

IRISH CONFERENCE
of HISTORIANS
XXXII



SEX
SEXUALITY
& REPRODUCTION
.....
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

A B S T R A C T S



UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE CORK

THURSDAY 26TH
TO SATURDAY 28TH

APRIL
2018

Registration: www.uccconferencing.ie/product/32nd-irish-conference-of-historians-26-28-april-2018/

KEYNOTE LECTURES

(open to the public)

Thursday 11.10 am

KANE G18

Ruth Mazo Karras

The Myth of Masculine Impunity:

male adultery and repentance in the Middle Ages

It is a truism that women in the Middle Ages were punished more for sexual misbehaviour than were men. That does not mean that men could behave entirely as they wished. Medieval sources give us numerous examples of men's nonmarital or heterosexual behaviour being tolerated—generally, of course, with women of lower and more vulnerable social standing. Adultery seems to be the exception, where men were punished as much or more than women. But legal records indicate that men were punished for adultery mainly when they had sex with married women—not when they violated their own marriage vows, either with men or with women. The paper puts these legal understandings in context by examining the male Biblical figures who were commonly used for preaching about sexual behaviour and repentance to medieval people, and the possibility that men's infractions could be erased by penance.

Ruth Mazo Karras is Distinguished Teaching Professor of History at the University of Minnesota. She is the author of five books on various aspects of medieval social and cultural history, gender, and sexuality, including Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England (1996) and Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in Medieval Europe (2012).

Thursday 5.30 pm

BOOLE 1

Sheila Rowbotham

William Bailie: from a Belfast basket workshop to Boston free-lovers in the 1880s and 1890s

William Bailie - secularist, socialist and eventually anarchist - migrated to Boston from Belfast via Manchester. Influenced by the Individualist Anarchism of the journal *Liberty*, he became friendly with Josephine and Flora Tilton, campaigners for birth control. Then with his love, the advanced woman Helena Born, Bailie was in the Comradeship of Free Socialists. Initiated by the grassroots intellectual J. William Lloyd, the group propounded free love, women's equality and self-ownership, along with communal living. Though part of North America's radical nineteenth-century heritage, these were all regarded as dangerous views to advocate in the late 1890s.

Sheila Rowbotham is one of the world's leading socialist-feminist historians. She has published dozens of books on feminist and socialist themes, from Women's Liberation and the New Politics (1969) to the recent Rebel Crossings: New Women, Free Lovers, and Radicals in Britain and the United States (2016).

Friday 11.35 am

BOOLE 1

Michael G. Cronin

Sex, class and hegemony in twentieth-century Ireland

In the decades after independence the Irish Free State implanted 'public morality' at the centre of social policy. Thus, an ideology that placed an oppressive emphasis on controlling the body, the emotions and all expressions of human sexual needs and pleasures was given statutory force. The effects of this regulation were felt throughout the society. But, as we are now slowly learning, it fell most brutally on those working-class women and children incarcerated and exploited in church-run but state-funded institutions. As Irish society continues to confront the painful legacy of those decades, how are we to interpret the meaning and force 'public morality' had then? What ideological logic and historical dynamics underpinned it? In short, how are we to understand our past historically and politically such that we can grasp differences as well as continuities between structures of oppression then and now?

Michael G. Cronin is a Lecturer in English at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. He is the author of Impure Thoughts: sexuality, Catholicism and literature in twentieth-century Ireland (2012) and is currently working on a project provisionally entitled 'Revolutionary Bodies: homoeroticism and the political imagination in Irish writing'.

Saturday, 12 noon

BOOLE 1

Jeffrey Weeks

Doing Sexual History

For most of the 20th century histories of sexuality were relatively rare, and early sexual historians remained marginal to the practice of history as a profession, rarely touching the mainstream. When a new generation in the 1970s began challenging both the hegemony of sexology and the practice of history in the name of alternative theories and knowledge, under the influence of new social movements and identities, they too at first experienced an academic coolness, especially in history departments. Much has changed. Writing about sexuality has become a vital part of the historical endeavour, whilst also feeding into and being fertilised by a range of other disciplines, from sociology, social anthropology, literature, philosophy, politics, legal studies and cultural geography, to more recent hybrids such as cultural, postcolonial, gender, critical race, LGBT and queer studies. But in all this effort, amongst all the sound and fury, there is a nagging question: what is a history of sexuality actually a history of? Sexual history sometimes feels like a feverish activity without a clear or fixed referent. There are histories of identities, gendered sexualities, reproductive practices, national, global, geographical, generational, classed, faith-based and racialised sexualities, community histories and histories of diverse sexual practices, historical accounts of asexuality, of emotions, sexual concepts and sexology, and explorations of the very idea of sexuality. It is now impossible to cover this vast and ever-growing continent of knowledge in a single 'history of sexuality'. In this paper I focus on the ways in which an emerging and developing sexual history has created the possibility of thinking of the erotic in new ways, putting sexual concepts, beliefs and practices into more carefully analysed historical contexts. My purpose is to demonstrate the

significance of a *critical* sexual history which avoids the naturalism/ essentialism/ biological determinism which has bedevilled efforts to understand the sexual past and present, and opens the ways to an understanding of the histories of sexualities as fundamentally social and human, that is, fully historical. Through this we can, I suggest, encourage a creative and meaningful dialogue between past and present, to see the sexual past as still living with us, and the sexual present as historical.

Jeffrey Weeks is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at London South Bank University and a leading pioneer of sexual history. The 40th anniversary revised edition of his first book, Coming Out, a history of LGBT movements and identities since the 19th century, was published in 2016, and the fourth edition of his pioneering book, Sex, Politics and Society: the Regulation of Sexuality since 1800, was published in 2017. His latest monograph, What is Sexual History? was published by Polity in 2016.

PANELS

Thursday 9.15 – 11.00 am

Religion and repression: Ulster, Pakistan and Poland

KANE G18

Leanne Calvert (University of Hertfordshire)

'No member pertaining to his body was ever in her': policing male sexual behaviour in the Ulster Presbyterian community, 1750-1830

On 27 February 1785, the Presbyterian Kirk-session of Cahans met to discuss a 'fama clamosa' that had spread throughout the community. According to the rumour-mill, two of the community's members, Agnes Connolly and Joseph Young (who was also an elder), were spotted engaging in 'improper conduct' on the road to Monaghan two weeks previously. Under questioning, the pair confessed that they were intoxicated at the time and that Joseph had touched the 'bare skin' of Agnes's hands, neck and breasts. Both denied that their activities had progressed any further and, in an effort to placate the Session, Joseph offered to swear an oath that 'no member pertaining to his body was ever in her'. Weighing up the seriousness of the offence, the Session agreed to rebuke Joseph in public and to suspend him from office for one month. Agnes was rebuked in private. The importance laid upon the act of penetration in this case raises an interesting set of questions about the policing of sex in general and, more specifically, that of male sexuality. Histories of sex and sexuality have tended to focus on the regulation of female sexual behaviour, particularly in relation to illegitimacy. This is only part of the story. The study of men's sexuality as a problematic and disruptive force is emerging as a new area of scholarly focus among European historians. However, such approaches have yet to be applied extensively to Irish historical research. Drawing on discipline cases recorded in Ulster Presbyterian church courts, this paper will explore what the regulation of men's sexual behaviour can tell us about sex and sexuality in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland. Questions to be considered include: In what ways was men's sexuality policed in the church court? Given the importance placed on penetration in marking activities as 'improper', was men's sexuality just as problematic as that of women? Moreover, does the emphasis on penetrative sexual behaviour suggest that we need to rework our understanding of the sexual double standard?

