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'An Entire Change of Performances?' The Politicisation of Theatre and the Theatricalisation of Politics in the mid 1790s

John Barrell

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2. 'An Entire Change of Performances?' The Politicisation of Theatre and the Theatricalisation of Politics in the mid 1790s

I

The Reverend Vicesimus Knox, now remembered if at all as the editor of *Elegant Extracts* and author of *Essays Moral and Literary*, was a staunch Whig whose political views in the mid 1790s verged on republicanism. In August 1793, on holiday with his family in Brighton, he preached a sermon at the parish church on the unlawfulness of offensive war, and, by implication, of the war against the French republic. A day or so later, to cries of 'Out with the Democrat,' he and his family were driven from the Brighton Theatre by some enraged officers of the Surrey militia.¹ In March of 1794 a Mr Curtis, attending the theatre at King's Lynn in Norfolk with his family and friends, was assaulted by some 'military heroes,' as he styles them in a pamphlet describing the incident. He had refused to stand or pull off his hat when what he calls 'that musical, mouthful of mockery, "God save the King"' was being played. To Curtis the song was doubly impious, both an encouragement to idolatry and an attempt to persuade God to enlist on the British side in what he, like Knox, evidently regarded as a war of aggression. He was assaulted by some officers of the Nottinghamshire militia, and something like a riot followed; a man was stabbed, and two ladies were thrown into violent hysterics. The next night Curtis returned to the theatre, armed with a stick, supported by friends, and determined on a repeat performance. To provoke the inevitable confrontation, the militia instructed the players to sing the national anthem. Curtis was hissed by the militia, and another riot ensued, but he managed to give his second performance, remaining seated, his head covered, while the battle raged around him.²

A month later a similar but more serious affray broke out in the theatre at Edinburgh, during a performance of a play about Charles I, whose fate could not help recalling, in the years after 1793, and was frequently evoked to recall, that of Louis XVI. The story is recounted in a letter by

David Downie, an elderly radical goldsmith, who in September of 1794 would be found guilty of High Treason for his part in a conspiracy to seize Edinburgh Castle. 'The play began,' writes Downie,

when some furious Aristocrats, wanting, no doubt, to try the disposition of the people, called out for the tune of God save the king. The tune was just beginning, when an universal hiss, mixed with lamentable murmurs, pervaded all over the house; and the sons of the fiddle were obliged to desist ... The discomfited Aristocrats ... in order to effect their purpose, called in the Fencibles in the Castle, with their officers, and then desired the royal song to be again attempted, when, meeting with the same treatment as before, the officers drew their swords, and the soldiers their instruments of death ... and these heroes went to such a length, as to cut and maim several people in the pit, who refused to take off their hats as the tune was going on ... After the tune was over, the play went on as if nothing had happened.³

These stories — and there are more which I have not mentioned⁴ — are about all sorts of things. They are about the tensions created, in the mid-1790s, by the stationing of an ultra-loyalist militia army in towns and cities where they had no local attachment, and in a country still with a long tradition of hostility to keeping standing armies at home. They are about how, immediately before and during the war with the French republic, the national anthem became an object of fierce contest, one which produced a long series of parodies of the song, as 'God save — "THE RIGHTS OF MAN!";' as 'God save great Jolter-Head,' as a hymn to the guillotine, as a prediction of the execution of George III and the Prime Minister William Pitt, as a hymn to the French Revolution, as a satire on the extravagance of the Prince of Wales, as a celebration of the Duke of York's inglorious retreat, and so on.⁵ Most of all, however, these stories are about the theatre as a new kind of public space, where the spectators come to display not only their clothes, their social connections, their fashionable taste, their sensibility, but their political commitment. In a period in which every area of life was becoming politicised, they are about the theatre as a site of political confrontation; about attempts on both sides to appropriate it as a loyalist or radical political space, in which at any time the audience, rather than the managers, the authors, the cast, may become the chief objects of attention.

In the 1790s the theatre was the only place of public resort, with the arguable exceptions of the law courts and Parliament itself, where confrontations between loyalists and reformers could be staged *in public*. The decencies of respectable behaviour, and the political division between church and chapel, prevent such confrontations happening in places of public worship: it is precisely to the point that those Knox

offended in church chose to wait to exact their revenge in the theatre. There are numerous stories of such confrontations in public houses, among the artisan and labourer classes, and in coffee-houses, among the middle class; but they are played out before a tiny audience, and those which left a trace did so only when, months later, they resulted in prosecutions.

II

The most celebrated, or, according to your politics, the most notorious of radical attempts to stage such a confrontation in the theatre, and to appropriate the theatre for the cause of radicalism, was the campaign launched at the Covent Garden Theatre in February 1794 against Thomas Otway's tragedy *Venice Preserv'd*. The instigator of this campaign was the poet and orator John Thelwall, who in the following December would be acquitted of High Treason, in the last of the three trials in which Thomas Hardy, secretary of the London Corresponding Society (LCS), and John Horne Tooke, of the Society for Constitutional Information, had already been acquitted. As Thelwall later put it, Otway's play had been written 'with the view of paying his court to Charles II., and for the purpose of bringing detestation upon the patriots of those times, by representing all reformers as conspirators.'⁶ Thelwall, however, regarded it as a play which, whatever its official political tendency, could be stolen from the loyalist repertoire, and represented as part of a radical canon which he, together with booksellers like Daniel Isaac Eaton and Thomas Spence, was involved both in forming and in popularising; for the play contained dialogues and speeches, spoken by the conspirators, which could be read as a critique of the corruption of government, and were expressed in the language of classical republican virtue which the English radicals were claiming as their own. At the first night of the Covent Garden production, Thelwall and his friends duly applauded and encored what they regarded as the 'republican' passages, and after one more performance the play was regarded as too politically embarrassing and was taken off.⁷

The play however would not go away. The dialogue Thelwall most admired was reprinted and circulated as a handbill.⁸ In October 1795 the dramatist and Whig M.P. Richard Brinsley Sheridan provocatively staged an elaborate new production of *Venice Preserv'd* at Drury Lane. The third night of this production fell on the day when the king's coach was attacked by an angry crowd as he was on his way to open the new session of Parliament; a missile of some kind nearly hit the king, and the king himself, and the newspapers funded by the government, treated

this as a full-blown assassination attempt. The government used the incident as a pretext to introduce new laws designed finally to silence the movement for reform, in part by creating a series of new treasons which, had they been in place a year earlier, would have made the conviction of Hardy, Tooke and Thelwall all but certain. At Drury Lane, following Thelwall's example if not with his participation, the speeches of Otway's conspirators were greeted in the same manner as in the previous year, and the following day, much to the satisfaction of the government press, the play was withdrawn. The success of the campaign against Otway's tragedy can be measured by the fact that, when it began, Otway's tragedy was still widely regarded as a loyalist play, and Thelwall's appropriation of it as a *misappropriation*. When the attempt was repeated, however, in October 1795, the ministerial press turned on the play itself, as if it were unequivocally the dangerous work that Thelwall had tried to make it. The *True Briton*, a newspaper largely funded by the Treasury, spoke of its '*obscene* and objectionable passages, so disgusting to a *modest*, so unpleasant to a *loyal* ear'; 'passages,' it continued, 'which make all honest men shudder.'⁹ Thelwall summed up the story by remarking that 'the play ... notwithstanding its original intention, was ... converted into a provocative, not an antidote to jacobinism,' by the tactic of loudly applauding and calling attention to what he described as its 'popular sentences.'¹⁰

Loyalist newspapers had at first represented the production merely as ill-judged and ill-timed, but a few days after the attack on the coach they began to treat it as an essential part of a republican plot. The aim of the production, the *Times* announced, had been to prepare the minds of those who had attempted to kill the king by inflaming their passions and inspiring them with a 'thirst for blood.'¹¹ But the *Times* can hardly have imagined that those who had applauded the objectionable passages were the same people as allegedly attempted to kill the king. 1795 was a year of near famine; many of the crowd who mobbed and later destroyed the king's coach were carrying loaves of bread stuck on poles and swathed in black crepe; their cries were for bread and for peace with France, for the war was widely blamed for a huge rise in the cost of food. However much more broadly based the audience at the theatres was becoming, it certainly did not include the very poor. The *Times's* claim, if it makes sense at all, does so only in terms of the publicity which would be attracted by a demonstration in the theatre, and which could be attracted to that degree nowhere else. The point of the demonstration was to generate news, as a means of influencing the passions of those who never attended the theatre, at least the polite theatre, at all. Whether or not the *Times* is right about this, it is pointing to something about

Thelwall's campaign which separates it from the theatrical incidents in the provinces that I glanced at earlier.

The point of that campaign, and its success, depended upon two circumstances which were unique to London. The first is that the London theatre was of national interest, and the London newspapers were increasingly becoming national newspapers. One of the most characteristic features of the London newspapers of the period was the remarkable number of column inches given over to advertisements for plays, to reviews of plays, to news about plays in production and the private lives of the leading players. News about the London theatres would be read all over the country, either in the London newspapers themselves or in provincial papers which reprinted their reports. Secondly, in London there were newspapers of very different political complexions from extreme loyalist to extreme reformist. The useful contrast here is with Edinburgh, which at the end of 1793 had lost its only reformist newspaper, the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*; thereafter what was news in Edinburgh was what the loyalist papers chose to regard as fit to print. No newspaper there, according to David Downie, chose to mention the riot at the performance of *Charles I*; indeed the whole point of his letter, written at a time when he was actively attempting to revive the *Gazetteer*,¹² was that his correspondent in Perth would hear of the riot by no other means. The variety of the London press meant that stories there could not be killed in the same way; and there could hardly have been a more certain means of generating a story about politics than to stage a political confrontation in a London theatre. In contrast with those apparently more spontaneous confrontations elsewhere, the appropriation of Otway at Covent Garden and Drury Lane were media events, performances staged for the newspapers, as much examples of the theatricalisation of politics as of the politicisation of theatre.

III

We can get an oblique sense of the symbiotic relation of the London theatre and the London press, and a further sense of how loyalism regarded the attempts of reformers to create a theatrical culture friendly to democracy, from a superb satire in the *Times*, published on September 6 1794, just over a month before the London treason trials were scheduled to begin, and with the evident intention of prejudging the defendants.¹³ The satire is of the *Times* itself as it would be in 1800, in the 'First Year of the Republic One and Indivisible,' when the reformers had finally achieved the democratic and republican revolution they were imagined to desire. Beneath a new logo, no longer the clock and scythe but the

guillotine, the reports and advertisements in the *New Times* reveal that in 1800 a National Convention has replaced Parliament, and that equality of property, or its destruction, for they come to the same thing, has become, despite the earlier denials of the reformers, the main programme of Britain's new rulers. These include many of those who in 1794 had been awaiting trial for High Treason. Hardy and Thelwall have cheated the hangman; Hardy is now President of the Committee for the Sale of the Effects of the Nobility, Thelwall President of the British National Convention. Horne Tooke may have been less fortunate, but his name is remembered in Horne Tooke Square, formerly Grosvenor Square, and Horne Tooke Street, formerly St. James's Street. His place in the new political and cultural élite, and those of other unmentioned absentees who were due for trial in 1794, has been filled with repatriated radical exiles from France, America or Botany Bay.

Whether because or in spite of the efforts of these and other heroes of the revolution, the new republic is in a state of economic ruin, surviving only by confiscations and forced loans, and awash with worthless paper money. The *New Times* itself costs 'one shilling in specie,' or 'five shillings in paper;' English banknotes have no price at all in any foreign currency except French *assignats*; East India stock is worthless. Leather being unobtainable, shoes are now made of wood; experiments are being conducted into the feasibility of making bread from bones. Civil war rages in the provinces, and a royalist army in Devon has completely defeated the army of the new republic. The main news item is a report of the latest 'sitting' of the British National Convention to consider reports on the successful plunder and demolition of aristocratic houses. Forthcoming debates include one on 'the more regular operation of the Holy Guillotine.' In the advertisement column, a female citizen, 'Honora Goodwill,' apparently modelled on Mary Wollstonecraft, advertises her new school, where young ladies will learn atheism and 'the principles of pure Republicanism,' and 'will in a short time acquire that Republican energy, so preferable to the silly timidity, which was one of the female characteristics during the reign of despotism.' They will also, it is hinted, be taught the theory and practice of promiscuity, for Miss Goodwill — whose name seems to suggest she is anything but jealous of her honour — promises that they will be guided by 'Nature's laws alone.'

But if morale in the new republic is low, it would be lower still but for the efforts of Joseph Priestley and Jeremiah Joyce, the latter one of those charged with High Treason along with Thelwall, but acquitted when the Crown offered no evidence against him. There is a programme of civic pageantry: Citizen Joyce is now 'Minister of the NATIONAL CHURCH,' and about to 'celebrate in the *Temple of Reason (ci-devant ST. PAUL'S CHURCH)* a jacobin festival for the happy destruction of the Parlia-

ment.' Citizen Priestley has returned from America, his task to instil a spirit of civism in the British, by dramatic exhibitions at the Theatre of Equality. Priestley's current playbill advertises an opera, 'The Mitre in Jeopardy; or, the Triumph of Civism over Religion,' and a ballet, 'The March of the Clergy to Bedlam,' with an all-star cast: Thomas Paine plays the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Archbishops of York, London and Durham are all played by notorious radicals either returned from Australia or released from Newgate. The Irish nationalist and revolutionary, Citizen Archibald Hamilton Rowan, performs opposite 'the Female Citizen Deism,' in a pantomime entitled 'Sedition.' Seats are wildly expensive, except for those able to pay in coin. Small beer and gin are available in the interval. The audience is advised to observe a strict code of dress: *bonnets rouges* are compulsory, clean shirts preferred; all boots must be scraped at the door.

