Ninety three volumes of manuscript journals and letters were purchased in 1957, by Lawrence Clark Powell, from Robert D. Steedman, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The collection contains 7 volumes of letters addressed to John Waldie, 73 volumes of the journal (25 of the numbered volumes are missing), 11 volumes on travels transcribed from the journal (t before the volume number = transcribed volume), one volume of passports (1827-1837), and one volume which includes a narrative account of Waldie's experiences at Antwerp and Brussels during the Battle of Waterloo and his subsequent tour through Flanders, Holland, and France.

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**Introduction:** biographical and historical

**Text:** approximately 1000 theatre entries from the journal

**Addenda:** portraits, travel maps, passports, the Waldie estate, selected manuscript pages.

**Index:** a complete list of plays discussed with cross-references to John Genest, *Some account of the English Stage: from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*, 10 vols. (Bath: H.E. Carrington, 1832).

# The Journal of John Waldie

## Introduction

## INTRODUCTION

"Overstrain versus Ennui," the title Sir George Douglas gave to his reminiscences of John Waldie, may well have been compelling forces in the life of the wandering dilettante and theatre habitué. John Waldie, D. Lit. (1781-1865), devoted enthusiast of the art galleries, concert halls, and theatres of Europe, often appeared driven by an obsession to pursue what he vaguely referred to as his "profession." He spent the first half of the nineteenth century constantly journeying from his home in the north, on the Scottish Border, to glut himself with the theatrical splendors of London or Paris, perhaps wintering in Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples, Milan, or touring from Berlin to Dresden to Vienna, or from Madrid down to Seville and Cadiz and back along the coast to Valencia and Barcelona. Sir Douglas recalled that Waldie, although he had "distinguished himself" as connoisseur, critic, and collector, was among his own neighbors of the Border "less noted as a virtuoso than as a 'character'."

A man of accomplishment and social charm, it was his peculiarity to be as parsimonious in personal expenditure as he could be lavish where the acquirement, say, of a piece of sculpture from Nineveh was in question. He had not troubled to grow old gracefully, and I distinctly recall the childish repugnance with which, he, as one of my godfathers, inspired in me.

Could we have met as coevals, we should probably have become friends. But he was not one of those old bachelors who delight in children (perhaps I ought to say spoiled children) and his snuff coloured scratch wig, together with a great purple wen upon his nose, disquieted me. Then his tall hat, his gloves, and his Inverness cape were reputed to date back to his early prime, and certainly looked as if this were true. But in conversation and courtly gallantry he was delightful, as I often have heard from near relatives of my own, of whom he was a valued friend.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Douglas, no "coeval," remembered only the closing years of Waldie's life: the eccentric, in his tall hat, gloves, and Inverness cape, who made his last carriage trip from Roxburghshire to Rome in 1856, at the age of seventy-five. The journal he meticulously kept, almost a hundred volumes spanning over two-thirds of a century, comes to an end on October 28, 1864. He died four months later, February 24, 1865.

Aside from extensive commentary of the theatre, Waldie's journal contains a largely bored and restless account of the social whirl of the beau monde, "nothing but calls, and little dinners, and petit soirées. ...I am tired of calls."<sup>2</sup> Totally disinclined to take an active role in family business, Waldie left the management of the collieries and the glass factory to the "more competent," and turned his efforts, instead, to the Newcastle Theatre Royal, serving on the theatre committee, as a corporation shareholder, during the successive management of Stephen Kemble, William Macready, and Vincent De Camp.<sup>3</sup> He as-

sumed administration of Hendersyde Park at Kelso, Roxburghshire, shortly before the death of his father, George Waldie, in 1826. Hendersyde Park came to the Waldie family through the marriage of John Waldie's grandfather to Jean Ormston, eldest daughter of Charles Ormston, Esq. The Ormstons of Hendersyde and the Scotts of Sandyknowe, as well as the Waldies of Berryhill, feuded, married, intertwined in that episode of history so often the temporal province of the Waverley novels, and Sir Walter Scott, even many years later, fondly recalled "the good Lady Waldie of Hendersyde" who placed her library at my disposal when I was a boy at Kelso.<sup>4</sup> John Waldie's father also married into the Ormston family; his marriage to Ann, eldest daughter of Jonathan Ormston, Esq., of Forth House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was recorded at Kelso in 1799. John Waldie, the eldest son, remained a bachelor; his younger brother William (1786-1823) was killed in a duel; all three of his sister married: Maria Jane (1785-1865) to Richard Griffith, Esq. (afterwards Baronet), of Dublin, Charlotte Ann (1788-1859) to Stephen Eaton, Esq., of Stamford, and Jane (1790-1826) to Captain (afterwards Rear Admiral) George Edward Watts.<sup>5</sup>

Both Charlotte and Jane shared John Waldie's artistic aspirations. Charlotte Waldie had some success as a novelist, but never to match the popularity of her Narrative of a Residence in Belgium, during the Campaign of 1815, which was first published in 1817, went through numerous printings, and was twice revived later in the century (The Days of Battle, 1853, and Waterloo Days, 1892). Her Rome in the Nineteenth Century (1820) was also well received and frequently reprinted; Charlotte made corrections

and additions for a fifth edition in 1852, which was reprinted until 1860, and the two volumes were last published in 1892. Charlotte wrote three lengthy novels, each of three volumes, Continental Adventures (1826), Vittoria Colonna (1827), and At Home and Abroad (1831). Jane Waldie, whose paintings were exhibited at the Royal Academy and the British Gallery, had her panoramic sketch of the battlefield of Waterloo published with a prose description, Waterloo, by a near Observer (1817), which enjoyed ten editions within a few months. Jane's Sketches Descriptive of Italy in 1816-1817 (1820), in four volumes, was less successful than Charlotte's work, and it prompted from Lord Byron a denunciatory tirade before he discovered, "horresco referens) that it is written by a WOMAN!!!" Whereupon he scornfully apologized, "I can only say that I am sorry that a Lady should say anything of the kind."<sup>6</sup>

John Waldie's artistic aspirations were modest: he was an accomplished tenor, and often performed at various private musical entertainments, where on many occasions he sang with such professionals as the great Angelica Catalani, John Braham, and Michael Kelly. But Waldie prided himself most in matters of taste, and he had hoped his critiques of drama and music would command great attention. By 1809 Waldie had begun to grow somewhat disillusioned: "I have certainly a great deal of enjoyment, but I fear no lasting benefit to myself is to result from it: -- the ground I wished to occupy, being, I have too much reason to fear, preoccupied. Something however I hope may cast up for me in my profession."<sup>7</sup> Just the week before, at the opening of Samuel Arnold's English opera at the Lyceum Theatre, Waldie met "Mr. Hunt of the



Examiner... a very clever & entertaining man."<sup>8</sup> Perhaps he felt himself too much in the shadow of Leigh Hunt's acclaim, or, granting the ambiguity of "preoccupied," perhaps he felt it a folly to presume his criticism could influence artist or audience. He was no doubt cheered by the response he soon after received from William Augustus Conway: "Your critique in the Mirror I think very elegantly written and critically correct, tho' somewhat severe to McCready. ... with regard to myself as mention'd in the same, I will not affect modesty, but simply offer my thanks for your favorable opinion-- tho' I fear it is too sanguine -- however if I am blessed with health & favor'd with your advice, I will endeavor to realize your expectation by every effort in my power."<sup>9</sup>

Whatever the cause of disillusionment, the consequence is certain: Waldie did not abandon his "profession," but his published reviews became more a matter of special interest in a particular performer, and much less dedicated to forming or reforming popular taste. Because his reviews appeared anonymously, or signed only with a nondescript "W.," it is difficult to identify them with certainty, unless the phrasing echoes the journal. The later reviews, however, depart considerably in language from the journal entries. His journal, for example, contains only a bald account of Braham's six performances at the Newcastle Theatre in January, 1822, but his "Musical Report" for the Newcastle Chronicle gives an eloquent defense of Braham, whose "amazing powers have now been the delight of England and Italy for upwards of twenty

years, yet they still remain undiminished."<sup>10</sup> The journal itself provides, nevertheless, the richest source of Waldie's opinions on the performing arts, and certainly far more candid than any of the published counterparts.

Waldie's enthusiasm for the theatre was apparently sparked in his early youth, even before he left Kelso to begin his University studies. With fascination he had attended the French theatre at the Kelso inn, the Cross Keys.<sup>11</sup> Although the general lot of the captive French soldiers in Kelso was given too much labor in building roads and walls, the officers had an easier time.<sup>12</sup> One of their entertainments was the weekly performance, with local assistance, of such plays as Tartuffe and Les Visitandines.<sup>13</sup>

By the time he ripened as an Edinburgh scholar, young Waldie was already addicted to the stage. In one letter from home, his mother scolds him for spending his money on the theatre and subscriptions to the theatrical reviews.<sup>14</sup> In 1798, as a student of physics and ethics, "Litt. et Phil. Quod Felix Faustumque sit," John Waldie matriculated in the University of Edinburgh.<sup>15</sup> During his first two years he attended Prof. Hope's lectures in Chemistry, Prof. Tytler's lectures in Universal History, Prof. Stewart's lectures in Moral Philosophy, and he took vocal music lessons from Mr. Laidlaw. He kept attentive lecture notes,<sup>16</sup> but his journal reveals that many evenings were spent in the theatre instead of with his studies. By the time the first year had ended, Waldie was eager to move to the Theatre Royal in Newcastle, where Sarah Siddons had been retained to perform "for four nights only -- at every one of which I shall be present,"

proclaimed her eighteen year old admirer, "unless I die before they are completed."<sup>17</sup>

The first three volumes of Waldie's journal, probably comprising his last school years and his first semester at the University, are missing. The fourth volume begins the New Year with a flourish: "Journal of the life and adventures of John Waldie in 1799." Although much of the philosophy of Dugald Stewart is echoed in his journal, even thirty years and sixty volumes later, the theatrical commentaries reveal as markedly the influence of the Monthly Mirror and the Dramatic Censor, especially the simplistic jargon Waldie often imitated. His adjectival notation on the merit of the performers recurs rather monotonously: "capital," "inimitable," or "exquisite" at the top; then "admirable" or "delightful," "pleasing" or "charming"; "so so," "tol lol," or "tolerable" in the middle; and "dull," "stupid," or "execrable" at the bottom of the scale. That he was quite capable of translating this notation into good descriptive and evaluative commentary he demonstrated well enough when he began submitting his critiques to the Edinburgh and Newcastle newspapers. But the bad habit was never put aside, and he continued to rely all too frequently on the favored clichés of theatrical criticism.

Waldie seldom indulged in theoretical abstraction: his attention was given to observing and recording the impressions of the moment. When he does turn to theory in an endeavor to lend a rational support to his impressions, his reluctance is usually apparent. Such abstraction leads one away from

the enjoyment of art, and the purpose of art for Waldie is enjoyment. He much preferred the emotional spontaneity of an Italian audience to the always judging French, who are "too fond of criticising at the time" and fail to enjoy because they are "anxious to analyze and dissect, and often to shew their own ingenuity."<sup>18</sup> Waldie's version of the Horatian "aut prodesse aut delectare" was very much tipped in favor of the "delectare." The factors most important to his aesthetic are "original feeling" and "sympathy," but even his reliance on emotional response had its intellectual rationale.

