DANIEL ISAAC EATON (‘ANTITYPE’)

The Pernicious Effects of the Art of Printing Upon Society, Exposed
(c. 1793–94)


For Daniel Isaac Eaton, the radical London publisher, 1793 was a busy year. During the course of the year, Eaton acquired his first printing press, published the second part of Paine’s Rights of Man, wrote several pamphlets of his own, founded and edited the radical weekly Politics for the People, won two court battles with the government over printing supposedly seditious material, and was indicted a third time for publishing ‘King Chaunticleere; or, The Fate of Tyranny’ (see pp. 44–46 above). Amid this flurry of activity, Eaton somehow found time to write the brilliant Swiftian satire The Pernicious Effects of the Art of Printing Upon Society, Exposed, which appeared under the pseudonym ‘Antitype’ in late 1793 or early 1794.]

The Pernicious Effects was just one part of Eaton’s ongoing project of pushing the bounds of free speech as far as he could without finding himself on a ship headed for Botany Bay. In fact, at about the time he wrote this pamphlet Eaton moved his shop and home from Bishopsgate Street to Newgate Street, apparently because he anticipated spending a good deal of time in Newgate prison and wished his family to be near him. Despite these forebodings over being engaged in a long war with the government, in late 1793 Eaton had reason to feel buoyant about his cause. Twice over the past six months he had prevailed against the government in treason trials, and it seemed sufficiently clear that London juries were disinclined to sentence him for sedition for merely publishing radical materials. With each passing acquittal, Eaton was becoming more and more the folk hero, which only further emboldened his calls for political and social reform.

Much of Eaton’s success in his battles against the powers-that-be was owing to his effective use of satire. Whereas writing direct reformist polemic was always risky in the 1790s, satire allowed Eaton to hide his bomb behind his back, shrug sheepishly, and feign complete innocence of malicious intent. In The Pernicious Effects, for instance, Eaton shields himself from prosecution by assuming the voice of an arch-conservative intent on restoring England to the Golden-Age splendour of the
epoch before print. Skillfully mimicking the frenzied tone of the Revolutionary-era church-and-king pamphlet, his narrator nostalgically looks back to simpler, happier times, when the poor enthusiastically embraced their serfdom and felt no need for such luxuries as thought, free speech, or any other so-called 'rights'.

Essentially, what Eaton sets up is the classic conservative-versus-progressive debate, asking whether indeed society is better off for Gutenberg's invention. In the narrator's ridiculous attempts to pin the decline of English values on the invention of moveable type, Eaton makes a powerful early case for what cultural historians from Marshall McLuhan forward have been stressing – namely, that the onset of print culture radically reshaped what it meant to be human. Not only did print help the average Briton shake off the physical chains of feudalism, but, more importantly, it introduced him or her to new levels of religious and political thought. Eaton's pamphlet provides a catalogue of the remarkable ideas then being entertained because of the extension of literacy and the proliferation of print media. In the preceding few years alone, the men and women of England had begun using print technology to question such ages-old abuses as the over-taxation of the poor, the mistreatment of war veterans and their families, the undervaluing of the female intellect, the overworking of domestic labourers, and the enslavement of Africans to support the lavish lifestyles of the aristocracy. In the end, 'Antitype's' frantic plea to 'let all Printing-presses be committed to the flames' only accentuates Eaton's central message that print is making possible the birth of a new England, where all classes of society enjoy such basic rights as free speech, religious choice, and the power to participate in the political process.]

1 The title page of Eaton's pamphlet bears no date, which leaves the exact date of publication open to conjecture. In his Dictionary of Literary Biography article on Eaton, Michael T. Davis dates The Pernicious Effects to early 1794 (vol. 158, British Reform Writers, 1789–1832, Detroit, Gale, 1996, pp. 94–102). Daniel L. McCue, Jr.'s entry in The Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press, 1979, however, dates the pamphlet to late autumn 1793 (vol. 1, p. 149).

