

UC Berkeley

Berkeley Undergraduate Journal

Title

Sensational and Sensual: Monstrous Birth Broadsides and Female Readership

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/37w6k479>

Journal

Berkeley Undergraduate Journal, 26(2)

Author

Walker, Paige M.

Publication Date

2013

DOI

10.5070/B3262019368

Supplemental Material

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/37w6k479#supplemental>

Copyright Information

Copyright 2013 by the author(s). All rights reserved unless otherwise indicated. Contact the author(s) for any necessary permissions. Learn more at <https://escholarship.org/terms>

Peer reviewed|Undergraduate

SENSATIONAL AND SENSUAL

Monstrous Birth Broadsides and Female Readership in Early Modern England

By Paige Walker

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

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.

4 A. W. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Rodopi, 2005).

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.

6 Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 380–443.

monstrous birth broadsides.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.”⁹ Sir John Mandeville demonstrates this earlier preoccupation with the description of an expansive class of foreign peoples in his *Travels*, written in 1356 or 1357.¹⁰ 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.”¹¹ 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.¹²

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).¹³ 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).¹⁴ 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

7 Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 174–211.

8 For a thorough analysis of the transferral of classical theories of monstrosity to medieval and Renaissance culture, see Wilson, *Signs and Portents*, 3–29. Claude Kappler provides an overview of the medieval infatuation with the bizarre in *Monstres, démons et merveilles à la fin de la moyen âge* (Paris: Payot, 1980).

9 Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 13.

10 *Ibid.*, 16–17.

11 Sir John Mandeville, *The voyage[e] and traouyle, of syr Iohn Maundeule knight, which treateth of the way toward Hierusalem, and of maruayles of Inde with other ilands and countrys* (London: Thomas Este, 1582), 16r.

12 “Blemmyes traduntur capita abesse, ore et oculis pectore adfixis,” *Naturalis Historia* 5.10.46.

13 Joyce Kubinski states the provenance of this manuscript in “Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (Cit  des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master),” *Gesta* 40, no. 2 (2001): 172.

14 Spinks, *Monstrous Births*, 17–23.

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).¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ This demonstrated popularity suggests that the medieval pairing of didactic text with sensational monstrous image continued to appeal to Renaissance English culture.¹⁷

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."¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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."²⁰ Since England had a comparatively weak print industry, it

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. I6v), 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 Okes).

18 *A declaration of a strange and wonderfull monster: born in Kirkham parish in Lancashire* (London: Printed by Jane Coe, 1646), title page.

19 For more on this transition, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 173–214.

20 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 255.

relied upon imports from the Netherlands, France, Italy, and especially Germany.²¹ 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.²²

Before England began to print its own monstrous birth broadsheets, German printers began to disseminate religious messages via printed material.²³ 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."²⁴ 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."²⁵ Like Melanchthon, 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."²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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, *Deutung der zwei grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg jn Meyssen funden*. Wittenberg: Rhau-Grunenberg, 1523. Translated in *Of two VVoonderful Popish Monsters, to wytt, 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. John 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.

28 *Conjoined twins born in Middleton Stoney* (Imprinted at London by Jhon [John] Day dwellinge over Aldersgate beneth S. Martyns, 1552).

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.³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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).³⁶ 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 proporcio[n]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."³⁷ 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 "womankind" 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.³⁸ Through

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 Church in the Pultrie and at the little shop adjoining to the Northwest doore of Paules Church. Anno domini. M.D.LXvvi the xx. of August [1566]).

38 *Ibid.*

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.^{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

39 Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, lines 1472 and 1532. Edited by Margaret Jane Kidnie in *Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2002), 92 and 94.

40 Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, lines 1483–85.

41 Conrad Lycosthones, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon, quae praeter naturae ordinem, et in superioribus et his inferioribus mundi regionibus, ab exordio mundi usque ad haec nostra tempora 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 Reuelations 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.

42 In his treatise on the order of the creation of monsters, Ambroise Paré elaborates upon the act of creating monsters through the imagination, *Des Monstres et prodiges* 9. Translated by Janis L. Pallister in *Ambroise Paré: On Monsters and Marvels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 38–42.

43 Honig, "Desire and Domestic Economy," 311–12.

implied that she was unfaithful to Henry VIII.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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).⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

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.”⁴⁸ 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 poysoned speech / Disfigures so the mouth,” and “[t]he hands which have no fingers right [...] Doth well set forth the idle plight.”⁴⁹ Likewise, the seeping hole on “[t]he hinder part doth show us playne, / Our close and hidden vice” and alludes to the illicit acts of intercourse and sodomy.⁵⁰ 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.

44 For more on Anne Boleyn’s miscarriage, see G. W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 125–34.

45 Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism*, 62–87.

46 *The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child born at Maydstone in Kent, 1568*. (Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwellyng 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 discripcion 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 Church in the Pultrie and at the little shop adjoining to the Northwest doore of Paules Church. 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.”^{51,52} 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.”⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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.”⁵⁵ 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

51 *Strange newes of a prodigious monster borne in the towneship 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ These poverty-stricken, lower-class men chanted their works "to a vile tune, and a worse throat."⁵⁹ A woman who purchased these broadsides would interact with these notoriously lewd men, and "[melt] like butter to hear them," calling her feminine chastity into question.⁶⁰ As the seventeenth century progressed, females increasingly joined the profession of ballad hawking.⁶¹ 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.⁶²

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.

