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Sensational and Sensual: Monstrous Birth Broadsides and Female Readership

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This research paper addresses the rapid rise of monstrous birth literature in Renaissance England and its intended influence on females. Strangely, immersing the public in printed ephemeral depictions of deformed children conflicts with contemporary philosophies about women reading. At a time when women were believed to physically absorb what they read, this literature risked infecting the minds of female readers with monstrous images that could manifest themselves in the women’s bodies. This study seeks to explain this paradox by investigating the historical, iconographical, and religious influences of these monstrous birth broadsides and pamphlets.
During the middle of the sixteenth century, Renaissance England began to produce monstrous birth broadsides and pamphlets for the first time.¹ These ephemeral forms facilitated the dispersal of monstrous proclamations as well as the public’s subsequent widespread infatuation with such printed tales of deformity. The large paper broadsides, also known as broadsheets, hung in a poster-like fashion throughout public spaces. Likewise, the cheap, small pamphlets disseminated easily into the hands of early modern Britons. These widely circulated prints publicized the birth of monstrous children throughout England. In its two printed forms, monstrous birth literature typically consists of a coarse specimen-style woodcut of a deformed infant; a paragraph of “factual” information about the location, date, and parentage of the birth; and an exegetical ballad that moralized about the phenomenon.² Together, these components sought to affirm the factualism of the birth and disperse it as news throughout the nation.³

The printed child’s birth defects frequently are said to visualize sins committed commonly in Renaissance England. For instance, a child with fashionable ruffs embedded in her skin attests to the consequences of female vanity (fig. 1), and conjoined twins that kiss, embrace, and choke each other reveal the probable adultery of their parents (fig. 2). However anatomically incorrect these illustrations may seem, clinical analysis has established some—though not all—of these depicted defects to be biologically possible occurrences.⁴ Thus, these broadsides present a visual and informational tension between didacticism and sensationalism. By analyzing this tension, one can determine how these monstrous birth broadsides sought to resolve anxieties surrounding female transgression.

As previous scholars have suggested, the invention of the printing press, the rise of Protestantism, and the early modern market economy all contributed to the rise of monstrous birth literature.⁵ One must address the illogicality between the intense popularity and the controversial female audience of these graphic broadsides, however, in order to comprehend their full significance. According to early modern English thought, visually and textually sensationalized literature such as this induced dangerous physiological passions in its beholder, who defended himself with the fortitude of his intellect.⁶ Yet the primary readers of these ballads were women, many of whom did not possess the inherent rationality thought to overpower and quell such passions. After all, women were thought to have limited power of intellect. Instead, these female audience members mentally and physically ingested the graphic content of

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¹ Alan W. Bates identifies 1552 as the publication date of the first monstrous birth broadside in England (Alan W. Bates, “Good, Common, Regular, and Orderly: Early Modern Classifications of Monstrous Births,” Social History of Medicine 18, no. 2 [2005]: 143). It is difficult to produce an exact date of the first monstrous birth publication with great certainty, however, since records of the Stationer’s Company demonstrate that much of this material no longer exists (Dudley Wilson, Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment [New York: Routledge, 1993], 7). It is possible that other monstrous birth broadsides predated the one from 1552 and escaped documentation. Nevertheless, English production of them probably commenced near the middle of the sixteenth century.

² Wilson, Signs and Portents, 38.

³ Michael McKeon argues that such characteristics functioned as a technology of “virtual witnessing,” by which prints sought to reproduce the act of witnessing in their mass-produced form. See Michael McKeon, The Secret History of Domesticity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 67.


⁵ To name a few: Julie Crawford focuses primarily on the role of Protestantism in the manufacturing of this genre in Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). Dudley Wilson addresses the economic factors of production in the evolution of monstrous birth imagery and how it spread through Europe with the printing press in Signs and Portents, 30–71.

monstrous birth broadsides. Oddly, this established theory of reading seems to contradict the function of monstrous birth announcements, for in observing deformed children and reading about the sins that caused their unfortunate states, female readers would absorb this material and thus embody the personas of the transgressive mothers themselves.

I. Monstrous Iconographical Precedents

The sensational iconography of these monstrous birth broadsheets derives from the well-documented classical and medieval fascination with the wondrous and exotic Other. While early modern English broadsides narrate local individual occurrences, earlier depictions of monstrosities focused on a more broadly defined unknown. One may distinguish between these conceptions, as Jennifer Spinks suggests, with the terms “monstrous birth” and “monstrous race.” Sir John Mandeville demonstrates this earlier preoccupation with the description of an expansive class of foreign peoples in his Travels, written in 1356 or 1357. In this travel book, the author-protagonist sojourns to distant lands and didactically records the peculiar inhabitants he encounters. To give just one example, he records an island of headless people whose “eyen are in theyr shouldees [and...] mouth is on theyr breste.” These creatures closely resemble the Blemmyae that Pliny the Elder documented in Naturalis Historia during the first century AD, suggesting the medieval impulse to reestablish the existence of such races.

In an attempt to bear witness to the discovered monsters, medieval illuminators provided the text with illustrations. This convention endures throughout many printings of Mandeville’s book, in which shocking illustrations juxtapose the informative tone of the text. One of the earliest depictions of the monstrous race of Blemmyae appears in Le livre des merveilles du monde, an early fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript given to Jean de Berry in 1413 (fig. 3). In this illuminated miniature, the figurations of the foreign race highlight Mandeville’s sensational discoveries with stylized illustrations rather than with mesmerizing words. In contrast to the miniature trees that punctuate the landscape, the artist’s painted figures occupy the majority of the frame to maximize voyeurism of the monstrous race.

