



OXFORD

BIRTHING THE NATION

Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons

LISA FORMAN CODY

BIRTHING THE NATION

This page intentionally left blank

Birthing the Nation

*Sex, Science, and the Conception of
Eighteenth-Century Britons*

LISA FORMAN CODY

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan South Korea Poland Portugal
Singapore Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States

by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Lisa Cody 2005

The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2005

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

ISBN 0-19-926864-9

3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Typeset by SNP Best-set Typesetter Ltd., Hong Kong
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Biddles Ltd, King's Lynn, Norfolk

For Bill, Thomas, and Nicholas

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

Birthing the Nation: Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons explores what relationships existed between corporate and individual identities in the British Isles from the 1660s to the 1830s by examining the emergence of men, rather than midwives, as pre-eminent authorities over sex and birth.

This book responds to two central topics of interest to late twentieth-century historians: the development of nationalism and the formation of modern ideas about gender and identity. One flank of scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, exemplified by Gerald Newman and Linda Colley, has argued that individuals developed patriotic and passionate senses of national affiliation during the British eighteenth century. Another school, including Thomas Laqueur, Leonore Davidoff, and Catherine Hall, has located the British eighteenth century as the pivotal place where modern views of women and men as ‘incommensurable opposites’ first emerged. What has remained relatively unexplored is how these two modern categories—national identification and fundamental, oppositional sexual difference—emerged in eighteenth-century Britain not as merely coincident processes, but as developments that were constituent of each other.

Birthing the Nation takes on the interrelationship between corporate and individual identities, via reproduction, but it did not originate in this problem. This project began life as a very different doctoral dissertation in the early 1990s that focused broadly on ‘reproduction’ and those specialists who were interested in birth and midwifery in eighteenth-century England. It had little to say about either national affiliations or, actually, sex and gender, and it did not question why men replaced women as midwives among elite Georgians. As I first wrote, and then revised the dissertation, and finally abandoned it to start again in search of an explanation for why female midwives declined in status and authority, I was impressed by how often sources outside medicine and science talked about sex and birth. Newspapers, journals, satirical cartoons, plays, poems, ethnological and linguistic texts, criminal court records, and more were rich with reproductive incidents, especially bizarre, dangerous, strange, and wondrous stories. The episodes that I uncovered from the time I began researching my dissertation, including the story of a woman who claimed she gave birth to seventeen rabbits, cartoons of pregnant men, the search for microscopic humans in either sperm or ova, a Welsh linguist’s comparisons between the alphabet and the genitals, and other unexpected cases, seemed as

fascinating and even puzzling to contemporaries as they were to me. Yet more surprising than the strangeness of the stories themselves was how these many dramatic reproductive episodes unleashed broad anxieties and enthusiasms, from the hatred of Catholics and the French to the dangers of women's imaginations. In fact, as I read these curious, but illuminating stories (and discovered many more than I could use for the book), it was impossible to escape how often sexual and reproductive matters were bound up in the most vital problems of not only gender, sex, and the family, but also political party, religious identity, ethnic differences, and the distinctions between nations. By acknowledging this, the book's central narrative problem—how men replaced midwives as the pre-eminent authorities over sex and reproduction—unexpectedly came to illuminate how the British conceived of themselves and others as individuals and as members of groups.

The strange stories that I found about the ascent of men-midwives, combined with developments generally overlooked by other historians, such as the founding of maternity hospitals and legislation about abortion and out-of-wedlock motherhood, raised important questions about sex, birth, and gender for contemporaries. Could women give birth to non-human creatures? Why do men not give birth? Where and how does life begin? How can society control the reproductive practices of individuals? Were women and men fundamentally different from each other? Could men transcend their own bodies to sympathize with the pains of women? What were the social and political consequences of severing the traditional boundaries between the sexes through the rise of man-midwifery? These were far-ranging issues, even if some of them now strike us as *prima facie* silly. When Britons explored these topics—sometimes satirically, because even though some early Georgians maintained that women could produce rabbits, hardly anyone really believed, for example, that men could give birth—they also constructed a body of natural and modern facts about sex, gender, reproduction, and the family. These natural truths in turn lent themselves to the making of political and cultural claims about phenomena not directly related to birth or midwifery. For instance, commentators used strange and ridiculous reproductive stories that occurred within marginal ethnic communities, the working class, *outré* political camps, homosexuals, and France to represent, via the inversion of the transcendent laws of nature, the inherent absurdity of the other.