The notes that Waldie kept on Dugald Stewart's lectures contain most of the ideas elaborated in the journal. In demonstrating the pervasive appeal to Stewart's philosophy, I mean neither to insist on the accuracy of Waldie's account of Stewart's ideas, nor to exaggerate the continuity or profundity of Waldie's application of them. He was too strongly devoted to spontaneity to bother much with continuity, and too suspicious of theory to attend carefully to the study of philosophy, even a philosophy based on "common sense." Nevertheless, his most extensive exposure to a philosophical system was under the teaching of Dugald Stewart, and that system, plus a few ideas absorbed from his reading of Rousseau, remained the dominant informing influence in Waldie's criticism.

Some thirty years after he left the lecture halls of the University of Edinburgh, Waldie had occasion to elaborate his ideas on "manifold consciousness" and "manifold

realities." In one instance he was trying to explain his objections to a performance of Kean by clarifying his own criteria of good acting; in the other instance he was trying to defend his notion of "truth, nature, reality in the drama, even operatic drama."

The action, of course, can live only in the acting -- & the actor must animate the world & reveal its telling point. His is a peculiar profession: an instrument to be played upon, an ingenious marionette, yet he is at once puppet & puppeteer -- a man of manifold consciousness: subjectively engaged, objectively detached -- all nature & feeling, yet all science & control -- attentive to his author & to his audience, intent upon the part he has to play -- & playing it as if all his being were given up to it.<sup>19</sup>

There is a reality of things; a reality of ideas; & somewhere between them, dancing in and out, a reality of words. Thus in the theatre, when it is at its best, I have felt the presence of manifold realities: the reality of human nature, that the author contrives to create in his characters; the reality of soul and feeling in voice and action, that the actor expresses; the reality of the stage itself, the illusion of truth given to its fiction, its scenery and ensemble, stark simplicity or grand spectacle; and to these, the reality that has its only confirmation in the mind of the spectator, the reality that echoes my experiences, my sensations, or even my wild fancies.<sup>20</sup>

The terms "manifold consciousness" and "manifold realities" both assume a "coincidence" of subject and object similar to that posited by Coleridge in Chapter XII of Biographia Literaria.<sup>21</sup> Coleridge's argument was indebted, of course, to Schelling, but the assumptions parallel those of Reid and Stewart. "Our notions of Matter & Mind are the same," Waldie records from Stewart's lecture, with the explanation that sensation provides all we know of either: rough or smooth, hard or soft, hot or cold are material sensations; joy or sadness, hope or fear, love or hatred are mental sensations. All sensation, objective and subjective, involves degrees of pleasure or pain. After confirming the simultaneous sensations of mind and matter, Stewart addressed the problem of language, that "reality of words," as Waldie later wrote, "dancing in and out." In the origin of the language, argued Stewart, it would be untenable to assume, with Adam Smith, that all verbs were impersonal; even in its "rudest & most unpolished state" language "would consist of natural and artificial signs." Natural signs are personal, relating to the actions and reactions of the body; artificial signs are substantive or impersonal, relating to being and things. Language, even in its very beginning, must be subjective and objective. Philosophically, however, the problem remains that "we have no language for the motions of our minds." All words relating to mental process, "perception, conception, &c.," have been derived analogically from material process: "Our attention to the study of Philosophy is too much engrossed by matter, & by it diverted from the contemplation & study

of mind."<sup>23</sup>

Coleridge said of traditional philosophies that "1. Either the objective is taken as the first, and then we have to account for the supervention of the subjective that coalesces with it. ... 2. Or the subjective is taken as the first, and the problem then is, how there supervenes to it a coincident objective." The resolution he proposed was simply to begin with both, instead of materialism or idealism, a "system of Pythagoras and Plato revived and purified," which would take as its first the coincidence of subject and object.<sup>24</sup> Waldie made note of a similar direction in Stewart's philosophy: "Many attempts have been made to explain the phenomena of mind by the analogy of matter: but few have ever been made to explain the phenomena of matter by the analogy of mind." A philosophy which assumes matter and denies mind, and thus repudiates its own laboratory, "is even more absurd than the contrary one which affirms that Mind is the moving spring of all matter." Because of the objective concerns of man, manifest in his culture and his language, materialism has gained the greater support. More attention is given to the "artificial signs" of language; in service of "popular use," words are proliferated in response to material needs, "to express the common wants of life." There has been little development or elaboration of a subjective vocabulary, and the objective vocabulary is rendered imperfect by its ambiguities. Words often signal "two or three different ideas at once."<sup>25</sup> Language, then, is in itself "manifold" in its relation to the realities of mind and matter.

In his criteria for good acting, Waldie states first that "the actor must animate the word & reveal its telling point." This animation of dramatization of the word requires an active and passive capability, "subjectively engaged, objectively detached." Several distinctions which Waldie acquired from Stewart's account of the "association of ideas" are relevant here. Consciousness, he wrote, is involuntary: the mind is constantly open, even in sleep, to sensations. Reflection, however, is voluntary: it is an exercise of will when the mind acts upon the sensations it receives. The same distinction is true to perception and observation: "we cannot avoid perceiving things, but we may observe them or not as we like."<sup>26</sup> Where the mind observes and reflects it may also conceive. Conception is defined simply as forming "an idea of an object," but conception may evoke either imagination or abstraction, which are opposite processes. Conception gives us the "exact transcript" of the sense impression. "It is by conception that we are enabled to form a notion of the face of an absent friend, or the smell of a rose." Imagination is the process of modifying the "transcript" by combining different sensations and ideas. Abstraction is the process of separating and reordering, as general and species, the different combinations of sense impressions. "Our conceptions are strong & lively in proportion to the keenness of our passions; and our passions are often excited by the liveliness of our conceptions."<sup>27</sup> Imagination works as a stimulus to the passions. Abstraction works as a tool of the intellect. The former gives us art, the latter science.



Two further processes or facilities of mind are defined: fancy and judgment. Whereas imagination and abstraction are processes of ordering and combining dependent only upon conception, fancy is further dependent upon the "association of ideas," and judgment requires the exercise of "common sense." Fancy is "a habit of associating ideas according to the analogy and relation they bear to each other." Judgment, although it frequently shows itself in affirmation or denial, is actually "a solitary action of mind" which seeks to obtain or sustain well being, based on the "evidence of consciousness" and that anticipation of consequences called "common sense ... that principle which enables us to conduct ourselves properly, with prudence and circumspection."<sup>28</sup>

Stewart's distinction between imagination and fancy perhaps influenced, as M. H. Adams has observed,<sup>29</sup> Coleridge's formulation in Chapters IV and XIII of the Biographia Literaria, and the history of the "law of association" in Chapters V through VIII reveals a familiarity with Reid and Stewart as well as with the formulations from Aristotle to Hume and Hartley.<sup>30</sup> Aristotle in "De Memoria" described the association of ideas by similitude, contrariety, and contiguity. Hume reasserted the three laws of association, but with an important addition: association by similarity or difference is but a single operation of mind; association by spatial relationship, contiguity or vicinity, is another operation of mind; association by temporal relationship, what we call "causality," is a third operation. Waldie's notes from Stewart have the same formulation of the laws of association, but the concern is less with the theory than with the application: "The effect of an Association

of Ideas upon our speculative judgements in matters of taste & in our moral ideas."<sup>31</sup> Among the "matters of taste" the notes cover such topics as wit and humor, versification and rhyme, comedy and tragedy. Here is the source of the associationist aesthetic Waldie draws upon in his reference to the "reality that has its only confirmation in the mind of the spectator, the reality that echoes my experiences, my sensations, or even my wild fancies."

In Waldie's subsequent notes aesthetic and ethical considerations are compounded, for Stewart insisted that moral philosophy rests along with the arts primarily on imagination, just as physics or science must be based primarily on abstraction. Waldie also noted, and took to heart, the caveat that aesthetic sensitivity and sensibility are destroyed by abstraction, analysis, and metaphysical speculation:

...in metaphysical studies the farther we advance in error the more liable we are to plunge deeper into it; they have also a great tendency to deaden our sensitivity with respect to the affairs of life, which is so great an enjoyment to us, and also to abstract our attention from them. They more particularly deaden our sensibility to objects of taste & genius & the fine arts, by withdrawing the attention from pleasure which those objects give us, to remote enquiries respecting the cause of the pleasurable sensation, and also if it be an object of art, to the manner in which it has been made. Also the beauties of Nature fade before a too accurate observer, because instead of admiring them he turns his attention

to their causes and the manner in which they were produced. From the deadening effects of abstraction, Stewart turned to the enlivening influence of the imagination. But he also insisted on the balance of the two processes: the cooperation of emotion and intellect. Man is motivated by his animal appetites, but his character is the product of two principles of will, an active principle dictated by the emotions and pleasure-pain sensations, and an intellectual principle determined by a love of knowledge and a love of esteem.<sup>33</sup>

This idea of character Waldie often applied to dramatic character, not only in "the reality of human nature, that the author contrives to create in his characters," but also in "the reality of soul and feeling...that the actor expresses." In dramatic character, where the balance is disrupted and the passions are shown to dominate, the intellect is never totally abandoned. Even in the extremes of duress or madness, the two principles of will still contend, and the actor must portray that contention through his own power of feeling and control. The contention of emotion and intellect in the character of melodrama may be reduced to a simple dilemma, but in the best comedy and tragedy character is more complexly developed. Motives, for example, may be pretended or feigned, and the actor must play the character's real as well as counterfeit action. In an early commentary on John Philip Kemble in Hamlet, Waldie praises his masterly delineation of the "predominant passion" of grief, but also calls attention to the inherent complexity of the role: "the feigned madness,

real grief, direction to the players, & affected mirth require so many different methods of acting that one can hardly expect Hamlet to be done justice -- yet the action, countenance, & figure of Kemble in this long & difficult character are expressively controlled throughout."<sup>34</sup> The character of Beatrice in Much Ado about Nothing poses similar problems of real and feigned actions, for which Mrs. S. Kemble, in Waldie's judgment, wanted adequate "spirits": "To shew that balance of love and reason thro' the counterfeit of 'all mirth and no matter' requires the greater facility and felicity of Mrs. Siddons or Mrs. Jordan, tho' for pert and witty repartee there is liveliness enough in Mrs. Kemble's Beatrice."<sup>35</sup>

How the emotions are expressed in the "natural signs" of language, in bodily movement and gesture, and in facial expression, were also topics Waldie recorded from Stewart's lectures and often reiterated in his observations on acting. All values, the good, the true, the beautiful, are confirmed only in the self, subjectively and introspectively. Because values are personal, only the "natural signs" of language may express them; they may be elaborated by imagination, but they can have no meaning in abstraction. Similarly, in any speculation about active principles of will, we "lose them at the moment, & are quite removed from them," but in speculation "about intellectual principles, we are employed in the use of them." In addition to spoken language, man has a bodily language of "natural signs," for "every emotion of the mind has a correspondent external expression." To read

these aright requires observant study of human nature. "The study of natural signs seems to have been much cultivated by the ancients, which is shewn by the great perfection to which they arrived in pantomimic exhibitions, and it was their custom for one actor to repeat the words of the play, while another gave the proper gesticulations."<sup>36</sup> But, just as these could be studied and practiced in pantomimic art, they can be exercised with deceit. In our own minds we can confirm "intellectual or moral merit," but we know not the minds of others and must rely on word, facial expression, physical gesture, which "are often deceitful, and we cannot be sure we know their intellectual qualities."<sup>37</sup> To the extent we know human nature, we will know the "natural sign" of body to be true or false. Indeed, the actor may distinguish for his audience a character's truths and falsehoods merely by his movements and his inflections of voice.