Hartmann Schedel reproduced this creature along with a series of Noah’s monstrous descendants in the 1493 German incunabula the Weltchronik, or the Nuremberg Chronicle (fig. 4). This popular text, printed in numerous languages, helped launch the iconography of monsters and monstrous births into widespread European print culture. Although the extravagance and high price of the book limited its purchasing audience, its contents transcended socio-economic...
strata with reproductions of its woodcuts. In fact, a London-based printer used the same woodcut in his 1543 translation of an Erasmus text, thus suggesting that this imagery had indeed entered English visual culture and provided a template for monstrous birth announcements (fig. 5). Later reprints of Mandeville’s Travels replicate this style. Early English printed copies of Mandeville’s book almost abandon the landscape altogether and centrally situate the frontal monstrous figure above a stylized ground (fig. 6). Reprints of this text produced by multiple English presses in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries reproduce this exact woodcut and accompanying blackletter description. This demonstrated popularity suggests that the medieval pairing of didactic text with sensational monstrous image continued to appeal to Renaissance English culture.

Monstrous birth announcements in particular replicated this medieval combination of shocking imagery and didactic texts with their alarming woodcuts and factual paragraphs. The woodcut on the title page of one monstrous birth pamphlet blatantly imitates the form and stance of Mandeville’s monster (fig. 7). In this case, however, the monster refers not to an exotic race of peoples, but to a specific deformed child. While this particular tale is presumably fictitious, it demonstrates the tradition of combining the iconography of alien monstrosities with that of monstrous births in order to visualize a political purpose. The child appears similar to Mandeville’s general description—“the face of [the child is] upon the breast, and without a head”—but this unusual creature also possesses a local identity as “the Childe of Mrs. Haughton, a Popish Gentlewoman” “born in Kirkham parish in Lancashire.” The similarity of these headless creatures demonstrates that monstrous birth iconography in early modern England stemmed from classical literary imagery and medieval illustrations of foreign peoples. Monstrous birth broadsheets such as A declaration of a strange and wonderfull monster, however, mark a shift from the representation of the foreign Other to the representation of the native Other. This departure was due in part to the new age of exploration, which united Europe to a previously unattainable extent with the exotic margins of the world that hosted foreign races. As a result, imagined borders collapsed, and Europeans turned inward and examined themselves to detect the Other. Renaissance English print culture followed the trend of monstrous birth literature set in Italy and Germany and expounded upon the deformed creature’s identity as a native cultural misfit.

England’s primary printing influence—Germany—was instrumental in establishing the iconography of monstrous birth prints in the mid-sixteenth-century England. After the Reformation, Germany dominated the printing industry to such an extent that Andrew Pettegree has deemed it “print’s engine room.” Since England had a comparatively weak print industry, it

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15 Ibid., 23.
16 England-based reprints of this text include those by Wynken de Worde in Westminster, 1499 (see aforementioned woodcut on folio 74r), John East in London, 1568 (see fol. 16v), and Thomas Snodham in London, 1625 (fol. O2v). Numerous other reprints similar to these appeared during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most of these presses are located in London because London was the center for early modern English printing (Andrew Pettegree, The Book in the Renaissance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 123, 340).
17 Although the scope and length of this paper limits me from discussing this more extensively, this pairing of informative language with a shocking image pervades English literary culture, as seen with many contemporary travel books such as William Lithgow’s 1632 publication The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and the Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Years Trauayles (London: Nicholas O kes).
20 Pettegree, The Book in the Renaissance, 255.
relied upon imports from the Netherlands, France, Italy, and especially Germany. At the end of the fifteenth century, German printers began to widely produce monstrous birth announcements in broadside form. These prints largely illustrated the phenomenon of conjoined twins and sometimes included text written in verse.

Before England began to print its own monstrous birth broadsheets, German printers began to disseminate religious messages via printed material. One of the most popular German illustrations of deformity is a widespread pamphlet written by Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther and illustrated by Lucas Cranach. This pamphlet describes two misshapen animals known as the Pope-Ass and the Monk-Calf and allegorizes their attributes to critique and parody Catholicism (figs. 8, 9). Luther and Melanchthon approached these satires in a formulaic fashion, analyzing individual features of each monster to provide commentary on the overarching theme. The fantastical features of Melanchthon’s fictitious composite creature (fig. 8) alluded to the licentiousness and extravagance of the Pope, or the “Romish Antichrist.” For instance, its rotund feminine belly indicates the shamelessly “dissolute and wanton lyfe” of the clergy, who “have none other care all their lyfe time but to feede and pamper their paunches.” Like Melanchton, Luther used the image of the bovine (fig. 9), born with folds of skin that resemble a monk’s cowl, to satirize Catholicism as an idolatrous religion focused on ceremonial appearance rather than faith. Just as the calf is not really a holy monk, monks in turn are merely “carnal opinion couered and did with the religious habite.” Both authors end their exegeses beseeching the reader to live righteously, a motif repeated in most later monstrous birth literature.

With the aid of Wittenberg’s leading print industry, the pamphlet and similar literature spread throughout Europe. Unsurprisingly, the first known English monstrous birth broadsheet combines both the format and religious purpose established by mid-sixteenth-century German print (fig. 10). It explicitly identifies the reader as “Chrysten,” and thereby demands a religious interpretation of the factual monstrous birth. While the main paragraph lists the birth date and conditions of the conjoined twins (expected to live!), the preceding ballad is latent with religious moral undertones:

Such as we be, such is this age
Behold and you shal se
So far in vice, do then outrage
That monsters they may be.