Birthing the Nation moves chronologically and episodically, with each chapter analysing both a particular aspect of how male science conquered the sexual-reproductive body (or not) and an interrelated development in the history of British identities. As a result, some of the targets move from chapter to chapter and period to period, and I do not claim that certain themes discussed in any depth in only one chapter—political party or homosexual identity, for

instance—were vital to the British only at the one juncture examined in the book. To analyse every category of identity that emerges in this book across nearly two hundred years would simply be too unwieldy. Instead, I have sought to emphasize the many types of identity that sex and birth illuminated to make a broader argument about the power of the reproductive body to naturalize a range of social, cultural, and political claims. The narrative introduces certain identities—homosexuality, race, the working class, political parties—when they dominated texts related to particular reproductive issues, but other categories, particularly gender, religion, and nationalism, intruded on nearly every contemporary reproductive drama I examine here, and thus are highlighted throughout to help thread chapters together. Gathered together as a whole, the episodes explored in this book illuminate how male science continually altered the meanings of sex and birth in ways that helped the British imagine specific aspects of individual and social identities at home and abroad.

The parameters of this book are framed by the fundamental and dramatic changes of the long eighteenth century in the British Isles and the British Empire. Many of the stories I tell here occurred in England, especially London, which was by far the Empire's largest city, boasting some 500,000 people in 1700 and nearly one million in 1800. This vast city served as the centre of political and economic life for the one in seven eighteenth-century English people who lived in the capital at some point in their lives. Many of the central actors in this book came from and spent time in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, other continental countries, and parts of the British Empire, but I have read them as helping to construct an imagined British community that largely served English interests. They had much to say about other people from the French to the primitive, from the American colonists to the Scots, and while this book would become too vast by discussing the emergent sense of identity and nationalism among these other peoples, it is vital to recall that the subjects of their commentaries constructed alternative, and sometimes resistant, views of themselves.

My debts, financial, intellectual, and personal, extend across many years and I am pleased to acknowledge the support of many institutions and individuals. I am grateful for funding provided by an Isobelle Briggs Alumna Fellowship from Radcliffe College, the Department of History and Graduate Divisions at the University of California, Berkeley, a University of California Regents Traveling Fellowship, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for a two-year postdoctoral fellowship at Stanford, the Henry E. Huntington Library for short-term funding, including Andrew W. Mellon, Helen L. Bing, and Mayers fellowships, the Clark Library at UCLA for a short-term fellowship, the Arnold L. and Lois S. Graves Foundation Fellowship, the Dean's Office and the Benjamin

Gould Center for the Humanities at Claremont McKenna College for several summer grants, the American Historical Association for a Bernadote E. Schmitt grant used for a research trip to France, and Jonathan Petropoulos, director of the Benjamin Z. Gould Center, for subvention funds used to help cover the costs of illustrations in this project. I thank the staff and archivists who helped me with images, and in some cases lowered the customary fees for the rights to reproduce these items, at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University; the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings; the British Library; the Wellcome Library, London; the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London; the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, University of California, Los Angeles; the Francis A. Countway Medical Library at Harvard Medical School; the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation in Houston, Texas; and most especially the Huntington Library, especially Alan Jutzi, for his assistance with the print collection.