Meanwhile the patriotism of the less sophisticated is fostered at the Theatre of the Sans Culottes in Wapping, where revolutionary airs are played on the salt-box and the marrowbone and cleaver, the instruments of rough music everywhere associated in the late eighteenth century with the 'Wapping Concert.' A new play is in production, 'The Chimney-Sweeper's Apotheosis, or, Dress no Ornament to Republicans.' A review of this piece acknowledges that the acting is sub-standard, as compared with the golden days of Covent Garden, for the great entertainers of pre-revolutionary times have all been executed for persisting in singing the national anthem at the end of their performances. But as the reviewer observes, 'we cannot eat our cake, and have it too': we can have revolution, or we can have great theatre; 'real Republicans,' he advises, had better know which to prefer.

IV

The theatrical references in the *New Times* may perhaps be read as a riposte to a new and immensely inventive form of radical propaganda, the mock advertisement, which represented the activities of George III and the government of Pitt as series of spectacles and entertainments — ceremonial processions, exhibitions of paintings,¹⁴ and so on, but primarily plays and magic-shows. These satires emerged early in 1794, were immediately suppressed by the government, and then re-emerged again in November 1794, following the acquittals of Hardy and Horne Tooke. Thereafter, they appeared in considerable numbers, and became one of the most popular forms of radical satire on the king and the government, until they were suppressed again at the end of 1795, by the exemplary arrest of one of the booksellers who published and sold them, and by the

passing of the Treasonable Practices Bill, which made a second offence of publishing a seditious libel punishable by transportation. These satires raise all kinds of fascinating questions — about how they were disseminated, their authorship, their supposed audience, the effect they were intended to have, the relations between aristocratic and middle-class reformers and the popular radical movement, and so on. They also raise a very specific question about the policy of the government, which, having suppressed the first examples when they began to appear, allowed them to proliferate unchecked for most of 1795.

The first of these radical mock-advertisements was discovered in York, and its supposed publisher, a leading Yorkshire reformer, was swiftly prosecuted and imprisoned.¹⁵ But a week or so later the advertisement appeared at a meeting of the LCS, and it almost certainly originated in London, as did every subsequent example of the *genre*.¹⁶ Later in the year the advertisement was produced at Thelwall's trial, once again as evidence of his treasonable disposition. When in May 1794 the leaders of the London reforming societies were rounded up, another such advertisement was discovered, 'La Guillotine; or, George's Head in the Basket' (*fig. 1*): so effectively was this suppressed that no original copy is known to have survived, and we know of its contents only because it was produced in evidence at the trial of Hardy, and so appears in the transcript of the trial. According to the spy George Lynam, who had infiltrated the LCS and gave evidence at the trial, the advertisement had been written by a 'gentleman' from Walworth named Cruden, who was rich enough to keep his own phaeton, and was possibly himself a member of the LCS.¹⁷ The parliamentary committee responsible for assembling the evidence against the reforming societies was particularly alarmed by these advertisements, which they regarded as an especially effective way of bringing the government into contempt, and as designed, in the committee's words, 'to render deliberate incitements to every species of treason familiar to the minds of the people.'¹⁸ In the mass interrogations that preceded the treason trials, prisoner after prisoner was asked if they had seen them, who had printed them, who had circulated them. Nothing conclusive was discovered.¹⁹

The pasquinade advertising 'George's Head in the Basket' is more accessible than most of these mock-advertisements, less dependent than others on the topical allusions which make it difficult to explain the point of their jokes except at the kind of length which would make them seem more laboured than amusing. The playbill advertises a performance, on All Fool's Day 1794, in Federation Square, named in honour of the imagined union of the new republics of Britain and France. Here all the male members of the royal family will be executed, together with the Prime Minister and a handful of leading loyalists. Edmund Burke is on

the hit-list, for his tireless condemnation of the revolution in France; so is John Reeves, founder in late 1792 of the Crown and Anchor Association, designed to facilitate the prosecution of seditious publications and seditious utterances; so is the Duke of Richmond, the proponent in 1780 of a plan for the introduction of universal manhood suffrage which had become the manifesto of the reforming societies, but now a member of Pitt's Cabinet and a dedicated opponent of reform. Among those imagined as waiting in line for their turn to be sacrificed are the European monarchs confederated against the French republic, including Britain's future ally, Catherine the Great, and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who profited by leasing his subjects to fight as mercenaries in the armies of the allies.

These recreants will all be in the custody of 'municipal guards,' like those who had attended the guillotining of Louis XVI; these guards, however, are members of the parliamentary opposition to Pitt's government, Charles James Fox and his more reformist colleagues, Sheridan, Charles Grey, who had moved an unsuccessful motion for parliamentary reform in 1793, and would later introduce the 1832 Reform Act, and Thomas Erskine, who would soon act as defence counsel for Hardy, Tooke and Thelwall, and to whose advocacy their acquittal would be widely attributed. Entertainment will be provided by the Duke of Brunswick, who had issued the notorious manifesto against the French, and by the leading bishops of the Church of England, who will exhibit their skills at rope-dancing — the kicks and involuntary contortions of the hanged. The chorus will sing one of the unofficial anthems of the French republic, and yet another republican version of the national anthem of Britain, which now implores God not to save but to shave — to guillotine — the king. The entertainment is to be concluded by a mass guillotining of those who benefit from government corruption. Admission to the theatre is very competitively priced, to allow the attendance of the very poor. Genuine playbills frequently ended with the patriotic wish, *Vivant Rex et Regina*; this one ends with an appropriately republican wish, not in Latin but in the language of liberty.

V

Over a dozen of the radical leaders in London were charged with High Treason, but after the first three trials all resulted in acquittals, the government, to its enormous embarrassment, was forced to abandon the attempt to use the law of treason to suppress the radical movement. It was now that the floodgates opened, and a long series of mock-advertisements began to be published. Almost all of them first appeared in

radical newspapers such as the *Courier* and the *Telegraph*, but were then reprinted and sold at a penny each as single sheets, in form exactly like genuine play-bills and advertisements for other public entertainments, and with inventive typographical variation which brilliantly parodied the hyperbole of genuine advertisements. The first mock-advertisement discovered in 1794 was small in format — smaller than an A4 sheet, and modelled on advertising handbills passed out in the street, though I doubt if anyone would have been foolhardy enough to circulate it that way. ‘George’s Head in the Basket,’ however, appeared first as a handbill and was later reprinted as a broadside, twice the size.²⁰ The post-trial advertisements were almost all printed as broadsides. Though we have no record of quite how they were used, it seems likely that they were deliberately collected, as Spence’s political tokens were.²¹ We know too that some radical propaganda was circulated by bill-stickers,²² and it is likely that these broadsides were clandestinely pasted up in the street alongside genuine advertisements, from which, at a distance, they would have been indistinguishable. Indeed, Wordsworth’s account of street-advertising in the London of the 1790s may suggest as much. He writes of ‘ballads’ and ‘Advertisements of giant size’ pasted to ‘dead walls’ — walls without doors or windows — below which, one ‘fronted with a most imposing word, / Is peradventure one in masquerade.’²³ The editors of the Norton *Prelude* suggest that, unlike the other bills, this one is ‘in masquerade’ because it ‘disguised the true nature of the goods on sale.’ It seems rather more likely to me that it was one of these mock-advertisements Wordsworth had in mind: he was living in Lincoln’s Inn in early 1795, in the months when almost all the bills I am discussing were produced.²⁴ To paste such spurious bills among the genuine would have reinforced the primary message of many of them, that the activities of the king and his government — state occasions like the opening of Parliament — were no more or less than spectacles or illusions, designed at once to distract the public from the urgency of the continuing political crisis, and to dazzle them into political subjection.

The first group of post-trial advertisements was directed primarily against Pitt. The huge and humourless authority with which Pitt spoke in Parliament, and his freedom from every private vice except bibulousness, had made it difficult before the London treason trials for radical and opposition writers to find in him the kind of weakness that gives a handle for satire. The acquittals, however, provided two. Pitt gave evidence at Tooke’s trial, and his reluctant and shifty testimony — he pretended to have forgotten his own earlier activities in favour of parliamentary reform — had put in question, or so it could also be pretended, the reliability of his memory.²⁵ Throughout the thirteen months following Tooke’s acquittal, the amnesia which had so suddenly afflicted

him became the most frequent topic in satires of Pitt, and so ensured that he would never be allowed to forget what he could not remember.²⁶ Secondly, the acquittals allowed the alarmism that Pitt had carefully nurtured since the Royal Proclamation of May 1792 launched the prosecution of Paine, but which had arguably now been declared by three juries to have no rational basis, to be treated as an object of mirth as well as of anger. There had been no revolutionary plot: Pitt and his friends had been imagining things.

Following the acquittal of Tooke, a series of pasquinades began to appear which satirised Pitt as a professional magician, Signor Gulielmo Pittachio, who boasts that he is a master of illusion in advertisements that reveal him to be a *mere* illusionist, whose most successful trick is to bribe his audience to pretend they cannot see through his tricks. The first of the series originally appeared in the radical newspaper the *Courier* on November 28 1794; it reappeared as a handbill, and finally emerged as a broadside, the first to exploit the typographical variety and excitement of street advertising.²⁷ The Pittachio pasquinades, all of which announce him as performing at the theatre in Westminster — the House of Commons — were closely modelled on genuine advertisements for magic shows, of which dozens survive,²⁸ for these shows were immensely popular, given by men whose names, exotic in a British context, were no doubt intended to guarantee the uncanny nature of their illusions: Henry Breslaw, Mons. Boulevard, Highman Palatine, Katerfelto, Sieur Hermon Boaz, Sieurs Rea, Sen. and Jun., Sieur Cosmopolitan, Sieur Connus, Signor Zucker, and so on. Pittachio, however, was modelled on the celebrated Italian illusionist Signior Guiseppi Pinetti, who had made his name in pre-revolutionary Paris, and had performed in England at least since the mid 1780s (*fig. 2*). The idea of comparing Pitt with Pinetti had been first developed in an elaborate 'Parallel' between the two men in the *Political Miscellanies* which in the late 1780s came to be attached to the anonymous collection of anti-Pitt satires in *The Rolliad*; this had anticipated a number of the best jokes in the first two Pittachio pasquinades.²⁹ According to an anonymous contemporary epigram, Pinetti excelled all his rivals in the brazenness of his performance and of his advertising:

Three sons of magic in the same age born,
Prussia, England, Italy adorn.
The first has in the lofty puff surpass'd,
The next in insolence — in both the last.
Since human patience can no farther go,
Hang up the last, to scare the former two.³⁰

One such showman advertised his slides under the title 'THE POWERS OF IMAGINATION; OR, THE SENSES DECEIVED';³¹ and one of the most repeated complaints about Pitt's alarmism was that it was an attempt to 'bewilder the imagination,' to persuade the people, against the evidence of their own senses, that reformers were revolutionaries. Pitt's ability to convince his parliamentary supporters that seeing was not believing was partly the effect, so the first Pittachio pasquinade announced, of bribery; of magic gold dust, which produced 'a most extraordinary effect in the optics of Spectators ... so that they shall not be able to distinguish colours; but shall call (at the Signior's command,) BLACK, WHITE, AND WHITE BLACK, to the edification of all beholders' (fig. 3). The readiness with which the spies of government attempted to pass off patriots as traitors was the effect, the advertisement explained, of Pittachio's 'justly celebrated, CURIOUS SPY GLASSES, which distort and misrepresent all objects that are looked at through them, and occasion in the company A SUDDEN AND SOCIAL DISMAY.' To ensure the success of these and other attempts to bewilder the imagination — 'to give greater effect to the DECEPTIONS' — the audience at the show was to be kept 'as much in the dark as possible.'³²

Pittachio's performance is announced as beginning with the ringing of 'a magical alarm bell, at which all the company shall become mad or foolish.' A magic bell was a feature of a number of magic shows. A Mr Lowe, for example, performed a trick with a 'Miraculous Bell.' '[The] Wonderful Bell,' he claims, 'is placed on the Table before all the Company, and Mr. LOWE commands it to strike, without being touched, (also desired by any Person in the Room. — The same Bell will answer to several Questions, and also to strike the Number thought [of] by any Person present).' Lowe's act also contained 'A Wonderful Automaton Figure,' which, he promised, 'will appear on the table, pay his Respects to all the Company, then instantly vanish out of Sight. The same Figure will appear, and disappear, Twenty Times, if desired.'³³ Pittachio too uses automata: in a satire of Pitt's management of his parliamentary majority, his act is said to include 'UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED AUTOMATA, OR MOVING PUPPETS, Who will rise up, sit down, say Yes, or No, Receive Money, Rake among the Cinders, or do any Dirty Work he may think proper to put them to.'³⁴ In early editions of this advertisement, Pittachio ended by apologising that he had been disappointed in his attempts to engage the rope-dancers he hoped to have exhibited, the leaders of the radical societies; but as they had escaped conviction, 'This Part of the Entertainment must therefore be deferred.' In the final edition, Pittachio announces that his grand finale will now be supplied, to the delight of the Swinish Multitude — the people, in

Edmund Burke's notorious description of them — by an exhibition of himself on the tight-rope.