Leanne Calvert is a Research Fellow in Intangible Cultural Heritage in the History Group at the University of Hertfordshire. She is a historian of women, gender and the family, and has published in Analecta Hibernica, Women's History Review and the Journal of Family History.

Amanullah De Sondy (University College Cork)

Na Dupatta Sar Pe, Na Paon Mein Jhoti, Bhagi Baar ('No veil on my head, No shoes on my feet - I ran outside!'): Madam Noor Jehan of Pakistan's Challenge to Muscular Islam

Noor Jehan (1926-2000) is considered to be one of the most prolific and widely known iconic figures in Pakistani music. Known for her flamboyant style and queer expression, she mesmerized her audience. Hailing from the lowest of social classes, a revolutionary figure who established herself during the early years of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This paper, through archival translations of Urdu/Punjabi interviews and Urdu/English biographies/essays, explores the way in which Noor Jehan the person and the voice challenged this emergent muscular Pakistani Islam through her challenge to patriarchal norms, with special focus on elite society and norms of Islamic maternalism. Noor Jehan's popularity, success

and legacy came from the act of disruption and dysfunction which spoke to parts of society that were suffering in the hands of those who attempted to uphold a limited understanding of Islam to the detriment of the most vulnerable. Noor Jehan was known for her witty and often foul-mouthed outbursts that further lead us to conclude that it was this anarchistic style that disrupted the mission of those who wanted neat structures to society, especially with regard to gender and sexuality.

Amanullah De Soudy is a Senior Lecturer in Contemporary Islam and Acting Head of School, Asian Studies at University College Cork. His research connects the study of Islam to the themes of gender, ethnicity, race and pluralism. He is the author of The Crisis of Islamic Masculinities (2014).

Agnieszka Laddach (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)

A social image versus historical sources: the case of Fr. Prof. Janusz Stanisław Pasierb, Poland

Fr. Prof. Janusz Stanisław Pasierb (1929-93) - theologian, art critic and cultural theoretician - was a major figure in Polish public life. During my PhD research, I discovered that he was under surveillance by the Communist government militia in the 1960s. The aim of my paper is to analyse militia documents about Pasierb's sexual orientation. As I discovered, the intention of the militia was to force him to cooperate with them through blackmail, using information about his homosexual activities. My findings are absolutely inconsistent with the social image of Pasierb in Poland as a Catholic and cultural icon. This paper reflects on whether I should I write about Pasierb's possible homosexuality in my PhD dissertation. The issues that may arise include: 1) possible accusations of defamation; 2) the problem of using uncertain source material; 3) breaking a taboo: homosexuality in the Polish Catholic Church in the second half of the twentieth century; 4) the impact on the LGBTIQ community in Poland (especially LGBTIQ persons who seek to play roles in the Church).

Agnieszka Laddach is a PhD student in the Faculty of History at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland. Her research is focused on the subject of this paper, Janusz Stanisław Pasierb. She has published over a dozen articles in Polish academic journals.

Marital matters: nuns, soldiers and gentry

ORB G27

Jenny Coughlan (Independent)

Comparing Bede and Gregory of Tours on Issues Relating to Married Women Entering the Religious Life in the Early Middle Ages: the Case of Queens Æthelthryth and Radegund

Bede's account of the virginal seventh-century Anglo-Saxon saint and ex-queen Æthelthryth has been viewed by some scholars as representative of medieval churchmen's obsession with the female body as an object of sin and desire. This view derives in part from the emphasis Bede placed on Æthelthryth's virginity and the posthumous miracle of her bodily incorruption in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c. 735). This paper argues that Bede's focus on Æthelthryth's virginity was not motivated by an obsession with the female body, but by two important agendas: Bede had to explain how and why Æthelthryth abandoned her royal marriage, and he also wanted to encourage contemporary moral reform. To contextualise Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, this paper compares with Gregory of Tours's late sixth century text, the *Decem Libri Historiarum* (c. 594). Gregory also described women who left their marriages for the religious life, including the ex-queen and saint Radegund, used here as a case study comparison with Bede's account of Æthelthryth. As Christian writers, Bede and Gregory considered marriage to be an indissoluble union; they therefore had to address the issue, especially since both

authors also related that some married women abandoned their secular lives only under the guise of religious devotion. This paper argues that the portrayals of Æthelthryth and Rade Gund were written in response to these issues and with the intention of contemporary reform.

Jenny Coughlan completed her PhD, 'Saints and scandals: representations of elite women in the writings of Bede and Gregory of Tours', at the School of History, University College Cork in 2016.

Olivia Martin (NUI Galway)

'You and I were never shy! We did know each other so well beforehand': evolving marital relationships in lesser-gentry Connaught families, 1754-1904'

This paper will deal with the theme of marriage, and marital relationships, in rural west of Ireland, from mid-eighteenth into the early twentieth century. It will present evidence of the acceptance of parental selection of a marital spouse. Likewise, it will show resolution to self-determination during the earlier period, when the marriage portion was dependent on parental consent, or alternatively, on the unanimous consent of executors of a deceased father or grandfather's will. It will also explore the contrasting arrangements in the later nineteenth century, when parental control had lessened, and the choice of marriage partners had widened beyond the confines of the family's familiar networks. Drawing on the evidence within the extant correspondence of these Protestant and Catholic lesser-gentry women and men, it will explore the evolution in the emotive language used, and in the expressions of sentiment, as well as degree of very personal content recorded. Both genders have left data indicating a romantic attitude to marriage, and also a wish for their loved ones to find their own 'amiable bosom-friend'. It will show some evidence too of attitudes to procreation within a small selection of the communication at a time when infant mortality had decreased, and control of numbers of progeny was a pertinent subject.

Olivia Martin is a PhD student in History at NUI Galway. The working title of her thesis is 'Family Life in the lesser spotted gentry, Connaught: 1750-1914'.

Aoife Bhreathnach (Trinity College, Dublin)

'Making the army their home': marriage in nineteenth-century Irish garrison towns

Women from garrison towns and their hinterlands were familiar with barrack life and understood the disadvantages of military service, but married soldiers regardless. In rational terms, soldiers were not attractive marriage material. They were poorly paid and bound to their employer by long contracts that could not be terminated without financial or disciplinary penalties. 'Going for a soldier' was held in contempt, yet women married these men without the advantages of an officially approved marriage 'on the strength'. Those married 'off the strength' were denied barrack accommodation and rations, with no entitlement to travel at the army's expense when the regiment moved quarters. Such marriages were risky and, to official commentators, inexplicable. Using records from a selection of garrison towns, I will demonstrate the extent of military marriage in Catholic and Protestant populations. The main attractions of military life – travel, adventure, the unknown – appealed as much, if not more, to women whose marriage prospects were constrained by familial preferences and geographic limitations. We should not underestimate the physical attractiveness of well-dressed, uniformed, military men in comparison to their civilian peers who reserved their good clothes for Sundays and special occasions. That the ordinary soldier was reviled is a truism in literature on the nineteenth-century army. But looking at sources that were not created by officers and administrators, we can see few manifestations of this cultural opprobrium. In ballad sheets, the masculine virtues of a soldier, including his fine figure and air of adventure, were admired. His lonely death on foreign battlefields was pitied and lamented. In spite of his unsavoury reputation, the ordinary soldier is a human figure and an object of sentiment. By

examining different sources, we can reassess the solid figure to better understand the attractiveness of soldier husbands to women in provincial towns.