I wish to thank Maxine Mark, Steve Estes, Pam Uhls, and especially Kent Oglesby for inspiring my early academic interests, Bill Timpson for taking a chance on me, and Becky Avery, Karen Dahl, Ken Oshima, and Colleen She Kirtland for their dear friendships. I thank John Brewer, Ui-Phaek Chea, Catherine Clinton, Judy Coffin, and especially Jane Hunter for their encouragement when I was an undergraduate at Harvard, and the late Michèle Bacabe, Karen Bergreen, Jay Dickson, Dave Epstein, Bronwen Evans Di Antonio, Elizabeth Garrigue, Ken Oshima, Augie Paculdar, and Katrina Schwartz for their friendship in college. At Berkeley, I benefited enormously from working with Susanna Barrows, Gene Brucker, John Gillis, Roger Hahn, Dick Herr, Gene Irschick, the late Jim Kettner, Ira Lapidus, Tom Laqueur, David Lieberman, Tom Metcalf, Mary Ryan, James Turner, and at the University of California, San Francisco, Guenter Risse and the late Jack Pressman. For their encouragement and help in conceiving the first version of this project I thank David Brewer, Leif Brown, Daniel Brownstein, Alice Bullard, Dave Epstein, Oz Frankel, Bob Geraci, Sue Grayzel, Doug Haynes, Krystyna von Henneberg, Peter Hoffenberg, Gerd Horten, Nasser Hussain, Megan Korman, David Kuchta, Cathy Kudlick, Mabel Lee, Patricia Lin, Doug and Meredith Mackaman, Robert Martensen MD, Greg Moynahan, Katharine Norris, Tracy Quigley, Dan Rosenberg, Vanessa Schwartz, Jane Stahlhut, Simon Stern, Jeff Swartz, and my colleagues at the 'Med Heads', the Bay Area History of Medicine Group. Amy Burke, Jane Shaw, Lisa Rubens, Kathleen Sandidge, Kim Friedlander, Bronwen Evans Di Antonio, Eric Chandler, Joe Zizek, Ken Oshima, Charlotte Eyerman, Page Herrlinger, and Paul Friedland gave me countless forms of support, personal and intellectual, and I thank them all for helping to make my years in the Bay Area happy ones. My debts to my three dissertation advisers, Tom Laqueur, Susanna Barrows, and David Lieberman, are

enormous. Their research, originality, and seemingly endless wells of generosity to generations of students continue to inspire me many years later, and it is almost needless to say this project could not have been conceived without them.

While at Stanford as a Mellon postdoctoral fellow in 1993–5, I was warmly welcomed by Jordanna Bailkin, Philippe Buc, Gabriel Hecht, Lou Roberts, Paul Robinson, Paul Seaver, Bob Shoemaker, Laura Smoller, and most especially John Bender, John Gillis, Colin Jones, Jo McDonagh, Katherine ‘Kit’ Royer MD, Peter Stansky, Ardel Thomas, and Aviva Tuffield. I also owe a particular thanks to Colleen She Kirtland and Joe and Lucy She for their support and friendship during this period.

From the very beginning, this project has been shaped by travel and research abroad. I especially thank Tim Hitchcock, who has generously shared his best and most obscure finds in the archives, and Jane Shaw whose infectious good humour and great generosity in welcoming me into her Oxford communities year after year have helped to make every one of my many visits to England a pleasure. Many thanks are due to Sue Grayzel, Joe Ward, Muriel McClendon, Meg Arnot, Sal Sisson, David Game, Aviva Tuffield, and Rob Rodgers for their friendship and hospitality during several of my trips to Britain.