58 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 154.

59 John Earle, "A Pot-Poet," *Micro-cosmographie*. (London: William Stansby for Robert Allot, 1628), E8r–v.

60 *Ibid.*, 46.

61 Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power*, 27.

62 John Davies, *A Scourge for Paper-persecutors*. Printed in London: for H. H[olland] and G. G[ibbs] and are to be sold at the Golden Flower Deluce in Popes-head Alley, 1625, A3r. Helen Smith identifies the early modern connotations of these words in *Grossly Material Things*, 151.

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ After this initial printing, broadsheets served strictly ecclesiastical functions before functioning as local news statements in the mid-sixteenth century.^{65,66} 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.⁶⁷

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.”⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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 thyng, and of weake discretion, and that maye be lightly disceyued.”⁷⁰ 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 Broadside in Early Modern England,” *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, 227.

64 Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets: Pennsylvania German Broadside, Fraktur, and Their Printers* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2005), 20.

65 E. Gordon Duff, “English Fifteenth Century Broadside,” *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 9, no. 1 (1906): 211.

66 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 148–49.

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 (Wiltburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power*, 29).

68 Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 380.

69 *Ibid.*, 380–443. Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 174–211.

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 Christe[n] woma[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. whiche boke who so redeth diligently shal haue knowledge of many thynges, wherein hew shal take great pleasure, and specially women shall take great co[m]moditye and frute toward the[n]creace of vertue [and] good maners*. Imprinted at London: In Fletestrete in the house of Thomas Berthelet printer vntothe 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 Luís Vives elaborates upon the dangers of women reading that which does not “perteyneth unto the feare of god.”⁷¹ He likens such reading to corruptive consumption that “poyson[s...a woman’s] harte” and “caste[s her] in to helle.”⁷² 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 perceiue the bitterness of this miserable life.⁷³

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

Lucrece, [1531?], E2v.

71 *Ibid.*, E3r.

72 *Ibid.*, E3v.

73 Cyril James Humphries Davenport, *English Embroidered Bookbindings* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Limited, 1899), 63–65.

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.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bedford, Thomas. *A True and Certain 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: Anne Griffin for Anne Bowler dwelling at the Marigold in S. Pauls Church-yard, 1635.

Conjoined twins born in Middleton Stoney. London: Jhon [John] Day dwellinge over Aldersgate beneth S. Martyns, 1552.

Davies, John. *A Scourge for Paper-persecutors.* London: For H. H[olland] and G. G[ibbs] and are to be sold at the Golden Flower Deluce in Popes-head Alley, 1625.

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: Jane Coe, 1646.

Earle, John. *Micro-cosmographie.* Edited by Edward Arbor. London: Alex Murray & Son, 1868.

The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child born at Maydstone in Kent, 1568. London: John Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britain streete without Aldersgate, 1568.

Lithgow, William. *The totall discourse, of the rare aduentures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares trauayles, from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica Perfited by three deare bought voyages, in surueighing of forty eight kingdomes ancient and moderne; twenty one rei-publickes, ten absolute principalities, with two hundred ilands. ... diuided in three bookes; two whereof, neuer heretofore published. ... Together with the grieuous tortures he suffered, by the Inquisition of Malaga in Spaine, his miraculous discouery and deliuiery thence: and of his last and late returne from the northerne iles.* By William Lithgovv. London: Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Nicholas Fussell and Humphery Mosley at their shops in Pauls Church yard, at the Ball, and the white Lyon, 1632.

Lycosthenes, Conrad. *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon, quae praeter naturae ordinem, et in superioribus et his inferioribus mundi regionibus, ab exordio mundi usque ad haec nostra tempora 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 Reuelations 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]: Ralphe Nubery assigned by Henry Bynneman, 1581.

Mandeville, Sir John. *The voiage[e] and trauayle, of syr Iohn Maundeuile knight, which treateth of the way toward Hierusalem, and of maruayles of Inde with other ilands and countryes.* London: Thomas Este, 1582.

Melanchthon, Philipp and Martin Luther, *Deutung der zwo grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg jn Meyssen funden.* Wittemberg: 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.* Translated by Iohn Brooke of Assh, next Sandwich. London: 1579.

Paré, Ambrose. *Des Monstres et prodiges.* Translated by Janis L. Pallister in *Ambroise Paré: On Monsters and Marvels.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Strange newes of a prodigious monster borne in the towneship 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: 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.

Stubbes, Philip. *The Anatomie of Abuses.* Edited by Margaret Jane Kidnie in *Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses.* Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2002.

The true discripcion 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 Alde and Richarde Johnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioning unto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie and at the little shop adjoining to the Northwest doore of Paules Church, 1566.