21 Ibid., 123–28.
22 Spinks, Monstrous Births, 13–57.
23 Crawford, Marvelous Protestantism, 28–34.
24 Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, Deuttung der zwo grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg in Meyssen funden. Wittenberg: Rhau-Grunenberg, 1523. Translated in Of two VVoonderful Popish Monsters, to wyt, Of a Popish Asse which was found at Rome in the river of Tyber, and of a Moonkish Calfe, calued at Friberge in Misne, trans. Iohn Brooke (London, 1579), A3r, v.
25 Ibid., B4v.
26 Ibid., E2v.
27 Martin Luther operated extensively out of Wittenberg, a German university town that quickly became the printing capital of Europe. For more on Wittenberg as the epicenter of European printing, see Pettegree, The Book in the Renaissance, 91–106.
Our bodies growe, al out of kinde
Our shape is strange to sight,
So Sata[n] hath drawe[n] ma[n]s mo[n]strous mynd
From God, from truth and right.
Wo[n]der no more, make straight your waies
Stand tall and feare to fall,
The Lorde hath sent us in these dayes,
An Image for you all.²⁹

In contrast to the benign message of the large blackletter paragraph, the small ballad proclaims that this event—and, by extension, this broadside—is an “Image” to remind readers to focus their “mo[n]strous mynd[s]” on God, lest Satan cause them to “growe, al out of kinde” like the bodies of these twins. The broadside as a whole draws upon classical, medieval, and early modern iconographical precedents, and it addresses English audiences with sensational images, didactic prose text, and religious verse. Whereas this broadside explicitly addresses men, later English literature becomes an instrument of particular consequence to females and addresses contemporaneous anxieties concerning female immorality.

II. English Constructions of Monstrous Births

As this genre of literature established itself in Renaissance England, the format of the broadside changed. Whereas earlier exempla combine lengthy factual paragraphs with shorter religious ballads (fig. 10), later versions invert this proportion and emphasize the moralizing verse (fig. 1, 11). The text of these broadsides in the latter English tradition almost always focused on a mother, her misdeeds, and the ugly product of her sins. Fittingly, a fascination with specifically female transgressions popularized this genre of literature among a female audience.³⁰ I do not wish to claim that monstrous birth broadsides addressed women exclusively. Not much is known about the precise original readership of these ballads, but one may infer from the capitalist customs of the early modern market place that this mass-produced street literature appealed to a wide audience.³¹ Although these ballads did not intrinsically restrict themselves to a single gender, I argue that they affected female readers more than male readers, particularly because they focused on the exclusively female act of partuition.³²

²⁹ Ibid.
³⁰ Belinda Jack suggests that this sort of announcement was popular with female readers (Belinda Jack, The Woman Reader (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 143). Joy Wiltenburg also argues that street literature in general “made explicit attempts to appeal to women” and that “authors clearly anticipated a substantial female audience” (Joy Wiltenburg, Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany [Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992], 27). Julie Crawford mentions that some of these models often worked to reform female individuals but fails to expand upon this fact (Crawford, Marvelous Protestantism, 28).
³¹ For more on the early modern economics of ballad buying and selling, see Wiltenburg, Disorderly Women and Female Power, 27–44; and Sandra Clark, “The Broadside and the Woman’s Voice,” Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500–1700 (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 104–05.
³² Sandra Clark argues that during the seventeenth century, broadside ballads were increasingly specialized and
The feminine gender—common to both reader and subject—served as a foundation upon which woman readers could compare themselves to the immoral mother of the printed narrative. In addition to relating to the character’s gender, readers may also have related to her sins, for the errant behavioral patterns addressed in the monstrous birth ballads occurred with increasing frequency in early modern England. The ballads and illustrations of these broadsides express the anxiety Renaissance English people felt regarding such sins as excessive consumption, sexual transgression, and religious dissent. An analysis of these three categories of monstrous birth ballads reveals that printers published these types of announcements at times when these sins were particularly controversial in English society.

As England modernized, households abandoned their pre-modern self-sufficiency, and women regularly entered the market to purchase goods. The introduction of capitalism into the early modern age necessitated that many Western European countries restructure their social hierarchies and, consequently, redefine women’s roles in their changing economies. As a result, women increasingly participated in the economy directly, which many mid-sixteenth-century male authorities viewed as a corrupting threat to feminine domestic morality. Consumer society placed the vulnerable female in the realm of temptation and lured her into purchasing unnecessary commodities for her own vanity. Printed warnings such as monstrous birth broadsides served to mediate waves of particular female transgressions as women’s roles changed in the burgeoning consumer economy.

Monstrous birth ballads visualize and communicate this anxiety surrounding the new potential for female sin in a distinctly effective form. For instance, one broadsheet from 1568 depicts a female child born with ruffs made of skin (fig. 1). The body of this child conforms to the English ideals of beauty, but for her satirical deformity. Her face is “comly of a cheerful countenance,” her body “wel proporci[on]ed,” and her skin “faire white.” The fleshy ruffs that resemble those “that many do use to weare about their necks” “wunderfully [clothe]” the child. These luxurious garments, however, do not augment her beauty with their finery. Rather, they render her a “lewd” monster that “lerne[s the reader] to beware.” By embodying the highest fashions, this child demonstrates God’s will that Englishwomen refrain from excessive consumption, pride, and vanity and “repent with speed” for these sins. Notably, the author of this ballad does not attribute the child’s deformities to the mother’s pride exclusively, but to all “womankinde” of England, whose “Pride this Childe doth bere.” The sins of the female audience, then, cause the child’s deformities. Furthermore, since the illustrated child’s name is “Christia[n],” she functions as an allegory for Christianity in general and women’s faith in particular.

marketed toward specific groups such as women. Ibid., 104.