*Aoife Bhreathnach researches the cultural history of Irish garrison towns. She blogs at irishgarrisontowns.com and tweets as @GarrisonTowns. Her book, *Becoming Conspicuous: Irish Travellers, Society and the State* was published in 2006 by UCD Press.*

Miscellany: UCC postgraduate panel

ORB 101

Kristina Decker (University College Cork)

Reinforcing Ideas of Female Decorum: the letters and writings of Mary Delany (1700-88)

Mary Delany (1700-1788) is most famous for her paper flower collages, or ‘paper mosaiks’, and her immense collection of correspondence, edited and published in the nineteenth-century by her great-grandniece Lady Llanover. Some of her lesser known works include an autobiography of her early years and first marriage, which takes the format of a series of letters to her friend the Duchess of Portland, and a novella entitled ‘Marianna’ (1759). ‘Marianna’ was never published, but circulated in manuscript form to a select audience and was reproduced in print for the first time in *Mrs. Delany and her Circle* (2009). A constant theme in all of Delany’s writings is that of female duty and decorum. She is also highly concerned with the proper education of the children of her family and friends – especially the female children - and ensuring that they learn proper morality and decorum. Delany’s letters become a form of didactic literature for their readers and reflect contemporary eighteenth-century conduct literature. In this way, Delany’s comments and observations on female behaviour contribute to the education of her younger female relatives and friends, and thus ensure that contemporary ideas of female decorum are passed on to and reinforced in future generations. This paper will investigate the female behaviour, decorum and morality that Delany espouses, and how she transmitted these ideas to future generations.

Kristina Decker is a PhD student in the School of History, University College Cork. Her research is on women and improvement in eighteenth-century Ireland, specifically focusing on Mary Delany.

Kelsey Rall (University College Cork)

‘Not my niece!’ Re-thinking spinster scholarship

In Somerville and Ross’s classic novel, *The Real Charlotte*, the titular spinster bemoans the misunderstanding that she’s the aunt of the young and frivolous Francie Fitzpatrick. Her exclamation that Francie is ‘not my niece!’ touches on a serious gap in the relatively new field of spinster scholarship. The work of Sarah Ensor, Alexandra M. Hill, Laura Doan, and many other scholars explores the power of the spinster as a substitute mother, a complication of traditional gender roles, and even as a queer lens through which to understand ecocriticism. However, such scholarship almost universally assumes that a spinster must be either an aunt or in some other way engaged in the rearing of a child. If we only interest ourselves in ways of connecting single womanhood to a (non)reproductive sense of futurity that is yet dependent on the presence of a child, we miss the opportunity to engage with a woman who *likes* to be single and childless, a woman who has no desire to be defined by her relation to progeny. What happens if we let a spinster be lonely, and further, if we see her relish in such solitude? I propose that such a non-avuncular spinster resists hetero- and chrono-normative structures as well as chronological, future-oriented conceptions of time, family, and womanhood. By engaging instead with loneliness and

with the etymological and occupational root of the term 'spinster', the scholarly approach that I propose can develop a broader understanding of the power of a woman who is defined not by her ability to (pseudo)mother a child, but simply by herself.

Kelsey Rall is currently enrolled in the MA in Irish Writing and Film at the School of English, University College Cork.

Rebecca Crunden (University College Cork)

Lesbianism and the US Military in the Korean War Era

In an effort to analyse the ways in which the US military's perception of women and homosexuality undercut their recruitment efforts and response to the Korean War, this paper aims to delve into how the military's treatment of women, more so than that of other governmental institutions, identified and persecuted lesbianism within its ranks. This policing of servicewomen not only hindered those with aspirations of a career in the military, it changed the very definition of homosexuality. The reason for this stemmed from the fact that female homosexuality was much more difficult to regulate and report on, as it extended often not to the act itself, but to connections and relationships, and as a result the lives of those suspected of being homosexual became part of the investigatory process. The notion that lesbianism was more private, secret and harder to pin down became a cornerstone for new military guidelines after the war. The execution of these guidelines focused less on *relationships* than on *relations*, as if they inherently viewed women as more insidious, and lesbianism thus harder to prosecute. By using a critical gendered analysis of the US military, this paper hopes to highlight an essential component of the Korean War era, and whether or not this persecution was detrimental to the war effort and the recruitment of servicewomen.

Rebecca Crunden is a PhD History student at the School of History, University College Cork. Her research topic is 'Gender and the US Military in the Korean War Era, 1950-53'.

Thursday, 1.30-3.15 pm

Sex and textuality in medieval and early modern Ireland

ORB G27

Sharon Arbuthnot (Queen's University, Belfast)

The Lost Vocabulary of Medieval Irish Sex and Reproduction

Probably around the middle of the fourteenth century, parts of the group of Latin texts known as the *Trotula* were translated into Irish. These were edited by Winifred Wulff and published in 1934, without translation into English, under the title *Medieval Handbook of Gynaecology and Midwifery*. Wulff's edition appeared too late for the terminology contained in it to be incorporated into the first two fascicles of *The Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL). DIL was not completed until 1976, however, and given that the *Handbook* is an extraordinary resource of native terminology on sexual practice, infertility, miscarriage, abortion and childbirth, we might have expected it to be rigorously quarried for later fascicles of the dictionary. Unfortunately, the editors of DIL extracted mainly plant names from their reading of the *Handbook* and neglected the store of words and phrases relating in particular to women's medicine. This paper discusses the origins and implications of the most significant of these items of vocabulary, which have been excerpted and identified now and will be added to DIL when it is updated in 2019, and considers circumstances surrounding the production of the Dictionary which may account for the way in which the lexicon of sex and reproduction was handled.

Sharon Arbuthnot is a Research Fellow on the eDIL (Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language) project at Queen's University, Belfast. Her publications include the co-edited collection, The Gaelic Finn Tradition (2012).

Salvador Ryan (St Patrick's College, Maynooth)

Sexual Impropriety in 13th century-Ireland: tales from the Liber Exemplorum (c.1275)

The *Liber Exemplorum*, a collection of preachers' tales, was compiled c.1275 by an English Franciscan working in Ireland, and is the earliest Franciscan example of its type. Out of 213 *exempla* which survive in this manuscript, 26 of these are found in no other source, and are drawn either from the compiler's own experience or from his having heard them second hand; these often mention Irish place names and feature Irish Christians as the main protagonists. The collection was compiled c.1275, some sixty years after the calling of the Fourth Lateran Council, whose decrees would significantly shape the lives of medieval Christians for centuries. This paper examines a selection of tales from this collection that are principally concerned with the preservation of sexual propriety, both within and without the married state. These stories open a window on a world – real or imagined – for which a number of spiritual remedies was prescribed. They also shed important light on attitudes towards women, the body, the married and clerical states, sex and the sacred, and the occasional complicity of the Virgin Mary in preserving her devotees from sexual scandal.