Vives, Juan Luís. *De institutione foeminae christinae.* Translated by Richard Hyrde in *A very fruitfull and pleasant boke called the instructio[n] of a Christe[n] woma[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. whiche boke who so redeth diligently shal haue knowledge of many thynges, wherein hew shal take great pleasure, and specially women shall take great co[m]modyte and frute toward the[n]creace of vertue [and] good maners.* London: In Fletestrete in the house of Thomas Berthelet printer vntothe kynges mooste noble grace, at the signe of Lucrece, [1531?].

Secondary Sources

Bates, A. W. *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe.* New York: Rodopi, 2005.

Bates, Alan W. "Good, Common, Regular, and Orderly: Early Modern Classifications of Monstrous Births." *Social History of Medicine* 18, no. 2 (2005): 141–58.

Bernard, G. W. *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

- Clark, Sandra. "The Broadside and the Woman's Voice." In *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500–1700*, edited by Cristina Malcolmson and Mihoko Suzuki, 103–20. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Crawford, Julie. *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Davenport, Cyril James Humphries. *English Embroidered Bookbindings*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Limited, 1899.
- Duff, E. Gordon. "English Fifteenth Century Broadside." *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 9, no. 1 (1906): 211–228.
- Earnest, Russell and Corinne. *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets: Pennsylvania German Broadside, Fraktur, and Their Printers*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2005.
- Honig, Elizabeth. "Desire and Domestic Economy." *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2 (June 2001): 294–315.
- . "Houses Speak/Speaking of Houses." Lecture, University of California, Berkeley, October 11, 2012.
- . "Shopping London." Lecture, University of California, Berkeley, November 6, 2012.
- . "Urban Festivities." Lecture, University of California, Berkeley, November 1, 2012.
- Jack, Belinda. *The Woman Reader*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Johns, Adrian. *The Nature of the Book*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Kappler, Claude. *Monstres, demons et merveilles à la fin de la moyen âge*. Paris: Payot, 1980.
- Kitch, Aaron W. "Printing Bastards: Monstrous Birth Broadside in Early Modern England." In *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, edited by Douglas A. Brooks, 221–36. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005.
- Kubinski, Joyce. "Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (Cit  des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)." *Gesta* 40, no. 2 (2001): 161–80.
- McKeon, Michael. *The Secret History of Domesticity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Smith, Helen. *Grossly Material Things*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Spinks, Jennifer. *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.
- Wilson, Dudley. *Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Wiltenburg, Joy. *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992.

List of Illustrations

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 Iohn Allde and Richarde Iohnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioining vnto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie and at the litle shop adioining to the Northwest doore of Paules Church. Anno domini. M.D.Lxvi. the .xx. of August [1566].

Figure 2. *The true discription of two monstrous 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 Weltchronik]*. Printed in Nüremburg: Anton Koberger, 1493, fol. XIIr.

Figure 5. Title page, from Desiderius Erasmus, *Here folowith a scorneful Image or monstus shape of a marvelous stra[n]ge fygure called, Sileni alcibiadis 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, [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 dwellinge 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 Britain street withough Aldersgate. the .xxiiij of December [1568].

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 .xxiiiij. of October. 1568.* Imprinted at London: By John Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britain street withough Aldersgate. the .xxiiij of December [1568].

List of Illustrations

The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes borne
 in the parish of Michem in the Cou[n]tie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.LXvi,
 The fore part and the back part

His present yeere of our Lo^d M. D. LXvi. the .xii. day of June one Helene Fermis the wife of John Fermis Husbandman dwelling in the parishes of Michem in the County of Surrey was delivered of a Woman Childe named Christa beinge after this maner & forme following. That is to say, the face comly & of a cheerful countenance. The Armes and hands, Leggs and Feet of right shap, and the Body in all other members therunto apperteyning, wel proportioned in due forme & order, savinge y^t it is as if were wunderfully clothed with suche a fleshy skin as the like at no time hath ben seene. For it hath the said fleshy skin behinde like unto a peckerchaf growinge from the veins of the Back by vnto the neck as it were with many Ruffes set one after another and beinge as if were somethinge gathered, euery Ruff about an inche bryde hangyng here growinge on the edges of the same, a so by Ruffes cominge ouer y^e Shoulders and coueringe some part of y^e Armes proceedinge by vnto the nape of the neck behinde and almoste round about the neck, like as many womens Cownes be, not close to gether befoze; but that the throte beinge (with a faire white skin) bare betweene bothe the sides of the tuffes, the said ruffes about the neck beinge double and as it were y^e hick gathered, muche like vnto the Ruffes that many do vse to weare about their necks.

[This Childe beforesaid] the day of the date vnder wyrtten) was to be seene in Glene Alley in Southwarke beinge alieue and x weeks olde and in .i. dayes not unlikly to liue long.