In the second — the briefest and funniest — Pittachio pasquinade (fig. 4), the sublime magician responds to a rumour that the opening of Parliament would be delayed while the government considered how to manage the debacle of the treason trials.³⁵ He will certainly re-open Parliament soon — if he remembers to. Pinetti sometimes included in his advertisements a list of his international honours and distinctions: 'Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Knight of the Order of Merit of St. Philip, pensioner of the Court of Prussia, Aggregate to the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Bordeaux, and Natural Philosopher to the Court of France.'³⁶ This second pasquinade contains a similar list of Pitt's 'honourable distinctions,' among them '*Winum guzzleando potentissimus,*' alluding to Pitt's fondness for drink, and '*Pretty-girlibus indifferentissimus,*' alluding to his entire lack of interest in sex — except perhaps the solitary sex he offers to perform on stage at the end of the first Pittachio pasquinade. According to radical black propaganda he was equipped with only vestigial or atrophied genitals.³⁷

By the third of the series (fig. 5), first published in *Telegraph* on January 29 1795, and issued soon after as a broadside,³⁸ Pittachio has become a more varied entertainer, and a general impresario; his show now includes, among other things, a wider range of deceptions and other turns which related directly to the trials: his 'INESTIMABLE FANTOCCINI,' who 'could pronounce the Words, WAR, TREASON, MURDER, and other popular expressions, AS IF THEY WERE LIVE CHRISTIANS'; 'a Humorous Dialogue between JACK KETCH, and a CROWN LAWYER, on the subject HIGH TREASON'; and a 'Serio-Comico-Dramatico Medley' in which the performers included the three heroes of the 1794 trials: 'Mr. Hardleather,' Mr. Horner, Mr. Telwell.' The continuing emphasis, however, was on Pittachio's ability (or what he believed to be his ability) to bewilder the imagination by persuading people to ignore the evidence of their senses: 'THE PITTACHIO ... will also so *alarm* them by his skill in *the occult Arts*, That he shall take them up, knock them down, handcuff them, rummage their pockets, and read their letters, with the *most captivating decorum*, and to their perfect Satisfaction.'³⁹

Pittachio starred in at least three more mock advertisements,⁴⁰ and, as we shall see, he made guest appearances in pasquinades mainly directed at other politicians. He also gave birth to a number of imitators. In February 1795 the *Morning Post* re-invented him as 'Signor Pito,' the hero of 'a Serious English opera, call'd THE CAMPAIGN.'⁴¹ In another broadside of the same month, 'Pittpatche' announced the government's plans to take revenge on the members of the reforming societies who had escaped him at the trials, by forcibly enlisting into the army 'all Jacobins,

Republicans, and Reformers,' and thus making them 'SLAVES without injuring their Feelings as FREEMEN.'⁴² There was 'the Sublime Sultan Pittander Omnipotent,' an oriental despot who is comforted on the outcome of the trials and the failures of war by his adoring subject Mustapha, in tones of abject humility, and in a form and language derived from the Song of Songs.⁴³

VI

By mid-February 1795 Pittachio had served his turn, and the mock-advertisements began to look for other targets. Thus *Harlequin Impeacher* (fig. 6), for example, is aimed principally at Edmund Burke:⁴⁴ Harlequin because he was a turncoat (the most eloquent British supporter of the American Revolution, the most furious enemy of the French); impeacher because he had led the long impeachment of Warren Hastings, which finally ended with Hastings's acquittal in April 1795, when this broadside probably appeared. Like several of the other broadsides, this one glances at a real play, *Harlequin Dr Faustus; or, The Devil will have his Own*, which, in its latest version, had been presented at Covent Garden in December 1793, and had been advertised by an elaborate playbill which, like this one, gave lengthy details about the contents of every scene.⁴⁵ The plot of *Harlequin Impeacher* is based on the plot which, radicals believed, had been concerted in the monarchies of Europe against the revolution: in the radical reading of the history of the early 1790s, Burke, by mobilising European opinion against the revolution in his *Reflections*, bore the main responsibility for the aggressive war against France, and for the jacobin terror; the Faustus who in scene five makes Robespierre 'Prime Minister of France' is no doubt intended to be Burke.

The main target of *Grand Exhibition at Wimbledon!!!* (fig. 7)⁴⁶ is Pitt's favoured drinking companion, the Scot Henry Dundas, who as Home Secretary had coordinated the attack on the radical societies, and in 1795 as Minister for War was seen as equally responsible with Pitt for prolonging what was, at this stage, a markedly unsuccessful war with France. Every year during the war, the king proclaimed a fast day, on which the nation was meant to abstain from food, acknowledge its sins against God, and, thus purified, pray for God's help in the war against France. These fast days were always controversial for suggesting that God would lend a hand in destroying the French republic, which many dissenting radicals regarded as God's chosen agent in his war with the Anti-Christ, the Pope. But the fast day in 1795, the year of scarcity, was particularly controversial: for the poor, argued opponents of the war, every day was now a fast day.⁴⁷ This mock-advertisement tells us how

the ministers of the government will pass the day: in a grand eating match to be held at Dundas's private residence, to be attended of course by 'the Sublime PITTACHIO,' who is advertised as undertaking to deliver 'a bottle oration' in which his Dutch Courage will persuade him to march the British Army to Paris.

The 1795 fast day led one particularly courageous radical and plebeian publisher, Richard Lee, to reprint the handbill found and prosecuted a year earlier in York, this time in large format, and retitled, in keeping with the threatening famine, *Amusement for starving Mechanics* (fig. 8).⁴⁸ In this George III is satirised as King Nebuchadnezzar, who, rather like George himself, had suffered from temporary insanity and temporarily lost his throne. On this fast day, not the God of Elijah but Baal, the god worshipped by Church of England bishops and government ministers, would be called upon to smite the armies of the 'Righteous,' the French government and people who were faithfully carrying out God's commands in making war on the Catholic Church. Baal had already been begged, of course, in 1793 and 1794, to 'bless their ARMS, and sanctify their CRIMES,' yet British arms had met with little success. Hitherto, the advertisement explains in the mocking words of Elijah, Baal cannot have heard the prayers of loyalists, 'He being, when before called upon either Talking, or Pursuing, or on a Journey, or peradventure Sleeping, and must (now) be AWAKENED.'⁴⁹

Richard, or as he came to call himself, 'Citizen' Lee was a Methodist and millenarian who was twice expelled from the LCS for opposing the increasingly atheist tendency of the society. He became the chief printer and supplier of these mock-advertisements during most of 1795. His *Grand Order of Procession* (fig. 9) foresees the glorious celebrations when, on All Fools' Day in some as yet unspecified year, the allies finally enter Paris to establish the boy-king Louis XVII on the throne of his executed father.⁵⁰ The typographical high jinks characteristic of late eighteenth-century advertising are working wonderfully in this broadside: for example in the discreetly tiny print which hints at Pitt's apostasy from the cause of reform, signified by his 'Superb suit of *changeable* Silk,' what is now called shot silk,⁵¹ or in the large-print 'MONARCH' who enters his capital sitting on Pitt's knee, and the contrast thus implied between the enormous task of being absolute monarch of the largest state in Western Europe, and the tiny pretender to the throne, now 11 years old.

Another of Lee's advertisements describes the grand theatrical entertainment to be held when, at last, the revolution has been accomplished in Britain, and the swinish multitude has seized the government from Pitt and the theatres from Pittachio 'and his Fellow Professors in the Black Arts' (fig. 10).⁵² There will now be 'An entire Change of Performances:' the Tower of London will be stormed, St. James's Palace invaded

by the swinish multitude, the Treasury ransacked. The crown will be magically transformed into a cap of liberty, ministers will be hanged, and the concluding dance will be performed, in appropriately democratic style, by women members of the Swinish Multitude, dancing in their pattens.⁵³ Pittachio, like Pinetti, had concluded his advertisements with the loyal wish 'VIVANT REX ET REGINA'; this advertisement ends, once again in the language of liberty, though somewhat fractured, 'Vivant la People Sovereigne.'

VII

Why were the publishers of these advertisements allowed to go unpunished throughout 1795? By no means all of the advertisements would have been regarded by the law officers of the Crown as seditious libels, at least not as sufficiently obviously so as to make it likely that their publishers could be successfully prosecuted. Prosecutions for seditious libel or seditious words were usually, in the mid 1790s, directed against insults to the king; and though the advertisements produced before the 1794 trials were evidently directed against George, most of those which appeared in 1795 are primarily aimed at Pitt and his ministers. At least two of the advertisements, however, Lee's reissue of the satire on Nebuchadnezzar, and his 'An entire Change of Performances?,' quite clearly fell within the category of seditious texts, texts whose tendency was to bring the king into dislike or disrespect, and yet there is no sign that when they appeared the Law Officers contemplated taking action against Lee, as they had against the York publishers of the Nebuchadnezzar handbill. And in fact throughout the twelve months from the acquittal of Hardy to November 1795, they brought no charges of seditious libel in London against the radical booksellers, who in those months were routinely publishing works much more seditious than those which, in 1793 and early 1794, had been routinely prosecuted. This inaction, indeed, on the part of the Law Officers, must be regarded as one reason for the considerable increase in the numbers of popular radical booksellers in the capital in 1795.

Attempting to justify his inaction to Parliament in November 1795, the Attorney General Sir John Scott declared that there were now simply too many libels published for it to be possible to prosecute them.⁵⁴ This was an odd explanation, for prosecutions for political writings were intended to be exemplary, to have a deterrent effect; the way to stop an epidemic of libels was to prosecute one or two. There are two more probable explanations of the Law Officers' action, or the lack of it. As we have seen, the mock-advertisements began to proliferate immediately

after the acquittals in the treason trials of late 1794. It seems plain that radical publishers believed, in the radical euphoria that followed the trials, that the government now despaired of securing convictions against radicals in the London courts; that they had, as one pamphleteer put it, suffered a 'knockdown blow' with the collapse of the prosecutions,⁵⁵ and now believed that any prosecution of the radical movement would be regarded by London juries as oppressive and would be thrown out.

There is probably some truth in this; it may also be true, however, that the government was biding its time, waiting for a favourable occasion to introduce more severe penalties against the publication of libels, in the belief, subsequently justified, that this would be a more effective deterrent than prosecution, which always risked appearing oppressive to all but the most convinced loyalists. The occasion came with the attack on the king's coach which I referred to earlier, following which the government immediately introduced the Treasonable Practices Bill, which had probably been drafted a good deal earlier, and which in addition to proposing, as I remarked before, a series of new substantive treasons, also threatened those convicted a second time for seditious libel with transportation for seven years. Two weeks after the introduction of this bill, Richard Lee was arrested and charged with seditious libel.

It was not for any of his mock-advertisements that Lee was to be prosecuted, but principally for a handbill, provocatively entitled *King Killing*, which advocated regicide as a public benefit, and which, according to the government, had been circulated at a mass meeting of the LCS a few days before the alleged assassination attempt upon the king, and had directly inspired that attempt.⁵⁶ In fact, as Lee explained, the text of the handbill was directly transcribed from an article by John Pitchford published earlier in the year in a Norwich periodical, *The Cabinet*, which had not been prosecuted; the only substantive change Lee had made, so he claimed, was to change the title from 'Tyrannicide' to *King Killing*, to ensure that prospective purchasers would know just what they would be buying.⁵⁷ This was not entirely true: Lee omitted to add that the portion of the article he had reprinted was a speech supposed to be made by an advocate of tyrannicide whose arguments the article then went on to condemn.⁵⁸ Before he could be brought to trial, Lee escaped from custody disguised as a woman and made his way to the safety of Philadelphia.⁵⁹

VIII

Most of these advertisements were published in the first months of 1795; they remained on sale at least until the autumn of that year, months after the immediately topical events they refer to had ceased to be news. A part of their remarkable contemporary success is that they mobilise a figure frequently used in propaganda, satire and polemics against Pitt's ministry. The figure was developed most extensively by Francis Plowden, the first historian of the early and middle 1790s in Britain. In 1794 and 1795, Plowden became increasingly radicalised, more and more convinced that the political machinations of the government, and particularly the alarms it had raised about the ultimate ambitions of the movement for parliamentary reform, were the concerted parts of a grand design, a conspiracy to appropriate power from the institutions of popular representation — the House of Commons and the jury — to the throne. With remarkable singlemindedness, Plowden dramatised this belief by a play on words, a figure already familiar in eighteenth-century political satire but perhaps nowhere else so tirelessly elaborated, by which this conspiracy, this plot, was imagined as the plot of a play or a sequence of plays, staged by ministers who are repeatedly represented as the 'managers' of the theatre of politics.

Plowden pursued this figure most exhaustively in his discussion of the 1794 treason trials, Pitt's 'grand exhibition.' He describes the preceding treason trials in Edinburgh as the 'prelude' or the 'first act' of a drama, which Pitt had decided to try out in 'a country theatre' before making the final decision to exhibit the whole piece, the twelve consecutive trials of the London radicals, at the Old Bailey. The convictions in Edinburgh, Plowden tells us, 'encouraged the Managers to prepare immediately' for this 'grand exhibition.' 'Such was the confidence of success, he continues, 'that it was first announced for twelve successive nights, and the whole company, with an unexampled troop of attendants, servants, mutes, prompters, &c. &c. were accordingly retained at the most exhaustive salaries.' The great drama was extensively advertised: 'none of the stale and hackneyed arts of inflated merit and anticipated success were omitted.' When the piece was eventually put on, however, 'it was thrice damned by the audience on so many separate performances,' and was promptly taken off. Hardy, Tooke and Thelwall were all acquitted, in a series of creaking productions in which 'the connection of the plot, the shifting of the scenes, and the wonderful deception of the machinery' were only too apparent.⁶⁰ It is to this figure, as it appears in Plowden's writings and in others, similar if less elaborate and less sophisticated, that the various bills refer which announce dramatic representations of the treason trials, of Dundassio's own 'grand

exhibition'; of the war against France, and of a series of other moments in Pitt's great plot; most explicitly perhaps in a late bill, from the summer of 1795, advertising *A New Tragedy, entitled, Another Campaign* (fig. 11). This assures the Public, 'that whatever Defects they may perceive in the Contrivance and Management of the Plot, they shall have no Reason to complain of *Expence* being spared, or of the want of TRAGIC EFFECT in the Catastrophe.'⁶¹

The chief originality of the playbills, however, what made them at once so novel and so popular, does not lie in this figure, nor in the general idea of making political satire out of advertisements, even of showmen's advertisements — that idea is at least as old as Swift.⁶² It is that by focusing not on the theatre itself but on theatre advertising, they had found a new way of representing what was a thoroughly familiar notion, politics as theatre, political plots as the plots of drama, in a way which made that notion especially accessible to a popular audience. The originality is in printing the mock-advertisement in a form which releases it from the context of the satirical pamphlet, and allows it to be stuck up, or imagined as stuck up, in the tavern and the street.