33 As Elizabeth Honig has suggested, warnings against wrongful deeds in Renaissance England are evidence for their presence in society, not proof that they were considered shameful and thus did not occur (Elizabeth Honig, “Houses Speak/Speaking of Houses,” [lecture, University of California, Berkeley, October 11, 2012]).

34 Elizabeth Honig, “Shopping London” (lecture, University of California, Berkeley, November 6, 2012).

35 Elizabeth Honig brilliantly analyzes the anxiety surrounding women in an early modern consumer-based society in “Desire and Domestic Economy,” The Art Bulletin 83, no. 2 (June 2001): 294–315. Although she focuses on women in Dutch economies, her arguments still pertain to English society (Elizabeth Honig, “Urban Festivities” [lecture, University of California, Berkeley, November 1, 2012]).

36 Julie Crawford provides an excellent analysis of this same broadside but stops short of contextualizing it in terms of the anxiety produced by England’s developing market economy (Crawford, Marvelous Protestantism, 46–55).

37 The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes borne in the parish of Micheham in the Countie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.LXvi (Imprinted at London by John Allde and Richarde Johnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioning unto S. Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie and at the little shop adjoining to the Northwest doore of Paules Churche. Anno domini. M.D.LXVii the xx. of August [1566]).
this personification, the broadsheet warns against overconsumption. It shows via both text and image that, should an Englishwoman transfer her devotion from God to commodities, she would degrade and mutilate her Christian faith.

Roughly contemporaneous texts, such as Philip Stubbes’s *Anatomie of Abuses* (published in 1583), also decry this obsession with flamboyant sartorial commodities. In his exhortation against vain excess in English consumer culture, Stubbes deems ruffs in particular to be “monstrous” garments invented by the Devil himself. Roughly contemporaneous texts, such as Philip Stubbes’s *Anatomie of Abuses* (published in 1583), also decry this obsession with vain excess in English consumer culture, Stubbes deems ruffs in particular to be “monstrous” garments invented by the Devil himself. **39,40** This exaggerated interpretation reiterates the early modern connection between sin and economic consumption: by purchasing such garments, a woman accepts goods from the Devil and adopts the role of postlapsarian Eve. When another early modern philosopher, Conrad Lycosthones (1518–1561), endeavored to chronicle all of God’s miraculous punishments for sin in one volume, he began with God’s punishment of Eve. **41** This repeated association of Eve with marvels in contemporary sources constructs a particular context for the early modern interpretation of the marvels of monstrous births. Within this framework, the mother figure resembles Eve as a woman who consumes the forbidden fruit of vain expenditure, and induces God’s punishment in her own free will. In fact, the sinful mother need not have physically enacted this consumption. According to theories of monstrous births, a mother begot what she imagined at the time of her child’s conception. **42** Thus, broadsheets such as *The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes* provided a visual and textual reminder to Englishwomen that God could punish them with a monstrous child even if they secretly contemplated and desired such lavish expenditure. Within the framework of such sentiments, broadsides clearly communicated budding anxieties around the Englishwoman’s new role as an economic consumer. Their warnings keenly caution against submission to the Devil’s temptations to flatter feminine pride and vanity.

Apprehension surrounding female expenditure soon attached sexual connotations to consumption. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, representations of woman shoppers increasingly carried explicitly erotic undertones. The marketplace came to represent a public sphere where women desired both material and sexual goods and, in turn, advertised their own availability. **43** At the same time as women of all ages and sexual availability interacted with greater numbers of men in the urban realm, anxiety over female fidelity escalated. This tension is manifest in the various monstrous birth ballads that visually and verbally announce the deformed product of adultery. This does not necessarily imply that a causal relationship between infidelity and monstrous births began in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries at the blossoming of the market economy. Indeed, English culture viewed monstrous births as proof of infidelity already by 1536, when rumors that Anne Boleyn miscarried a deformed fetus


**41** Conrad Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon, quae praeter naturae ordinem, et in superioribus et his inferioribus mundi regionibus, ab exordio mundi usque ad haec nostra temporae acciderunt*. Translated in *The doome warning all men to the Iudgemente: Wherein are contayned for the most parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with diuers secret figures of Revelations tending to mannes stayed conuersion towardes God: In maner of a generall Chronicle, gathered out of sundrie approued authors by St. Batman professor in Diuinitie*. [London]: Imprinted by Ralphe Nubery assigned by Henry Bynneman. Cum priuilegio Regal, Anno Domini 1581, A1.


**43** Honig, "Desire and Domestic Economy," 311–12.
implied that she was unfaithful to Henry VIII. The broadsides that narrated these adulterous acts, however, were first published around the turn of the seventeenth century, and may have responded to the increased demand for articulate apprehension of female disloyalty within the market economy.