An Admonition vnto the Reader,

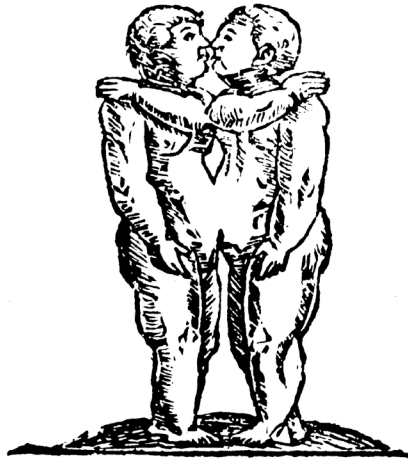
<p>This picture press in paper white, our natures doth declare: whose forme so strange by nature may lerne vs to beware. (natures spite)</p> <p>By natures spite, what do I saye? doth nature rule the ruffe? say god tis say wel I may: by whom nature is toff.</p> <p>The face full faire, the members all, in order stand and place: but yet to muche: by natures thall, doth work a great disgrace.</p> <p>This ruffeling world in ruffes al rolde, doth God desekt and hate: vs we may lerne the tale wel tolde, of Childen borne of late.</p> <p>What meanes this childe by natures thus Ruffed so to be? (work): but by these Ruffes our natures spurk, we might be holde and se.</p>	<p>Ever squares our squaringe doth set out, this here our heres doth cheeke: this monstrous monster out of doubt, agreeth in eche respect.</p> <p>Our fleshy lines in Wiggs are sheld, our herte this Childe doth here: our raggs and Ruffes that are so sheld, beholde her fleshe and here.</p> <p>Our Beasts and Cattel plagued are, all monstrous in their shap: and eke this Childe doth wel declare, the pride we vse of late.</p> <p>Our curled here her here doth pryche: our ruffes and gises gate: our strange attire wherto we reche, our fleshe that please we may.</p> <p>The poet telleth both Daphnes was, transformed into a tree: and so to a Cowdsh passe, a straunge thinge for to see.</p>	<p>But poets tales may passe and go, as trifles and vntrueth: when ruffes of fleshe as I do rolde, shall moue vs vnto ruffe.</p> <p>Deformed are the things we lere, deformed is our hart: the Lord is wroth with all this geere, repent for fere of smarte.</p> <p>Why we the Lord our hart to turn, whilset we haue time and space: lest that our soules in hel do burn, for volding of his grace.</p> <p>And y^e England whose womankind, in ruffes do walke to oft: partwade them til to bere in minde, this Childe with ruffes to soft.</p> <p>In forme as they in nature so, a maid she is in deed: God graunt vs grace how euer we go, so to repent with speed.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">J A S. R P B.</p>
--	---	--

Printed at London by John Alde and Richarde Iohnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioining vnto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie and at the litle shop adioining to the Northwest doore of Paules Church. Anno domini, M. D. LXvi. the .xx. of August

Figure 1. The true discription of a Childe with Ruffes borne in the parish of Michem in the Cou[n]tie of Surrey in the yeere of our Lord. M.D.LXvi. Imprinted at London: By Iohn Alde and Richarde Iohnes and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioining vnto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie and at the litle shop adioining to the Northwest doore of Paules Church. Anno domini. M.D.LXvi. the .xx. of August [1566].

The true description of two monstrous Chyl dren

Borne at Herne in Kent. The. xxvii. daie of Auguste In the yere our of Lorde. M. CCCC. LXV. They were booth women Chyl dren and were Chrystened, and lyued halfe a daie. The one departed afore the other almost an howre.



The Monstrous and bunnatural shapes of these Chyl dren a dyuers lyke brought forth in our Daves (good reader) at not onely for vs to gale and wonder at, as thynge happenng ether by chaunce, or els by naturall reason, as both the old, and our Philosophers also holde now a daves: and without anye farther heede to be had thereto, or els as our common custome is, by & by to iudge god onely offended wth the Parents of the same, for some notozpous, byce of offence repnging alone in them: But they ar lessons & scholynge for vs all (as the word monster sheweth) who dayly offende as greuously as they do, wherby god almyghtye of hys greate mercy and longe sufferance, admonyseth vs by them to amendmente of our lyues, no lesse wycked, yea many times, moze then the parentes of suche mplyormed bee. That this is true they shal wel perceiue, & rightly wey and consider the aunswere of oure Sauour Chyriste unto hys Discyples, askyng hym whether weare greater sinners, the blynde hym selfe, either els hys parentes, that he was so borne: To whom our saupour Chyriste answered, that neyther he, neyther they were faultye therein, but that he was therfore borne blynde, to thend the glory of God myghte be declared on hym, and by hym. The same also appereth in another aunswere made by our saupour Chyriste to them, whyche tolde hym of the Galleyans, whom Pontius Pylate put to death for theyre rebellyon agaynst Augustus theyr Emperoure, wherein he declareth (as also by those. xviii. persons on whom the Towze by Spylsell) that there were as great offenders remainyng alyue, as any of them were. Wherfore he estones admonyshed them to amendment of lyfe in generall: or els by their exampls threathened them with as greuous dystrectyon, as fell vpon any of them. These exampls moued me (good reader) in consideracon

John
v.