I can begin to explain what I mean by suggesting that one of the most intriguing things about these advertisements is that they confuse the tidy division we often make, in studying radical political culture in the revolutionary period, between polite and popular culture. These mock advertisements were invariably printed by booksellers who aimed at a popular radical market, with little disposable income or formal education. Even among popular booksellers there was a clear social hierarchy, divisions of class and status marked by the length and cost of their publications, the size of their premises and the way those premises were used. These handbills were published by the lowest of the low, the most popular of the popular, the most plebeian of the plebeian. But it is not at all clear how many of them were written by members of that social group. We know that the first Pittachio advertisement was produced by the polite, public-school-educated poet Robert Merry, who had first satirised Pitt as a showman in his play *The Magician no Conjuror*, produced at Covent Garden early in 1792.⁶³ It's probable that the second in the Pittachio series was produced by the Foxite M.P. Joseph Jekyll, a lawyer from a distinguished legal family, with the reputation of being quite a wag.⁶⁴ Jekyll and Merry were both friends and political associates of Sheridan; Jekyll was a member of the same opposition grouping in the House of Commons, and Merry was a member of the polite and moderate reform club the Friends of the People, to which Sheridan also belonged. It seems quite likely that two more of these satires originated in Sheridan's circle. One mock-advertisement, for the pantomime *Royal Vagabonds* (fig. 12), advertises an after-piece entitled 'The Wonders of

Gallia!' which recalls the elaborate show *The Wonders of Derbyshire*, designed by De Louthembourg, which had been staged under the management of Sheridan at Drury Lane in 1779.⁶⁵ The satire on Dundassio includes the announcement of a play entitled 'The King's Friends; or, The Dupe,' evidently a satire on the apostate Whigs who had gone into coalition with Pitt's government in the summer of 1794. Its title recalls the comedy *The Dupe* written by Sheridan's mother Frances, which had been repeatedly hissed during its brief run at the same theatre in 1763.⁶⁶ By early 1795, neither of these references would have meant much outside the circle of Sheridan, within which, however, they would still have meant a good deal. 'George's Head in the Basket,' as we have seen, was attributed to a 'gentleman;' on the basis of internal evidence, the style of *Another Campaign* seems to indicate a polite author also.⁶⁷ Indeed, perhaps only *Amusement for Starving Mechanics*, with its language of popular religious dissent, and *An entire Change of Performances?*, with its fractured French, seem to me likely to have been written by more or less 'vulgar' authors.

But the evident popularity of these advertisements, among radicals whom Merry, Jekyll and Sheridan would no doubt themselves have regarded as 'vulgar,' suggests that the theatrical culture to which they referred — or rather that the language of theatrical advertising they employed — was one which could function as something like a common language of satire, engaging the interest and knowledge of the polite, the vulgar and a broad range of cultural identities between politeness and vulgarity. It could do this probably more effectively than the language, or rather the languages of formal political debate, which differed widely according to the class identity of author and supposed audience. The humour of these advertisements, and the attempt they make to represent politics as theatre, as spectacle, as illusion, are not at all dependent upon an appeal to any familiarity with the theatre itself. For though cheap versions of many of the tricks of showmen like Pinetti could be seen by the most vulgar at Bartholomew Fair,⁶⁸ for example, these broadsides are modelled on advertisements for entertainments that few radical artisans or labourers could afford to attend: entrance to Pinetti's show cost two shillings and sixpence, ten times as much as to see 'La Guillotine;' this at a time when the high admission charges for public entertainments were justified as guaranteeing the exclusion of the vulgar. But the mock-advertisements mobilise a language with which any reader of newspapers, anyone indeed walking the streets of London, would have been thoroughly familiar.

We could describe the mock-advertisements as inviting into the theatre of politics those excluded from both theatre and politics, as offering them the chance to discover that the politics of the *ancien régime* is an art

of deception, and so of becoming undeceived. In many cases, however, the fine print of the invitation should be read with some suspicion; a common language is no guarantee of a common purpose. At first glance, 'La Guillotine; or, George's Head in the Basket' appears to be the most seditious of all these advertisements, offering the swinish multitude a front seat at the extinction of the hereditary monarchy, at a revolution which is imagined, however, not as their revolution, but that of the small Whig élite whose political objectives fell far short of the universal manhood suffrage demanded by the radical societies. Something similar is true, for example, of the pantomime *Harlequin Impeacher*, in which the heroes of the grand finale, the 'Storming of the Cabinet,' are Earl Stanhope the radical peer, another selection of aristocratic Whigs, and Horne Tooke and Thomas Holcroft, members of the polite and middle class Society for Constitutional Information. The 'Serio-Comico-Dramatico Medley' advertised in Pittachio's third announcement has a huge cast of wicked loyalists and virtuous patriots, only two of whom, Hardy and Thelwall, could pretend to represent the vulgar.

Most of these advertisements, I am suggesting, invite the vulgar to participate in the performance of politics, to 'make a scene,' to boo the government. By the figure of the theatrical audience, the vulgar are imagined as an active 'popular' or even 'public opinion' which will hiss Pitt from office, but in the expectation that they will then cheer Fox to the stage; will applaud, huzza, be enthralled by, the 'Sublime and Animating Spectacle' of power passing into the hands of another set of hereditary aristocrats and polite career politicians. These men, they are asked to accept, are their leaders; the actions of these men, they are invited to believe, will be (to quote one playbill) '*Pro Bono Publico*'; the 'Theatre of the World,' they are told, is the theatre of the British Parliament; the revolution is to be delivered by a handful of Whigs whose admirable record of opposition to the war and to Pitt's attack on civil rights will persuade their audience to overlook the fact that they offer only the most moderate political reform. It may be indeed that one of the reasons for the popularity of these texts is that they spoke to a residual deference in the popular radical movement, the sense, so hard to shake off, that men of title and distinction really were their natural leaders, however suspicious members of that movement had learned to become about the pretensions to rule of the ruling-class; this residual and reluctant deference is one of the things that distinguish, I think, the movement of the 1790s from the Chartists of forty and fifty years later. In this context especially, the mock playbills make sense of the question-mark in the title of *An entire Change of Performances?*, the only advertisement which represents the swinish multitude as actors as well as audience in the imagined revolution. We can read that query as pointing to a continuing

dilemma in the popular radical movement about how far it could use an aristocratic parliamentary Opposition which it admired but did not trust, which sought to use it but did not trust it.⁶⁹

JOHN BARRELL
University of York

Endnotes

- 1 Vicesimus Knox, *A Narrative of Some Transactions relative to a Sermon, preached in the Parish Church of Brighton*, 2nd ed. (London: C. Dilly, 1793).
- 2 W. Curtis, *A Narrative of an Assault, and other Disgraceful Outrages, lately committed on a Peaceable Individual, by a Set of Military Heroes, at the Theatre, in Lynn Regis* ('London printed, And may be had of the Booksellers in Town and Country,' 1794). The pamphlet is dated March 18.
- 3 T.B. Howell and Thomas Jones Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (London: Longman *et al.*, 1816-22), 24:82-3; for an earlier riot in the Edinburgh Theatre, in October 1792, see James Mackay, *A Biography of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1992) 520.
- 4 The most famous such incident occurred on the night at the theatre in Dumfries in October 1792, when Robert Burns either refused or (if we prefer his own version) did not refuse to stand and remove his hat when 'God save the king' was performed: see Mackay, *Biography* 518-20, and *The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. J. De Lancey and G. Ross Roy, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) 2:165-6.
- 5 [Robert Thompson], *A New Song to an Old Tune* ('God save — "THE RIGHTS OF MAN!"' (no publication details); 'God save great Jolter-Head' is referred to in the trial of John Thelwall, *State Trials for High Treason. Embellished with Portraits* (London: B. Crosby, [late 1794 or early 1795]) 3:21. *The Dog's Day: an Ode. By J. Hogg, A.M. of Grunter's College* (no publication details), looks forward to the hanging of George, Pitt and Dundas; *A Cure for National Grievances* [...] *Citizen Guillotine. A New Shaving Machine* (London: Richard Lee [1795]) represents hanging as too cruel a punishment for Pitt, and recommends instead the French method of execution; see also the song *The Tyrants of Britain* (no publication details [1795]). 'On the French Revolution,' in *The Moral and Political Magazine of the London Corresponding Society* 1:144; *God save the Prince* (no publication details [1795]), attacks the Prince of Wales's expenditure, which it estimates at 'Two hundred pounds a day.' *The Duke of York's New March* (London: Richard Lee [1795]). There are various loyalist songs also, written to be sung to the tune of 'God save great George our King.'
- 6 *The Life of John Thelwall. By his Widow* (London: John Macrone, 1837) 1:285-6. This and the following paragraphs on performances of *Venice Preserv'd* in 1794 and 1795 are discussed at greater length in my essay 'Popular Political Culture in the Mid 1790s,' *Anglistentag 1995 Greifswald: Proceedings*, ed. Jürgen Klein and Dirk Banderbeke (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996) 15-27.
- 7 The theft of *Venice Preserv'd* had probably been started by Eaton, who in 1793 had used brief extracts from the play as epigraphs on the title-pages of two radical

- pamphlets: see Charles Pigott, *Persecution. The Case of Charles Pigott: containing the Defence he had prepared and which would have been delivered by him on his Trial, if the Grand Jury had not thrown out the Bill preferred against him* (London: D.I. Eaton, 1793); *Extermination, or an Appeal to the People of England, on the Present War, with France* (London: D.I. Eaton, [1793]). For Thelwall's theft, see the evidence of the spy John Taylor before the Privy Council, PRO TS11/963/3609, and *State Trials for High Treason ... embellished with Portraits* 3:35-5.
- 8 *The Speeches of Pierre and Jeffeir, extracted from Venice Preserved* (no publication details).
 - 9 *True Briton* October 30 1795.
 - 10 *Life of John Thelwall* 1:286.
 - 11 *A Narrative of the Insults offered to the King, on his Way to and from the House of Lords ... By an Eye-Witness* (London: J. Owen, 1795) 11-12. See also the *True Briton* October 30, November 2 1795; *Times* October 31.
 - 12 *State Trials* 24:84.
 - 13 James Parkinson, the anonymous author of *A Vindication of the London Corresponding Society* (London: J. Smith and J. Burks, 1794), justly complained that this satire was a violation of law and justice which, published in the confidence that it would not be prosecuted, 'describes those men who are awaiting the verdict of their country, as having fully perpetrated those acts of high treason of which they are supposed to be accused, but of which a fundamental principle of our constitution declares them to be held innocent until their guilt is proved' (4).
 - 14 Among the few mock-advertisements I will not have space to discuss in this essay or mention in the notes, the most interesting are the six parts of *Exhibition Extraordinary!!*, a mock art-exhibition, originally published in the *Telegraph* and reprinted as broadsides (London: G. Riebau, [1795]).
 - 15 *For the Benefit of the Tythe and Tax Club* (no publication details [1794]). This handbill was complained of by Samuel Buck in a letter from Leeds to John Scott, February 19 1794. The Treasury Solicitor, Joseph White, responded with an indictment against a man named Brownrigge, who had published by distributing it in York. But Brownrigge absconded, and on the advice of White the same indictment was used against the prominent Leeds radical Charles Handley, who also 'published' the handbill; see PRO TS11/591/1936; for Handley's trial, see *Oracle* April 5 1794. A few months later George Thompson was acquitted in York on a charge of publishing the same handbill, in a verdict which acknowledged that he had published it but denied that it was seditious: see Clive Emsley, 'An Aspect of Pitt's "Terror": prosecutions for sedition during the 1790s,' *Social History* 6 (1981): 171.
 - 16 It was first reported to the Government in London by the spy John Taylor, who recorded that at a special meeting of the LCS on February 28 1794 the handbill had been read aloud by George Williams, a leather-seller from Smithfield. Taylor added that it gained 'great applause' and that he 'understood it was the production of the constitutional Committee' (a committee of the LCS charged with examining its constitution and organisation. See *Selections from the Papers of the London Corresponding Society 1792-1799*, ed. Mary Thale (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1983) 118 and n. Thale confuses this handbill with Lee's re-issue of it, with a new title, in 1795: see below. The possibility of a Yorkshire origin for the handbill may be supported by verbal similarities between it and *A Serious Lecture*.

A Public Meeting of the Friends of Peace and Reform [Sheffield: John Gales for the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information] 1794.