Salvador Ryan is Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Pontifical University, St Patrick's College, Maynooth. He has published widely in the area of late medieval and early modern popular religion, most recently (with Henning Laugerud), The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Northern Europe: Images, Objects and Practices (2016).

Liam Ó Murchú (Independent)

Sex and Sexuality in the Gaelic Literature of Thomond, c. 1780

Brian Merriman's 1,026-line poem, *Cúirt an Mheon-Oíche* ('The Midnight Court'), composed in Co. Clare in 1780 discusses in a sustained and detailed manner questions of love, marriage and sex as they applied to Co. Clare society and, inferentially, to that of other parts of Ireland in the second half of the 18th century. While for the greater part the poem is in comedic mode, the themes of sexual desire in men and women is considered in a serious fashion, and the issues of contraception, 'false pregnancy', male masturbation, clerical celibacy, marital infidelity, prostitution and free love are alluded to. Other Thomond texts of roughly the same era will be cited as support documents. The conclusion to be argued is that Irish was a sophisticated linguistic vehicle in this period in which the pressing human issues of love and sex were discussed.

Liam Ó Murchú retired from his post as Senior Lecturer in the Department of Modern Irish at University College Cork in 2017. He has published on 17th and 18th-century poetry in Irish, including a monograph on Brian Merriman and his work, Merriman: I bhFábhar Béithe (2005).

Family planning and sexual-health activism, 1960s-90s

ORB 101

Deirdre Foley (Dublin City University)

'Too Many Children'? Family Planning and Humanae Vitae in Dublin, c.1961–72

As it re-affirmed the Catholic Church's prohibition of artificial methods of birth control, the papal encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968) often features in historical accounts of the growing demand for the legalisation of artificial contraception in Ireland. However, no comprehensive account of the Irish reception of this encyclical has been published. The aim of this paper is twofold: to examine the situation regarding family planning in Ireland prior to *Humanae Vitae*; and to survey public reaction to the encyclical. The development of family planning post-*Humanae Vitae* is also discussed. The debate on family planning had already begun in Ireland before the encyclical, which served as a temporary stumbling block for many Catholics who had already come to agree with the use of the pill. This paper demonstrates that family planning was a class issue, and that the health and welfare of working-class women often suffered greatly as a result of multiple births. Dublin was home to a great many of these women. Two of its three large maternity hospitals were Catholic, and the Archbishop of Dublin, John Charles McQuaid, was mindful of how medics operated within these hospitals with regard to birth control. Despite a long-standing traditional alliance between most Catholic doctors and the religious hierarchy in safeguarding a conservative ethos on birth control, some members of both the Catholic clergy and the medical community began to advocate for the need for contraception on a controlled basis from the 1960s. In order to illuminate how the behaviour of Catholics changed during this period, and using Dublin's three largest maternity hospitals as a case study, this paper explores how the medical community, the religious hierarchy and the media responded to *Humanae Vitae* and the increasing demand for birth control from Catholics.

Deirdre Foley is a PhD student at the School of History and Geography, Dublin City University. Her topic is the first Commission on the Status of Women in Ireland.

Laura Kelly (University of Strathclyde)

'It was something that had to be done': the IFPA youth group and sexual-health activism in Ireland, c.1984-94

Contraception was illegal in Ireland until 1979, after which it was possible to obtain contraceptives (including condoms) on prescription for *bona fide* family planning purposes only. Moving into the 1980s, access to contraception depended on class and location, and many doctors and chemists refused to provide contraception for moral reasons. Fears around the widening of access to contraception largely centred on concerns that it would lead to increased promiscuity among young people, while adolescents struggled to gain access to sex education. However, existing research has not addressed the importance of youth in discussions around contraception, nor the role of young people themselves in reproductive rights activism in Ireland. This paper therefore explores the significance of youth in debates on reproductive rights in 1980s and 1990s Ireland, in particular, the role of a youth activist group, established by the Irish Family Planning Association (IFPA) in 1985. The IFPA youth group created an adolescent telephone service and sex advice column in popular music magazine, *Hot Press*. They gave talks to high school students and later set up their own youth clinic. The group not only played an important role in health activism during its existence, which coincided with the AIDS crisis, but also helped to alter the conservative image of the IFPA. From 1988, the group set up their own stall in the Virgin Megastore record-shop in Dublin, where they sold condoms illegally every Saturday. Their activities resulted in backlash from several conservative Catholic groups and a major court case ensued in 1991. This activism contributed to the relaxing of Irish family planning laws in 1993. Through the use of the group's records, newspapers, and oral history interviews with former members, this paper will highlight the important role that young people played in debates around sexuality and contraception in Ireland. Utilising the youth telephone service logs, as well as the group's regular advice columns, it will also illuminate the sexual concerns of young Irish people. Ultimately, through an analysis of the IFPA youth group's activities, this paper will establish the contribution of young activists to reproductive rights in late twentieth-century Ireland.

Laura Kelly is a lecturer in the history of health and medicine at the School of Humanities, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow. Her publications include Irish medical education and student culture, c.1850-1950 (2017). Her current research project, 'Contraception and Modern Ireland, c.1922-92', is funded by the Wellcome Trust.

Midwives and 'handywomen'

KANE G18

Laurence Geary (Independent)

Popular and Professional Midwifery Practices in Ireland in the Long Nineteenth Century

The writings of William Wilde and William Carleton provide a mechanism for exploring popular midwifery prejudices and practices in pre-Famine Ireland. The customs and observances of the peasantry and the urban poor in relation to childbirth proved remarkably durable, persisting into the later nineteenth century and beyond despite the catastrophic impact of the Great Famine, rapid social change in its wake, and the professionalisation of midwifery.

Laurence Geary retired from his position as Senior Lecturer in the School of History, University College Cork in 2017. His research interests are in the social, political and medical history of modern Ireland, and in the history of the Irish in colonial Australia.

Philomena Gorey (University College Dublin)

Municipal gospel or necessity? Belfast Corporation and the regulation of midwives, 1911-18

In 1911, Belfast Corporation sought and was granted powers to establish a midwives roll for the County Borough. The Belfast Corporation Act, 1911, provided for the certification and enrolment of midwives practicing in the city of Belfast. It exercised supervision over midwives and their practice and prohibited, where possible, uncertified midwives from attending births in the city. This initiative was timely. The city had witnessed a period of unprecedented growth which saw the population increase from 71,000 in 1841 to 380,000 in 1911. The Corporation was compelled to deal with the consequences of this exceptional growth and in the spirit of ‘municipal gospel’, which held that elected authorities were obliged to work for the social and moral well-being of its citizens, councillors, at the instigation of the local Health Association, in 1910, proceeded with important public health and sanitary regulations which included provisions for the control and regulation of midwives. Maternal and infant welfare had increasingly become the focus of public health legislation in the early twentieth century. The Notification of Births Act, 1907, allowed for local authorities to insist that all births be registered. The compilation of statistics on mortality and morbidity highlighted the pressing need for maternity and infant welfare services. Moreover, the 1911 National Insurance Act included a maternity benefit which required the presence of a trained midwife at childbirth. The Midwives Act, 1902, had not been extended to Ireland. Attempts to amend the legislation to include Ireland failed in 1906 and again in 1910, so Ireland was without a regulatory body similar to the British Central Midwives Board. This paper will examine the success of the scheme to train, register, and regulate the practice of midwives in Belfast until the Midwives (Ireland) Act was passed in 1918.