Luke
xiii.

of these Daves of our forgetfulnes of Duty, wherin was set so lycht the greate bounty and goodnes of God, calling vs by these and such lyke exampls to repentaunce and correetion of inanners, and not styll to flatter our selues wthlye we iudge others and wyneke at oure owne faultes, to cause these twynnes thus to be portracted. And sure to hym that considereth as he ought to do, the great decay of hartye loue and charytie (among many other wantes that the world is now fallen in,) and had beved and behelde the two babes, the one as it were imbrasyng the other, and leynge mouth to mouth, kysyng (as you wold say, one another:) it myght seme that God by them erther dooth) vpbraide vs, for our faulse dyssemblance and Judas condycyons a countenaunce, in frepndly wordes, couerynge Caynes thoughtes and cogytacions, or els by theyr semblaunte and example, exhoate vs to sincere amptie and true frendshyp, boyde of all counterfeytynge, or els bothe. Neyther let any man thynke thys an obseruacyon ouer curyous, for as much as Chyriste hym selfe hath by chyl dren taught vs, that vnllesse we become lyke Chyl dren, wee shall not come in the kyngdome of heauen. God make vs all chyl dren in thys wyse, and perfect and well lerned men, to note and obserue to what ende he sendeth vs such sightes as these, that hereby (put in remembrance the rather of our duties doth) to hym and our neyghbours) we may attayne to lyie euertlastyng by Chyriste our Lord. To whom with the holy Ghost for thys and all other hys workes, be all maiesty, powre glory and downyngon, now and euer. Amen.

Imprinted at London

in Fletestreat by Thomas Colwell: for Owen Rogers dwelling at S. Sepulchers Church doore.

Figure 2. The true description of two monstrous Chyl dren borne at Herne in Kente. The. xxvii. daie of Auguste In the yere our of Lorde. M. CCCC. LXV. They were booth women Chyl dren 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.

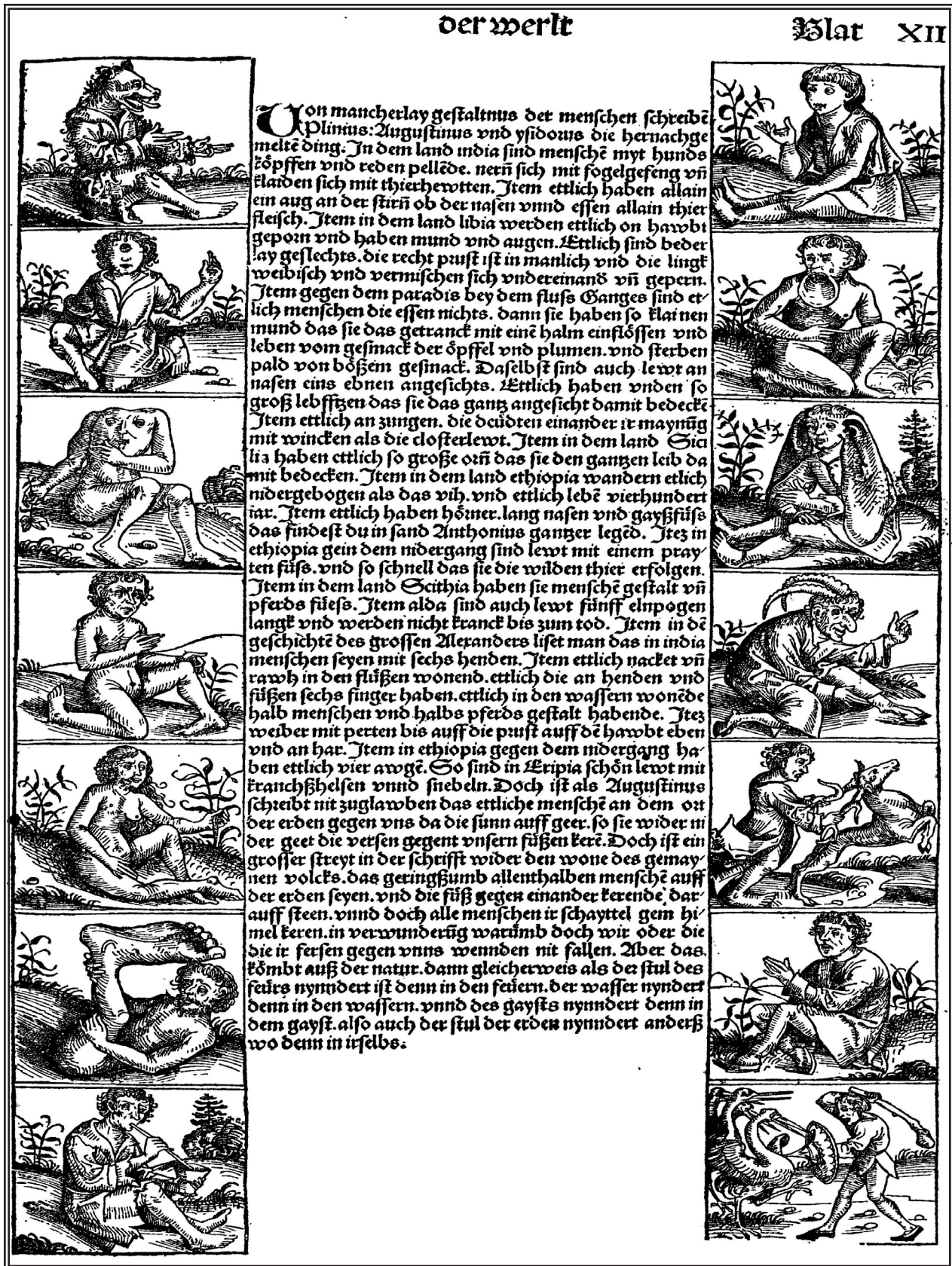


Figure 4. Monstrous races, from Hartmann Schedel, *Register des buchs der Croniken und geschichten* [the *Weltchronik*]. Printed in Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, fol. XIIr.