Precisely such a mastery of bodily language and vocal control, as Waldie asserted in his journal, made Kemble such a versatile and effective actor:

Kemble owes much to the dramatic modulation of voice & delivery; his features, too, seem to mould themselves to suit the character, but his very step & stride are also altered: the quick, furtive, & slightly stooped movements of Shylock, the proud stride of Rolla; but what variations in Hamlet! -- now a broad stance, now faltering steps, and a slight jig for quizzing Polonius.<sup>38</sup>

Kean, as Zanga in Revenge, Waldie described as "always too

mean & cat-like & diabolical," adding that he "made his deception too evident." While his "triumphant malevolence was really great," Kean's "gait & action" were bad, and, unlike Kemble, he never "seemed to suffer the agonies he spoke of."<sup>39</sup> Waldie was ever attentive to an actor's manner and movement, often repeating that words could not express them, but attempting anyway, in his account of Young as Othello with Cooke as Iago,<sup>40</sup> for example, or of Meggett as Rolla in Pizarro and Lord Townly in Provoked Husband,<sup>41</sup> to describe the actor's appearance and bodily language. He particularly delighted in the complexities of mime, as evident in his critique of Belles without Beaux, "a dull piece as may supposed, only tolerated from the exquisite acting of Miss Kelly," whom he praises for having "managed marvelously the feminine & masculine movements, especially her contrived clumsiness in playing a woman playing a man trying to play a woman."<sup>42</sup>

In his "survey of the pleasures of the Imagination," Stewart reviewed Aristotle's Poetics from an associationist vantage, beginning with probable vs. possible action and causal vs. episodic structure. In a story suspense and anticipation are more important than surprise, for the mind seeks to order the fictive experience in terms of familiar patterns of association. The order of real experience, of course, is far more diffuse than fictive experience.

How many events & circumstances in real life do we every day meet with, which if related in a Novel we should call improbable. All accidental events are

disagreeable when employed to bring about the catastrophe of a story, tho' at the same time not all improbable. In a fictitious story the attention of the reader cannot be kept up without a plot, which thickens as the story proceeds, tho' there are many of Shakespeare's Historical Plays which, without any plot at all, are highly interesting but that is owing to our conceiving the events really to have happened.<sup>43</sup>

In comparing the events of story and history, Stewart claimed the associational references in the one were internally developed, while the other relied on external factors. The story has a causal structure which can be related to personal experience. The history has an episodic structure which depends on a knowledge of past tradition; its panoramic presentation of events can be related only indirectly to personal experience.

Aristotle, in describing the conditions of tragic effect, mentioned three forms of plot to be avoided, and three attributes of tragic character in the perfect plot. The tragic character is noble, renowned, prosperous; he is neither eminently good and just, nor vicious and depraved; he falls from fortune by error and frailty.<sup>44</sup> Stewart altered the first from nobility of position to "liveliness of mind," and his discussion of the latter attributes drew from his ideas on the "active and intellectual principles of will."

One set of good qualities renders the possessor beloved -- and another set renders him admired. Of the first are the qualities of goodnature, gentleness, mercy, &c. Of

the second class are those of justice, wisdom, bravery, fortitude, &c.... There are some men whose powers of moral judgement is very great & correct & sound, who have no moral sensibility, and others whose sensibility is great, who are deficient in judgement.<sup>45</sup>

The "tragic flaw," then, is an improper balance of judgment and sensibility. The character may gain our sympathy because of his good qualities of sensibility, but we witness him fall for want of judgment. Or we admire his strength and power of judgment, only to see his lack of sensibility precipitate tragic consequences.

Tragedy had its origin in the epic, according to Aristotle, and comedy in the lampoon; one represented actions of the noble, the other of the ignoble.<sup>46</sup> Stewart is essentially in agreement with Aristotle's assertion that comedy is a representation of men who are morally inferior, but merely ludicrous and not thoroughly evil. The defect of comic character produces no harm, thus it prompts laughter rather than distress.

The natural and proper objects of ridicule are those little defects which do not make us lament the depravity or immorality of mankind, such as a deficiency in the common ceremonies of behaviour, or some natural defect which the possessor endeavours in vain to conceal. The natural defects never appear half so ridiculous as when united with affectation.<sup>47</sup>

The ridiculous exercises the facility of judgment. Wit and



humor excite the fancy; the one affecting the intellect, the other arousing the feelings. Wit is a "feat of intellectual dexterity," a rapidity in calling forth unexpected associations. Humor stirs the genial emotions: it "makes us laugh more than wit, on account of its ludicrousness, tho' it is quite a different thing, & wants that keen, tho' goodnatured edge, which distinguishes true wit."<sup>48</sup> Waldie favored the interaction of all three elements in comedy, praising John Quick, for example, as gifted "in exposing the comic without losing all pathos"<sup>49</sup> and in saving "the satire in the silliness."<sup>50</sup> Too much of the ridiculous and the action is reduced to mere bufoonery; too much wit and the dialogue becomes nothing more than a series of verbal clenches. Humor, because it derives its effects from the qualities of human nature and feeling, provides the necessary amalgam.<sup>51</sup>

Although his criticism continued to reflect these distinctions, Waldie doubted that the ridiculous could be considered a moral corrective. "Seeing others ridiculed," so he had transcribed Stewart's pronouncement, "excites the exertions of an individual to correct those imperfections in himself." And Stewart had added: "The sense of ridicule is a powerful auxiliary to the sense of duty."<sup>52</sup> The moral end of the drama is scarcely an issue for Waldie. True, he would complain against the vulgarity or crudity of a piece, but he did not turn to argue that tragedy or comedy improved the morality of mankind. Of Mrs. Inchbald's Everyone has his Fault he wrote: "The purpose of such satire

can only be to relieve the agony of embarrassment & shame we suffer at our follies by letting us laugh at ourselves -- to presume satire a cure for folly is to commit a great folly indeed."<sup>53</sup>

Moral purpose, of course, may refer to the character and his action as well as to the effect of the play upon the spectator. A personal involvement in the action is repeatedly affirmed in Waldie's criticism. He made no attempt to separate a moral and an aesthetic involvement. Insofar as he rested his response on "sympathy," "original feeling," "association of ideas," and the process of imagination, he was on common ground with his Scottish mentor. Stewart, as a matter of fact, endeavored to clarify his notion of sympathy by describing an hysterical and a sympathetic response to the action of Belvidera in Otway's Venice Preserved.

Those people who fall into hysterics at seeing the madness of Belvidera are not perhaps so affected with it in their minds, as those who consider the train of misery which has produced it; the hysterics people fall into are owing to mobility of their bodily frame which corresponds with the motion of the actress.<sup>54</sup>

A mechanical sympathy, such as is observed in adjacent violins on plucking a string of one, or a physical sympathy, such as a contagion of "yawning, squinting, laughing, &c.," is related to what Stewart here calls the hysterical response. Sympathy, as he employs the term in his own moral philosophy,

begins with that extension of self, "to think the distresses of others to be our own & to put ourselves in their places." But he immediately denies the identity of the two experiences; at best there is but a correspondence in mind stimulated by imagination and supported by a recreation, through association, of the experiences of "other" in the experiences of "self." Such sympathy is "always agreeable," for it implicates affection.<sup>55</sup>

In lecturing on the "pleasures of imagination," Stewart asserted that the cultivation of the imagination is a process of subjective acquisition. In the primitive or savage, the "passionate mind" is engaged in "combining new ideas and circumstances"; the mind seeks to relate "natural and artificial signs" and "to compensate for the want of a copious vocabulary"; as a result, the primitive adopts a "figurative style." The cultivated imagination grows introspective and comes to take "pleasure in contemplating the objects of its own creation." This act of self-contemplation is enhanced by the facility of association, which brings familiarity into play with the novelty of imagination: "The pleasure we receive from Imagination is in forming new characters & ideas which we compare with those we have been accustomed to, it is these which give us so much delight."<sup>56</sup> Unlike the pleasures of the appetites, which are quickly satiated in gratification and soon destroyed in excess of indulgence, the pleasures of imagination increase upon exercise. "All our active and perceptive powers are strengthened and confirmed by the habit of making use of them."<sup>57</sup> Stewart's

"common-sense" basis consistently brought him back from the assertion of extremes to the iteration of the balance and harmony of mental powers. He would not confound art and reality. And he concluded his lecture on sympathy with the assertion that the "moral approbation" elicited by the sympathetic response in human affairs is "quite different to that which we give to a poem or a picture."<sup>58</sup> Although the subjective and objective interaction of mental powers and facilities is defined as complementary, with a concert of imagination and abstraction, fancy and judgment, association and common sense, Stewart did argue a suspension of that interaction in religious faith. Stewart had, after all, opposed Humean scepticism with his confident elaboration of a moral philosophy based on the "powers of mind." Following Hume, he held that causality was known only associationally:<sup>59</sup> "We find from experience that one event is often the forerunner of another, & that when we see the one happen we may expect the other quickly to follow; yet we do not know that they have a necessary connection." Stewart at this point declared that "the reality of our idea of power" cannot be disputed "because we cannot trace it to its source."<sup>60</sup> He briefly reviewed Aristotle on material, formal, efficient, and final cause, and then turned in his last seven lectures in moral philosophy to the question of religious faith and God as first cause.<sup>61</sup>

If moral and aesthetic issues both depend on the imagination, as Stewart asserted, then the approbation

given "to a poem or picture" need not be essentially different from the response in human affairs. Stewart, however, did not extend his argument for a "religious faith" to include what Coleridge called "negative faith" or "poetic faith," which would accept illusion by wilfully suspending judgment and disbelief.<sup>62</sup> Waldie found such faith in the imagination an easy act. It is an essential attribute of those "manifold realities" of the theatre, as described in 1831, and the rudimentary act of "realising" the illusion is part of even his earliest observation of the arts. In explaining his response to the "astonishing force of expression and coloring" in Raphael and Titian, Waldie wrote that "sometimes when looking long at one painting it may almost be imagined to become reality."<sup>63</sup> Of Kemble in Orestes, Waldie reported as "astonishing" and "affecting" the actor's "looks, attitudes, & powerful manner of speaking to the soul," and added that the climactic mad scene "was horrible to look at & seemed complete reality."<sup>64</sup> That qualified reservation, "almost" and "seemed," gradually diminished in his criticism, as he increasingly emphasized "the reality of the stage itself, the illusion of truth given to its fiction." Even while objecting to Arthur Murphy's The Grecian Daughter as "dull," "revolting," and "unnatural," Waldie found it possible to reaffirm the reality of illusion potential in the drama:

One of the most pleasing paradoxes of the theatre is the union of nature and art upon the stage. . . . There is, after all, no reality on the stage but the reality

of the stage -- its only nature is what we recognise as a projection of our own experience -- & its only truth: lies in persuading us to indulge its pretenses.<sup>65</sup>

Here, as well as in his account of "manifold consciousness" and "manifold realities," Waldie makes it clear that the "willing suspension of disbelief" requires more than faith or imagination of the spectator. Art must have the suatory power to move the sympathetic response, and in the drama the actor, too, is engaged "in persuading us to indulge its pretenses." Waldie's notes from Stewart, even with the many references to the drama, contain no explanation of sympathy in acting. The notes do, of course, assert that sympathy is a willed and active accomplishment of mind. Waldie, in bringing the doctrine of sympathy to the art of acting, assumed a sympathetic stimulus as well as a sympathetic response. Thus he explained the weakness of Miss Boyce's acting in James Kenney's Ella Rosenberg: "tho' she has real feeling, she has not the strength of acting to make the feelings of others vibrate in sympathetic accord with her own."<sup>66</sup> Following Stewart's distinction between hysterical and sympathetic response, Waldie gives attention to physical and mental action in drama. In the static representation of painting or statue, the successful depiction of either action is a triumph over the constraints of the medium, and where both physical and mental action are portrayed with truth and power there is greatness in art. In such terms Waldie described the greatness of

Laocoon, impressive for its powerful contrasts, primarily the contrast of "bodily and mental agonies."<sup>67</sup> In the active representation of the drama, however, mental process should dominate and bodily action serve as adjunct or complement. In discussing Sarah Siddon's performance in Southerne's The Fatal Marriage and Rowe's Jane Shore, Waldie expounded his preference for her rôle as Isabella. Both Isabella and Jane Shore are made to suffer extreme agonies, yet Isabella's death is a "climax of horror, despair & pain," whereas Jane Shore's death agonies subordinate the dramatic struggle of mind, "for ... a great deal of her sufferings must have been corporeal & arising from hunger." The shortcoming in such a character is that "one is not so much affected at what one never felt, as one is at mental sufferings." But he lauded Mrs. Siddon's ability to make one feel mentally every reverberation of Isabella's agonies.<sup>68</sup>

In 1801, his studies at the university at an end, Waldie took on responsibilities at the Northumberland Glass Company, under his father's direction, keeping the cashbook and records of sales and purchases. "At Glasshouse" wrote Waldie at the head of his daily entries, dutiful but apparently not enthusiastic. During this period, he attended regularly Newcastle's Theatre Royal, which was under the management of Stephen Kemble. Often called "big Kemble" to distinguish him from his brother, "great Kemble," Stephen Kemble managed the Newcastle Stock Company from 1790 to 1806.<sup>69</sup> The company was not only graced, usually two weeks a year, with

the engagements of John Philip Kemble and Sarah Siddons, but had strength of its own in Elizabeth Satchell Kemble, Daniel Egerton, William Macready, and, when sober, George Frederick Cooke.<sup>70</sup> Although Waldie appreciated Stephen Kemble's accomplishments as manager, he seldom had praise for his acting. After describing J. P. Kemble's performance, as Penruddock, "calm & resigned ... yet sometimes impatient & testy," Waldie concludes: "how different he plays it from his brother Stephen, who bellows & rails away with the voice of an ass as he is, at least when he plays such characters."<sup>71</sup> He was popular as Sir John Falstaff, a role for which he had "stupendous corporeal qualifications," and he penned for his appearance at Drury Lane an introduction to be read by John Bannister:

A Falstaff here to night, by Nature made,  
Lends to your favorite bard, his pond'rous aid;  
No man of buckram he! no stuffing gear!  
No feather-bed -- nor, e'en a pillow-bier!  
But all good honest flesh, and blood, and bone,  
And weighing, more or less, some thirty stone.<sup>72</sup>

Even a favorable review of that London performance, complimenting the just conception of the character, complained that he "seemed occasionally too grave, his delivery was formal, and his performance was wanting richness." This review especially praised the tragic style and "infinity of delicate touches" in which he "shewed himself to be an original thinker and an enlightened critic." His defects were



attributed to a "voice ... very deficient in flexibility."<sup>73</sup>  
No doubt Stephen Kemble exerted his acting skills more fully for his London audience than was his habit at Newcastle; nevertheless, the "infinity of delicate touches" ascribed to his acting in Henry IV, is bluntly contradicted in Waldie's appraisal, even though Waldie grants that the rôle of Falstaff in The Merry Wives of Windsor is less demanding:

Kemble, as I have explained before, has no subtlety in his representation of Falstaff, but as less is called for here, his pompous rant & foolery was well in part, and he managed more variety than usual. In the concluding scene he gave "Now, the hot-blooded gods assist me! Remember, Jove" in a truly comic declamatory style -- his "Divide me like a bribe buck, each a haunch" was all aquiver with anticipation -- but his ridiculous mincing & wincing when surrounded by the chorus of fairies was Kemble's best, and a perfectly laughable and grotesque anti-masque.<sup>74</sup>

Waldie continued submitting his brief reviews of the Theatre Royal performances to the Newcastle Chronicle and Courant, but he longed for a chance to see more of the great metropolitan theatres. A fortunate opportunity cleared the way for him to visit the Continent when the war that had been raging between England and France from 1793 to 1801 came to an end. With the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens in March, 1802, the British began to flock to Paris, and John Waldie was among them.

Accompanied by his cousin Joe Lamb, Waldie sailed from the Tyne to the Rhine, arriving in Rotterdam on the eve of his twentyfirst birthday. His father had instructed the two young men that the pleasures of the trip should be combined with business, for he was hopeful of reopening French trade in glass. The business interests, however, were somewhat slighted until shortly before their return from their excursion of eleven weeks. Although young Waldie pretended a worldliness in describing his adventure, his naiveté is but poorly masked and his provincial prejudices frequently obtrude. Yet his experiences do not pass by without rendering him wiser. On first arriving, he declares himself shocked by the display of "indelicacy" of the Dutch ladies cavorting with the gentlemen in a summer garden near Delft.<sup>75</sup> The "shameless" behavior of a French woman in Brussels convinces him that the French "must be arrived at a pitch of depravity."<sup>76</sup> In Paris, however, he finds himself pleased by the gracious, though flirtatious, manners of the "filles de joye," and much entertained by their lively and intelligent conversation.<sup>77</sup> At the journey's end, he sends home, giving each two francs, "a pair of shabby little girls, not above 14, who offered themselves to us in crude and simple terms," and reflects in aftermath that such an incident "is less the effect of immorality than of long aggravated poverty."<sup>78</sup>

What he learned about the theatre is difficult to summarize, for a great many contrasts to English acting

and staging impressed him. In tragedy, he was most struck with the acting of Talma. "There is more pomp, declamation, and action than real feeling in French poetry and French tragic acting," he wrote after seeing Talma in Racine's Andromaque, "yet in several parts the great physical powers, nature, and strong feelings of Talma had a great effect."<sup>79</sup> In this and in Corneille's Cinna, Talma exhibited a constraint and control that seldom is surrendered to outbursts of passion, avoids rant and noise, and is well calculated to "realising" the character and "the torment of the conflict."<sup>80</sup> In all, said Waldie, "Paris is unrivalled for the variety and perfection of its dramatic amusements," and "there is a completeness and ensemble in all their theatrical exhibitions, which is not to be found elsewhere."<sup>81</sup>

Upon his return to England, Waldie renewed his interest in the Newcastle Stock Company, purchasing a corporation share in the Theatre Royal.<sup>82</sup> At the first meeting of the proprietors in January, 1803, he had himself named to the newly formed Theatre Committee.<sup>83</sup> The proprietors had considerable authority over the manager, for they determined the amount of his lease, the term of his season, the price of his house, and to some extent even the members of his company. For the 1803 season the proprietors bespoke the play of The Poor Gentleman with A Tale of Mystery as afterpiece;<sup>84</sup> the principal guest player for the season was the comedian Richard Suett, who appeared as Zedan, the prisoner, in Mrs. Inchbald's Such Things Are, along with Egerton, Liston, and Mrs. Kemble.<sup>85</sup> The season normally

ran for three winter months, three nights a week, and nightly during the Race Week in June, Assize Week in August, and the Fair Week in October. As soon as Newcastle season closed, Waldie set off for the Music Festival in Bristol and the Spring Concert in Bath,<sup>86</sup> enjoying as well the performances of J. P. Kemble and R. W. Elliston,<sup>87</sup> then proceeding to London for the summer. At Drury Lane he was especially delighted with Lewis, Munden, and Mrs. Mattocks in Holcroft's The Road to Ruin;<sup>88</sup> at Covent Garden Mrs. Jordan as the arch and playful hoyden in The Country Girl, Garrick's adaptation from Wycherley, which "has ameliorated the immorality" by making the heroine "a frolicsome girl rather than a wanton wife";<sup>89</sup> at Haymarket Elliston as Sir Edward in Colman's The Iron Chest, a good performer in a bad play.<sup>90</sup> He returned to Newcastle for the performances of the Assize Week, and he spent the autumn months fulfilling his military duties as Captain of the Kelso Volunteers.

The season of 1804 began with some difficulty for Stephen Kemble. The general meeting of the proprietors resolved that the Theatre Committee announce a raise in the annual rent to £ 300, require a three year lease, and also to stipulate to the manager and his company "that on no pretence shall they be suffered to perform in any other Town, till the Theatre close at Newcastle." Kemble's proposal to the Theatre Committee, even though

he agreed to the £50 increase, was rejected, and the Committee proceeded to advertize the lease of the Theatre. Kemble responded with a second proposal, asking to add the Christmas Week to the other festive weeks of theatre, and to specify the theatre's opening in January, he also volunteered an annual benefit "to be expended in such repairs, as the Proprietors may judge proper."<sup>91</sup> This offer was accepted, but the quibble over repairs, plumbing, and painting the theatre continued between Kemble and the Committee throughout the year. Added to his difficulty with the proprietors, Kemble also found his Company under the attack of John Mitchell, editor of the Tyne Mercury.<sup>92</sup> The letter Elizabeth Satchell Kemble wrote to Waldie the following year indicated the troubles had not ceased:

I had hoped the Proprietors, by this time, were tired of adventurers, and would have been glad to have treated again with an honorable man, who was never one day deficient in his payments in all the years he had it. -- From your letter it does not appear that they are so, and as there is no chance of our having the Theatre, I must be in Newcastle very shortly to give up my House. ... Mr. M'Cready wrote to Mr. Kemble about a Month since, to know if he could purchase Manc[hester] but Mr. Kemble will have no concern with [him]. He has not paid his Rent there either I und[erstand]. And so Mr. Betterton is to be the next Manager!! What will the Theatre come to at last!!!<sup>93</sup>