2 Davis, 'Daniel Isaac Eaton', p. 98.
BEFORE this diabolical Art was introduced among men, there was social order; and as the great Locke expresses it, some subordination—man placed an implicit confidence in his temporal and spiritual directors—Princes and Priests—entertained no doubts of their infallibility; or even questioned their unerring wisdom. Indeed, the lower orders, though in other respects immersed in the most profound ignorance, knew full well (their superiors having taken care to inform them) that the existence of society depended upon distinctions of rank, fortune, &c. They therefore cheerfully submitted without murmuring, to be the basis upon which the pillar of society was erected, and patiently bore the weight of the shaft, cornice, frieze, and capital; nor ever complained of the expenses of supporting this structure, notwithstanding the taxes and contributions necessary for keeping it in repair, reduced them to the most abject poverty and dependence—to toil and labour for their superiors they never thought a hardship, sensible that submission was their duty, they never uttered a wish for a change in the order of things.

If their Prince engaged in war, without the least enquiry on their part, as to its justice or necessity, they not only furnished the means of carrying it on, but also at his command quitted the peaceful employment of cultivating the fields, to act a part in the field of battle, and take the chance of war, that they might crown with laurels the hero who led them on—the risk, the danger, and difficulties always theirs—the honour and profit his alone, or those in command under him, whose conduct he graciously condescended to approve and reward. If they returned in safety to their homes, they had recourse to their former means of subsistence, no provision ever being made for them.

Those whom the fate of battle doomed to die, found an honourable grave on the field, and their surviving relatives the satisfaction, and a very great satisfaction it undoubtedly was, of their having terminated their existence on the bed of honour, fighting for their king. If they left families behind them, poverty and distress were their inevitable portion, the sovereign being too much engrossed with the weighty affairs of state to attend to such trifles as the sufferings of the lower orders: indeed, the courtiers and great officers of state used every possible precaution to keep the knowledge of such things from him, for fear of wounding that nice sense of feeling, and exquisite sensibility, peculiar to people of the highest rank and most elevated stations.

The soldier, whom mutilation rendered incapable of gaining subsistence by labour, turned mendicant or beggar—took his stand at the corner of some street, and lived upon the bounty of passengers. These brave fellows never thought their case hard; on the contrary, they submitted contentedly to a scanty allowance of the coarsest fare, and saw, without repining, their superiors in the full enjoyment of
every earthly blessing.—The being neglected, &c. by their prince, after having fought his battles, and ventured their lives in his cause, produced no symptoms of discontent in them.

The crusade was undertaken with a view to expel the Infidels from the Holy Land, and in which all the princes of Christendom were united, brought millions to the standard of the Cross—a plain proof this, that the people of those days yielded ready submission and obedience to the commands of their sovereign, and implicit faith in the instructions of their clergy.

At the head of this grand league was the Pope; and it is to be lamented, that they were not more successful—for had they subdued those enemies of Christ, his religion would have been established, and the Holy Inquisition, with the other salutary measures used by the Romish clergy upon the refractory and unbelievers, might have been the means of insuring salvation to that numerous people—to all those torments with which infidelity will be rewarded they are now doomed.

In the times we are speaking of (the Golden Age), the feudal system prevailed—a system replete with blessings—by it the different orders of society were kept perfectly distinct and separate—there were kings, barons, priests, yeomanry, villains or slaves; and they were, I believe, with regard to rank and power, in the order in which I have named them. The villains, or lowest class, were what Mr. Burke so elegantly terms the Swinish Multitude, but of rights or privileges as men they had not an idea; we may with propriety stile them the Jackalls¹ of the times; they tilled the earth, and performed all manual labour; but in return, their superiors allowed them sufficient of the produce for subsistence—permitted them to take some rest, in order that they might be strong, to bear hardship and fatigue—took from them the trouble of thinking—indeed, from the very prudent manner in which they were brought up, I will not say educated, they were little capable of thought, of course exempt from the mental fatigues of study and reflections. The Scriptures having declared gold to be the root of every evil, they were very humanely prevented from possessing any. As to religion, the clergy taught them as much as they thought necessary, and they were without doubt the best judges, being in general good scholars.