23

**Here folowith a scorneful Image
 or monsthus shape of a marvelous
 strāge fygure called, Sileni alcibi
 adis presentyng y^e state & condicio
 of this present world / & inspeciall
 of the Spirituallite how farre they
 be from y^e perfite trade and lyfe
 of Criste, wrytē in the laten
 tonge / by that famous
 clarke Erasmus /
 & lately translated in to Englyshe.**



Figure 5. Title page, from Desiderius Erasmus, *Here folowith a scorneful Image or mon-
 strus shape of a marvelous stra[n]ge fygure called, Sileni alcibiadis presentyng y[e] state
 [and] condicio[n] of this present world, [and] inspeciall of the Spirituallite 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*. Imprinted 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.

The voyages and travailes



at their front, and they eate not but flesh and fish all raw. And in another Ile dwell men that have no heads, and their eyes are in their shoulders, and their mouth is on their breast. In another Ile are men that have no head ne eyes, & their mouth is in their shoulders. And in another Ile are men that have flat faces without nose, and without eyes, but they have two.



And

of Sir Iohn Maundeile Knight.


small round holes in stead of eyes, and they have a flat mouth without lips. And in that Ile are men also that have their faces all flat without eyes, without mouth, and without nose, but they have their eyes & their mouth behind on their shoulders.



And in another Ile are foule men that have their lips about their mouth so great, that when they sleepe in the Snow, they cover all their face with their lips. And in another Ile are little men as dwarves, & have no mouth but a little round hole, and throught that hole they eate their meate with a pipe, and they have no tongue, neither do they speak, but they blow and whistle, and so make signes one to another. And in another Ile are men with eares hanging unto their shoulders. And in another Ile are wilde men with hanging eares, and have sete like an horse, and they run fast, and they take wilde beasts and eate them. And in another Ile are men that goe on their hands and sete like beasts, and are all rough, and will leape upon a tree like cats or Apes. And in another Ile are men that goe upon their knees mervailously, and have an every foot big toes. And in another Ile are folke that are both men and women, and have members of both so to engender with, & when they will they be one at one time, and an other another time, and

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

A DECLARATION,^{2c}
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 Pa-
 rish, under his own hand ; and Mrs. *Gattaker* the Mid-wife, and divers
 other eye-witnesses : Whose testimony was brought up by a Mem-
 ber of the Houle 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.



March 3 London, Printed by Jane Coe. 1646. 1645

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 [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.



Figure 8. The Pope-Ass, from Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Deutung der zwo grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg jn Meyssen funden*. Wittenberg: Rhau-Grünenberg, 1523, A1v.



Figure 9. The Monk-Calf, from Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Deutung der zwo gewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom vnd Munchkalbs zu Freyberg jn 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.

The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child / borne
 at Maydstone in Kent, the .xxiiiij. of October. 1568.

1568

As ye this shape abharre
In body for so haues

So seee such Vices farre
As mighte the soule deprave

In Gods power
all flesh stands,
As the clay to the
Morters hands.

To fashion euen
as he wylle,
In good shape
or in pill.

At Maydstone in Kent there was one Marget Here, Daughter to Richard Here of the sayd Towne of Maydstone, who being vnmarried, played the naughty packe, and was gotten with childe, being deliuered of the same childe the .xxiiiij. daye of October last past, in the yeare of our Lord. 1568. at .vij. of the clocke in the after noone of the same day being Sunday. which child being a man child, had first the mouth sitted on the right side like a Libardes mouth, terrible to beholde, the left arme lying vpon the brest, fast thereto ioyned, hauing as it were stumps on the handes, the left leg growing vpward toward the head, and the ryght leg bending toward the left leg, the foote therof growing into the buttocke of the sayd left leg. In the middest of the backe there was a broade lump of flesh in fashion lyke a Rose, in the myddest whereof was a hole, which voyded like an Issue. Thys sayd Chilbe was borne alyue, and lyued .xxiiiij. houres, and then departed this lyfe. which may be a terrour aswell to all such workers of fithynes & iniquity, as to those vngodly liuers. who (if in them any feare of God be) may moue them to repentance and amendeiment of lyfe. which God for Christes sake graunt both to them and vs. Amen. witnesses hereof were these, wulliam Plomer, John Squier Glasier, John Sadler Goldsmith, besides diuers other credible persons both men and women.

A warning to England.