In Los Angeles, many thanks to my colleagues in the history department at Claremont McKenna College: Carla Bittel, Eric Goldberg, Meg Jacobs, Amelia Lyons, Donal O’Sullivan, Jonathan Petropoulos, Gaines Post, Arthur Rosenbaum, Diana Selig, Theresa Smith, and David Yoo, with a special thanks to Diana and Jonathan for their comments on portions of this manuscript in embryo and to Amelia for compiling the index and helping to read the proofs. Outside the department, I thank especially Audrey Bilger, Cynthia Humes, Evie Lazzarino, Susan Murphy, and the women’s studies communities at the Claremont colleges. I am deeply grateful to Pamela Smith and Peggy Waller at Pomona College for reading my work and cheering me on, and to Andrew Aisenberg and his colleagues in the Scripps Faculty Research Seminar, who read Chapter 4. I thank Gindi Guimond, Linda Tuthill, Blenda Long, Gary Pierce, Jason Stiffler, and Mike Malsed, who have generously given their time and skills. I also thank my undergraduate and graduate research assistants, including Chrissie Crockett, Heath Hewitt, who checked sources for me in Paris and Reims, Rosemary Clark and Tridivesh Kidambi for work on a database about eighteenth-century midwives and mothers, and especially Lydia Lee, who helped to compile a detailed database about eighteenth-century men-midwives. Hal Barron, Carla Bittel, Janet Brodie, the late Clark Davis, Charlotte Eyerman, Lori Ann Ferrell, Judith Jackson Fossett, Cheryl Koos, Stu McConnell, Peter Mancall, Tillman Nechtman, John Poynter, and Shelley Wolfe, have all helped create a convivial, academic atmosphere in southern California.

Countless librarians and archivists have made this research possible. For their assistance, patience, and good cheer, I thank the staff at the British Library, the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum; the London Metropolitan Archives; the local studies libraries at Holborn and Southwark; the Westminster City Archives; the Guildhall, London; the Public Record Office, Kew; the Glasgow University Library; the John Rylands Library in Manchester; the Wellcome Library, London; the Royal College of Physicians, London; the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London; the Thomas Coram Foundation Museum, especially Mrs Jeanette Beer; and the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, particularly Pat Want, who allowed me access to the collections even while the library was under renovation. In Paris I thank the staff at the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Archives Nationales; and the Archives de l'Assistance Publique-Hôpitaux de Paris. In the USA, I thank the staffs at the Newberry Library in Chicago; Houghton and Francis A. Countway Libraries at Harvard; the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda; Lane Medical Library and the University Research Library at Stanford; the Bancroft Library, Berkeley; the Clark Library and the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, UCLA; and Roy Ritchie and the marvellous staff and archivists at the Huntington Library, most especially Alan Jutzi, Ann Mar, and Mona Shulman.

I have presented portions of this project at several conferences, seminars, and lectures, and appreciate the helpful responses received at the various meetings of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Charleston, Tucson, Austin, and Milwaukee; the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Los Angeles; the Berkshires Conference on Women in Rochester; the North American Conference on British Studies in Pasadena and Portland; the Group for Early Modern Studies in Dallas; St Hilda's, Oxford; the University of Warwick; Stanford University; the Ohio University; the University of Southern California; the West Coast History of Medicine Conference; the History Department at the Claremont Graduate University; and the Faculty Research Seminar at Scripps College. I am grateful to Jane Shaw, David Cressy, Vanessa Schwartz, Pamela Smith, Jeff Merrick, Dror Wahrman, and the late Jack Pressman for extending invitations to speak, and for their very helpful comments alongside those of Linda Pollock, David Harley, Philippa Levine, Elinor Accampo, Lynn Hunt, Gary Kates, Jeff Ravel, Laura Gowing, Mary Fissell, and Hilary Marland. From the wider republic of letters, I thank David Brewer, Eric Chandler, Betsy Colwill, Brian Cowan, Nina Gelbart, Lesley Hall, Julie Hayes, Tim Hitchcock, Meg Jacobs, Gary Kates, Steve Pincus, Jeff Ravel, Jane Shaw, Simon Stern, Lianne McTavish, and Dror Wahrman for reading portions of this project and related ones. I thank Johns Hopkins Press and the editors at *Eighteenth-Century Studies* for allowing me to use excerpts

from 'The Politics of Reproduction: From Midwives' Alternative Public Sphere to the Public Spectacle of Man-Midwifery' (1999) throughout the book; Indiana University Press and the editors of the *Journal of Women's History* for permitting me to use portions from 'The Politics of Illegitimacy in an Age of Reform: Women, Reproduction, and Political Economy in England's New Poor Law of 1834' (2000) in Chapter 9; Johns Hopkins Press and the editors, especially Susan Abrams, of the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* for granting me permission to use a brief excerpt from 'Living and Dying in London's Eighteenth-Century Lying-in Hospitals' (2004) in Chapter 6.