- 17 See *State Trials* 24:794-5 and Thale 83. Lynam reported to the government that Cruden was rumoured to be in the pay of the French Convention, but this was probably invention on his part or the part of his informants — we would probably know more of Cruden had it been true.
- 18 *The Second Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons* (London: J. Debrett 1794) 26.
- 19 See for example the interrogations of John Edwards, Thomas Hardy and George Williams, PRO TS11/963/3509; Edward Gosling, John Hillier, PC1/22/A36/A; John Francklow and Edward Hodson, PC1/22/A36/B; John Pearce, PC1/22/A36/C. Edwards told the Privy Council that he had received this broadside playbill from John Baxter, a member of the LCS who was indicted for high treason at the same time as Thomas Hardy; see Edwards's examination of May 26 1794, PC1/22/A36/B.
- 20 For the existence of an earlier, handbill-sized version, dated 'January 30' (the anniversary of the execution of Charles I), and first published in October or November, see the examination by the Privy Council of John Edwards, a member of the LCS, May 27 1794, PRO TS11/963/3509, his evidence in Hardy's trial, *State Trials* 24:681, and the examination of the government spy Edward Gosling, PC1/22/A36/A. Edwards had displayed the advertisement in his shop.
- 21 See Thomas Spence, *The Coin-Collector's Companion* (London: Spence, 1795).
- 22 William Carter, an illiterate bill-sticker, was arrested in December 1792 for posting copies of the LCS's *Address of the London Corresponding Society, to the other Societies of Great-Britain*. He was tried and found guilty the following month; see PRO TS11/965/3510A, and Thale, *Selections* 34n., 36n., 42-6.
- 23 Wordsworth, *The Prelude* (1805) 7:213-4.
- 24 Wordsworth, *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M.H. Abrams and Stephen Gill (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1979) 236, nn. 4, 1.
- 25 *State Trials* 25:381-6.
- 26 Space prevents a discussion here of satires of Pitt's forgetfulness. It was a feature of all the 'Pittachio' broadsides discussed; the last of these, *Sale Extraordinary of the Effects of Signor Gulielmo Pittachio* (no publication details [1795]), offers his memory — 'of very fine Tone, but kept below Concert-pitch at the option of the Owner' — among the items for sale. The broadside is signed 'A.L.,' and in the advertisement leaf of a publication of 1795 by John Smith, *Corrupt Parliaments: An Extract from Alexander Scott's Legacy to his Country*, it is described as 'by a Lady.' In one satirical poem, possibly by Robert Merry, Pitt's forgetfulness was represented as the effect of his hopeless love for 'Polly Power;' see *Pitti-Clout & Dun-Cuddy, a Political Eclogue; wherein is expressed in courtly lays, the Inviolable Attachment and Constant Loves of the Treasury Shepherds, and their Firm Resolutions to Sacrifice Everything to their Respective Sweethearts, Polly Power and Sally Plunder. By Mr. M-R-Y* (London: Citizen Lee: [1795]) 6 [but note that in the advertisement leaf of *Mr. St. George, a True Story* (London: Citizen Lee, 1795) is the note: 'Pitti-Clout & Dun-Cuddy, a Political Eclogue, was erroneously said to be written by MR. M-R-Y']. Walter Savage Landor attributed Pitt's forgetfulness to hard drinking: see [W.S. Landor], *Moral Epistle, respectfully dedicated to Earl Stanhope* (London:

T. Cadell junr. and W. Davies, 1795) 13; in an anonymous song, 'The Patriot, or Billy the Apostate,' it seems to be connected with a habit of masturbation: see *The Patriot, or Billy the Apostate* (no place: 'Margaret Nicholson,' 1795), where a reference to Pitt's devotion to 'His manual exercise' immediately precedes an account of how his memory failed him at the Old Bailey. Some of the more interesting and amusing satires of Pitt's amnesia include the *Morning Chronicle* November 27 1794; the *Morning Post* January 13 and February 12 1795; 'A Crambo Epistle to Mr. Pitt, on his memory failing him in a late trial,' in *Politics for the People* 2: 353-5; John Gale Jones, *Sketch of a Speech delivered at the Westminster Forum, on the 9th, 16th, 23d, and 30th December 1794* (London: the author, 1795) 35; *A Picture of the Times, in a Letter Addressed to the People of England. By a Lover of Peace* (London: J. Ridgway et al., 1795) 15; *Telegraph* August 20 1795, reprinted as *Admirable Satire on the Death, Dissection, Funeral Procession, & Epitaph, of Mr. PITT. [Copied from the TELEGRAPH of the 20th, 21st, and 24th of August, 1795.]* (London: C. Smith, Telegraph-Office, [1795]).

- 27 The first Pittachio pasquinade was enormously popular; it was reprinted in the *Courier* 'after great demand' (December 29 1794), republished by Spence in *Pig's Meat* (3:57) and by Eaton in *Politics for the People* (2:388-9), and appeared in four different editions as a broadside or handbill: two editions of the broadside, both entitled *Wonderful Exhibition!!!*, appear with a woodcut of Pitt with a bell and book; in one of these he is flanked on either side by the royal arms; a third version (with the same title but no exclamation marks) appears in the Place collection at the British Museum. In the handbill 'Wonderful Exhibition' (no publication details [1794/5]), the pasquinade is paired with the song 'The Political Bellman's Address.'
- 28 Advertisements for the shows of numerous illusionists and other 'magic' showmen are preserved in the John Johnson collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford and in volumes one and two of the Daniel Lysons collection in the British Library (*Collectanea: or, a Collection of Advertisements and Paragraphs from the Newspapers, relating to Various Subjects*).
- 29 'Pitt and Pinetti. A Parallel,' *Political Miscellanies* 89-91, separately paginated in *The Rolliad, in Two Parts: Probationary Odes for the Laureateship; and Political Miscellanies*, 1784-91 (London: J. Ridgway, 1795).
- 30 'The Three Conjurers;' the Prussian is Katerfelto, the Englishman Breslaw, the Italian Pinetti; see Lysons's *Collectanea*, 2:1, 212. Pinetti was still a thoroughly familiar name in 1795. 'Signor Pinetti' gets a footnote — which treats him as a household name — in Peter Pindar's *The Royal Tour, and Weymouth Amusements* (London: J. Walker et al., 1795) 28n.
- 31 *By Permission of the Worshipful the Mayor. Hereford, April 6, 1795* (Hereford: D. Walker, 1795).
- 32 See 'Pitt and Pinetti,' which explains that 'Mr. Pitt's method of leaving us in the dark is by BLOCKING UP OUR WINDOWS!'
- 33 Lysons, *Collectanea*, 1:209; see also Breslaw's 'Sympathetick BELL,' 1:189.
- 34 Again, see 'Pitt and Pinetti' (*Political Miscellanies*, 91): 'PINETTI has a bird which sings exactly any tune put before it. — Mr. PITT has upwards of TWO HUNDRED birds of this description.' There are various other parallels in the parallel between Pitt and Pinetti in *The Rolliad* which resurface in the Pittachio pasquinades.

- 35 *No. II. More Wonderful Wonders* (no publication details) was first published in the *Courier* on December 15 1794. It reappeared in *Politics for the People* 2:406-7.
- 36 See Lysons's *Collectanea* 2:1 and 212.
- 37 The aspersions on Pitt's potency in the 1790s are too many to list; they may begin in the previous decade with the series of epigrams at 21-3 of *Political Miscellanies* in *The Rolliad*.
- 38 *Wonderfull Exhibition! positively the last Season of his Performing. Signor Gulielmo Pittachio* (London: Richard Lee, 1795).
- 39 Alluding to the arrests of May and June 1794, prior to the treason trials, and the judge's assurance to Thomas Holcroft, on his discharge, that there was nothing to complain of in his treatment by the Privy Council or the Crown Lawyers (*State Trials ... Embellished with Portraits*, 3:6-7). Though it appeared after the event, the advertisement was probably intended to satirise the debate on the renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act on January 23; on February 9 the *Courier* published a review of the debate supposed to have taken place at 'Pittachio's Theatre Royal.'
- 40 *Sale Extraordinary* (see above, n. 25); the *Courier*, February 9 1795; the *Telegraph* September 10 1795.
- 41 *Morning Post* February 12 1795.
- 42 *Pittpache's Requisition* ([London]: J. Bullock, [1795]). This is a mock-proclamation, but it employs the style of the typographical style of the mock-advertisements.
- 43 Three Pittander broadsides — *Mustapha's Adoration* Part I ([London]: George Riebau [1795]) and Part II, and *Mustapha's Vision* (no publication details but presumably Riebau 1795) — have survived; probably all originally appeared in the *Courier*, but in the defective collection of the *Courier* in the Burney collection at the British Library I have found only the second, on January 22 1795. The *Telegraph* March 23 1795 published an account of a manufactory owned and run by a Mr. Pittfall which produced 'Demoses and Repubs;' for other elaborate satires of Pitt, see the *Telegraph* August 20, 21, 24, September 15, 16, 19.
- 44 *Pro Bono Publico. Speedily will be Performed, on the Vast Theatre of the World, ... Harlequin Impeacher* (no publication details [1795]).
- 45 *The London Stage 1660-1800 ... Part 5*, ed. Charles Beecher Hogan (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968) 1606-7.
- 46 *Grand Exhibition at Wimbledon!!!. On Wednesday, the 25th of February, the Famous Sieur Henrico Dundassio* (no publication details [1795]).
- 47 The point is especially well made in *Song on the General Fast ... February, 25, 1795* (London: Thomas Spence 1795) and by 'Ebenezer Verax' (probably = Daniel Isaac Eaton), *A Wonderful Sermon; or, Truth Disguised. Intended to be preached on the Fast-Day ... Together with An Hymn, and a Proclamation* (London: Eaton, [1796]), which describes the proclamation of the fast as a 'Proclamation for a General Starvation, by the King of Hog Island.' 'We ... hereby command, that a Public Starvation, and Degradation, be observed by all the Poor, who cannot procure food throughout our dominions, on Wednesday, the Twenty-fifth of February next' (3-5). See Michael T. Davis, 'Daniel Isaac Eaton,' in *British Reform Writers*, ed. Gary Kelly and Ed Applegate (Detroit: Gale Research: *Dictionary of Literary Biography* vol. 158, 1996) 100.
- 48 *Amusement for starving Mechanics* (London: Richard Lee [1795]).

- 49 For more on this advertisement, and on George III as Nebuchadnezzar, see my essay 'Imagining the King's Death: the Arrest of Richard Brothers,' *History Workshop Journal* 37 (1994): 1-32.
- 50 *Grand Order of Procession at the first formal Entry of Louis XVII into his City of Paris* (London: Richard Lee, [1795]).
- 51 'Changeable' silk is what I was brought up to call 'shot silk;' it is well described by Lord Chesterfield: 'There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one, without dangerously wounding the other: it is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them: like a changeable silk, we can easily see there are two different colours, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins;' quoted by Thomas Erskine in his defence of Paine, *State Trials* 22:442-3.
- 52 *An entire Change of Performances?* (London: Richard Lee, [1795]).
- 53 The dance of 'Female Pigs in Pattens' seems here to allude to Samuel Foote's famous puppet-play version of *Pamela, The Handsome Housemaid; or, Piety in Pattens*, produced at the Haymarket, 1772-3. My thanks to Jane Moody for providing this reference.
- 54 *Parliamentary History* 32:488.
- 55 *The Age of Prophecy! or, Further Testimony to the Mission of Richard Brothers. By a Convert* (London: Parsons et al., 1795) 28.
- 56 See PRO TS11/837/2832. Rex v. Lee. The file contains numerous works published by Lee, and three draft indictments, one of them concerning *King Killing*. For the claim that *King Killing* inspired the attack on the king, see the speeches of Windham, Canning, and (especially) the Earl of Mornington, in *Parliamentary History* 32:298, 301, 332-3.
- 57 See *The History of Two Acts* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1796) 368-9.
- 58 *The Cabinet. By a Society of Gentlemen* (Norwich and London: John March and J.S. Jordan, 1794-5) 1:69-71. The fullest account of *The Cabinet*, its contents and contributors, is *Youth and Revolution in the 1790s: Letters of William Pattison, Thomas Amyot and Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. Penelope J. Corfield and Chris Evans (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996) *passim* and especially 187-95.
- 59 See *Times* December 19 1795, and *True Briton* January 23 1796.
- 60 Francis Plowden, *A Short History of the British Empire during the Year 1794* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1795) 240, 247-8.
- 61 *In Preparation, and speedily will be Performed, ... A New Tragedy, entitled, Another Campaign* (no publication details [1795]). This text, advertising also a comic after-piece, 'John Bull turned into a Milch Ass,' is a revision and expansion of what I take to be its first version, in the *Telegraph* of July 16 1795.
- 62 For a good account of earlier political satires based on advertisements, see Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790-1822* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 18-56.
- 63 Attributed to Robert Merry in the obituary notice of him in the *Monthly Magazine* 7:257 (April 1799), with the comment that 'no minister in any age had been so ridiculed before.' For a discussion of this pasquinade, see Wood, *Radical Satire* 82-5, which replaces the account in his 'Thomas Spence and Modes of

Subversion,' *Enlightenment and Dissent* 10 (1991): 65-67, where it is mysteriously attributed to Thomas Spence.

- 64 There is a manuscript copy of this squib in the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which attributes it to Jekyll. There is no reason to believe it is in Jekyll's hand, but it seems improbable that anyone would think of attributing the squib to him without some evidence of his authorship. Wood (*Radical Satire* 85) attributes it to Eaton; he does not give his reasons, but perhaps he came across it in Eaton's *Politics for the People* and was unaware that it had originally appeared in the *Courier*. For Jekyll's waggery, see *The Rolliad* 243-8 ('Jekyll, the way of law,' etc.).
- 65 *By general Desire. ... An entire new Pantomime, called The Royal Vagabonds* (London: Richard Lee, 1795); *The London Stage 1660-1800 ... Part 5*, ed. Charles Beecher Hogan, 227. *The Wonders of Derbyshire* is attributed to Sheridan himself by G.W. Williams ('A New Source of Evidence for Sheridan's Authorship of *The Camp* and *The Wonders of Derbyshire*,' *Studies in Philology* 47 (1950): 624-7). Cecil Price regards the attribution as 'possible' but unproven; see his edition of *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 2:817.
- 66 *The London Stage 1660-1800 ... Part 4*, ed. George Winchester Stone, Jr. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968) 1024-6.
- 67 See above, note 64. The impression that this is the production of a polite author is rather clearer in the broadside than in the newspaper version, though in the former the cast of the tragedy now includes a number of government spies, most of whom were infiltrators of the LCS. 'Signor Pittini' in the original version becomes 'Mr. Bottomless Pitt' in the broadside, perhaps an indication that the representation of Pitt as an Italian showman was now felt to have become old hat.
- 68 See Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London: a panoramic history of exhibitions, 1600-1862* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) 62.
- 69 My thanks to Mike Cordner, Kate Davies, Harriet Guest, Tony Inglis and Jane Moody for the help they gave me while I was researching and writing this essay. Thanks also to those who listened to and questioned me about this paper at the Universities of Victoria, B.C. (where in October 1996 its first version was delivered), Johns Hopkins University, and the universities of Pennsylvania, Sussex, Warwick, and York.

For
The Benefit of JOHN BULL.

At the
FEDERATION THEATRE, in EQUALITY-SQUARE,
On Thursday, the 1st of April, 4971,
Will be performed,

A new and entertaining Farce, called
LA GUILLOTINE;

OR,

GEORGE'S HEAD IN THE BASKET!

Dramatis Personæ.