Macready, notorious for his ill-starred financial enterprise, was to become Stephen Kemble's successor at the Theatre Royal. In spite of the difficulties and harassment, Kemble kept his "promise to exert myself as much as possible, in every way to please the Public."<sup>94</sup> For Race Week, 1805, he brought Sarah Siddons to play her two most celebrated rôles, Lady Macbeth and Mrs. Haller, and for a special engagement beyond Assize Week, the Young Roscius filled the house for thirteen nights. When Waldie, earlier in April, first had occasion to see Master William Henry West Betty at Drury Lane, he was as enraptured as most of the Young Roscius' fans, and when he saw him again at Newcastle his praise was even more enthusiastic. At a rehearsal of Romeo and Juliet the fourteen year old sensation dropped a glove, which Waldie purloined "as a relic." Master Betty returned for the close of the 1805 season and appeared again in 1806.<sup>95</sup> Most of the meetings of the Theatre Committee in 1805 were taken up with matters of repairs and painting, costs for which the proprietors were finally persuaded to assume. But Kemble, who felt the demands and constraints upon his management had grown too great, kept good his resolve to give up the theatre. He presented his resignation to the Committee in May, 1806.<sup>96</sup>

Waldie retired from Committee service with the close of the 1805-1806 season, but he continued to exercise his rights as corporation shareholder.<sup>97</sup> The competition

for the Theatre Royal brought proposals from theatre managers from Berwick to Birmingham. What the Kembles knew about Macready, witness Elizabeth Kemble's letter to Waldie, the new Theatre Committee did not know, for they were most taken with the elaborate offer of the Birmingham manager. A preamble to his proposal, Macready penned the following coup de théâtre:

At notices similar to yours, desperate Adventurers start up and without the least shadow of ability, either in point of Property, Talent, Industry, Credit, or Respectability, offer Sums and Temptations in various forms, far beyond what the Solvent, Qualified, Honest Man would think of naming. In this situation, the fair dealer & Respectable Manager, who is enabled to support your Theatre, pay his Rent, and afford the highest satisfaction to the Public, by giving them a variety of the best Performers which the Season will admit, & who is or may be remarkable for Celerity in producing all New Pieces that succeed in London, thus, I say, the Competent & Established Man is plac'd on a level with needy Scrambling Pretenders, who undertake what in their Hearts they are conscious they are inadequate to, with the Idea that "I may succeed. If I do, I'll pay, but should I fail, my situation cannot be worse by the trial, as I have only to throw myself on the Mercy of the Proprietors, whose Humanity will will not suffer them to think of that for me which I

should be justly entitled to, A Prison." Then your Theatre is again announced to be let under the impression of its being a bad concern, & of course must be lessen'd in Value for having fallen into hands incapable of conducting it.<sup>98</sup>

Macready proposed a five year lease at £450, repairs and painting at his own expense, and a benefit night for Newcastle charity; three years later, "incarcerated by one of his creditors" and over £680 arrears in his payments to the proprietors, he threw himself on their mercy not to take the theatre from him.<sup>99</sup> The proprietors granted clemency, and his sixteen-year-old son, later Britain's foremost tragic actor, managed the theatre for the term of his father's durance vile in the Lancaster Gaol.<sup>100</sup> Waldie's account of the senior Macready was generally unfavorable; as Twineall in Mrs. Inchbald's Such Things Are "the Manager was vulgar as usual" and in Three Weeks after Marriage "the Manager made a brute of himself ... by being stupidly drunk."<sup>101</sup> In spite of his failings, the proprietors voted in majority at the expiration of each lease that he retain the theatre, for throughout his twelve years as manager he fulfilled his promise of "giving them a variety of the best Performers" and "producing all New Pieces that succeed in London."<sup>102</sup> Munden, G. F. Cooke, and the Kembles all returned for engagements during Macready's first term of management, and Madame Catalani came North for concerts on the Newcastle



stage in 1807 and 1808. His son, William Charles Macready, made his début as Romeo in 1810 and played regularly in Newcastle for the next four years. John Braham appeared in 1811 for four nights and again the year following. In 1812 W. C. Macready played opposite Sarah Siddons, who gave her Mrs. Beverley in The Gamester and Lady Randolph in Douglas.<sup>103</sup> Waldie inaugurated a petition of complaint in 1813, and repeated the action in 1814, in an effort to require the manager to recruit for his company permanent performers of better quality, especially performers capable of assuming the popular singing rôles.<sup>104</sup> Although he apparently ignored Waldie's complaint, Macready did continue to bring guests of high acclaim to the Theatre Royal. In 1815 Edmund Kean was in Newcastle for Easter Week and Eliza O'Neill packed the house for Assize Week.<sup>105</sup>

During this period of Macready's management, Waldie turned his attention more and more to the theatres of London. And in 1815, accompanied by his sisters Charlotte and Jane, he launched a tour to the Continent. This adventure was disrupted in Brussels at midnight, June 15, by Napoleon's onslaught against the Prussian army and the forces under the command of Wellington. Waldie kept notes of his discussions with both citizens and soldiers during the confusion, and he relates the fear and anxiety in response to the news of Brunswick's death and the report that the Prussian army had been defeated. He writes, too, of the wagonloads of the wounded and the dead. Although

he had this volume of the journal corrected and neatly transcribed for his own library, he had no ambition to rival the accounts published by his sisters. Unlike Charlotte's book, which was richly supplemented by data gleaned from other sources, Waldie did not depart from his accustomed manner of reporting the moment from his own personal perspective, and even those days of battle are curiously intermixed with details of theatre and musical chat in company with Madame Catalani.<sup>106</sup>

Waldie and his sisters returned late in July to London. Three weeks later, with only Jane as his travelling companion, Waldie again sailed across the Channel for another six weeks in Flanders, Holland, and France. A tour of thirteen months in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France followed in 1816-1817, and another of two years, including Spain in the itinerary, in 1818-1820.<sup>107</sup> Not only did Waldie's criticism expand under this cosmopolitan influence, exposure to the opera of Rossini and awakened interest in the thought of Rousseau gave new impetus to Waldie's observations on music.

On his second trip of 1815, Waldie and Jane took an excursion through the forests of St. Germain and Montmorency and then to L'Isle des Peupliers at Ermenonville, "the retirement of Rousseau and the scene of his last days," to pay homage at the burial place of "L'homme de la Nature et de la Verité."<sup>108</sup> When touring the homeland of the "citoyen de Genève" in 1816, Waldie made of La Nouvelle

Héloïse a kind of Claude glass in which he viewed his surroundings. Looking at the rocks of Meillierie he "could not help thinking of the scene between Julie & St. Preux & the storm -- & their return to Clarens by moonlight."<sup>109</sup> The illusion of the novel again invades tangible reality at Le Chatelar, "residence of the Baron d'Etange, Julie's father." He peeks into Julie's bedroom, then climbs the turret to inscribe his name and finds that Lord Byron and Hobhouse had left their marks on the wall just the week before.<sup>110</sup> Meeting their carriage on the road near St. Gingoulph, he described Byron as "a gloomy looking, handsome, & rather fat-faced man," who appeared "very melancholy & wretched."<sup>111</sup> At Chillon he clambered about the castle "celebrated in 'Julie'." He knew that Byron had just sent to England "a poem on the subject of this Castle & possibly the story of Bonnivard," but Rousseau, not Byron, dominated his every association.<sup>112</sup> From Geneva he went on to Lyons, visiting the woods and fountain of Isle Barbe, "a spot most secluded & cool & pleasant," where "Rousseau used to come & think of his Julie."<sup>113</sup>

Much of Rousseau's thought was compatible with that which Waldie had acquired from Stewart: a wariness of metaphysical abstraction, especially in questions moral or aesthetic; a reliance on "original feeling" in determining the good or beautiful; a refinement of taste through repeatedly nourishing and stimulating the mind

in contemplation of grand objects. Admittedly, the Rousseau of "justice et égalité" is inseparable from the Rousseau of "nature et sensibilité"; more interesting to Waldie than the political or moral arguments, however, was Rousseau's aesthetic, not only as manifest in La Nouvelle Héloïse or Les Confessions, but more particularly as set forth in numerous entries in his Dictionnaire de Musique and his polemical thesis in the "Lettre sur la musique française." In his opposition to the music of Rameau in the "guerre de bouffons,"<sup>114</sup> Rousseau insisted that music is melody and that all melody derived from the varied sounds of speech. Harmony provided a means of imitating instrumentally the subtleties of inflections in speech. All music that departed from song, Rousseau concluded, was unnatural and meaningless. The argument on melody vs. harmony was interlinked with the argument on French vs. Italian opera, for both involved the potentialities of language. Rousseau examined the phonic qualities of the two languages and found the French deficient in the tonal properties suited to musical extension and elaboration of a grand and dramatic manner.<sup>115</sup> Rousseau's early operas, Les Muses galantes and Le Devin du village, consist of simple songs and airs, avoiding all concerted harmonies and elaborate instrumentation, such as typical of Rameau and other French opera of the period. His last opera, however, made an odd division between word and music, as if by enforcing a separation their essential unity

would become more strikingly apparent. In Pygmalion there is no singing at all; recitation is followed by orchestration; the sound and sense of the poetic word is given, so Rousseau intended, echoic amplification in the music.

Conservative in his response to the issue of melody vs. harmony, Waldie said of Le Devin du village that it succeeded in its "sweet melodies," which had been popularly assimilated by the English, "but the music wants harmony -- the old French music was nothing but harmony and Rousseau in avoiding that has got into the opposite extreme and made his music too meagre."<sup>116</sup> The "guerre des bouffons," even fifty years after the "Lettre sur la musique françoise," was still being waged in the reviews. The account of French vs. Italian opera in Europa, 1803, as an example of an outsider's impressions of Parisian singers, registered the same objections raised by Waldie in recording his response to Gluck's Iphigenia en Aulide in 1802:

... the airs and recitative are very unpleasing, being a continual succession of unmeaning squalls and discords, and a seeming test between the singers who should exert their lungs most -- nothing could be so contrary to any discrimination or delicacy of execution than the continual climax of noise attempted every moment, till the ear is harassed with discords. Gluck himself would be furious if he could hear this painful contest destroy his music.<sup>118</sup>

Waldie complained that French operatic music, although good in harmonic structure of parts, was "drawling" or "violent" in style, with discords too often introduced and too seldom contrasted with beautiful melody. He approved the "comic and lively airs" as "the best of French Music," and appreciated the changes taking place in serious music: "instead of the crash of chromatic sharps and flats, is now introduced the softness of the Italian method." Yet even here Waldie judged the French language "inharmonious" and "inferior to the soft melodious strains of Italy."<sup>119</sup> Still citing Rousseau as his authority twenty-six years later, Waldie disparages the transformation of Mosè into Moïse: "Rousseau was right that the French language has less musical strength than the Italian."<sup>120</sup> The ideas of the "Lettre sur la musique françoise" and the "Essai sur l'origine des langues," are applied to the differences Waldie notices in contemporary opera:

If all music does indeed have its origin in the rhythmic nature of language, how fitting it is to elaborate & orchestrate that natural melody in opera, so that music and drama may become complete and perfect. Yet here the Italians have the advantage, for the English word, tho' it may have great power in drama, has musical ease only in simple song, ballad or air -- and the French rhythms become too screamy or declamatory when serious, or too légèrté when light-hearted --

--while the German word often grates or heaves too harsh & heavy to be pleasing, but suits well the somber themes, or those of magic & mystery, as in *Der Freischütz* oder *Die Zauberflöte*.<sup>121</sup>

Waldie did not simply add Rousseau's ideas to his critical repertoire, he absorbed them, bringing them into the "manifold consciousness," the simultaneous awareness of "manifold realities." In asserting the "felicitous union between music and drama, the promise and potential of the opera," he acknowledged at once that opera could seldom succeed in unifying its disparate parts. The great singer is seldom a great actor; the great composer is seldom a great playwright. Music and drama become "complete and perfect" in their union, not simply because the "rhythmic nature of language" has been elaborated and orchestrated, but more importantly because a range of emotional expression can be achieved through song that otherwise could be represented only by an unnatural exaggeration of bodily signs. Describing a performance of Bellini's *Il Pirata*, an opera based on Maturin's *Bertram*, Waldie is prompted to compare the soprano, Henriette Méric-Lalande, with Sarah Siddons, and the tenor, Giovanni Rubini, with Edmund Kean, who had played *Bertram* at Drury Lane:

... the music has power and the whole scene is quite dramatic, and if not given with the force of Lalande, which is quite Siddonian and truly impassioned, would have no effect -- & the pathos of

Rubini in the "Sal mi sasso sagrina" and "Parlara di mio tradito amor" did more to move the audience than all the contrivances of Kean, for in such a tragedy the operatic outburst of song is more genuine than the ranting tirade or keening lament of melodramatic mannerism.<sup>122</sup>

Because of the dramatic power he felt the music provided, he opposed the deletion of song in Shakespearean performances, and even more strongly he objected to the practice at the opera houses in London and Paris of presenting the grand solos, arias, bravura pieces, and deleting the dramatic context, "giving only parts & pieces, so that one has something like the pleasure of a vocal concert, but the point and effect of the whole is lost." After an evening at King's Theatre, a program composed of "the 1<sup>st</sup> act of Semiramide & the last act of La Gazza Ladra," he bemoaned the tasteless destruction of the dramatic potential: "variety seems to be valued more than continuity, & parts preferred to whole."<sup>123</sup>

As the operas of Rossini attained their peak of popularity from 1815 to 1830, the composers that Waldie had admired in earlier years -- Gluck, Paisiello, Grétry, Cimarosa, Cherubini, Méhul, Paer -- largely disappeared from the seasonal repertoires. Mozart's Don Giovanni and Nozze di Figaro did not lose their perennial place, nor did Die Zauberflöte cease to be performed with some frequency, but out of the dozen of operas of a season, even in London or Paris, two-thirds would be Rossini's.<sup>124</sup>



Among the German composers of Romantic opera, Weber held first rank with the success of Der Freischütz, and Waldie also praised Meyerbeer, Spohr, and Weigl. But Rossini he considered the greatest of all operatic composers. He was well aware of Rossini's weaknesses: "his richly ornamented orchestration often exists as an end in itself, with little dramatic purpose."<sup>125</sup> The overuse of the crescendo disturbed Waldie less than Rossini's habit of plagiarizing his own music. He was willing to dismiss the hasty pasticcios, but he objected to the unwanted associations provoked when the same air was made to serve two differing dramatic contexts. Many of Rossini's operas he had seen performed above twenty times; thus he could address problems of interpretation and execution in acting and singing with multiple comparisons, informed, as well, by a familiarity with the vocal score (Rossini himself had secured for Waldie a transcription of several tenor solos with pianoforte accompaniment).<sup>126</sup> Like most critics of opera, he devoted much attention to the "great attractions," such as Isabella Colbran, Ronzi de Begnis, Violante Camporese, or Giuditta Pasta; but he valued ensemble and total dramatic effect, seldom neglecting the supporting performers in his appraisal.

In relating the indebtedness to Stewart and Rousseau in Waldie's approach to drama and opera, I have tried to introduce, as well, something of his own bias and habit

of mind. The main concern of his Journal, as record of his activities and impressions, was indeed dedicated largely to the theatre. The actual proportion of that dedication, it should be remembered, has been distorted by the editing process. While I have endeavored to retain enough personal reference so that the autobiographical presence would not be lost, and enough social and historical reference, along with descriptive passages from his travels, to sustain a sense of time and place, I have given priority to his remarks on the performing arts. His other interests have been slighted. This edition covers a period, 1799-1832, from his eighteenth through his fifty-first year, when Waldie's interest in the theatre was most vital. Although there is much material on the theatre in the later volumes, throughout the 1830's and 1840's, his observations become retrospective and nostalgic, for his sympathies stayed loyal to performers he had known during the first three decades of the century.

The Journal, in its entirety, consisted of ninety-eight volumes; twenty-five of these are missing. Of twenty-six volumes on his travels, which were corrected and transcribed for his library, thirteen are missing. Waldie collected fourteen volumes of correspondence addressed to himself from friends and relatives; seven are missing. He also mentioned eight volumes of correspondence addressed to his father, other manuscript volumes relating to the Ormston and Waldie families, and 'some Common-place Books,

7c., by John Waldie;" all are missing. The extant collection does include, however, a manuscript copy of Jane Waldie Watt's Waterloo journal of 1815, and a volume of passports dated 1827 to 1837.<sup>127</sup>

John Waldie's student notebooks from the University of Edinburgh also survive,<sup>128</sup> and I have found some of his letters in the National Library of Scotland.<sup>129</sup>

An accurate and readable text has been the objective governing the mechanics of my editing. I have kept Waldie's spelling, his grammar, his punctuation, but I have avoided the use of symbols and have kept bracketed insertions at a minimum. I have accepted all of Waldie's own additions and emendations, including the notes he occasionally pinned or pasted into a volume. Instead of marking each insertion or deletion, I have simply incorporated his change into the edited text. Where a corrected and transcribed volume was available, I have used it instead of the original volume. In order to make clear the length of Waldie's entries, and the extent of my own excisions, I have retained the volume number and pagination of the manuscript Journal. The transcribed volumes are indicated by a t before the volume number. A second or third series of pagination in a single volume, or an overlapping pagination due to error (mistaking a 9, say, for a 7 or 4), is marked by [a] or [b] after the page number.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Overstrain versus Ennui," Weekly Scotsman, Sept. 1927

<sup>2</sup>John Waldie, Journal, 31 Oct. 1829, tLVII, 270. All references to the Journal are from passages contained in the present edition.

<sup>3</sup>Stephen Kemble managed the Newcastle Theatre Royal from 1790 to 1806, William Macready from 1806 to 1818, and Vincent De Camp from 1818 to 1824.

<sup>4</sup>Sir Walter Scott, Letter to Charlotte Ann Waldie Eaton, 8 June 1831 (MS 98, Nat. Lib. Scot.). In addition to his recollection of the Waldie family, Scott advised Charlotte: "I am afraid you have not well chosen your turn for lighter literature, which is at present quite strangled by politics. But they must take turns around and I make no doubt that the taste of folks will return for cakes & ale and that ginger will be red hot in the mouth too." Scott attended school at Kelso with Robert Waldie and was welcomed to the Waldie library, where Mrs. Waldie, a Quaker, would always include a few religious tracts among the books he borrowed. She had the same concern for the "Temporal and Eternal welfare" of his parents, whom she also sent pamphlets. Jane Ormston Waldie, Letter to Walter Scott ("For his spouse with a small Parcel"), 19 June 1780 (MS 1549 ff 84-85, Nat. Lib. Scot.). The characters of Joshua and Rachel Geddes in Redgauntlet

were drawn, in John Lockhart's words, from "what Walter witnessed under Mrs. Waldie's hospitable roof," Life of Sir Walter Scott (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861), I, 146-147. Scott himself appended a note to Redgauntlet, Letter VII, on his experience with the Waldies. See also Edgar Johnson, Sir Walter Scott, The Great Unknown (New York: Macmillan, 1970), I, 54; James Smith, History of Kelso Grammar School (Kelso: Rutherford, 1909), pp. 51, 56.

<sup>5</sup>In addition to the entries in the DNB and Burke's Landed Gentry (1846 edition), information on the Waldie family has been taken from the following: William Anderson, The Scottish Nation (Edinburgh: Fullarton, 1866), III, 596; John Burleigh, Ednam and its Indwellers (Glasgow: Fraser, Asher, & Co., 1912), pp. 180-183; Alexander Jeffrey, The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, 1859), III, 116-118; John Mason, Kelso Records (Edinburgh: Peter Brown, 1839), pp. 139, 193-194; J. H. Rutherford, Kelso Past and Present (Kelso: Rutherford, 1880), pp. 33-35, 65; George Tancred, The Annals of a Border Club (Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies & Co., 1903), pp. 248-250.

<sup>6</sup>Rowland E. Prothero, ed., The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals (London: John Murray, 1898-1899), V, 318. Letter to John Murray, 29 Sept. 1820. After asking Murray to suppress what he has written in "extreme wrath," Byron adds: "Her book (as a She book) is not a bad one; but

she evidently don't know the Italians, or rather don't like them, and forgets the causes of their misery and profligacy ... and has gone over Italy in company -- always a bad plan. You must be alone with people to know them well."

<sup>7</sup>Journal, 3 July 1809, XIX, 331.

<sup>8</sup>Journal, 26 June 1809, XIX, 307.

<sup>9</sup>William August Conway, Letter to John Waldie, 24 July 1809 (MS 169/2, No. 17, University of California, Los Angeles).

<sup>10</sup>"Musical Report of the Newcastle Theatre," Newcastle Chronicle, 2 Feb. 1822, p.3.

<sup>11</sup>The Cross Keys Inn, on the town square in Kelso, had been in the possession of the Waldie family, but it was turned over to George Horsington in 1784.

The wall around Hendersyde Park was built largely by the French prisoners. John Waldie had in his collection a miniature of Jane Waldie painted by "M. Dupuis, French Prisoner at Kelso. ... She was about 20 when it was painted. The color is now much faded, but it was very like her." A Catalogue of Hendersyde Park (Kelsø: Robert Stewart, 1859), p. 91.

<sup>13</sup>Journal, 30 July 1816, XXV, 3; 19 Nov. 1818, tXLII, 72; 15 June 1831, LVIII, 14. In the last of these three entries Waldie described the performance at the Opera Comique in Paris: "I wished much to see again Les

Visitandines 7 to remind me of the French theatre at Kelso, Joubert, Lebas, Dupuy, &c., who performed it nearly as well as this great theatre."

<sup>14</sup>Ann Ormston Waldie, Letter to John Waldie, 16 March 1799 (MS 169/1, No. 28, Univ. of California, Los Angeles).

<sup>15</sup>Matriculation Roll of the University of Edinburgh, 1775-1810, p. 594.