Philomena Gorey is a post-doctoral researcher at the UCD Centre for the History of Medicine in Ireland. Her monograph, From handywomen to midwives: a history of the regulation of midwives in Ireland, 1615-1918 is forthcoming.

Elaine Sugrue (University College Cork)

‘We will keep on agitating until prosecutions are enforced against some of these “quacks.”’: the Irish Nurses’ Union and the campaign against untrained midwives, c.1920-30

The Irish Nurses’ Union (f. 1919) was instrumental in helping to direct attention towards the problems associated with untrained women or “handywomen” performing the duties of midwives, and actively campaigned for measures to be taken in order to deter the practice. Prominent members of the union wrote letters to the press, noting the connection between “handywomen” and the high levels of infant and maternal mortality in Ireland. The union called for stricter enforcement of the Midwives (Ireland) Act of 1918 and for prosecution of the offenders, emphasised the need for a registered badge and uniform for certified midwives, and sent deputations to bodies such as the Central Midwives’ Board and County Councils, highlighting the problem and calling for action to be taken. This paper explores the implications of the activities of “handywomen” in early twentieth-century Ireland, as voiced by members of the union, as well as the prevalence of and rationale behind the practice. It focuses on the union’s campaign against “handywomen” in Ireland and uncovers what exactly they sought to achieve, the nature of their activities and the obstacles they encountered. It also provides an assessment of the impact of the union’s activities in this regard. In doing so, it sheds light on the important role played by the union and its representatives in agitating against “handywomen” in early twentieth-century Ireland, and in calling for measures to be implemented in order to inhibit the practice.

Elaine Sugrue is a PhD student at the School of History, University College Cork. Her topic is women and trade unionism in 20th-century Ireland.

Thursday, 3.35-5.15 pm

Mistresses, cuckolds and sexual depravity: early modern perspectives

ORB 101

David Edwards (University College Cork)

The Many Mistresses of the Black Earl of Ormond – a cost-benefit analysis

This paper will explore the sexual life of one of the great dynastic rulers of sixteenth-century Ireland, ‘Black’ Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormond (1531-1614). Like many Irish noblemen of the time, the earl kept mistresses; unusually, however, the names of several of his women are recorded in manuscripts of the time, along with the names of the children they bore him. The paper will discuss the social background of the earl’s mistresses and how he treated them, incorporating them and their families into the history of his sprawling territorial lordship. It will also examine the earl’s sometimes strained relationship with two of his wives, English noblewomen by whom he had few children, and will chart how his fathering of numerous ‘bastard’ children compounded an already complex Ormond succession in the later years of his life.

David Edwards is a Senior Lecturer in History at University College Cork. His most recent book is the co-edited collection The Colonial World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1566-1643 (2018).

Michael Keane (Independent)

The Execution of the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven for Crimes of Sexual Depravity

Following a trial in London in 1631 the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven was executed for crimes of sexual depravity along with two of his servants, Laurence Fitzpatrick, an Irishman, and Giles Broadway. The charges, trials and executions caused a sensation at the time, providing ample material for tabloid journalism for centuries and even in the 1940s causing one commentator to exclaim that Castlehaven was a name at which the world to go pale. The trial did much to establish legal precedent in relation to issues such as rape within marriage and the admissibility of a wife’s evidence in a case involving charges against her husband. As regards background the 1st Earl of Castlehaven was a commander under Mountjoy at the Battle of Kinsale and subsequently became a very large landowner in Ireland involving the lands of the O’Driscolls in West Cork, the O’Mahonys further to the west, the Fitzgibbons of North Cork and the whole barony of Omagh of the O’Neills of Tyrone. All were inherited by the 2nd Earl, in addition to possession of a very large estate in England following his marriage to Anne, eldest daughter of Lord Derby and close to the English throne. The 2nd Earl led a dissolute life which apparently caused scandal at the time eventually leading to his execution. However, the case raised many questions that still resonate to the present day.

Michael Keane retired as a Senior Lecturer in agricultural economics at University College Cork in 2010. His book on the transplantation of Laois sept to Kerry in the 17th century, From Laois to Kerry (2017), won the Nilsson Heritage Prize at Listowel Writers Week, 2017.

Nicola J. Pearce (University of Hull)

Cuckoldry in Political Propaganda in the Exclusion Crisis, 1679-81

As the stereotype for emasculated manhood, the cuckold has provided invaluable insight into early modern constructs of manhood and ideas about marriage. Being cuckolded was a fate which only married men were vulnerable to, and the adultery of the cuckold's wife was perceived as an inevitable consequence of his sexual inadequacies or impotence. Much of what we know about perceptions of cuckoldry has resulted from historiographical examinations which reveal its use as a sexual slander defended in the church courts, or as a representation of failed manhood in early modern plays and popular literature (such as broadsides and bawdy ballads). However, this paper details a new political purpose for cuckoldry, underpinned by fears of religious nonconformity, which emerged out of the Civil War and continued to evolve throughout the Restoration. Just as cuckoldry was used by royalists to unman their parliamentarian opponents during the war, the gendered political language of cuckoldry was used by Restoration loyalists to criticize those who rebelled against crown and church. Using examples of cuckoldry prompted by the Succession Crisis (1679-81) which were used to air anxieties about illegitimate heirs and attack the emerging whig faction (including the controversial whig publisher Benjamin Harris) this paper describes how representational cuckoldry was used as a political propagandist device to attack those who displayed disloyalty and dissent.

Nicola J. Pearce is a PhD student at University of Hull, studying cuckoldry and gendered language in seventeenth-century popular political discourse.

Male sexual relations: colonialism, convicts and the Holocaust

KANE G18

Luke Taylor (University of Toronto)

Speaking of Buggery in Colonial New South Wales

This paper reports on the results of empirical analysis of cases brought against men for buggery in New South Wales in the first fifty years of British colonization. It shows that in the decade after the introduction of the *Offences Against the Person Act 1828*, the number of men brought before the courts on sodomy charges rose dramatically, with rates significantly in excess of that seen in England. The data also reveal a distinct post-1828 shift towards charging men with the capital offence, instead of assault with intent, and a move away from exemplary forms of punishment. The paper then proceeds to consider the links between these trends, the 1828 Act, and broader social factors. The thesis put forward is this: while buggery law always raised a tension between its unspeakable nature and the legal directive to speak of its practice, the changes wrought by the 1828 Act combined with a particularly moralistic phase in NSW society, resulting in what Foucault called "an institutional incitement to speak". The community collectively voiced its intolerance of unnatural sex, resulting in a distinctive upswing in the number of complaints and charges brought before the courts. Social disavowal of buggery was, in turn, augmented within the legal system by the evidentiary changes to the 1828 Act. The incitement to speak was also evident within trials, as witnesses provided details bordering on the prurient, rendering the buggery trial itself an instance of discursive production. The final part of the paper considers the role played by sodomy panic in the 1837-8 Molesworth Inquiry and the eventual cessation of convict transportation to NSW in 1840. It connects the discursive impetus to speak of the unspeakable to the evidence given to the Inquiry concerning the prevalence of unnatural crimes in NSW and Norfolk Island.