In this beautiful scheme—this happy system of social order—what tender care, and generous concern—what almost parental anxiety and solicitude appears to have actuated the governors in every part of the conduct, in which the lower orders, or vassals, were concerned or interested. In my mind, their situation was equal, if not preferable, to that of the slaves in our West-India islands—notwithstanding the friends of the slave-trade have lately represented the condition of the negroes to be so very enviable.²

Primogenitureship, or the perpetuating families by securing the property to the eldest son, was also a wise regulation of this system; it enables those of the first classes to trace their descent through a long line of illustrious progenitors; and though, upon a superficial view; it may appear unjust to give all to one, and leave the rest unprovided for, yet if we reflect but for a moment, we shall see that this, apparently an evil, was fraught with the most beneficial consequences to society—the younger branches feeling all the dignity of high birth, with the most sovereign con-
tempt of the lower orders, but possessing no property, were under the necessity of cultivating their understandings, in order that they might be qualified for filling the different offices of state, for commands in the army and navy, and for the high church appointments; all of which ought, most assuredly, to be their exclusive right.—Those who approve the levelling plan condemn this in toto—to men who think privileged orders in society unnecessary—who are not proud of the honour of supporting kings, nobles, and priests, and would not submit, for their sakes, to every hardship, it is vain to offer reason—I shall not attempt it, knowing it would be lost labour.

To enumerate all the advantages arising from hereditary distinctions in society would far exceed the bounds I have prescribed to myself; but what will my reader think, when I inform him, that the late government of France was feudal in the extreme; how will he pity and deplore the madness and folly of that deluded nation—no longer blessed with a king, nobles, or priests, but left, like a ship in a storm, without a pilot, to their own guidance—with hands uplifted he will exclaim, What will become of them!—Having briefly shewn a few of the advantages enjoyed before the art of Printing was discovered, or at least generally known, I come now to point out, as is expressed in my title, its Pernicious Effects upon Society.

Since Printing has been employed as the medium of diffusing sentiments &c., government has become more difficult—the governors are frequently, and insolently called upon, to give an account of the national treasure, its expenditure, &c.—and if they are in any respect tardy, or should circumstances render evasion necessary, it is astonishing, with what boldness some men will dare to revile and insult them.

The lower orders begin to have ideas of rights, as men—to think that one man is as good as another—that society is at present founded upon false principles—that hereditary honours and distinctions are absurd, unjust, and oppressive—that abilities and morals only should recommend to the first officers in a state—that no regard should be paid to rank and titles—that instruction, sufficient to qualify a man for being a member of society, is a debt due to every individual, and that it is the duty of every state to take care that he receive it—that every man has a right to a share in the government, either in his own person, or that of his representative, and that no portion of his property or labour ought to be taxed without his consent, given either by himself, or representative—that every one should contribute to the support of the state in proportion to his ability, and that all partial exactions are oppressive—that laws should be the same to all; and that no one, whatever may be his rank or station, should be allowed to offend them with impunity—that freedom of speech is the equal right of all; and that the rich have no right to dictate to the poor what sentiments they shall adopt on any subject—or in any wise prevent investigation and inquiry. This, with a great deal more such stuff, is called the rights of man—blessed fruits of the art of Printing—the scum of the earth, the swinish multitude, talking of their rights! and insolently claiming, nay, almost demanding, that political liberty shall be the same to all—to the high and the low—the rich and the poor—what audacity!—what unparalleled effrontery!—it ought to meet
With similar mistaken notions of liberty, even many women are infatuated; and the press, that grand prolific source of evil—that fruitful mother of mischief, has already favoured the public with several female productions on this very popular subject—one in particular, called Rights of Women,\(^3\) and in which, as one of their rights, a share in legislation is claimed and asserted—gracious heaven! to what will this fatal delusion lead, and in what will it terminate!

In religion too, new regulations are to take place—to such lengths have some gone, that they talk of examining with their reason, and of admitting only what will bear that test—they have almost ceased to respect the Clergy, and appear to doubt many of the articles and tenets of the church—they talk of the religion of Reason, and Nature, and ridicule faith whenever it is opposed to reason—all the torments of hell, they treat as fabulous, and the power of the devil, they affect to scorn and despise—laugh at it as a bugbear fit only to frighten women and children.

In politics, as I before observed, they say they are as much interested as the rich.—What will scarce be credited, those lenient sentences passed by the Justiciary Court of Edinburgh upon seditious persons,\(^4\) have been most severely censured by them, and considered as an unwarrantable and despotic stretch of power—the conviction of Mr. Winterbotham,\(^5\) in an English court has also met with severe animadversion; and the case of Mr. Holt, the Newark Printer, they universally reprobate, and for why?—because he only, as they say, re-printed what the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt originally published.\(^6\) What stuff and nonsense, as if there was no difference between a Duke, or the son of Chatham,\(^7\) and a pitiful low-bred fellow of a Printer, sprung, as I am informed, from the vulgar, plebian loins of a gardener;—or that a duke, or the son and brother of a peer might not write and publish with impunity that, for which a printer or bookseller would meet the severest punishment.