<sup>16</sup>John Waldie, Lectures on Chemistry, Moral Philosophy, and Universal History, 1798-1801 (MS Dc. 5. 118-120, Dc 6. 113-115, University of Edinburgh). His notes on Prof. Dugald Stewart's lectures are most pertinent to the ideas exercised in his theatrical commentary. Prof. Alexander Tytler's lectures included much information on the arts, and one lecture was devoted to the drama (13 March 1800), this consists of a historical survey, evaluative judgments ex cathedra, from Shakespeare and Lope de Vega, through Massenger, Beaumont, and Fletcher, then Corneille, Racine, and Moliere, contrasting French and English dramatic theory; he mentions Dryden and Addison, Crebillon, père and fils, but says of the modern drama only that it suffers from a sameness and want of individualization of character. For the use of his students he published Plan and Outlines of Lectures on Universal History (Edinburgh, 1783); these were revised and enlarged, in two volumes, in Elements of General History (Edinburgh, 1801).

<sup>17</sup>Journal, 3 July 1799, IV, 53.

<sup>18</sup>Journal, 1 July 1828, tLVI, 89.

<sup>19</sup>Journal, 19. Feb. 1830, LVII, 18 [a].

<sup>20</sup>Journal, 16 June 1831, tLVIII, 16.

<sup>21</sup>Biographia Literaria, ed. George Watson (London: Dent, 1965), p. 144.

<sup>22</sup> Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 15 Nov. 1799. These lecture notes are falsely dated, by a later hand, "1800-1801." Calendar evidence and corresponding Journal entries both confirm the lectures were given 1799-1800.

<sup>23</sup> Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 19 Nov. 1799.

<sup>24</sup>Biographia Literaria, pp. 145-149.

<sup>25</sup> Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 19 Nov. 1799.

<sup>26</sup> Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 24 Nov. 1799.

<sup>27</sup> Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 5 Dec. 1799.

<sup>28</sup> Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 18 Dec. 1799.

<sup>29</sup>The Mirror and the Lamp (New York: Norton, 1958), p. 161.

<sup>30</sup> Coleridge's history of associationist psychology in Biographia Literaria was taken, according to René Wellek, from J. G. E. Maass, Versuch über die Einbildungskraft (Halle und Leipzig, 1792, 2nd edition 1797). Maass, however,



made no use, not even in his second edition, of Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind (London, 1792). See Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism, 1750-1950 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1955), II, 153.

<sup>31</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 11 Dec. 1799.

<sup>32</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 21 Dec. 1799.

<sup>33</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 14 Jan. 1800.

<sup>34</sup>Journal, 11 Aug. 1800, IV, 326-327.

<sup>35</sup>Journal, 9 Aug. 1803, IX, 1.

<sup>36</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 2 Jan. 1800.

<sup>37</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 29 Jan. 1800.

<sup>38</sup>Journal, 28 April 1803, VII, 153.

<sup>39</sup>Journal, 30 May 1815, XXXII, 74.

<sup>40</sup>Journal, 22 May 1809, XIX, 196-197.

<sup>41</sup>Journal, 13 Feb. 1815, XXXI, 213-214; 17 Feb. 1815, XXXI, 217.

<sup>42</sup>Journal, 9 July 1822, XLIX, 97-98.

<sup>43</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 10 Jan. 1800.

<sup>44</sup>Poetics, Ch. XIII, in Basic Works of Aristotle, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1941), pp. 1466-1467.

<sup>45</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 25 Jan. 1800. Stewart, as would seem likely, may have adapted Aristotle's concept of "moral purpose" (proairesis) to this discussion of "tragic flaw" (hamartia), but Waldie's notes include no mention of it.

<sup>46</sup>Poetics, Ch. IV, Works, p. 1458.

<sup>47</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 1 Feb. 1800.

<sup>48</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 10 Dec. 1799. Stewart's contrast between "wit and humor," although it derives from that distinction between "wit and judgement" in Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Bk. II, Ch. XI, closely approaches that in Jean Paul's Vorschule der Ästhetik, which Wellek has called the "most original" and "extraordinarily influential" section of the work. Coleridge borrowed Jean Paul's formulation in the Shakespeare Lectures of 1818, and De Quincey in 1821 applied it to Jean Paul himself in his essay for the London Magazine. Jean Paul reacted to the Lockean distinction: "Einiges ist gegen die alte [Beschreibung] zu sagen, dass er, [der Witz] nämlich ein Vermögen sei, entfernte Ähnlichkeiten zu finden. ... Der zweite Teil der Definition will den Witz durch das Finden der Ähnlichkeiten ganz von dem Scharfsinne, als dem Finder der Unähnlichkeiten, wegstellen." Instead of defining "Witz" in contradistinction to "Scharfsinn," as did Locke, Jean Paul drew his contrast from humor, as did Stewart. To humor he attributes a diffusive quality ("die humoristische Totalität").

and a moral ground ("die humoristische Milde und Duldung") which warms the soul. The very essence of wit, to the contrary, is in brevity ("Kürze ist der Körper und die Seele des Witzes"). Wit is the disengaged logical resolution of juxtaposed factors: "dieser der Witz, kalt gegen das Vergleichene und gegen das Gleichende, löset beide in den geistigen Extrakt ihres Verhältnisses auf." Wit is the intellectual delight in a logical leap of thought, always brief and pointed. Just as Jean Paul described "Wortspiele" as "eine Gattung Witz," Stewart had said that "a wit is a juggler in Ideas, and a punster is a wit in words." Essay Concerning Human Understanding, ed. A. S. Pringle-Pattison (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), pp. 85-86. Jean Paul, Werke, ed. W. Höllerer, G. Lohmann, N. Miller (Munich: Hanser, 1959-1963), V, 169-170, 187. Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism, ed. T. M. Raysor (London: Constable, 1936), pp. 117-120, 440-446. Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism, ed. T. M. Raysor (London: Dent, 1960), II, 242, 248, 254. Wellek, History of Modern Criticism, II, 105-106.

<sup>49</sup>Journal, 8 Feb. 1800, IV, 169.

<sup>50</sup>Journal, 15 Feb. 1800, IV, 178.

<sup>51</sup>Waldie seldom made use of this triad in his criticism, nor did he consistently apply "wit" and "humor," either as defined by Stewart or as derived from the etymologically

inherent intellectual and physical distinction, such as one finds in Leigh Hunt's critique on Much Ado about Nothing for the Examiner, (3 Jan. 1808), reprinted in Leigh Hunt's Dramatic Criticism, ed. Lawrence H. Houtchens and Carolyn W. Houtchens (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 3-5.

<sup>52</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 1 Feb. 1800.

<sup>53</sup>Journal, 21 March 1823, XLIX, 233.

<sup>54</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 31 Jan. 1800.

<sup>55</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 31 Jan. 1800.

<sup>56</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 11 Jan. 1800.

<sup>57</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 14 Jan. 1800.

<sup>58</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 31 Jan. 1800.

<sup>59</sup>David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1951), pp. 73-74; An Enquiry Concerning the Human Understanding, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1902), pp. 25-27.

<sup>60</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 4 Feb. 1800.

<sup>61</sup>Lectures on Moral Philosophy, 5-6, 11-15 Feb. 1800.

<sup>62</sup>Biographia Literaria, Ch. XIV, pp. 168-169, Ch. XXII, pp. 256-257; Shakespearean Criticism, I, 114-118, 176-183. See also E. L. Griggs, "The Willing Suspension of Disbelief,"

Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays (Boulder: Univ. of Colorado, 1945), pp. 272-285. Stewart's reservations about belief in illusion conformed to similar discussions presented by such Scottish writers as Hume, Hartley, and Kames, which, as M. H. Abrams has pointed out, commonly centered on "the state of mind of the audience at a theatrical performance," The Mirror and the Lamp, pp. 324-325.

<sup>63</sup>Journal, 22 June 1802, tV, 303-304.

<sup>64</sup>Journal, 26 April 1803, VII, 150.

<sup>65</sup>Journal, 15 Feb. 1830, LVII, 15 [a]7.

<sup>66</sup>Journal, 30 June 1813, XXVIII, 268.

<sup>67</sup>Journal, 19 June 1802, tV, 287.

<sup>68</sup>Journal, 8 July 1799, IV, 63.

<sup>69</sup>Harold Oswald, The Theatre Royal in Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle: Northumberland Press, 1936), pp. 28-38. The first Theatre Royal on Mosley Street received royal licence in 1787, and was opened to the public on January 21, 1788, with Arthur Murphy's The Way to Keep Him, the company included G. F. Cooke, Joseph Munden, Elizabeth Kemble Whitlock, and Charles Whitlock. The theatre was originally under the management of Whitlock and Joseph Austin, who had long been with Garrick at Drury Lane. At the end of the first season, Austin retired and Munden took his place, and after the second season, when Munden received

his opportunity at Covent Garden, the managerial lease was assumed at £300 annually by Stephen Kemble, who paid Whitlock £1000 in addition for his interest in the theatre. Kemble's lease was subsequently reduced to £250.

<sup>70</sup>Oswald, p. 32.

<sup>71</sup>Journal, 12 Aug. 1800, IV, 328.

<sup>72</sup>Quoted in an anonymous review in the London Morning Chronicle, 8 Oct. 1802, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup>Morning Chronicle, 8 Oct. 1802, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup>Journal, 17 Feb. 1806, XII, 18 [a]. Waldie was much kinder in the review of the Sunderland theatre for the Newcastle Courant, 11 Jan. 1806, p. 4, in which he said that Falstaff "has been exhibited ... in Mr. Kemble's best style": "His luxuriant humour, yet chaste and accurate adherence to the letter and spirit of his author, renders his performance of this arduous character a mental repast."

<sup>75</sup>Journal, 2 May 1802, tV, 39-40.

<sup>76</sup>Journal, 1 June 1802, tV, 185.

<sup>77</sup>Journal, 9 June 1802, tV, 222-223.

<sup>78</sup>Journal, 8 July 1802, tV, 364.

<sup>79</sup>Journal, 22 June 1802, tV, 304.

<sup>80</sup>Journal, 1 July 1802, tV, 330.

Journal, 5 July 1802, 57, 5-5-544.

<sup>82</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 1789-1838 (Ref. No. 15511, MS 5, City Archives, Newcastle). Book of Proprietors of the Theatre Royal, 1792-1838 (Ref. No. 15511, MS 6, City Archives, Newcastle; in spite of the date, this item is the second book, a continuation of MS 7). Book of Proprietors of the Theatre Royal, 1792-1845 (Ref. No. 15511, MS 7, City Archives, Newcastle; includes a separate book, an alphabetically indexed register of subscribers, n.d.). The expenses for constructing and equipping the Theatre Royal were paid in part by subscription. Eighty subscribers took 130 shares at £30 each. Additional funds were raised through the Corporation, a committee made up of eight of the original stock holders who stood surety for £1000 of the original £2500 loan, and repaid another £1200 raised by annuity to be charged to the theatre. Corporation shares were numbered 22 through 29; Waldie purchased share no. 29 on January 8, 1803.

<sup>83</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 10 Jan. 1803.

<sup>84</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 10 Jan. 1803.

<sup>85</sup>Oswald, p. 54. In discussion of Theatre Royal performances I have also drawn information from the Journal as well as from the extensive collection of play bills and programmes and the Joseph Cowen collection of newspaper cuttings and reviews in the Newcastle Central

Library (L042/L Tr dy 60; L792/N536T).