Luke Taylor is a third-year SJD candidate at the University of Toronto and a CGS Bombardier Scholar. His research examines the legal regulation of sex and sexuality, family, and work in nineteenth century England and Australia.

Barra Ó Donnabháin (University College Cork)

Unnatural Practices and Silence: sexual relationships between male convicts in the Victorian era

The era of British convict transportation peaked in the first half of the 19th century when over 150,000 British and Irish prisoners were removed to overseas colonies, principally in Australia. Over 80 per cent of those transported were males. Instances of sexual activity between convicts – unnatural practices – were regularly reported by colonial administrators and investigated by Westminster officials. This contrasts with the records for the convict depot at Spike Island, Co. Cork. For a short period in the 1840s and 1850s, this was one of the principal embarkation hubs for convict transportation from Ireland and references to ‘unnatural practices’ are very rare. Absences in official records are problematic but in this case can be argued to betray Victorian anxieties around what was considered non-normative sexual behaviour. The comparative silence could be further argued to reflect differences between the colonies and the metropolitan centre but this was complicated in Ireland by racialised understandings of Irish convicts and their bodies. The role granted to prison chaplains in controlling convicts’ bodies and morality laid the foundation for greater ecclesiastical interventions in the Irish penal system.

Barra Ó Donnabháin lectures in the Department of Archaeology in University College Cork. His publications include (with Cal McCarthy) Too Beautiful for Thieves and Pickpockets: A History of the Victorian Convict Depot on Spike Island (2016) and Volume II of Archaeological Approaches to Human Remains: Global Perspectives (2018).

Florian Zabransky (University of Sussex)

Male Jewish Sexual Relations During the Holocaust

Sexuality and the Holocaust are inextricably linked. Despite the fact that Nazi policies did not systematically include sexualised violence against Jews, perpetrators aimed at the destruction of gendered and sexual Jewish identities. This included, for instance, sexual antisemitism inherent in the Nuremberg laws in 1935, the shaving of (pubic) hair in the concentration camps or sexualised violence against the Jewish body, culminating in rape of Jewish women. Male Jewish sexuality, however, often remains invisible – both in testimonies and Holocaust studies. In drawing on memory studies, I argue that male Jewish sexuality is silenced as a result of a differentiation in private and public memory. Although feminists made the experience of women and female sexuality in Holocaust studies public in recent years, the preservation of Jewish masculinity and male Jewish sexuality remains private – and implicit. My analysis of oral-history interviews of the USC Shoah Foundation and further testimonies discussing the topic demonstrates how the Nuremberg laws specifically targeted Jewish men to prevent Jewish-gentile sexual relations (*‘Rassenschande’*) as a mean of exclusion. I also explore sexualised violence against Jewish men and how the attack on the Jewish body constitutes an integral part of the process of annihilation. In contrast, love, marriages, circumcision or desire account as themes for a better future, Jewish belonging and self-assertion. I can further demonstrate how in the concentration camps, same-sex relations or sexual barter enabled Jewish men to prevail and present their masculinity and regain dominance over women, reproducing gendered power relations. The proposed paper, thus, will introduce the ideology and representation of Nazis’ sexual antisemitism and conceptualise different forms of male Jewish sexuality under Nazi persecution. I will then elaborate of private and public memory, discussing specific male practices of speaking about and remembering different facets of male Jewish sexuality.

Florian Zabransky is a PhD candidate at the Centre for German-Jewish Studies, University of Sussex. He was awarded the Clemens N. Nathan Scholarship and joined the Centre in September 2017.

Sex, sexuality and the Irish revolution

ORB G27

John Borgonovo (University College Cork)

'Separation women' and Gender Politics in First-World-War Ireland

The mobilisation of Irish men for First World War service also affected the everyday lives of Irish women. Female recipients of a government 'Separation Allowance' (provided to the wives or dependents of serving soldiers) became a feature of Irish wartime society, developing a distinct identity as 'separation women'. Often coming from the lower levels of working-class Ireland, these urban women improved their economic situation and social status through the battlefield contributions of their loved ones. From the outset of the war, their imperial patriotism and upward mobility aroused a backlash from constitutional and advanced nationalists, often related to the women's gender, class and sexuality. In Britain, a wartime moral panic over perceived sexual promiscuity and exposure to venereal disease resulted in sexual policing in many cities and towns, often conducted by middle-class women. In Ireland, sexual policing was confined primarily to Dublin and Belfast, though it connected with wider concerns about the sexual activity of 'separation women', and had unusual manifestations in Limerick and Cork. Social tensions became particularly acute later in the war, as Irish separatists opposed continued participation in the war and linked military forces to venereal disease and prostitution. While the Irish public increasingly supported the independence movement, 'separation women' remained among the government's most visible and active supporters, often engaging in violent street clashes with separatists. This paper will explore the confluence of forces at work in wartime Ireland, illuminating communal tensions surrounding the gender, class, sex lives and political loyalties of 'separation women'.

John Borgonovo lectures in History at University College Cork. He has published widely on the Irish revolution, including The Dynamics of War and Revolution: Cork City, 1916-1918 (2013). He is associate editor of the Atlas of the Irish Revolution (2017).

Mary McAuliffe (University College Dublin)

'Having no use at all for men': same-sex relationships among Irish women revolutionary and feminist activists

Tracing the activist, friendship and kinship networks of the suffrage and nationalist women (and men) of early twentieth century Ireland is rightly framed as an integral part of the political and revolutionary histories of the late 19th and early 20th century. This world of 'student societies, theatre groups, feminist collectives, volunteer militias, Irish language groups' were, as Roy Foster wrote, in his 2016 book, *Vivid Faces*, 'linked together by youth, radicalism, subversive activism, enthusiasm and love'. While the world Foster evokes is one dominated by youthful, romantic heterosexual passions, there is no doubt, as with British first-wave feminist histories of sapphists and suffragettes, that there were spaces in this radicalism for women who made their lives, political and personal, with other women. Using feminist history methodologies of tracing these female networks and partnerships of love and demonstrating the implications for radical political and revolutionary activism implicit in these relationships, is important to developing a deeper, more nuanced understanding of first wave feminist and revolutionary women's histories in early 20th century Ireland. This paper will look at the 'political and personal' female partnerships who were active in the feminist, nationalist and socialist movements in Ireland, 1900-1923. It will explore the evidence that several of the leading female activists of this period were in same sex relationships, sometimes relationships which were recognised and accepted among their wider political circles. The emotional, sexual and political lives of these women, and their networks, were intertwined, complex, radical and influential. How much, or not, their sexuality informed their activism and politics

demands further investigations into this under-examined facet of Irish women's suffrage and revolutionary histories.