Many of the monstrous birth ballads that announce a deformed child born out of wedlock specify the identity of its mother and hold her personally responsible for the state of her child. By doing so, the broadsides suggest to the female reader that if she repeats the sinful actions of the named mother, she will be likewise exposed and publicly humiliated via widely dispersed printed material. Furthermore, God would curse her with a monstrous child that typically died within hours of its birth. This threat would have been particularly resonant in a culture with high infant mortality rates. One such “warnyng to England” printed in 1568 names Marget Mere as the wrongful mother, states that she “played the naughty packe” while unmarried, and elaborates upon the resulting monstrous characteristics of her child (fig. 11). The greater amount of personal biographical detail provides more facts than earlier broadsides did, and thereby heightens the event’s semblance of realism. Naming the mother also creates a direct connection between the mother’s nature and the physical state of her child. This delineated relationship juxtaposes and reinforces a woman’s proper role in early modern society as a “paragon of domestic virtue” who uses her sexuality to provide her husband with children.

In the same style of the ruffled child broadside (fig. 1), the ballad written about the Marget Mere birth turns to address the whole populace. It declares, “This monstrous shape to thee England / Playn shewes thy monstrous vice.” This direct address forces the English reader to recognize her own sins and compare them to those of Marget Mere. Because the broadside shows the “monstrous vice” of all England, the printed child’s defects correspond not only with the sins of his mother but also with those characteristic of the entire nation. The symbolic monstrous characteristics, visualized by the woodcut, document the consequences of such transgressions: “filthy talke, and poynsoned speech / Disfigures so the mouth,” and “[t]he hands which have no fingers right […] Doth well set forth the idle plight.” Likewise, the seeping hole on “[t]he hinder part doth shew us playne, / Our close and hidden vice” and alludes to the illicit acts of intercourse and sodomy. This broadside, then, articulates both a specific narrative and a universal message. It evidences a factual case of a child’s deformities that resulted from his own mother’s sins, and it communicates that this immoral behavior is symptomatic of England as a whole. Taken together, this broadsheet demonstrates God’s consequences for this transgressive behavior and warns all Englishwomen against pursuing this immoral path.

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44 For more on Anne Boleyn’s miscarriage, see G. W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 125–34.
46 *The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child born at Maydstone in Kent, 1568.* (Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwelling in little Britain streete without Aldersgate, 1568).
47 I borrow this phrase from Elizabeth Honig in “Desire and Domestic Economy,” 311. She also notes that the frequent representation of women with children in paintings creates an “emphasis on motherhood [that] reinforces the proper function of woman’s sexuality” (Ibid., 299).
48 *The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes borne in the parish of Micheham in the Countie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.LXvi* (Imprinted at London by John Ailide and Richarde Johnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioning unto S. Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie and at the little shop adioning to the Northwest doore of Paules Churche. Anno domini. M.D.LXvi the xx. of August [1566]).
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
Monstrous birth pamphlets similarly convey these dual messages by combining the factual testament of a witness with a verbose, sermon-like exegesis. A pamphlet dated 1613 documents that the parents of conjoined twins “were both branded, shee [the mother] with the mark of Basterdy,” and later reminds the audience to heed the warnings of such births, “which for the most part are [their own] sinnes, and carelesse negligences.”

Some of these pamphlets included the text of actual sermons preached in the same location as the monstrous partuition. The theologian Thomas Bedford, for instance, delivered a sermon two days after he witnessed a monstrous child. In this sermon, he accused the parents of conceiving their child “in sinne,” and attributes its misshapen figure to God’s “black-finger of Deformity.” Rather than condemn the parents, however, Bedford insists that God intended this child to be a lesson for “the iniquity and irreligion of [the] Age.”

His pamphlet was published within the months that followed and included a large woodcut illustration, a short text that bore witness to the child’s state, and the author’s sermon. Written evidence of these cautioning sermons, then, demonstrates that monstrous birth announcements were available in pictorial, written, and oral forms. As such, their message extended to both literate and illiterate Englishwomen.

As the seventeenth century progressed, monstrous birth literature expanded to address a rising problem that plagued both England and its American colonies: female religious dissent. Instead of focusing on female misdeeds, such as excessive economic consumption and sexual desire, these newer prints addressed the female voice. As a result, the mothers of monstrous births became subjects who could articulate their own agency rather than objects whose actions witnesses observed. Such voices, however, were those of outliers. These pamphlets and broadsheets no longer associated the crimes they documented with those of England as a whole. A pamphlet from 1646 outlines the sins of Mrs. Haughton, a “notorious papist” whose outspokenness against Parliament and Protestantism earned her a headless child.

The author of the pamphlet claims that she asserted, “I pray God, that rather than I shall be a Roundhead [that is, a Protestant supporter of Parliament], or bear a Roundhead, I may bring forth a childe without a head.” With her own voice, she tests the authority of the Protestant God, British government, and male authority. This challenge provides God with an opportunity to exercise his power in a visual form via the creation of a monstrosity. By acting against Catholicism, he shows his favor toward the Protestant British Parliament. In turn, Parliament displays this divine support to all of England: Mrs. Haughton herself declares her deformed child is “the hand of God upon her,” and a certificate of the child’s veracity is passed through Parliament and subsequently dispersed.

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51 Strange newes of a prodigious monster borne in the township of Allington in the parish of Standish in the Countie of Lancaster, the 17. day of Aprill last, 1613. Testified by the reuernd diuine Mr. W. Leigh, Bachelor of Diuinitie, and preacher of Gods word at Standish aforesaid (London: Printed by I. P[indley] for S. M[an] and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Ball, 1613), B1r.

52 Ibid., B2r.

53 Thomas Bedford, A True and Certaine Relation of a Strange Birth which was borne at Stone-house in the Parish of Plinmouth, the 20 of October 1635. Together with the Notes of a Sermon, preached Octob. 22 1635 in the Church of Plinmouth, at the interring of the sayd Birth (London: Printed by Anne Griffin for Anne Bowler dwelling at the Marigold in S. Pauls Church-yard, 1635), 18–19.