Once I made the risky decision to abandon a revised dissertation several years after clocks began to tick, I found myself writing and thinking about a new book often in isolation. It was the encouragement and kindness of a handful of colleagues and friends which helped me to carry on with this book, rather than something safer: many thanks here to Bill Forman, Doug Northrop, Michelle McClelland, Choi Chatterjee, Cheryl Koos, Theresa Smith, Amy Lyford, Andrés Zervigón, Katharine Norris, Laura Nasrallah, and especially to Seth Rockman for encouraging me to use the title and pursue the connection between politics and birth, and to Charlotte Eyerman for her boundless enthusiasm and support. Special thanks are due to Carla Bittel, Bill Forman, Tillman Nechtman, and Diana Selig for their extremely helpful suggestions on Chapter 8. I am extraordinarily appreciative of the work of the sixteen outside scholars who read and encouraged the penultimate draft of this book in my tenure review. I also thank the readers at Oxford University Press, including especially Steve Pincus and Anna Clark, for perceptive advice, encouragement, and enthusiasm. Along the way, my debt of gratitude is great to Colleen She Kirtland, who was the first to read a very long draft and to insist that others might want to read this. Theresa Smith has consistently offered tough, but encouraging criticism from the very beginning and helped me to imagine the audience for this project. Andrés Zervigón and Amy Lyford have generously read and nurtured this project for over five years; their art historical expertise and critical acumen have been instrumental, and my debt to them is enormous. Meg Jacobs's advocacy, incisive comments, inspiring scholarship, and friendship over several years have been of immeasurable value. She read all of the nearly final draft under great duress, but asked all of the right questions to inspire me to make another round of revisions. It is also ultimately thanks to Meg that Steve Pincus read this work and put it in good hands at Oxford University Press. At Oxford University Press, I thank Ruth Parr, Anne Gelling, Louisa Lapworth, Jackie Pritchard, and Kay Rogers for their excellent advice and patience.

Most of all I am grateful for the support of my family, and my children's caretakers. Writing this book would have been impossible without the care and

warmth that Cindy Lam and Linda Drewello have given our family. My parents Charlene and Bruce Cody have always been unflinching in their enthusiasm and support in countless ways. Their love of Britain and the visual arts provided the very foundation for this project, long before I ever thought I would become a historian. My sister Sara Cody not only helped with the boys and offered excellent editorial advice and assistance with the bibliography; her critical engagement has long provided an analytical model for me. Bill Forman's love and kindness have given me the confidence and freedom to conceive this project anew. His brilliance as a writer and a lawyer have been inspirational; his perceptive criticisms and unexpected questions have improved this text; his willingness to make room in his career to spend more time with our children while I wrote this book has been an ongoing act of generosity to me and a precious gift for our sons Thomas and Nicholas. I began this book when I was pregnant with the first, and went into labour with the second soon after sending the first draft to Oxford. Both boys have never lived a moment without their mother obsessing about the history of reproduction, but they have fundamentally altered my personal and historical sense of not only birth, but also human bonding. To them and their father, this book is dedicated with love.