<p>This monstrous shape to thee England Playn shewes thy monstrous vice. If thou ech part wilt vnderstand, And take thereby aduice.</p> <p>for waying first the galopyng mouth, It doth full well declare: What raine and oppression both Is vled wery greedy care.</p> <p>for, for the backe, and gorging paunch, To lyue in wealth and ease: Such toylmen take that none may haunch Their greedy minde, nor please.</p> <p>for in such sort, their mouthes they infect, With lying othes, and flaightes: Blaspheming God, and pynce reiect, As they were brutish beastes.</p>	<p>Their filthy talke, and poysoned speech, Disfigures so the mouth: That some wold thinke ther good y breech Such filthy it breatheth forth.</p> <p>The hands which haue no fingers eight But stumps sit for no ble: Both well set forth the tale plight, Which we in these daies chule.</p> <p>for rich and poore, for age and youth, Ethe one wouid labour fyre: fewe leekes to do the deedes of truth, To helpe others thereby.</p> <p>The leg so clyming to the head, What meaneth it but this: That some do seeke not to be lead, But for to leade amis.</p>	<p>And as this makes it most monstrous, for foote to clyme to head: So thole subiects be most vicious, That refuse to be lead.</p> <p>The hinder part doth shew vs playne, Our cloce and hidden vice, Which doth behind vs run amayne, In hyle and shameful wyse.</p> <p>wherefore to ech in England now, Let this warning them teach: To mend the monstrous lite they shou, Least endless death them reach.</p> <p>Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwelling in little Brittain street without Aldersgate. The .xiiij. of December.</p>
--	--	---

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, dwelling in little Britain street without Aldersgate. the .xxiiiij. of December [1568].

Author Acknowledgments

Kaya Allan Sugerman Kaya was advised and mentored by renowned law professor and director of Malaysia's Center of Excellence for Biodiversity Law, Gurdial Singh Nijar, of the Universiti Malaya. Professor Nijar led the field research required for the creation of this report and continues to develop cutting-edge analysis of the biodiversity situation in Malaysia and other biodiversity rich countries.

Meredith Bradfield I would like to thank Professors Scott Saul and Kent Puckett for their help throughout my work on this thesis. I would also like to thank Professor Celeste Langan for introducing me to Bleak House and inspiring my thesis.

Olivia Bronson First, I would like to acknowledge the professors who inspired and supported this project at its inception, namely Nick Shepherd and Siona O'Connell from the Centre of African Studies at the University of Cape Town. Their respective work and guidance was invaluable in helping me navigate unfamiliar terrain—both conceptually and quite literally, as I traipsed through the city of Cape Town, attempting to grasp its many layers. My second reader, Associate Professor of Gender and Women's Studies Juana Rodriguez, has been an instrumental source of inspiration, expertise, and support upon returning to UC Berkeley's campus. Her work, as well as the Berkeley Gender and Women's Studies Department as a whole, have further catapulted me in a direction I never imagined at the start of my undergraduate career. I have endless gratitude for Rakesh Bhandari. I never would have guessed I would end up working so closely with the professor who first taught me more about Karl Marx than I ever wanted to know, however I have valued his teaching beyond measure. His knowledge that encompasses every nameable topic, his love of ideas, and his commitment to aiding students in their discoveries are unparalleled. I would also like to thank my colleagues Maggie Bronson, Marybeth Campeau, Alana Fichman, Hannah Mintz, Dara Nay, and Amalie Ravn, who's encouragement and support have made this project possible. Thank you for reminding me to live the questions. Lastly, I thank the Miss Gay Western Cape community, who challenged me to my core and compelled me to see things differently. I am honored to contribute to this archive, in the hopes of prompting discussions about the ongoing challenges of queer communities striving to be seen.

Gabriella Libin The author would like to thank Elizabeth Seiver for her mentorship, advice, and guidance during every stage of the study's development and implementation. In addition, I would like to thank Professor Alison Gopnik for her support and invaluable wisdom throughout the past four years as a research assistant and especially as an Honor's Thesis student. Lastly, thank you to Sophie Bridgers, Aly DiRocco, Sierra Eisen, and Sonia Spindt for their assistance in data collection and coding.

William Mumby Thank you to Kurt Spreyer and Rachael Marzion for all their invaluable help guiding my project, offering me advice on social science and water policy methodology, and revising my work. In addition, the assistance of the John Stump and the Sierra Club proved to be vital to integrating myself into the Mt. Laguna community and forging connections with interview and survey subjects. Without the Sierra Club's generous support of my project during the summer of 2012, this project would not have come to fruition. Finally, I profoundly appreciate all the support given to me by my close friends and family throughout this entire process.



Fall 2013 Editing Staff

Editor Bios

Natalie Oveyssi (Editor-in-Chief) is a junior sociology major and Scandinavian studies minor.