Mary McAuliffe is Assistant Professor/Lecturer in Gender Studies at University College Dublin. Her recent publications include, (as co-author), We Were There: 77 Women of the Easter Rising (2016) and (as co-editor), Kerry 1916: Histories and Legacies of the Easter Rising (2016).

Niall Murray (Independent)

Love on the Battlefield? Marriages between veterans of the Irish revolution

The prison marriage of Joseph Plunkett and Grace Gifford and the courtship of Michael Collins and Kitty Kiernan are among the most fabled love matches of the Irish revolution. But what about the lesser-known couples who fell in love and married during, or after, their participation in the turbulent events from 1916 up to and including the Irish Civil War? The guerrilla nature of the Irish revolution – a ‘people’s war’, or an element of what Thomas Huber described as ‘compound warfare’ - sets it aside from many conflicts for the role it afforded women in everyday republican military, political and administrative affairs. The bonds created in these years helped to forge relationships that went beyond the typical comradeship of war, resulting in many marriages between gunmen and nurses, scouts and despatch cyclists, IRA officers and their intelligence sources. With many new primary sources documenting ordinary citizens’ participation in these events, primarily the files of the Military Service Pensions Collection in the Irish Military Archives, it is possible to piece together how some of these relationships were conceived. This paper will document some of those relationships, and address some of the dynamics. For example: whether those taking on certain roles were more likely to marry fellow-revolutionaries; if marriages took place much later than the events of the Irish revolution; or whether some participants in the Troubles were more likely to remain single through to later life.

As recent scholarly endeavours examine the home as part of the battlefield during the Irish revolution, this paper will consider how the military and political battlefield contributed to the creation of new households.

Niall Murray is an independent researcher, interested primarily in the Irish revolution. He has an MA in Local History (2017) from University College Cork and contributed ‘Dáil Courts: a case study of Mid-Cork, 1920-22’ to the award-winning Atlas of the Irish Revolution (2017).

Friday, 9.30-11.15 am

Abortion, Assisted Human Reproduction and Ireland

ORB 101

Don O’Leary (Independent)

Assisted Human Reproduction: Vatican pronouncements and Irish Catholic responses

The encyclical, *Humanae Vitae* (July 1968) eroded the credibility of the Vatican on issues relating to sexual morality. Its quasi-dogmatic stance on the issue of birth control had profound implications, not only for birth control, but also for assisted human reproduction (AHR). The papacy’s insistence on “the inseparable connection” between sexual intercourse and procreation within marriage militated against the prospect that the institutional church would approve of the AHR technologies that emerged in the years following the first human *in vitro* fertilization (IVF) birth in July 1978. This in turn exacerbated a growing rift between the hierarchy and the laity, especially in Europe and North America. In Britain, the *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Human Fertilisation and Embryology* (1984, commonly referred to as the Warnock Report), raised awareness in Irish Catholic circles that moral philosophy was not keeping pace with advances in AHR. In this paper, Catholic responses to AHR will be examined especially with reference to Bishop Donal Murray’s *Christian Morality and In Vitro Fertilisation* (1985), *Donum Vitae* published by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1987, and Archbishop Desmond Connell’s speech at St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth, on 2 March 1999. It will conclude by addressing two questions. Can the institutional church credibly alter its stance on AHR? If the answer is yes, then is it likely to do so?

Don O’Leary’s publications include Roman Catholicism and Modern Science: A History (2006) and Irish Catholicism and Science: From 'Godless Colleges' to the 'Celtic Tiger' (2012). His current research is concerned with biomedical ethics in Catholic Ireland from 1968 to 2018.

Mark Benson (Queen’s University, Belfast)

‘[T]hey had bought a house and it was a big rent ... she didn’t want to lose her work’: abortion for ‘social’ reasons in Northern Ireland, 1900-68

In Northern Ireland, opposition to illegal abortion, and to the proposed 1967 Abortion Act which would liberalise provision, could be found among ‘elected representatives and various church leaders’. Senior medical figures contended that ‘no further legislation [was] required on this side of the Irish Sea to deal with this very infrequent problem’. Against such a backdrop, and in the absence of agitation for legal reform, public figures were able to make assumptions about the private positions held by the local population. This allowed the Attorney General to argue against extending the 1967 Abortion Act to the region by stating that the ‘feelings of many people here on these matters do not coincide fully with those of the people in Great Britain’. Through an examination of the legal, illegal and specifically the ‘discreetly legal’ activities of medically trained abortion providers, and others, this paper challenges the perception that abortion was not already an accepted part of regulating birth in Northern Ireland. Drawing on court and coroners’ records, newspaper accounts and medical literature, the paper reveals networks of discreetly legal abortion providers that included doctors, nurses, midwives and pharmacists. The discreetly legal abortions they provided, exclusively linked to non-medical motivations, and arguably an open secret, directly challenge the Attorney General’s assertion that the people of Northern Ireland would not accept the 1967 Abortion Act and the ‘social’ reasons that were inherent within the legislation. By building on the existing, but limited, historiography, this paper questions the argument that abortion, legal or otherwise, was not an accepted part of life for the women of Northern Ireland. In

doing so, it also highlights the use of abortion as 'birth control' in rural and urban locations and by married and single women from across a variety of socio-economic backgrounds.

Mark Benson completed his PhD on 'The Provision of Abortion in Northern Ireland, 1900-68' at Queen's University, Belfast in 2017. He is currently an AHRC research fellow at Queen's, conducting an oral history project on perceptions of abortion within Northern Ireland's medical professions from the 1950s onwards.

Linda Connolly (NUI Maynooth)

Abortion Politics in the Republic of Ireland, 1970-2018

This paper draws on original oral history and social movements research conducted on the politics of abortion in Ireland from the 1970s on. The paper will move beyond recent journalistic interpretations of the 1983 referendum that are based on conjecture and will provide an in-depth research-based analysis of the history of abortion politics from the perspective and lived experience of pro-choice activists. The development of counter pro-life organizations and networks will also be mapped.

Linda Connolly is Professor of Sociology at NUI Maynooth and Director, Maynooth University Social Sciences Institute. Her research interests include gender, Irish society, family studies, migration, and Irish studies.

Rape and sexual violence

ORB 244

Sylvia Broeckx (University of Sheffield)

Race, Rape and Justice during the American Civil War

Despite little to no research on sexual violence and rape during the American Civil War, the current consensus on this topic asserts that the Civil War was a 'low rape' war. A lack of mentions of rape or even attempted rape in Civil War memoirs, few reported cases and even fewer convictions, and the assumption that Union soldiers would not commit rape due to gentlemanly restraint and a code of honour are the main explanations given to support this claim. Yet, the 1863 introduction of General Order 100, commonly referred to as the Lieber Code, which militarised civilian felonies such as rape and sexual violence towards women suggests that wartime rape was a sufficient enough problem within the military for the government to enact new laws. Furthermore, historians have largely viewed this subject from the perspective of white women while ignoring the accounts of black women. Black women were more vulnerable to being raped and less likely to be believed as credible witnesses than white victims, so while the Civil War may have been a low-rape war for white women, black women may not have shared this experience. Through a study of court-martial cases, this paper investigates sexual assaults on black women by Union Army soldiers, and compares them to cases of white victims to discern racial biases in how black victims and perpetrators were treated and any disparity in sentencing. As black women were hitherto unable to seek legal redress for rape or attempted rape in the American South, I will argue that this new legal status aided former slave women in the recognition of their personhood and agency, not only by themselves and Northerners, but also by Southern slaveholders.