54 A declaration of a strange and wonderfull monster: born in Kirkham parish in Lancashire (the childe of Mrs. Haughton, a Popish gentlewoman) the face of it upon the breast, and without a head (after the mother had wished rather to bear a childe without a head then a Roundhead) and had curst the Parliamnet [sic]. Attested by Mr. Fleetwood, minister of the same parish, under his own hand; and Mrs. Gattaker the mid-wife, and divers other eye-witnesses: whose testimony was brought up by a member of the House of Commons. Appointed to be printed according to order: and desired to be published in all the counties, cities, townes, and parishes in England: being the same copies that were presented to the Parliament (London: Printed by Jane Coe., 1646), A3r.

55 Ibid., A3v.
in printed form throughout England. Clearly, the veracity of this pamphlet’s tale is dubious, yet its format and political message evokes Luther’s monk-calf and early monstrous birth literature. The form has come full circle.

While this announcement attests to God’s endorsement of Protestantism and Parliament, it also strengthens the woman’s sense of agency. Mrs. Haughton exercised her own religious belief and requested the monster she received rather than convert to a Roundhead herself. In short, she got exactly what she wanted: a headless child (fig. 7). In the context of previous monstrous births that resulted from illicit relationships, Haughton’s child could suggest that sexual transgressions occurred in her recusant household. Although the possibility of underlying sexual connotations certainly exists, the iconography of monsters that predated even these earlier prints suggests another interpretation. Mrs. Haughton’s child closely resembles Pliny’s and Mandeville’s aforementioned monstrous race of Blemmyae, the woodcuts of which still circulated in contemporary reprints of Mandeville’s *Travels* (fig. 6). As many other broadsides demonstrate, the products of a woman’s partuition visualize her sins. In this case, Mrs. Haughton’s sin is not a sexual transgression but religious dissent. In the tradition of headless monsters, Mrs. Haughton’s child casts her not as a sexual deviant, but as an entirely different religious “race” altogether. The birth of her child reinforces her stance as a religious outsider, not as an adulteress. This monstrous birth pamphlet lucidly articulates her Otherness by including the woodcut of this familiar monster on the title page, directly quoting the loud dissenting voice of the mother, and refusing to associate her crimes with the general population of England. By using text and image to characterize Mrs. Haughton as an outsider, it criminalized her Catholicism and dispersed this message throughout England. As this example suggests, the genre of monstrous birth literature expanded and adapted to address contemporary issues of female morality in Renaissance England.

III. The Sensuality of Female Readership

Quite paradoxically, while these monstrous birth broadsheets were produced to discourage sinful behavior, they circulated within a context fraught with sinful undertones. To begin with, the hawkers who sang, distributed, and sold such ballads had a reputation for being unseemly and dangerous men. These poverty-stricken, lower-class men chanted their works “to a vile tune, and a worse throat.” A woman who purchased these broadsides would interact with these notoriously lewd men, and “[melt] like butter to heare them,” calling her feminine chastity into question.

As the seventeenth century progressed, females increasingly joined the profession of ballad hawking. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these women also acquired a reputation for lasciviousness. As professional ballad sellers and singers, they crossed social and geographical boundaries as employed women with a high degree of mobility. Consequently, Englishmen referred to them as “noseless” women with “snuffling throat[s],” both physical signs of sexual disease and poverty.

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56 Ibid., A4r. A copy of this certificate is printed on A4v.
57 Julie Crawford provides a convincing argument for this in *Marvelous Protestantism*, 134–45.
60 Ibid., 46.
61 Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power*, 27.
The women who sold these ballads, then, mirrored the subjects they narrated, for the printed mothers of monstrous births commonly dwelled in the countryside and exhibited some form of sexual license. By entering into economic exchanges with these female sellers, the buyer could see the future product of her own sins if she did not heed the broadsides’ warnings and repent.

In the act of purchasing these prints, however, the female buyer consumed luxury goods and thereby enacted the very deed that some printed ballads condemned. One may account for this paradox by analyzing the history of the broadside. This tradition began with a heavily religious connotation since the first recorded broadside is an indulgence that Johannes Gutenberg printed before he compiled his Bible. After this initial printing, broadsheets served strictly ecclesiastical functions before functioning as local news statements in the mid-sixteenth century. Yet, as argued above, these cultural announcements largely continued to articulate religious messages. Monstrous birth broadsheets, in particular, broadcasted regional events and moralized upon them in order to show God’s handiwork. Similar to their indulgence predecessors, these later broadsheets were sold to the populace in order to aid the redemption of their souls. Thus, when a woman purchased a monstrous birth broadsheet, she was not indulging in a sensational luxury good that belittled her morality. Rather, she was purchasing a new type of moral literature that appealed to the masses with its image and instructed them through its text. Although the specimen-style woodcuts of exotic creatures visually encouraged—even seduced—audience members to purchase their printed forms, the Protestant message they carried nullified any corruption they could have caused as objects of consumption. Indeed, it was the moralizing ballad that women likely sung after purchasing the broadsides, memorizing the words and message of the most religious aspect of monstrous birth prints.