L. F. C.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xvii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xxi
1. Introduction	1
Body Politics and the History of Rationality	5
Reproductive Relations and the Problem of Man-Midwifery	9
New Eighteenth-Century Gender Relations	12
Science, Sex, and Reproduction	15
Reproducing and Representing Differences	23
2. Mothers, Midwives, and Mysteries	31
Women's Ways of Knowing	31
Reproductive Complications	39
Men's Labour	41
3. Abortions, Witches, and Catholics: Reproduction and Revolution	46
A Seventeenth-Century Primer	48
La Voisin and the Affair of Poisons	52
Crimes against the Community	57
The Fate of Catholic Midwife Elizabeth Cellier in Restoration London	61
Cellier's Return	69
The Warming-Pan Scandal of 1688 and Women's Reproductive Authority	71
4. 'Is not your Lordship with child too?': Pregnant Fathers and Fathers of Science	84
Patriarchal Dramas	87
Effeminate Male Parturition	92
Reproducing Knowledge and Nation at London's Royal Society	94
Minerva: Men's Pregnant Musings	98
Sperm Pregnant with Life	106
Seeing is Believing	108
Satirizing Science as Sex	113
5. Imagining Mothers	120
Monstrous Bodies Abroad and at Home: The Rabbit-Breeder's Tale	123
Feeling Is Truth	132
Inventing the Primitive	135
Revivifying Maternal Imagination and the Construction of Elite Femininity	144

6. Breeding Scottish Obstetrics in Dr Smellie's London	152
Scots and the Teaching of Midwifery	155
Learning to Become a Man-Midwife	165
Practising the Art of Midwifery on the Bodies of the Poor	172
Lying-in Hospitals and the Benevolent Obstetrician	176
Midwives versus Men	183
Dress, Demeanour, and Salving Disagreements	186
Winning over the Wealthy	190
7. Revolutionary Bodies in the Britain of George III	198
Worlds Turned Upside Down	200
Midwifery as Political Metaphor	210
The Politics of the Georgian Court	214
Able Doctors and Pregnant Kings in the Age of Revolution	226
8. Sex, Science, and Race	237
Reproducing Social Relations	240
Mothers and Men-Midwives in Nature	245
Charles White and Ordering the Human Species	250
Developmental Models	258
Reorganizing Knowledge and the Profession	263
9. The State Takes Charge: Conceived, Consummated, Counted	269
Reproduction and the Law	271
Defining the Beginning of Life	276
Illegitimacy and Industry	283
The New Population Theory and the Out-casting of Illegitimacy	285
10. Epilogue	293
<i>Bibliography</i>	315
<i>Index</i>	337

List of Figures

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1.1. <i>The Happy Deliverance</i> . c.1760. © The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, London. | 2 |
| 1.2. M. A. Levret, <i>Développement du mécanisme de la grossesse</i> . By permission of the Wellcome Library, London. | 17 |
| 1.3. William Hogarth, <i>Arms of the Foundling Hospital; Several Children of the Foundling Hospital</i> . 1809. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 19 |
| 1.4. A. Benoist, after Joseph Highmore, <i>Pamela Reading Nursery Rhymes</i> . 1745. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 25 |
| 1.5. <i>The Acceptable Fast: Or Britannia's Maternal Call to her Children</i> . 1756. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 26 |
| 1.6. William Hogarth, <i>Gin Lane</i> . 1751. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 28 |
| 1.7. James Gillray, <i>Un petit souper a la Parisienne</i> . 1792. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 29 |
| 2.1. Frontispiece from Jane Sharp, <i>The Midwives Book</i> , 4th edn. (1724). By permission of the Wellcome Library, London. | 38 |
| 3.1. Illustration taken from Antoine Coypel, <i>Le Portrait de la Voisin</i> . 1680. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (As reprinted in G.-J. Witkowski, <i>Accoucheurs et sages-femmes célèbres: esquisses biographiques</i> (Paris, 1891), 39. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.) | 58 |
| 3.2. <i>The Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE Cardinalls Jesuits Fryers &c: through the City of London November the 17th</i> . 1680. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 68 |
| 3.3. <i>De genaamde Prins van wallis gebooren. The Pretended Prince of Wales Born</i> . 1688. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 74 |
| 3.4. Map of St James's Palace attached to <i>A Full Answer to the Depositions . . . Concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales</i> (1689). By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 75 |
| 3.5. <i>L'Europe allarmée pour le fils d'un meunier</i> . 1688. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. | 78 |
| 3.6. F. Chereau, after Alexis Simeon Belle, <i>Portrait of Bonnie Prince Charlie, the 'Young Pretender'</i> . 1745. © The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, London. | 81 |