Numpy the Third, by Mr. GWELP,
(Being the last time of his appearing in that character.)

Prince of Leeks, by Mr. GWELP, junior.

Duke of Dice, by Mr. FREDDY, (from Osnaburg.)

Duke of Jordan, by Mr. WILLIAM HENRY FLOGGER,
(From the Creolian Theatre.)

Uncle Toby, Mr. RICHMOND.

Grand Inquisitor, Mr. PENSIONER REEVES.

Don Quixote, Knight of the Dagger,

By Mr. EDMUND CALUMNY.

And Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Mr. BILLY TAXLIGHT.

Municipal Officers, National Guards, &c.

By Citizens XOF, NADIREHS, YERG, ENIKSRE, &c.

Banditti, Assassins, Cut Throats, and Wholesale Dealers in
Blood, by THE EMPRESS OF RUFFIANS, THE EMPEROR
OF HARM-ANY, THING OF PRUSSIA, PRINCE OF S. CASH-
HELL, &c.

Between the Acts,

A New Song, called "Twenty more, kill them!"

By BOBADIL BRUNSWICK.

Tight Rope Dancing, from the Lamp-Post,

By Messrs. CANTERBURY, YORK, DURHAM, &c.

In the Course of the Evening will be sung, in Full Chorus,

CA IRA.

AND

BOB SHAVE GREAT GEORGE OUR — !

The whole to conclude with

A GRAND DECAPITATION

OF

PLACEMEN, PENSIONERS, AND GERMAN LEECHES.

Admittance, Three-pence each Person.

Vive la Liberté! Vive la République!

Figure 1. 'For the Benefit of JOHN BULL'

In the Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER

B R E S L A W's
NEW-INVENTED
Capital DECEPTIONS.

Sieur PINETTI's Philofophical Experiments,
And Monsieur BARLOWE's Mechanical Apparatus,
Will be displayed as follows, viz.

At the Great Room, in PANTON-STREET, HAY-MARKET,
(Which is fitted up in an elegant Manner.)

On MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, and FRIDAYS;
And likewise in the Great Room, at the KING'S-HEAD TAVERN in the Poultry,
On TUESDAYS, THURSDAYS, and SATURDAYS.

In each Place to begin precisely at half past SEVEN o'Clock in the Evening.

P A R T I.

1. Mr. BRESLAW will exhibit various Deceptions on Cards, in a Manner entirely New, particularly he will change with one Hand several Cards Red to Black, and again Black to Red, in a surprizing Manner.
2. He will communicate the Thoughts from one Person to another, without asking any Questions; after which he will display several new Experiments with Caskets, Dice, Pocket-pieces, Letters, &c. &c.
3. Several New-invented Mechanical Watches will be displayed in a most extraordinary manner, too numerous to insert.

P A R T II.

Sieur PINETTI's Philofophical Experiments will be displayed as follow :

1. Several Cards that the Company may think of, shall fly out of a Philofophical Bottle, through a little Shovel, one Yard above the Table.
2. An Experiment on Numbers, consisting from Ten to One Hundred, will be performed in a surprizing Manner.
3. A Mechanical PISTOL shall be charged by any Person in Company, and any Lady may put a remarkable Piece of Money in the Pistol, which shall be fired off in the Air by a Gentleman, after which the same Piece of Money shall appear immediately inclosed in a Gold Box on the Table.
4. Two little FRIARS will appear in a surprizing Manner, particularly one will jump out of a Silver Cup by itself, in the Middle of the Table, six Yards Distance without any Assistance.
5. Several Rings and Scals belonging to the Company will answer several Questions, and dance in the Middle of the Room by themselves in a Glass on the Table, covered with a Plate, to the Astonishment of the Spectators.
6. Monsieur BARLOWE's new-invented Mechanical Clock, with three different Divisions, will be displayed in a surprizing Manner, the Particulars of which are inexpressible.
7. Another Pistol, charged by any Gentleman, with a marked Nail in it, shall be fired after a Pack of Cards in the Middle of the Room, against a Board at five Yards Distance; and the same Card that any Person thought on, after it is torn and burnt to Ashes, will appear in an Instant on the Board fixed with the same marked Nail which was charged in the Pistol.

P A R T III.

The whole to conclude with a Variety of New and astonishing DECEPTIONS, with Silver Medals, Gold Boxes, Lemons, Silver and Glass Machineries, &c. and more than Fifty other surprizing Deceptions and Experiments, too numerous to insert.

The Rooms will be kept warm, elegantly illuminated, and commodiously prepared for the Reception of the Ladies and Gentlemen. Admittance HALF-A-CROWN each Person.

† Tickets to be had and Places to be taken, at both Places of Performances; and any Person inclinable to learn some Deceptions on Cards, Machineries, &c. may be taught in a few Minutes, on reasonable Terms, by applying to Mr. BRESLAW, at No. 1, Great Suffolk-Street, Haymarket, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from Eleven till Two; and at the King's-Head in the Poultry, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at the same Hours.

1790? OX JJ

Figure 2. 'In the Cities of London and Westminster'

WONDERFUL EXHIBITION!!!

SIGNOR



Gulielmo Pittachio

The SUBLIME WONDER of the World!!!

Condescends to inform the Public at large, and his Friends in particular, that he has now opened his Grand Hall of Exhibitions at Westminster, with a grand display of his
ASTONISHING AND MAGNIFICENT DECEPTIONS;
Which have been approved by all the Crowned Heads in the Universe, and which are unparalleled in the History of Mankind.

A Magical ALARM BELL,

At the ringing of which, all the Company shall become Mad or Foolish.
Secondly—He will produce his justly celebrated CURIOUS SPY GLASSES, which distort and misrepresent all Objects that are looked at through them, and occasion in the Company A SUDDEN AND SOCIAL DISMAY, such as has never before been witnessed in this Country.

Thirdly—By Means of an ENCHANTED DRUM, he will set all the Company a FIGHTING, for the avowed Purpose of preserving ORDER AND TRANQUILLITY.

During the Battle, Signor Pittachio will convey their MONEY OUT of their POCKETS in a New and Entertaining Manner.

Fourthly—He will produce a most extraordinary Effect in the Opices of the Spectators, by means of some Gold Duit, so that they shall not be able to distinguish Colors; but shall call (at the Signor's command) BLACK, WHITE, and WHITE, BLACK, to the Edification of all Beholders.

Fifthly—He will make some Marvellous Experiments upon his own

MEMORY,

By forgetting the most Material Incidents of his Life, with an almost incredible Precision.—N. B. To remove Doubts, these Experiments upon MEMORY will be made upon OATH.

Sixthly—By his Oratorical Efforts, he will in the Course of a few Minutes persuade the greater Part of his Audience to salute him *à posteriori*, then to give him three cheers and nominate him

THE HEAVEN-BORN CONJUROR;

With various Slight-of-hand Performances and Whimical Exuberances too tedious to mention.

In the Course of the Entertainments the Sublime Pittachio will exhibit

UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED AUTOMATA, OR MOVING PUPPETS,

Who will rise up, sit down, say Yes, or No, Receive Money, Bake among the Cinders, or do any Dirty Work he may think proper to put them to.—N. B. This is a most fascinating Trick.

Afterwards Signor Gulielmo Pittachio will discover to the Company the unvalued Treasures of his PRIVATE CABINET, formed on a mere Mechanical Principle, without Hinges, Joints, Doves-tail, or Glue.

The Whole to conclude with a Dramatic Piece in One Act, called

The Humbug; or John Bull a Jack Ass,

In which Signor Pittachio (not having yet engaged any female Performers) will indulge the Company with a Solo on the Viol *d'Amour*. N. B. The Hall is commodious, but the Company will be kept as much in the DARK as possible, to give greater Effect to

THE DECEPTIONS.

Signor Pittachio is extremely sorry to inform the Public, that owing to some unaccountable Mismanagement in the Period he employed he has been disappointed of several capital Performers whom he had hoped to have brought forward, for the Purpose of exhibiting various Feats of Activity on the TIGHT ROPE, this Part of the ENTERTAINMENT therefore MUST be Deferred. To supply this Deficiency Signor Pittachio will close his Wonderful Performances by exhibiting his own Period on

THE TIGHT ROPE.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SWISS MULTITUDE.
VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

[Copied from the COURIER, Friday, Nov. 28, 1794.] Sold by all Newscasters.

Figure 3. 'Wonderful Exhibition!!! Signior Gulielmo Pittachio'

Printed from Cairner, 18/12/94. Plate 31

No. II.

More Wonderful Wonders!!!

THE HIGH AND ILLUSTRIOUS
Signor Gulielmo Pittachio
 Rejects, with lofty Indignation,
 The absurd Insinuations of the Vulgar, which imply that he means to
 defer, to a later Date than was by himself announced, his
AWFUL EXHIBITION
AT WESTMINSTER.

No—he here pledges himself (and, if his Memory fail not, he will keep
 his Word), that immediately after the Meeting of Parliament he will
 certainly make a general Display of

ALL HIS TRICKS,

As mentioned in the preceding Notice which he designed to give
HIS ADORING PUBLIC.

And further, he will produce some extraordinary Effects upon the MONEY of his
 Auditors and Spectators, of which he will considerably lessen the Value, by
The simple Operation of his Breath.

The GREAT PITTACHIO is no KATTERFELTO, no MOUNTEBANK
 GRAHAM; he has no BLACK CAT in his Service—no GODDESS OF HEALTH;
 but if he derives any Assistance from what is not Human, it is only
From the Blushing Rose, or the Pointed Steel.

The ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNOR appeals for his Character, not to the starving
 Manufacturer, or the contemptible Poor, but to all the COURTS of EUROPE,
 ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, and CORSICA. They will acknowledge all his
 Titles, his Powers, and his Pretensions—they know him to be

The Sublime WONDER OF THE WORLD!

F. L. T.—C. E. *Proudatissimus—Winum guzzleando potentissimus—Prettygirlibus
 indifferentissimus—Warcarryonissimus Reformationis inimicissimus—& Filius Bitchae
 damnatissimus.*

These honourable Distinctions THE PITTACHIO brings not forth to boast of,
 but only
To Annihilate his Detractors.

For all other Particulars he refers the Whole World to his former Publication,
 which has so forcibly operated upon
The Muscles of Mankind.

At this Time, when BRITISH CHARITY is so conspicuous, THE PITTA-
 CHIO will not remain in Shade, he therefore may probably be induced, in the
 Course of a few Months, having been disappointed of the ROPE-DANCERS he
 wished to have ENGAGED), to close his Wonderful Performances, by
EXHIBITING HIS OWN PERSON ON THE
TIGHT ROPE,
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

Vivat Rex & Regina.

Figure 4. 'No. II. More Wonderful Wonders!!!'

Wonderfull Exhibition!

Positively the last Season of his Performing.

Signor Gulielmo Pittacchio, The *SUBLIME WONDER* of the World!!!

Makes known to the Nobility, Gentry, and Swinish Multitude, that, till the expiration of his Licence, he, with the assistance of his celebrated and notorious Company, will continue to display a variety of Singular and Whimsical Delusions, with other Divertissements, at his Grand Theatre in Weltminster, to the amusement of the World.

Part 1st. The Sublime Pittacchio will bring forward in a new light, the miraculous powers of HIS INESTIMABLE PANTOCCHINI; Which have all been Bought in this Country, and which can produce the Words,

WAR, TREASON, MURDER,

and other popular expressions, as naturally AS IF THEY WERE LIVE CHRISTIANS.

The GREAT GULIELMO will then propose to his Auditors, the following paradoxical Enigmas, which he will afterwards explain in the most incomprehensible manner. By running backward, we get forward. Enig. 2, To preserve Health, defray the Constitution. Enig. 3, Absolute Slavery is perfect Freedom. Enig. 4, Reformation is Abomination. Enig. 5, To be defeated is to conquer. Enig. 6, Forgetfulness is the best Memory. Enig. 7, The less we have, the more we can throw away. Enig. 8, The Man who speaks the truth is a damned Liar. Enig. 9, A Part is greater than the Whole. And many others, equally ludicrous and amusing. The famous DOX DROPPERS, commonly called, the Capital Conelions, will next perform his inimitable Horripies: In which he will cross over, foot it, and figure in, with an enchanting grace, and always precisely in Time. The SINGOR and the DOX will then drink

Success to the present just and necessary War, in a Gallon of Right Hollands;

And will Sing the much admired Duet of

*"While we enjoy our jovial glass,
We care not what may come to pass,"*

Part 2nd.

A Lecture on the Brain and Heart of a Modern Englishman; which will be analyzed, Physically, Hieroglyphically, Canonically, Theatrically, Whimsically, Musically, Algebraically, Nautically, Sympathetically, Systematically, Conically, Metaphysically, Altruologically, Politically, Chymically, Tragically, Magically, Oratorically, Mathematically, Poetically, Mechanically, Facially, and DIABOLICALLY, by the *Sublime Signor Gulielmo Pittacchio himself.*

A Humorous Dialogue between JACK KETCH, and a CROWN LAWYER, on the subject of HIGH TREASON,—With the favourite Air of

"Give the Devil his due, For I am as good as you,"

Part 3rd. The PITTACCHIO will address the Auditors with the most laughable assurance, and prove to them by Rhetorical Figures, That they have neither EYES EARS, nor UNDERSTANDINGS.

He will also so alarm them by his skill in the occult Arts, That he shall take them up, knock them down, handcuff them, rummage their pockets, and read their letters, with the most astonishing dexterity, and to their perfect Satisfaction. The SINGOR will then occasion an *interesting Optical Description*, During which he will hold a lighted Match over

A BARREL OF GUNPOWDER,

In the middle of the Spectators, who shall not see their danger, But shall suppose that all's Safe.