The power of this religious text over the monstrous image also exemplifies how these broadsides functioned within the widespread theory of “the physiology of reading.” This theory asserted that women were thought to be prone to physically absorbing what they saw and read since they could not regulate their inner passions as well as men could. Various men published widely on the dangers of women reading and promoted women to be weak, malleable figures whose physical consumption of reading material would affect their very physiological beings. In one such text, Eve, “whom the deuyll caught with a lyght argument,” fundamentally exemplifies that “woma[n] is a fraile thynge, and of weake discretion, and that maye be lightly disceyued.” This focus on postlapsarian Eve as the antithesis for proper female behavior reiterates

63 Aaron W. Kitsch identifies the parents of many of these broadsides as being of rural backgrounds in “Printing Bastards: Monstrous Birth Broadsides in Early Modern England,” Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England, 227.


67 Women could sing these ballads after they purchased them, for they were usually set to the tune of a familiar verse. Ballad sellers taught new tunes to their audiences if they did not know them (Wiltenburg, Disorderly Women and Female Power, 29).


70 Juan Luis Vives, De institutione foeminae christinae Book 1, Chapter 5. Trans. Richard Hyrde, A very fruitefull and pleasant boke called the instructio[n] of a Christ[e]n wom[a]n, made fyrst in Laten, and dedicated vnto the quenes good grace, by the right famous clerke mayster Lewes Vives, and turned out of Laten into Englysshe by Richard Hyrd. whicthe boke who so reddith diligently shal haue knowledge of many thynges, wherein hew shal take great pleasure, and specially women shal take great co[m]modyte and frute toward the[n]creace of vertue [and] good maners. Imprinted at London: In Fletestrete in the house of Thomas Berthelet printer vnto the kynges mooste noble grace, at the signe of
contemporary anxieties surrounding female consumption. In his chapter on “What bokes to be red, and what nat,” Juan Luis Vives elaborates upon the dangers of women reading that which does not “perteyneth unto the feare of god.” He likens such reading to corruptive consumption that “poysont[s…a woman’s] harte” and “caste[s her] in to helle.” In early modern England, then, when a woman read stories of lust and sin, she absorbed these errant narratives and was more likely to sin herself.

This philosophy of literary absorption seems to contradict the function of monstrous birth announcements, for in observing deformed children and reading the sins that caused their unfortunate states, the women might “absorb” this material and take on the persona of the transgressive mothers themselves. Yet as we have seen, this literature instead served as religious material that encouraged the female reader to shun sinful ways. The physiology of reading applied to moral texts as well: if a woman absorbed religious material, it was thought that she would nourish her soul. The marginalia of Elizabeth I demonstrates the pervasiveness of this theory throughout all social levels of England. In her personally embroidered edition of *The Epistles of St. Paul*, she inscribed a note that reads,

> I walke manie times into the pleasant fields of the Holy Scriptures, where I plucke up the goodlie greene herbes of sentences by pruning, eate them by reading, chawe them by musing, and laie them up at length in the hie seate of memorie by gathering them together, so that having tasted thy swetenes I may the less perceive the bitterness of this miserable life.

This poem, like Vives’s text, is laden with metaphors of ingestion. Clearly, Renaissance English culture expressed anxieties regarding acts of consumption in highly visual forms. The process of reading became yet another means by which a woman could intake dangerous matter and thus mirrored the processes of excessive economic desire, illicit sex, and religious dissent.

**IV. Conclusion**

The iconographical, textual, and historical traditions of sensational monstrous birth broadsides and pamphlets illuminate how they functioned to articulate and resolve anxiety surrounding women’s new role in early modern English society. Such prints narrate the consequences of such transgressions in their content and simultaneously offer a means to escape this punishment in their form. The sensational woodcut of a deformed child would tempt a female reader to indulge in her curiosity and purchase the print. After she succumbed to this desire, the “factual” content describing the birth that the broadsheet presented would further corrupt the reader. When she saw the marvelous birth and then read the sins that caused this deformity, she thereby physically consumed both child and sins. The religious message, however, mitigated her moral demise. Women prevented their infection by singing the ballad portion of the broadside or meditating upon the sermon aspect of the pamphlet. This God-given warning overrode the sinful content

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Lucrece, [1531?], E2v.
and transformed the monstrous birth broadside into a piece of moral literature through which and by which women could preserve their chastity, obedience, and silence.

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The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes borne in the parish of Micheham in the Countie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.LXvi. London: John Allde and Richarde Johnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioning unto S. Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie and at the little shop adjoining to the Northwest doore of Paules Churche, 1566.

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Secondary Sources


List of Illustrations

**Figure 1.** The true description of a Childe with Ruffes borne in the parish of Micheham in the Cou[n]tie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.LXv. Imprinted at London: By Iohn Allde and Richardo Iohnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioining vnto S. Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie and at the little shop adioining to the Northwest doore of Paules Churche. Anno domini. M.D.Lxvi. the .xx. of August [1566].

**Figure 2.** The true discription of two monsterous Chyldren borne at Herne in Kente. The. xxvii. daie of Auguste In the yere our of Lorde. M.CCCC.LXV. They were booth women Chyldren and were Chrystened, and lyued halfe a daye. The one departed afore the other almost an howre. Imprinted at London: In Fletestreat by Thomas Colwell: for Owen Rogers dwelling at S. Sepulchers Church doore, [1565].

**Figure 3.** Des gens sans têtes [The people without heads], illust. Boucicaut Master, from *Le livre des merveilles*, Paris, Bib. Nat. ms fr. 2810, 1410–12. fol. 194v.

**Figure 4.** Monstrous races, from Hartmann Schedel, *Register des buchs der Croniken und geschichten [the Welchronik]*. Printed in Nüremburg: Anton Koberger, 1493, fol. XIIr.