In the conduct of our opposition, in what is reckoned a partial representation, we have, I think, a pretty specimen—a sweet sample of what would be the case were universal suffrage allowed—they would be perpetually haranguing about their duty to their constituents, of the sacredness of their delegation, and would never be brought to grant money to government without being informed, to what purposes it was to be applied. By those, and such like refractory arguments, the King, poor man, would be constantly thwarted when he wanted a little cash for some private munificent purpose or other—for instance, to relieve the necessities of any of those meek and tender-hearted Princes on the Continent, where paternal regard for their own subjects will not allow them to lay burthens beyond what they know they can well bear. The august personages (the German Princes), eminently distinguished for all the amiable qualities of the mind, have not escaped censure—by the friends of insubordination in this country, they are stiled tyrants and despots—if malice dare shoot her envenomed shafts against such pure immaculate characters, how can the generality of men, stained and polluted as they are, hope to escape. This and every enormity to which the frenzy of the times may give birth, is justly chargeable upon the art of Printing.
The trifling bagatelle subsidy granted to the King of Sardinia— I say trifling, when we consider our great opulence, and the present flourishing state of our manufactures and commerce—has met with as much opposition as if we had been already oppressed by taxation, and at a loss to raise the necessary supplies—the reverse however is well known to be the true state of the case; and should it be necessary in order to the prosecuting to a happy termination the present just and necessary war, in which we are engaged to subsidize all the powers in Europe, I hope and trust our government will not hesitate to do it; for rather than Jacobinism should make any further progress, every real friend to social order and true religion would stake his all.

The late motions in the Lower House respecting the legality of Messrs. Muir and Palmer's sentences is another evil arising from the art of Printing; for had it not been for that infernal invention, the Commons most probably would never have existed—the people, happy in their ignorance, would never have had any chimneical notions of liberty, but obedient to their superiors, things would have glided smoothly and calmly on, and the crime of sedition been unknown in this happy land.

But for Printing, those two disturbers of the repose of society, and rascally innovators, Calvin and Luther, would never have been able to propagate their doctrines of Reform, as they audaciously called them—rebellion against the spiritual jurisdiction of his Holiness, the Pope, would have been a more proper expression, and to have punished as rebels those enemies to his sacred authority and the Catholic faith, upon the first promulgating of their damnable heresies, would have been the only mode of preventing the further progress of opinions subversive of ecclesiastical power, and consequently of social order. Sure religion since that period has been gradually losing ground; and the reluctance with which tithes and church-dues are now paid, shew evidently its declining state, and how little the people respect their spiritual guides.

Tolerating of Sectaries, a consequence of the art of Printing, is sapping and undermining, to its very foundations, our established church—it already totters, and if it should fall, to what a deplorable situation shall we all be reduced—no archbishops or bishops—no deans or prebendaries—none of the dignitaries or higher orders of the clergy left—nothing but parish priests or curates, and our own weak endeavours, to trust to for salvation—we shall be in a truly forlorn and hopeless state.

Had mankind remained ignorant of the use of types, those outcasts of society, Paine and Barlow, would not have been able to publish their wicked inflammatory books—miscreants that treat with ridicule the most antient establishment—Customs of such remote antiquity as to puzzel the deepest antiquaries to have their origin, they have even dared to speak of with levity—privileged orders and every species of hereditary destination (the Corinthian capital of polished society) they consider as encroachments upon the rights of others—nay, even kings and princes, to whom they know we are attached both from duty and interest, they have endeavoured to place in a contemptible and ludicrous point of view.
Prejudices, one of the strongest cements of a well ordered state, and which from the very circumstance of their being prejudices, Mr. Burke would recommend us to venerate and cherish—they would persuade us to get rid of—the knowing scoundrels, could they once accomplish this, our minds would be in a state to receive their seditious doctrines, and what, pray, would be the consequences?—we should become insolent, offend our superiors, and be punished with fine, imprisonment—the pillory, or transportation to Botany Bay. Not a pillar or bulwark of well regulated society, in other words social order, but they have attacked as originally founded in injustice, and supported by fraud and imposition. Our glorious constitution, formed by the progressive wisdom of ages—the wonder and envy of surrounding nations—the ne plus ultra\(^1\) in the science of government—the only human institution that ever perhaps was perfect, these sagacious gentlemen tell us, is full of defects and blemishes—that it is a system of deception, calculated to benefit the few at the expense of the many—they would, alas! be wicked enough to add, if it had occurred to them, that it was in great measure framed by men who had interests separate from the bulk of the people.