The renowned MYNBER VAN VINDHAM will make sundry experiments on the PASSIONS, particularly RAGE, PRIDE, CRULLTY, and CONTEMPT.—After which he will gratify the audience with the following excellent Ballad, of his own Composing:

*"Perish our Commerce, and perish the Peas,
So we may be jolly, and rich, and secure;
May Reformers be cut into parts like a Melon,
And he that's acquitted be still call'd a Felon!"*

Part 4th

A CURIOUS BLOCK OF SOLID PORTLAND STONE

Will be exhibited, in the shape of a human head, which will move its Eyes, Sneeze, Yawn, Blush, and discover several symptoms OF REAL EXISTENCE, though in fact it has no power of action.

The Sublime PITTACCHIO will then display HIS MASTER TRICK, or, "so very alive" of the Art, to the amusement of all Beholders; for he will actually be IN SIX DIFFERENT PLACES AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME; And however surprising it may appear, Any of his Company will readily perform the same, if requested.

Part 5th

A Scerio-Comico-Dramatico Medley will be represented, called,

The Burting of the Budget, or John Bull's great Bargain.

Sir David Demon, by Signor Pittacchio. Lord Wordzaster, Mylbeer Van Vindham. Count Snug, Mr. Mansmead. Numbscull, Mr. Greenfield. Grapfals, Mr. Loveborough. Fatherally, Mr. Harlequinball. Dr. Candour, Mr. Blackmore. Anyfid, Mr. Dunderfals. Captain Scape, Mr. Frestick. Baboon, Mister Kaminston, and Master Fitz-Jenkins. Pursers, Mr. Rolsby-Slave, Mr. Briton. Good Genii, Mr. Harefskin, and Mr. Gibbon. Bad Genii, Mr. Reevelly, and Mr. Whitehead. Ghost of a Habeas Corpus, Signor Guilloino. Acquitted Felons, by Mr. Hardleather, Mr. Horner, Mr. Twelvel, Mr. Oldcroft, Mr. Joy, and Others.—Savages, by Mr. Aury, Mr. Scottman, Mr. Middel-ford, and Mr. Daer.—Bet Brandy, by Mrs. Gorgon. Lady Hubbub, by Mrs. Vassas, and Lady Brillians, by Mrs. Lecroy.—To which will be added a new Fantomime, called,

Nay-go and Pray-go, or, Harlequin in Holland.

To conclude with a splendid, grand, and numerous Procession into London, consisting of French, Spanish, German, Flemish, Italian, and Dutch Emigrants, With a striking view in distant Perspective of

The Palace of Peace, and the Garden of Plenty.

N. B. As there is a great demand for the first places, the Nobility and Gentry are earnestly requested to apply in time. No Money to be returned. VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

(Copied from the Telegraph, Thursday January 29, 1795.) Sold at the TREE OF LIBERTY, No. 2, St. Ann's Court, Dean Street, Soho, where may be had a flaming Pantocchini on the Fast Day, id. Harlequin Standholder id. Duke of York's New March, id. and a great variety of Cheap Patriotic Publications.

Figure 5. 'Wonderfull Exhibition! Positively the last,' &c.

PRO BONO PUBLICO.

Speedily will be Performed, on the VAST THEATRE of the WORLD,

A GRAND BALLET PANTOMIME,
CALLED

Harlequin Impeacher

OR

John Bull Will have his Own.

PART I.

SCENE I.

FRANCE—A Gallic Explosion, comprising the Dowfall of the Bastille, and the Erection of the Temple of Freedom on its Ruins.

SCENE II.

ENGLAND—A Council of Evil Genii in the Palace of Pandemonium; after violent Debates, they concert a Plan for beheading Louis, and setting Europe in a Blaze.—Evil Genii by Messrs. Beelzebub, Moloch, Pittachio, Grandville, Mammead, &c. &c.

SCENE III.

PILNITZ—A Blacksmith's Forge, crowned Jacobins at work, manufacturing Iron Breeches for the Sans-Culottes.—A Range of Warehouses supplied with Gold from England, Principles from Germany and Prussia, and Proclamations from Russia.

SCENE IV.

EUROPE—Uphear and Confusion. Enter Orators, Ambassadors, Soldiers, Placemen, Penitents, Kings, Tyrants, and Apostates: the siege of Valenciennes by Count Kill-Em-All's Troop. The tide scenes contain Bomb Manufactories and Military Hospitals; the Prospect is closed by Paris at an immense distance, and surrounded by inaccessible Fortresses.

SCENE V.

FLANDERS—Confusion more confounded; Pittachio attempts to rally his despairing Friends. Moloch presents Mr. Clairfate, with an Iron Carcase. Exit Mr. Cobourg. Mr. Mack loses his large Boots, and retreats bare-foot. The contending Parties vie with each other in offering Sacrifices to their great Friend Dr. Faulus, who takes Robert Speare to himself, and declares him his Prime Minister. The first Part concludes with firing of Cannon and ringing the Toccin and Alarm Bells.

PART II.

SCENE I.

THE LOW COUNTRIES—Alarums, Retreat, English, Dutch, and Austrian Soldiers cross the Stage in Confusion. Harlequin Viendhan leaps the Dykes with astonishing Agility. General Pichegrew attended by Justice and Terror, enters at the Head of his Army: Count Kill-Em-All takes a flying Leap, and alights safe in Piccadilly. Mephistoe and Monsieur Ignorant cordially, and dance the Carmagnole.

SCENE II.

St. STEVEN'S CHAPEL—Wrangling and Yexation, a Grand Concert of Vocal Music, called

THE FALL OF BABYLON

Humburg, Mr. Pitto.
Backall, Master Shanning. Non-blois, Mr. Dindaffie.
Flamer, Mr. Wigby.
Honcley, Mr. Fox. M. Decker, Mr. Gray.
And True-Tongue, Mr. Sherry.

N.B. The Managers are under the Necessity of announcing, that the very trifling Funds at present assigned for their support, and the very big Savaries demanded by the Performers, must infallibly either render their Institution permanent or destroy it in a very short time.

SCENE III.

GREAT-BRITAIN—Universal Fermentation. Enter John Bull, with a Bundle of Petitions, Addresses, and Remonstrances; a Parley ensues, in which the Sublime Pittachio throws off the mally, and attempts to chain John, who breaks his Fetters, and raves indignantly.

The whole to conclude with a Sublime and Astonishing SPECTACLE, The

STORMING of the CABINET.

Commandant, Mr. PITTO.

Top-Mast, Mr. SPENCER—Scottish Subsidized Auxiliaries, Mess. DUNDASSIO, LUFF-BOROUGH, &c.
General of the Besieging Army, CITIZEN STAND-UP!
Pioneers by Mess. Whitebread, Lambtowne, Cousine, Shornstown, Harne, Old-Croft, &c. &c.

BESIEGING ARMY THE SWINISH MULTITUDE.

In the Course of the Siege, the Commandant will exhibit

A Butt or Battering-Ram of real PORTLAND STONE!

The Besiegers will advance under Cover of Public Confidence, and after storming the place, will hang the whole Garrison on a Galloes, which will fall to wreck on the appearance of

BRITANNIA defending, arm'd with Thunder & Lightning,

Who, after exterminating the Wicked, will announce the

Reign of Peace and Harmony,

And unite her SONS in the gentle Bonds of

FRATERNITY, LOVE, and PEACE.

EVANGELIST REGIN.

Figure 6. 'Pro Bono Publico'

Grand Exhibition at Wimbledon!!!

On WEDNESDAY, the 25th of FEBRUARY, the Famous

S I E U R

Henrico Dundassio

Will entertain a Select Party with Amusements and Devotions suited to the Day.

F I R S T,

A Grand Eating Match,

By Messrs. HAWKESBURY and SPENCER.

Which will prove (beyond all Doubt) the Probability of a FAMINE!

S E C O N D L Y,

A BOTTLE ORATION, By the Sublime PITTACHIO,

In which he will blend, with the most familiar Ease, Wine and Politics, Private Interest, and Public Welfare, &c. &c.
To conclude with a Denunciation of the Jacobins, and a Plan for Marching to Paris!

Thirdly,—An Essay on the Beneficial Effects resulting from

PLACES AND PENSIONS!! by Master JENKINSON.

To which will be added, a succinct Account of the

BLESSINGS OF APOSTACY,

By the WARLIKE SECRETARY.

Who will favour the Company with a Song, entitled

"WAR BEFORE COMMERCE,"

Fourthly,—A Serio-Comic Entertainment, call'd,

All Under the Table:

Or, WINE FLIES UPWARDS!

In which, "A FORM OF PRAYER" will be read to the PROSTRATE COMPANY,

By CARDINAL HORSLEY,

Who has been engaged at a considerable Expence, and undertakes to prove the Infallibility of the Romish Religion.

The Whole to conclude with a Solemn and Moral DIALOGUE, (after the Manner of *Peach'em* and *Lockie*) entitled,

WATT'S GHOST!

Or, DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.

The Company are requested to pay particular Attention to this Piece, as it develops the real Management of

The SPY SYSTEM.

N. B.—If Time and Circumstances will permit, Mr. HAWKESBURY will recite a HUMOROUS STORY, of his own Composition, call'd

KING'S FRIENDS;

O R,

T H E D U P E.

Which in due Time will be published to the Astonishment of the Public.

* * * Sieur HENRICO DUNDASSIO returns his grateful Thanks to his Friends and the Public for their hitherto *unmerited Confidence* and Encouragement—and begs Leave to inform them, that, as he entertains some Apprehensions of being deprived of his License by the Swinish Multitude, and as this is in all Probability, the *very last Time* that he shall be *permitted* to perform, nothing shall be wanting on his Part to render the Entertainment complete, and agreeable to that Description of Persons who will alone be permitted to partake of it.

Vraut Rex et Regina.

Figure 7. 'Grand Exhibition at Wimbledon!!!'

Amusement for starving Mechanics.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF
THE TYTHE AND TAX CLUB.

Shortly will be performed,

The COMICAL TRAGEDY of

LONG FACES,

Prepared by a Herd of WOLVES in Sheep's Clothing,

Under the Direction of a Gang of

CUT-THROATS, PLUNDERERS, and ASSASSINS,

When they and their DELUDED Followers are a Third Time, by a Decree of

Nebuchadnezzar

KING OF BABYLON,

To call upon their God

To blest their ARMS and sanctify their CRIMES:

He being, when before called upon either Talking, or Purting, or on a Journey, or peradventure Sleeping and mull (now) be **A W A K E N E D**. It is expected they will cry out much louder than heretofore, and cut themselves with knives and lancets after the manner of *Baal's Priests*, 1. Kings, c. 18.

The FRIENDS OF MANKIND,

Are desired at the same time, to pray earnestly to the

GOD OF ELIJAH,

to continue his protection and assistance to the *Righteous* in their own defence to "abate the pride, affuage the malice, and confound the devices," of the cruel and tyrannical *Butchers* of the human race, and to humble their iron hearts to speedy terms of PEACE and SUBMISSION.

Hearken O ye Hypocrites!"

"Is not this the fall that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?—Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out of thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" *Isaiah* lviii. v. 6, 7.

WHICH OF THESE THINGS HAVE YE DONE?

A N D

WHICH OF THESE THINGS HAVE THE FRENCH NOT DONE?

Ye vile Hypocrites!—Ye infatuated Monsters! how dare ye approach the Throne of Him whose grand precept is *Peace and good-will to all Men*, (your hearts being filled with *wickedness and deceit*; and garments dyed with *blood*) to implore Divine assistance for the destruction of those who have faithfully and effectually executed these sacred commands? Cease then, ye impious wretches! hide your guilty heads, in your own confusion! Sue for PEACE, and crave Mercy from an offended Deity, lest that *vengeance* overtake you, which your manifold sins, have so long and justly merited.—For *Zophet* is ordained of old, yea, FOR THE KING it is prepared, *Isaiah* xxx. 33.

Ye Tyrants bend to *Moloch's* shrine,
With murderous Hands and Hearts of steel:
Wail, fall, and pray, till WRATH DIVINE,
Make your obdurate spirits feel.

But dare not ask the PRINCE of PEACE,
Dare not the GOD of LOVE implore;
To give your foul designs success,
And drench his earth in crimson gore.

Well may ye tremble while each Throne,
Shakes and foretels its overthrow;
The thund'ring arm of Heav' will soon
Inflict the grand, decisive blow.

Your puny efforts are in vain,
To keep the Human Race in thrall
GOD has espous'd the Cause of Men,
And both decree that you must fall.

R. L. E. E.

At the TREE OF LIBERTY, No. 2, St. Ann's-court, Dean-street, Soho-square; where may be had, variety of cheap Patriotic Publications.

Figure 8. 'Amusement for starving Mechanics'

2

GRAND ORDER OF PROCESSION
AT THE FIRST FORMAL ENTRY OF
LOUIS XVII.
Into His City of Paris.

April 1. (A. D. —not yet positively determined)

Hatchet-men, Crowned with Laurel, His Serene Highness, the Duke of BRUNSWICK at their head.

ROYAL LEGION,

Cooks, Dancing Masters, and Fiddlers.—Court Buffoons ten a Brest.

The beautiful Animal, called a FAVOURITE, Male and Female.

Demirops four and four; interspersed with PRINCES OF THE BLOOD, *Dignified Clergy*, and *Emigrant Noblesse*.—Drunken MONKS, singing *Te Deum*.—VOLUNTARY NUNS, conducted by their Fathers, with the assistance of *Roper*.—*A Parisian, comme il faut*; Chapeau bras, laced coat, paper ruffles, ne'er a shirt.

A TROOP OF MARRIED WOMEN, escorted by ABBES;

their Husbands at a respectful distance: "CIVIL SOCIETY" in a Wreath over their Heads.

AN OPERA GIRL mounted on a MINISTER OF STATE, a PRIEST at Top.

"SOCIAL ORDER"

brayed by Mr. CANNING, elegantly dressed in a suit of *Byssain*, with a beautiful Plume of *Parrot* Feathers.

Emblems of Agriculture;

viz. a broken Plough drawn by one lean Cow, and an Ass.