- 4.1. *Arlequin deodat, et Pamirge hypochondriaques*. 1688. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 86
- 4.2. Frontispiece from William Harvey, *Exercitationes de generatione animalium* (1651). By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 101
- 4.3. Theodore Kerkring's dissections of foetuses and ova, from *Philosophical Transactions* (1672). Courtesy of the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, University of California, Los Angeles. 103
- 4.4. Illustration from John Case, *The Angelical Guide* (1697), fold-out plate facing 55. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 105
- 4.5. Leeuwenhoek's depiction of spermatozoa, from *Philosophical Transactions* (1679). Courtesy of the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, University of California, Los Angeles. 107
- 4.6. Illustrations accompanying Leeuwenhoek's reports in *Philosophical Transactions* (1699). By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 110
- 5.1. William Hogarth, *Cunicularii or the Wise Men of Godliman in Consultation*. 1726. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 141
- 5.2. William Hogarth, *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism. A Medley*. 1762. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 143
- 6.1. Thomas Rowlandson, *The Village Doctor*. 1774. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 164
- 6.2. George Stubbs, plate 10 from John Burton, *An Essay towards a Complete New System of Midwifery* (1751). Courtesy of the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, University of California, Los Angeles. 168
- 6.3. Jan van Rymdsdyk, table 13 from Smellie's *Anatomical Tables* (1754). Courtesy of the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, University of California, Los Angeles. 169
- 6.4. Plate 62, accompanying the article 'Midwifery', from *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (1771). By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 170
- 6.5. Frontispiece to *Christian Sympathy: A Sermon . . . for the City of London Lying-in Hospital* (1757). By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 179

- 6.6. Frontispiece to [Philip Thicknesse], *Man-Midwifery Analysed*, 2nd edn. (1765). By permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London. 182
- 6.7. P. A. Martini, after J. M. Moreau the younger, *Déclaration de la grossesse*. 1776. Author's collection. 194
- 7.1. S. W. Fores, *A Man = Mid = Wife*. 1793. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 206
- 7.2. S. Hooper, *The Man-Midwife, or Female Delicacy after Marriage: Addressed to Husbands*. 1773. By permission of the Wellcome Library, London. 208
- 7.3. From *Trials for Adultery; or, the History of Divorces. Being Select Trials at Doctors Commons* (1779–81), vol. vii, trial no. 70. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 209
- 7.4. Artist unknown, *The Scotch Cradle, or the Caledonian Nurse*. 1762. Image no. 42 of the illustrations to *The Second Volume of the British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 762.0.20. 218
- 7.5. Artist unknown, *The St—te Quack*. 1762. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 762.9.0.10. 219
- 7.6. *The Evacuations. Or an Emetic for Old England Glorys*. 1762. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 221
- 7.7. Artist unknown, *The Siege of Warwick-Castle; or the Battle between the Fellows and Licentiates*. From the *Oxford Magazine*, Aug. 1768. Courtesy of The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 768.8.0.1. 223
- 7.8. *An Exact Representation of the Customs of the Court of Blunderpole*. 1766. © The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, London. 225
- 7.9. *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*. 1774. From the *London Magazine*. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 774.4.0.1. 228
- 7.10. *Farmer George Deliver'd of a most Greivous S—h, with the Cruelty of the GOSSOPS*. 1787. Author's collection. 231
- 7.11. *Les Couches de Mr. Target*. 1793. By permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 233
- 7.12. *The Divertions of Purley*. 1797. By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 234
- 7.13. [David Hess], *De Nationale Conventie in Barensnood van eene Constitutie*, plate 19 of *Hollandia regenerata* (1796). By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. 235
- 8.1. Jan van Rymdsdyck, plate 2 from Thomas Denman, *Collection of Engravings* (1787). Courtesy of the History & Special Collections Division, Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library, University of California, Los Angeles. 246