For all these, and numberless other evils, the natural consequence of a diffusion of knowledge and science, some remedy must be found; the present administration have made some trifling feeble attempts to check their progress—such as additional duties upon advertisements and newspapers, which almost preclude cheap publications\(^2\)—of the same nature I suppose the late tax upon paper to be—but these remedies are totally inadequate, at least they will be so exceedingly slow in their operation, that the present race have but little prospect of living to see any of their good effects.

To rid ourselves of such a monster, some strong efficient measure must be had recourse to—something that will strike at the root, and have an almost instantaneous effect—such an one, I think, I can point out.

Let all Printing-presses be committed to the flames—all letter foundries be destroyed—schools and seminaries of learning abolished—dissenters of every denomination double and treble taxed—all discourse upon government and religion prohibited—political clubs and associations of every kind suppressed, excepting those formed for the express purpose of supporting government; and lastly, issue a proclamation against reading, and burn all private libraries. To carry some part of this plan into execution, it will be necessary to employ spies and informers, which by many (Jacobins and Republicans) are thought to be signs either of a weak or wicked and corrupt government; they say, that governors, conscious of acting for the public good, of having it only in view in all their measures, would scorn using such unworthy and dishonourable means. I cannot be of this opinion, but am confident, that if the measures I have proposed be but speedily adopted, and rigorously pursued, the happiest consequences would soon be experienced; all the wild, idle theories, with which men are at present disturbed, would soon vanish—the lower orders would mind their work, become tractable and docile, and perhaps in less than half a century, that desirable state of ignorance and darkness, which formerly prevailed, might again restore to this Island that happy state of society with which it
once was blessed. Providence has often evinced a partiality for this Isle, and in the circumstance of so many emigrant French having sought refuge amongst us, at the present critical period, we may still, I think, consider ourselves as the object of heaven's peculiar care;—these men have been educated in the right faith, and might be made the happy instruments of reconciling us to the Pope, and of bringing us once more within the pale of the Church of Rome:—Should such a desirable event take place, the good effects of proper subordination in society would soon be seen and felt—the king, and all in authority under him—princes and nobles—priests and magistrates of every denomination, would meet that reverence and respect which is due from the lower orders to rank, titles, &c. In the hope, that the comforts and blessings of ignorance, and the feudal system, or slavery, as the Anarchists term it, will not be long withheld from us, I shall, for the present, conclude.

ANTITYPE.
might be read as an assault on George III's masculinity. Second, it alludes to the proverb, 'Every cock is king of his dunghill'. And, third, in the late eighteenth century, a 'dunghill' was slang for a coward.

6 *the speaker* Thelwall.

Daniel Isaac Eaton, *The Pernicious Effects* (c. 1793–94)

1 *jackail* One who drudges for another.

2 *condition of the Negroes ... very enviable* For perhaps the best example of this anti-abolitionist literature, see Thomas Bellamy's short play *The Benevolent Planters*, London, J. Debrett, 1789, which was performed in 1789 at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket.

3 *Rights of Women* Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

4 *sentences ... upon seditious persons* In the early 1790s, Scottish courts were notorious for passing down harsh sentences upon radicals. See n. 9 below on Muir and Palmer.

5 *Mr. Winterbotham* In July 1793, the Reverend Dr William Winterbotham of Exeter (1763–1829; *DNB*) was found guilty on two counts of sedition for sermons he had recently preached and sentenced to four years in prison. Had not the trial been held in strongly loyalist Exeter, Winterbotham most likely would have been exonerated, since the prosecution's case against him was tenuous at best. See Carl B. Cone, *The English Jacobins*, New York, Scribner's Sons, 1968, pp. 152–53.