<sup>86</sup>Journal, 17 April 1803, VII, 110-130.

<sup>87</sup>Journal, 16, 19, 21, 26, 28, 30 April 1803, VII, 106, 133-156.

<sup>88</sup>Journal, 8 June 1803, VIII, 83-85.

<sup>89</sup>Journal, 2 June 1803, VIII, 68-69.

<sup>90</sup>Journal, 15 June 1803, VIII, 100-101.

<sup>91</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 12, 24, 31 Jan. and 7 Feb. 1804.

<sup>92</sup>Oswald, p. 53. Samuel Mara of Kemble's company published a "Dean Street Dunciad" in four cantos of mock-heroic praise of this "paragraph monger" of the Tyne Mercury, an effort which certainly did not ease Mitchell's animosity. The Newcastle Chronicle, 7 Jan. 1804, printed a reply to the "malevolent Critic" of the Tyne Mercury, defending Stephen Kemble's efforts as actor and manager.

<sup>93</sup>Elizabeth Satchell Kemble, Letter to John Waldie, 16 April 1805 (MS 169/1, No. 69, Univ. of California, Los Angeles).

<sup>94</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 7 Feb. 1803. "Copy of Mr. Kemble's answer [dated 30 Jan. 1804] to the proposal of the Gentlemen forming the Committee for regulating the affairs of the Theatre Royal." In this



Letter Kendal states that he is "very anxious to be continued" even though added costs will be "nearly One Hundred Pounds more than I have usually given!" He concludes: "Notwithstanding, to increase the rent of a Theatre is assuredly never the way to enable the Manager to provide better amusements for the Town, yet I promise, to exert myself as much as possible, in every way to please the Public. Gratitude for the past favours, more than the prospect of future emolument, will make me anxious to perform this promise. I never coveted Riches; to obtain an honest, and a decent livelihood, amongst You, is the completion of my wishes; the poor Man who dreams of making a fortune by the Newcastle Theatre will find his hopes vanish, "like the baseless fabrick of a Vision"."

<sup>95</sup>Oswald, pp. 53-55. Waldie describes four performances of Master Betty in London and eleven performances in Newcastle in 1805 and followed his career until his retirement from the stage in 1824. Journal, 4, 6, 18, 25 April 1805, XI, 38, 41-42, 65, 79-80; 21 Aug. to 6 Sept. 1805, XI, 305-341.

<sup>96</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 8 May 1806.

<sup>97</sup>Book of Proprietors of the Theatre Royal, 1792-1845, (ledger entries bear recto leaf no.; entries are continued on open page opposite) leaves 16<sup>r</sup> - 15<sup>v</sup> and 23<sup>r</sup>. Waldie assigned authority of his Corporation share to

one of his family when long absent from Newcastle. He controlled share no. 29 until 10 Nov. 1837. His father owned proprietor's share no. 50, which Waldie sold on 15 Oct. 1829, three years after his father's death.

<sup>98</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 4 Aug. 1806. "Copie of McCready's Proposal [dated 28 July 1806]."

<sup>99</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 5 Jan., 11 April, 4, 11, 20 Nov., 18 Dec. 1809. The minutes of these meetings include transcripts of four letters to the proprietors from Macready and one from Waldie, co-signed by Joseph Lamb and Miles Monkhouse. The first meeting had been called, states the letter which Waldie presented in person, "to take into consideration the present system of management, which appears to us to be in every respect defective." The principal defects were Macready's absentee management and his failure to improve his company. Waldie enumerated the inadequacies of the present troop of players, the bad casting, the doubling of parts, the want of rehearsal, the irregular and imperfect music, the "ruinous and shabby" scenery, the wardrobe of "wretched trappings," and the complete neglect of stage property and costume. Waldie called attention to Macready's involvement with the theatres of Manchester and Sheffield as causing his neglect of Newcastle; he mentioned, too, Macready's attempt "to dispose of the remainder of his Lease together with the whole of his music, wardrobe, and scenery for the sum of

£1000. Since this last act violated the authority of the proprietors, thus compounding the charges of neglect, Waldie recommended that the Committee inform Macready of their dissatisfaction and charge him "either to resign his Lease of the Theatre or to conduct it as it ought to be." The first of Macready's four letters, drafted just before Waldie presented the case against him, appealed for an extension of payments on his debts, apologized for his unintended absence, and promised to complete painting and repairs; the second letter attempted to answer Waldie's charges, defending the merit of the company, regretting the worn state of Wardrobe and properties, and denying that his bargaining with William Farren, actor-manager at Plymouth, had ever been agreed upon by either party. The last two letters, 9 and 16 Nov. 1809, were sent from Lancaster Gaol, explaining his financial state and pledging £20 a week to dissolve his £682 debt to the proprietors of the Newcastle Theatre. This pledge was accepted by the Committee, 18 Dec. 1809.

<sup>100</sup>William Charles Macready, Reminiscences and Selections from his Diaries and Letters, ed. Frederick Pollock (London: Macmillan, 1875),

<sup>101</sup>Journal, 17 April 1807, XV, 25-26; 26 June 1807, XV, 133.

<sup>102</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 19 Feb., 5 March, 5 June 1811. With the expiration of Macready's five-year lease, 1806-1811, Waldie resumed membership in the Committee and called for general advertizement of the lease of the theatre; Macready's proposal, however, was again accepted, but on an annual basis. Waldie kept his place on the Committee through 1812 and 1813. In spite of repeated financial problems and continual arrears in payments, Macready's management was approved for a three-year lease, 1814-1817, and extended through 1818.

<sup>103</sup>W. C. Macready, Reminiscences,

<sup>104</sup>Committee Book, Theatre Royal, 29 Nov. 1813, 8 Nov. 1814.

<sup>105</sup>Oswald, pp. 61-62.

<sup>106</sup>Journal, 15 June through 19 July 1815, tXXXII, 28-179.

<sup>107</sup>Journal, 1815, tXXXII-tXXXIII; 1816-1817, XXXV-XXXVI, tXXXVII-tXXXVIII, and XL; 1818-1820, tXLII-tXLVI. For a full list of the travels, see the description of the complete MS Journal on p. below.

<sup>108</sup>Journal, 1-2 Sept. 1815, tXXXIII, 259-264. Rousseau's remains had been moved from L'Isle des Peupliers to the Pantheon in Paris.

<sup>109</sup>Journal, 27 Sept. 1816, XXXVI, 55.

<sup>110</sup>Journal, 27 Sept. 1816, XXXVI, 56-57.

<sup>111</sup>Journal, 7 Oct. 1816, XXXVI, 115.

<sup>112</sup>Journal, 28 Sept. 1816, XXXVI, 65.

<sup>113</sup>Journal, 12 Oct. 1816, XXXVI, 134.

<sup>114</sup>Eve Kirsch, "Rameau and Rousseau," Music and Letters, XXII (1941), p. 97.

<sup>115</sup>Oevres de J. J. Rousseau (Paris: Deterville, 1827), IX-XL. Waldie drew especially from the "Essai sur l'origine des langues" and "Lettre sur la musique françoise," IX, 155-312. Rousseau's animadversions on Rameau's "Erreurs sur la Musique" are presented in "Examen de deux principes avancés par M. Rameau," IX, 333-361.

<sup>116</sup>Journal, 5 March 1819, tXLII, 191.

<sup>117</sup>Achim von Arnim, "Erzählungen von Schauspielen," in Europa: Eine Zeitschrift, ed. Friedrich Schlegel (Frankfurt: Wilmans, 1803; photo rpt. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1963), II, 178. Arnim objected to the "unangenehmes Grunzen, eine Art von Räderknarren der neuen weiteren Spur durch die enge ältere, eine Art von Überschreien, womit sie zur allgemeinen Zufriedenheit heftige Affecte bezeichnen."

<sup>118</sup>Journal, 8 June 1802, tV, 220.

<sup>119</sup>Journal, 3 July 1802, tV, 342-343.

<sup>120</sup>Journal, 30 June 1828, tLVI, 87; Waldie also wrote: "When the music ... is Italian and the word is French, as in Rossini's Parisian operas, I feel a disparity in style and temper between the music and the word, just as in the English adaptations," 24 Oct. 1829, tLVII, 123.

<sup>121</sup>Journal, 12 Feb. 1830, LVII, 12 [a].

<sup>122</sup>Journal, 15 Nov. 1827, tLIV, 259.

<sup>123</sup>Journal, 26 May 1829, LVI, 337; 13 Feb. 1830, LVII, 12 [a]. Rossini is said to have responded to the announcement "to-night we play the second act of 'Tell'," with a wry query, "The whole of it?" Gustave Chouquet, "Rossini," Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Eric Blom (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1953; fifth ed.), VII, 250.

<sup>124</sup>For the London opera, 1821-1828, see John Ebers, Seven Years of the King's Theatre (London: Ainsworth, 1828; photo rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969).

<sup>125</sup>Journal, 24 Oct. 1829, tLVII, 123.

<sup>126</sup>Journal, 19 March 1820, tXLV, 184.

<sup>127</sup>Ninety-three volumes of manuscript Journal and letters were purchased for Univ. of California, in 1957, by Lawrence

Clark Powell, from Robert R. Steedman of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. An additional volume, tXXXVII and tXXXVIII bound together, was donated to this collection in 1972 by Colonel Richard Taylor of Chipchase Castle, Wark-on-Tyne.

<sup>128</sup>See note 16 above.

~~129~~In addition to a number of letters from other members of the Waldie family, the National Library of Scotland has the following:

Jane Ormston Waldie, Letter to Walter Scott, 1780 (MS 1549 ff 84-85).

Jane Waldie, Letter to Sir Walter Scott, 1820 [?] (MS 9657 ff 77).

George Waldie, Letter to Sir Walter Scott, 1821 (MS 3892 f 117).

John Waldie, Letter to Sir Walter Scott, 1821 (MS 3892 f 118).

John Waldie, Letter to Sir Robert Liston, 1819 (MS 5656 f 103).

John Waldie, Letters from Sir Robert Liston, 1819 (MS 5663 ff 21, 29).

Charlotte Ann Waldie Eaton, Letter to Sir Walter Scott, 1826 (MS 3902 ff 168-169).

Charlotte Ann Waldie Eaton, Letter to Sir Walter Scott, 1831 (MS 3918 ff 91-92).

Charlotte Ann Waldie Eaton, Letter to Sir Walter Scott, 1831 (MS 3918 ff 219-220).

There are also a large number of transcribed letters to Charlotte Ann Waldie, relating to Ballentyne's publication of her works, 1821-1822 (MS 791 ff 385, 415, 420, 423, 432, 473, 569, 573, 577, 599); 1823-1825 (MS 792 ff 9, 95, 127, 213, 370, 443, 446, 553, 557, 656, 663).

John Waldie, Letters and papers concerning disposition of trust, 1854-1884 (MS 8096 ff 1-82). A number of John Waldie's letters are in the collection of Gilbert Elliot, second Earl of Minto (1782-1859) in the Durham Library.