Statue of *Commerce*, hiding her Face. Right Hon. Mr. WINDHAM supporting a label, "*Redant Saturnis Regna*." The Cardinal Virtues compiled in a single figure, finely executed, though not after the antique; his knee bent, and head upon the Ground. Portraits representing THE ARTS (*of Sewing, Scraping, Cringing, Lying*). A Gentleman *Penfomer*, with a *Ceruus Capid*. Grand Painting, Supported by

TAX GATHERERS,

richly decorated, the subject taken from life. *viz.* *Wax* showering rags on *Industry*. Beautiful Transparency, the BASTILE rising from its ruins, surrounded by the words "*Litres de Cachet*," in coloured lamps.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL, in a *poppy* suit, with a garland of *Sotams*, unveiling *Trafalgar*. A fanciful figure, stuffed with straw, in a *vault* patch work covering composed entirely of party coloured threads.

Grand Chorus of Spies,

Reciting, with enthusiasm, the most wonderful discoveries, and ingenious inventions of this or any other Century. Mr. REEVES, supporting a label "*Articular Confession*." The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Grand Inquisitor, *Exploster felicissimus*, &c. &c. Carrying a flag; on one side "*Half an hour's suspension to all Friends of Freedom*." On the reverse, "*Eternal suspension to all provisions in its Favour*."

The Duke of PORTLAND, dressed out with Ribbons, proclaiming *Scarcity*.

The Earl of MASSFIELD, shouting *Indemnification*; His Son, the young Auditor in his arms.

A TRIUMPHAL CAR.

Drawn by Spaniels completely harnessed; Mr PITT, seated majestically in a Superb suit of *changeable* Silk; the young

MONARCH

on his Knees, the EMPEROR and KING OF PRUSSIA, one on each hand, cursing the great War Minister, the *Sardinian* Potentate from behind; all of them striving who shall make the most of him.

Waggons of British Coin;

An inscription over each "*Every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth.*"

Regiments, composed of Troops just released from the Rod, or rescued from the Rope, forming the main body of the British Army;

preceded by the Flower of ditto.—*viz.* A Company composed entirely of Colonels in their teens; Master JENKINSON, senior in Command.

At the BRITISH TREE OF LIBERTY, No. 47, Hay-Market; may be had a variety of Patriotic Publications, including the following: Liberty Song.—Precious Moments; on the blessed Times we live in. Letter from John Bull to the Pope. Harlequin Stadtholder.—Tribute of civic Gratitude an Address to Triumphant Patriotism. Nebuchadnezzars Decree for a Fast. Pittacchio's Exhibition at Paris. Mustafa's Adoration of the Sultan Pittacchio at Paris. Mustafa's Vision. Dunduff's Eating March. Exhibition of the Swiss Militaire. A Letter to a King. Letter to a People. Duke of York's New March. The Genius of Liberty. Proclamation of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Rights of Swine. The Return of Liberty. The Tree of Liberty, &c. &c.

Figure 9. 'Grand Order of Procession'

An entire Change of Performances?



THE Public having been for a long Series of Years entertained at a Prodigious Expence, with the unrivall'd Deceptions of FIZZACUS, and his Fellow Professors in the Black Arts; they are now inform'd that Fiction must give way to Truth, and Reality supply the Place of Delusion!—In consequence of which,

The Swinish Multitude

will display a Variety of Wonderful Performances, exhibiting striking Proofs of their Wisdom, Strength, and Activity, having (to Accommodate the Taste of the Mobility of this Country), received a course of Lessons in the First Schools of Paris.—In the First place they will agreeably surprize the Spectators with the various Manoeuvres of

STORMING A TOWER,

which will be done without the Aid of Military Tactics, and unretarded by the regular Operations of a Siege, yet performed with a Dignity, and composure such as never before was witnessed in a HERD OF SWINE.

N.B. This performance will be Peculiarly interesting to ACQUITTED FELONS.

Secondly, they will with the utmost Ease, and Facility (to prove the exquisite refinement of their Taste) metamorphose a

PALACE INTO A PIG-STYE,

And then Transform a

TREASURY CHEST INTO A HOG TROUGH.

After which the Audience will be amused with a Scene representing the inside of a Minister of State's WORKSHOP, wherein will be exhibited a Brilliant Variety of *Cocombs*, and Coronets; Stars and Garters; Places and Penions. The first of these *Baubles* the Pigs will actually hand from the Shelf, and turn it to the



CAP OF LIBERTY

To the marvellous Satisfaction of all present—With the *Garters*, they will in a most ludicrous manner perform the Office of JACK KETCH on certain wicked, and notorious Malefactors, who it is already decreed shall be

REWARDED according to their WORKS.

Thirdly, This inimitable Troop of Performers will most Effectually

DEMOLISH A BASTILLE

And plant on the ruined Bulwark of Despotism

THE TREE OF LIBERTY.

Fourthly, they will proceed to regulate and Purify

A House of Ill-Fame, or, a Den of Thieves

(not a Hundred Miles from St. Stephen's—) containing ample Materials, which after mature deliberation and a fair Trial (though not a Nine Day's One), will be found *incorruptible* and fit for decorating and ornamenting

The LAMP IRONS in PARLIMENT STREET.

The whole to conclude with a most diverting Display of

PIGS IN PATTENS.

Vivant la People Sovereigne.

A Variety of other Performances are preparing, and will be announced to the Public in due Time.

At the BRITISH TREE OF LIBERTY, No. 47, Hay-Market; may be had a variety of Patriotic Publications, including the following: Liberty Song.—Precious Moments; on the blessed Times we live in.—Letter from John Bull to the Pope.—Harlequin Stadtholder.—The Tribes of Civic Gratitude in Address to Triumphant Patriotism.—Neholodmezars Decree for a Fair, Pittachios Exhibition 2 Parts. Multapha's Adoration of the Sulran Pittander 2 Parts.—Multapha Vision's. Dundaffio's Eating Match.—Exhibition of the Swinish Multitude. Letter to a King. Letter to a People. Duke of York's New March. The Genius of Liberty. Proclamation of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Rights of Swine. The Return of Liberty. The Tree of Liberty, &c. &c.

Figure 10. 'An entire Change of Performances?'

In Preparation, and speedily will be Performed,
 OR THE
Sole Benefit of the Authors and Managers,
A New Tragedy,
 ENTITLED,
ANOTHER CAMPAIGN.
 Being part the Third, of that *notoriously* distinguished Performance,
 known by the Name of
The *Just* and *Necessary* WAR!!!

It being the Determination of the *Authors and Managers*, that the present TRAGEDY shall exceed all former Performances of the Kind, the Public may rest assured, that whatever Defects they may perceive in the Contrivance and Management of the Plot, they shall have no Reason to complain of *Expense* being spared, or of the Want of TRAGIC EFFECT in the Catastrophe.

The PRINCIPAL PARTS will be cast as follows:

NUMPS, by
 FAITH OF TREATIES, *King of Prussia.*
 DONE UP, *Emperor of Germany.*
 NEW ALLY, *Madame Catharina Damnable.*
 REDDERBURNE, *Lord Loughborough.*
 WING MANAGER, *Mr. Bottomless Pitt.*
 ACTING MANAGER, *Mr. Rumfold Subalternation Dundas.*
 CHIEF MANAGER OF THE UNDERPLOT, *Mr. Subalternation Griffiths.*
 CONFIDENTIAL ASSISTANT, *Mr. Subalternation Griffiths.*
 AGENTS, *Thomas Dunn, Bigamy Taylor, Upton, Groves, Gosling, Liman, &c. &c. ad infinitum.*
 And the Part of

Nuncle,* by Mr. JOHN BULL.
 The inferior Parts of Fighting, Dying, and Starving, by brave Soldiers and Sailors, and unemployed Manufacturers.

Between each Act, Mr. BOTTOMLESS PITT will Sing,

YE Gents, who wish me for the good of the nation,
 So nobly resist and oppose Reformation.
 At this moment I need your special assistance,
 To ward off Reform, and drive Peace to a distance.
 The wit I wish to herd, dock'd of meat and of bread,
 Think eating more useful than *salutis* of head.
 As to the French Ceremonials, like our own beggarly crew,
 Declare very plainly, that having wadh' do,
 Unlike practis'd by their Representatives too,
 And thine Representatives—filly—and best
 (Unlike to Britannia's most wife—Parliament!)

On conciliating faces, and confirming each friend,
 That to public advantage, and no private end,
 All their actions are perform'd, I most plainly declare,
 That a Peace to procure is the chief of their care.
 Unlike then with me, to oppose a design,
 Which is no less destructive to your hopes than to mine.
 Peace and Concordance, the British breed's master,
 Recalled that Reform is the work of soldiers,
 And that Peace may lead to it, and this I incline
 To defend, in the wish of our beggarly train.
 Aid me then to resist them, and trust to the wit
 Which has ever distinguish'd your BOTTOMLESS PITT.

After the Tragedy will follow a FARCE, called

John Bull turned into a Milch Ass.

In which will be represented, the Kings of Prussia and Sardinia, the Landgraves of Hesse, and others, walking off with their Bellies full of *Asses Milk* received from Mr. BOTTOMLESS PITT (the ASSMAN), who then milks the Ass into the Emperor of Germany's Mouth, who swallows it—*not without Difficulty*. On his marching off with a Belly full, Mr. *Bottomless Pitt* tenders the same to the EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, who accepts it, and sucks the Milch *Ass* dry; mean while, the young *Asses*, which stand around, begin braying in Affliction and Dismay, on feeling that while faint, through the Empineers of their Bellies, additional Burdens are laid upon their Backs.

Although the Managers have had the Misfortune to be left by one of their principal Performers, and are threatened with the Desertion of Others, neither they, nor any other Accidents will deter them from the Performance of the Tragedy, however they may vary the Scenes and the Catastrophe. They have already found Means to compel Mr. NICK FROG to act, (although not indeed in the Character they had intended).[†] Signora AMERICANA too they have taken Measures to compel to take a Part. As for Madam CATHARINA DAMNABLE, (whose Talent for Tragedy have ever been eminently conspicuous, and never more so than recently in that of *Praga*), the Managers are desirous of her Assistance, should she decline to act in the Part above alluded to, they will at least supersede her and act as a Prompter to the other Performers; and should Mr. JOHN BULL become exhaulted by his Exertions in the Variety of Parts he has undertaken, it is by no Means improbable that the may step in to his Relief, and with the Assistance of Mr. SUGARBOE, and his Company, favor the Public with an improved Edition of the *Praga Tragedy* in England. At any Rate the Managers pledge themselves not to desert from their Exertions, until the most heterogeneous are fully convinced that the *assimilations* of Tragic Distress has been accomplished.

* Nuncle pays for all.

† The following Events are the Ground Work of this sublime Tragedy—*Praga* having been attacked by and (submitted to the RUSSIANS) the Commencement of the following Day was employ'd in determining the (obnoxious) this does—without Reform, the Emperors of RUSSIA waited the Arrival of Night—they then set the Place on Fire, the Sick, the Wounded, and the Infants, were of course burnt—those that had Strength to attempt escaping were put to the sword—Men, Women, and Children to the amount of 9000, being thus exterminated, and the golden River having arriv'd at St. PETERSBURG, a Day of Praying was order'd by the Empress, when a public Form of Thanksgiving was offer'd in solemn Assembly to the God of Prayers. See the LONDON GAZETTE of the 20th of December, 1794.

Figure 11. 'In Preparation, and speedily ...'

By general Desire.

In the course of the ensuing Spring will be Performed by his Majesty's Servants,

On the Grand THEATRE at St. JAMES'S,

An entire new PANTOMIME, called The

ROYAL VAGABONDS,

The Scenery and Decorations, will, for Splendor, and Variety, be such as have never before been witnessed in the Universe—will strike the *Vulgar* with Wonder and Amazement; and raise Sentiments of Rapture and Delight in the GREAT and NOBLE.

A number of Performers of illustrious Rank, and of the finest Abilities—possessing in their fullest extent the fascinating Powers of

King-Craft, and Priest-Craft,

Are expected shortly to Arrive from the Courts of

ROME; MADRID; TURIN; NAPLES; VIENNA; PETERSBURGH, &c. &c.

Where they, and their high and mighty Ancestors have for many Centuries past, practised their *Arts*, with Success equal to their Widest wishes, to the Satisfaction and Content of their *dutiful and loving Subjects*. But in this degenerate Age, when that infectious species of Madness, called the

INFLUENZA OF LIBERTY,

is prevalent to an alarming Degree among the Swinish Multitude,

ROYAL EXHIBITIONS

are now treated with profane Indifference, or sacrilegious Contempt; instead of that extatic Love and profound Adoration which they received in Days of Yore, and in

The AGE OF CHIVALRY.

These disaffairous Events will induce them to bless *Britannia's* Shores with their Preference; confiding in the generous Disposition of Englishmen, who have hitherto spurned with noble indignation their own Welfare; and esteemed it their highest Glory to wear the YOKE and BOW DOWN, the HUMBLE SLAVES of

Foreign Despots.

The Managers are happy to announce the safe Arrival of

HARLEQUIN STADTHOLDER,

WITH HIS BASKET OF ORANGES

who will open the Entertainment with many DIVERTING TRICKS, which added to the sublime Exertions of the Performers above recited, will gain much popular Applause, and set the WORLD a laughing!

The Whole will happily conclude with the

WONDERS of GALLIA!

Wherein the present inversion of Nature;—the Inequality and Disorder essential to the Monarchical, and Aristocratical Systems of Tyranny, will disappear before the resistless

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

The Cloud-capt Towers, the solemn Temples,
The gorgeous Palaces shall be dissolv'd,
And, like the baseless fabric of a Vision,
Leave not a Wreck behind.

It is the Order of the Managers that no Money be returned, or any of the *vulgar Herd* admitted behind the Scenes.

VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

Sold by R. LEE, at the TREE OF LIBERTY, No. 2, St. Ann's-Court Dean, Street Soho.

Where may be had, a Flaming Panegyric on the FAST-DAY, One Penny.—The Duke of York's New March One Penny.—And a variety of cheap Patriotic Publications.

Figure 12. 'By general Desire'