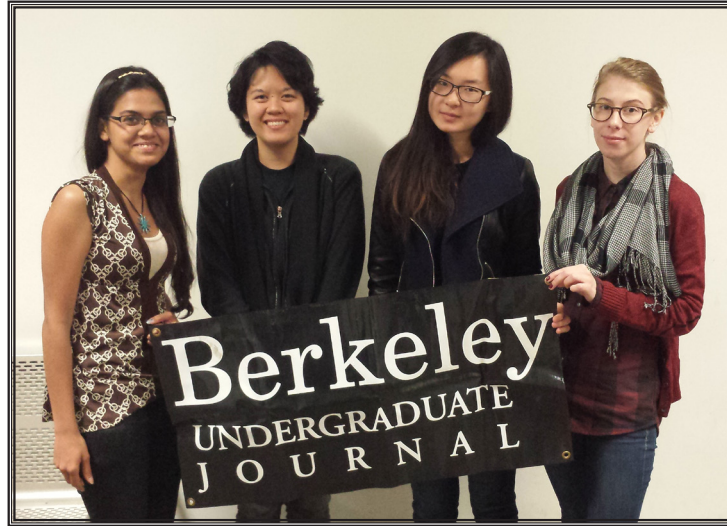
Whatever time not spent studying, she devotes to reading, working on the Berkeley Undergraduate Journal, and watching international crime dramas.

Minerva Ramirez (Design Editor) is a fourth-year English major and Theater, Dance and Performance studies minor with a focus on Technical Theater. She enjoys watching anime, working in theaters, and walking around North Berkeley.

Ashley Gonik (Managing Editor) is a junior, reading and writing her way through a History major and Jewish Studies minor. She enjoys auditing classes outside her field of concentration and watching excessive amounts of British television. When this issue is released, you will be able to find her running around Rome.

Pablo Seward (SURF Liaison) is an undergraduate senior double-majoring in Anthropology and Psychology at UC Berkeley. Born and raised in Chile, for his senior thesis project Pablo is investigating tourism and subjectivity in Easter Island (part of Chile), a project he intends to eventually be the basis for a PhD in Psychological Anthropology. Other than research, Pablo's main interest is writing and editing, for which he will continue being an editor for the Berkeley Undergraduate Journal in Spring 2014.

Mahin Aminian is a senior, majoring in Media Studies/Mass Communication. Aside from her affinity for the media industry, she is passionate about music and singing. She also enjoys reading, writing, exploring, and traveling in her spare time. Mahin's own research interests lie in media, law, and technology.



Fall 2013 Design Staff

Christopher Costes attended Orange Coast college in Costa Mesa for two years before transferring to UC Berkeley. This Fall he will graduate with a degree in English and will then pursue law school after leaving Berkeley. In the time before law school he plans to travel and work as a paralegal.

Caitlin Griffin is a third year at UC Berkeley and she recently transferred from UC Santa Barbara. She is currently an English major. Caitlin enjoys editing, reading, photography, and exploring the Bay Area.

Silver Hannon is a fourth year English major. She enjoys Medieval and Renaissance Studies along with Modernist and Postmodernist literature. Deeply concerned about the repercussions of Climate Change, she is currently working on a fossil fuel divestment campaign and hopes to continue environmental activism after graduating.

Zhijun Hong is a junior at UC Berkeley double majoring in Economics and Statistics. She enjoys exploring into diverse fields of knowledge and connecting with diverse people.

Britney Karim graduated from UC Berkeley this fall with a degree in English. During her time at Berkeley, she has been an editor for BUJ, a writer for The Black Sheep, an editor for College Magazine, and production manager at The Folio. She will be attending law school and is looking forward to the publication of her first book in 2014.

Lisa Lim is a junior at UC Berkeley hoping to double major in American Studies and Society and Environment. She also hopes to complete a minor in Global Poverty and Practice. Lisa loves being a part of Berkeley Undergraduate Journal because she believes in the spirit of independent thought and exchange of knowledge. She hopes to pursue a degree in environmental law and is interested in global water issues.

Julia Lyter is a Sophomore at UC Berkeley majoring in Molecular and Cell Biology and she is originally from the Bay Area. Even though she is a science major, writing has become her second passion at Cal.

Aristotle Magganas is beginning his first year and intends to be a Mathematics-Economics double major. He enjoys readings, talking about politics, listening to music, playing chess, and watching old British tv shows.

Ailsa Mary Menezes is a junior transfer English Major and Creative Writing minor who enjoyed immersing herself in the invigorating experience of creating literary masterpieces from writing to editing to layout. Suffering from an acute reading addiction, a book is never far from her, hopefully to be sated soon with a future career in the publishing industry. She enjoys learning new things and was excited to recently experience working with a manual antique hand-letterpress.

Karineh Minissian, a So Cal native from the city of Pasadena, is pursuing a UC Berkeley degree in Rhetoric with an intended double minor in public policy and creative writing. Outside of the classroom, she spends much of her time working in the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology on campus, playing soccer on intramural teams, exploring the Bay Area, and is active in Cal's Armenian Students' Association.

Fangfei Shu is a freshman pursuing a degree in Political Science and a double major in Economics. She reads Stefan Zweig and Thomas Mann as pastime and is captured by German art and literature. Outside classes, she enjoys exploring boutiques and cafés on Shattuck.

Jason Troia edited for the BUJ during the Fall 2013 semester.

Ramanathan Veerappan is a junior pursuing a degree in Geophysics, with a minor in South Asian Studies. When he is not involved with academics or extracurricular activities, he enjoys both talking about the most random stuff ever and engaging in deep philosophical discussions with his friends.