**Figure 5.** Title page, from Desiderius Erasmus, *Here folowith a scorneful Image or monstrus shape of a marvelous stra[n]ge fyugre called, Sileni alcibiadis presentyng ye[e] state [and] condicio[n] of this present world, [and] inspecciall of the Spiritualite how farre they be from y[e] perfite trade and lyfe of Criste, wryte[n] in the laten tonge, by that famous clarke Erasmus, [and] lately translated in to Englyshe*. Imprynted at London: By [N. Hill for?] me Iohn Goughe. Cum priuilegio regali. And also be for to sell in Flete-strete betwene the two temples, in the shoppe of Hary Smythe stacyoner, 1543.

**Figure 6.** Sir John Mandeville, *The voyages and trauailes of Sir John Maundeuile knight Wherein is treated of the way towards Hierusalem, and of the meruailes of Inde, with other lands and countries. Itinerarium*. London: Printed by Thomas Este, [1582?], D3.

**Figure 7.** Title page, *A declaration of a Strange and Wonderfull Monster: Born in Kirkham Parish in Lancashire (the Childe of Mrs. Haughton, a Popish gentlewoman) the face of it upon the breast, and without a head (after the mother had wished rather to bear a Childe without a head then a Roundhead) and had curst the Parliamnet. Attested by Mr. Fleetwood, Minister of the same Parish, under his own hand; and Mrs. Gattaker the Mid-Wife, and divers other eye-witnesses: Whose testimony was brought up by a Member of the House of Commons. Appointed to be printed according to Order: And desired to be published in all the Counties, Cities, Townes, and Parishes in England: being the same Copies that Were presented to the Parliament*. London: Printed by Jane Coe, 1646.

**Figure 8.** Conjoined twins born in Middleton Stoney. Imprinted at London by Jhon Daye dwelllinge over Aldersgate beneth S. Martyns, 1552.

**Figure 9.** The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child/borne at Maydstone in Kent, the .xxiiiij. of October. 1568. Imprinted at London: By John Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britaine street withough Aldersgate. the .xxiiiij of December [1568].

**Figure 10.** Conjoined twins born in Middleton Stoney. Imprinted at London by Jhon Daye dwelllinge over Aldersgate beneth S. Martyns, 1552.

**Figure 11.** The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child/borne at Maydstone in Kent, the .xxiiiij. of October. 1568. Imprinted at London: By John Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britaine street withough Aldersgate. the .xxiiiij of December [1568].
Figure 1. *The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes borne in the parish of Micheham in the Cou[n]tie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.Lxv.* Imprinted at London: By John Allde and Richardt Iohnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adjoinyng vnto S. Mildreds Churche in the Pultrie and at the litle shop adjoynyng to the Northwest doore of Paules Churche. Anno domini. M.D.Lxvi. the .xx. of August [1566].
Figure 2. The true discription of two monstrous Children borne at Herne in Kente. The. xxvii. daie of Auguste In the yere our of Lorde. M.CCCC.LXV. They were both women Children and were Chrystened, and lyued halfe a daie. The one departed afore the other almost an howre. Imprinted at London: In Fletestreat by Thomas Colwell: for Owen Rogers dwelling at S. Sepulchers Church doore, [1565].
Figure 3. Des gens sans têtes [The people without heads], illust. Boucicaut Master, from *Le livre des merveilles*, Paris, Bib. Nat. ms fr. 2810, 1410–12. fol. 194v.
Figure 4. Monstrous races, from Hartmann Schedel, Register des buchs der Croniken und geschichten [the Weltchronik]. Printed in Nuremburg: Anton Koberger, 1493, fol. XIIr.
Figure 5. Title page, from Desiderius Erasmus, *Here folowith a scorneful Image or monstrous shape of a marvelous strange figure called, Sileni alcibidis presentyng y[e] state [and] condicio[n] of this present world; [and] inspeciall of the Spiritualite how farre they be from y[e] perfite trade and lyfe of Criste, wryte[n] in the laten tonge/by that famous clarke Erasmus/ lately translated in to Englyshe.* Impriynted at London: By [N. Hill for?] me Iohn Goughe. Cum priuilegio regali. And also be for to sell in Flete-strete betwene the two temples, in the shoppe of Hary Smythe stacyoner, 1543.
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Figure 7. Title page, *A declaration of a Strange and Wonderfull Monster: Born in Kirkham Parish in Lancashire (the Childe of Mrs. Haughton, a Popish gentlewoman) the face of it upon the breast, and without a head (after the mother had wished rather to bear a Childe without a head then a Roundhead) and had curst the Parliament. Attested by Mr. Fleetwood, Minister of the same Parish, under his own hand; and Mrs. Gattaker the Mid-wife, and divers other eye-witnesses: Whose testimony was brought up by a Member of the House of Commons. Appointed to be printed according to Order: And desired to be published in all the Counties, Cities, Townes, and Parishes in England: being the same Copies that Were presented to the Parliament.* London: Printed by Jane Coe, 1646.
Figure 8. The Pope-Ass, from Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Deutung der zwei grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg in Meyssen fun-
Figure 9. The Monk-Calf, from Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Deutung der two gewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg in Meyssen funden*. Wittenberg: Rhau-Grunenberg, 1523, A2r.
Figure 10. Conjoined twins born in Middleton Stoney. Imprinted at London by Jhon Daye dwellinge over Aldersgate beneth S. Martyns, 1552.
Figure 11. The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child/borne at Maydstone in Kent, the .xxiii. of October. 1568. Imprinted at London: By John Awdeley, dwellynge in little Britain street withough Aldersgate. the .xxiiij of December [1568].
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