6 *Mr. Holt ... Mr. Pitt originally published* Daniel Holt (fl. 1790s), 'the Newark Printer,' had recently been convicted for publishing two seditious pamphlets, Paine's *Letter Addressed to the Addressee* (an edition of which Eaton himself had also published) and *An Address to the Tradesmen, Mechanics, Labourers, and other Inhabitants of the town of Newark, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform*. See Thomas Matthews Blagg, *Newark as Publishing Town*, Newark, S. Whiles, 1898, p. 57. Referring to Holt's reformist pamphlet, Eaton reminds readers that during the 1780s the Duke of Richmond and Pitt had both advocated Parliamentary reform without facing similar charges of sedition.

7 *son of Chatham* 'Chatham' was William Pitt the Elder (1708–78; *DNB*), and, hence, the 'son of Chatham' is Pitt the Younger.

8 *bagatelle subsidy granted to the King of Sardinia* Parliament had recently allocated the 'bagatelle' (i.e. inconsequential) sum of £500,000 to bribe the King of Sardinia into entering a strategic alliance with Austria. See Dorothy Marshall, *Eighteenth-Century England*, London, Longman, 1974.

9 *Muir and Palmer's sentences* In August and September of 1793, Scottish courts found Thomas Muir (1765–98; *DNB*) and the Reverend Thomas Fyshe Palmer (1747–1802; *DNB*) guilty of sedition and sentenced them to fourteen and seven years respectively in Botany Bay. The government's cases against both had been weak, and soon the public outcry against these sentences led the House of Commons to reconsider the cases. Subsequent to Eaton's pamphlet, however, Parliament rejected the appeal on Muir's and Palmer's behalf and upheld their sentences (Cone, *The English Jacobins*, pp. 172–75, 190).
Explanatory notes to pages 53–62

11 ne plus ultra] The pinnacle.
12 duties ... almost preclude cheap publications] As a means of raising prices and thereby limiting the circulation of reformist papers, in 1789 the government raised the stamp duty from 1½d. to 2d. per sheet and the advertisement duty from 2s. 6d. to 3s.

Anon. (Robert Merry), ‘Wonderful Exhibition. Signor Gulielmo Pittachio’ (1794)

1 after Christmas ... Exhibitions, at Westminster] Parliament would be opened on 30 December 1794.
2 marvelous experiments upon his own Memory] At the Horne Tooke treason trial, Pitt was called to the stand, where he steadfastly claimed to have no recollection of his earlier enthusiasm for Parliamentary reform.
3 to salute him a posteriori] In Barrell’s translation, ‘To kiss his arse’ (*Exhibition Extraordinary*, p. 11).
4 Two Hundred Automata, or Moving Puppets] Pitt’s power base was so solid in the early 1790s that he generally could count on at least 200 votes (a clear majority) supporting any legislation he put before Parliament.
5 not having yet engaged any female performer] Pitt never married and was rarely known to show significant interest in women. From the *Probationary Odes for the Laureateship* (1785) onwards, oppositionist satires had hinted that the Prime Minister was homosexual.
6 a solo on the Viol d’Amour] I.e., masturbation.
7 Signor Pittachio is extremely sorry ... must be deferred.] An allusion to the Pitt ministry’s recent failures to win ‘capital’ convictions against Hardy, Tooke, Holcroft, and other radicals.
8 Vivant Rex et Regina] ‘Long live the King and Queen’.

Anon. (Joseph Jekyll?), ‘No. II. More Wonderful Wonders’ (1794)

9 the absurd insinuations of the vulgar] Following the acquittals of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, it was rumoured that Pitt would delay the opening of Parliament so he wouldn’t have to be seen in public until the embarrassment over the trials had subsided (Barrell, *Exhibition Extraordinary*, p. 13).
10 if his memory fail not] See n. 2 above.
11 Katterfelto] Gustavus Katterfelto (d. 1799), Prussian quack who claimed he had rendered his medical services to the King of Prussia, the Empress of Russia, and the Queen of Hungary. Barrell notes that he ‘relied much on the assistance of his famous “Morocco” black cat, an animal of such extraordinary powers—it could shed and recover its tail as its owner commanded—that Katterfelto was obliged to place an advertisement in the newspapers denying that his assistant was a devil’ (Barrell, *Exhibition Extraordinary*, p. 13).