Sylvia Broeckx is a PhD candidate in American History at the University of Sheffield, researching sexual violence and rape during the American Civil War. She has worked as a freelance filmmaker since 2002.

Theresa O’Keefe (University College Cork)

‘Our bodies are used like a weapon’: sexual violence, gender and the state during the Northern Irish Troubles

Since the publication of Susan Brownmiller’s *Against Our Will* in 1975, feminist scholarship has brought to light the widespread use of sexual violence as a weapon of war (Wood, 2006; Turshen, 2007; Leatherman, 2011). The weaponisation of sexual violence by the state and paramilitary organisations is now widely acknowledged as a feature of armed conflict with women the primary victims. One of the most researched conflicts in contemporary history is the war in the north of Ireland. Despite this dubious distinction, research on the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war during Troubles in the North of Ireland is relatively understudied. When conjuring up examples of conflicts reliant on sexual violence, the Northern Irish case is not typically cited. It would be remiss, however, to assume that the Troubles were not characterised by sexual violence. This paper seeks to rectify this gap and examines the weaponisation of sexual violence by the state in Northern Ireland as directed against women from working-class Catholic and republican communities. Based on documentary research and interviews with women active in the republican movement I argue that the Northern Irish conflict offers important insights for understanding the disciplinary power exercised by the state through a range of sexually violent threats and punishments. This research also reveals the ways in which the gendered body is utilised not just as an instrument of war, but as a weapon of resistance.

Theresa O’Keefe lectures in Sociology at University College Cork. Her work has been published in International Feminist Journal of Politics, Women’s Studies International Forum, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Feminist Review, and National Identities.

Ciara Molloy (University College Dublin)

The Politics of Rape in 1980s Ireland

The anti-rape movement first emerged in Ireland in July 1977 and was pivotal in lobbying for the introduction of two key pieces of legislation, the Criminal Law (Rape) Act, 1981 and the Criminal Law (Rape) (Amendment) Act, 1990. The latter Act in particular tends to be viewed as a revolutionising the state’s approach to rape by broadening the definition of this crime and recognising that it is possible for an individual to be raped by a spouse. Yet there are aspects of this legislation that reveal the state formulating rape crime from a patriarchal mindset, demonstrating the limited impact of the anti-rape movement in comprehensively changing political attitudes towards this crime. This paper will first examine feminist literature surrounding the idea of a patriarchal state, followed by the existing historiography surrounding the anti-rape movement during this period. It will be contended that the modified radical feminist argument of R.W. Connell, positing that the state is a historically patriarchal body but that its depth of oppression changes over time, offers the best framework for analysing the politics of rape during this period. The notion of the 1981 Act as a victory for the anti-rape movement will be contested, while discrepancies in the 1990 Act surrounding the definition of rape and marital rape exemption further support the notion of the state as a gender-biased rather than neutral entity. Finally, this paper will conclude with a discussion of the cost posed to the anti-rape movement by its engagement with the state over the issue of legislative change, contending that the movement became inevitably subsumed by the very political system it sought to modify. Overall, this analysis suggests that a patriarchal political culture, not merely rape legislation, influenced the treatment of rape victims in 1980s Ireland.

Ciara Molloy is currently undertaking a MSc in Criminology and Criminal Justice at University College Dublin. Her research interests lie in the field of criminal justice history with particular focus on the gendered nature of the Irish criminal justice system.

Prostitution, censorship and the city

ORB 132

Peter Hession (University College Dublin)

Sex and the City: displacing prostitution in post-Famine Cork

At the height of the Famine, the *Southern Reporter* noted in 1849: ‘to such an extent has Prostitution increased in the city of Cork, that we are credibly informed there are 4,000 persons who live thereby’. This outlandish figure (in the early 1860s this was more like the official estimate for Ireland as a whole) is actually closer to the entire female increase in the city’s population between 1841 and 1851. That virtually every woman who entered the city was suspected of being a prostitute captures a dark and underexplored aspect of what Margaret O’Callaghan has called the ‘feminization of famine’. This paper treats this phenomenon spatially, by exploring the connection between fear of disease and contagion and perceived contamination of the ‘separate spheres’ which had come to define middle class urban life. A self-conscious post-Famine ‘crusade’ thus sought to systematically displace sex workers through a combination of sanitary demolition and female incarceration, with rates twice the national average throughout the 1850s. When Dublin Castle deemed this coercion to be in contravention of the ‘liberty of the subject’, the local establishment altered its strategy; from 1869, Cork became the only urban area in Ireland to be subjected to the Contagious Disease Acts, mandating prostitutes to be registered, inspected, and habitually incarcerated in ‘Lock Hospitals’ if they contracted venereal disease. Ultimately, successive strategies employed to displace prostitution from the city centre saw the geography of sexual reform mirror that of the ‘separate spheres’ it so vividly threatened, giving birth to an exclusively female ‘carceral zone’ at heart of the city’s oldest suburb in Sunday’s Well.

Peter Hession recently completed a PhD on urbanism in nineteenth-century Ireland at the University of Cambridge, and held a visiting fellowship at the Irish College, Paris during the summer of 2017. He currently teaches at University College Dublin.

João Pena (University of Amsterdam/Federal University of Bahia)

Prostitution Policies in Brazil and the Netherlands: rights, surveillance and urban space

Known as the oldest profession in the world, prostitution has figured as an important issue for many fields of knowledge, especially in the human and social sciences. In this paper I will discuss the way in which prostitution policies have been outlined in two countries, namely Brazil and the Netherlands. I will take a historical approach to these policies and focus on their repercussions in the urban space. In the Netherlands the prostitution policy can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Over time, the importance of prostitution in the dynamics of the city of Amsterdam increased. Prostitution went through different regimes of control, including the ban on brothels in 1911. However, this did not mean the end of prostitution, as the so-called “regulated tolerance” occurred instead. Between the end of the 1990s and the year 2000, sex work was decriminalized, legalized and regulated in the Netherlands, which directly affects the organization of the sector. In Brazil, prostitution policies varied between regulation and abolitionism (from 1958), and so was always placed under state surveillance. Prostitution is not considered a crime, but third parties that benefit from it, such as pimps, are included in the Penal Code. In this context, there is prostitution, for instance, on the streets or in certain establishments. Since 2001 there have been proposals in the National Congress advocating for decriminalization and the regulation of sex work, but they have not been successful so far. I argue that both cases evidence a way of dealing with prostitution in the sense of what Michel Foucault calls the “differential management of illegality”, creating a grey area for a delicate and important occupation that pervades issues such as moral standards and the necessary recognition of the rights of sex workers.

João Pena is a PhD candidate in Architecture and Urbanism at the Federal University of Bahia and a visiting PhD fellow at the Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam. His current research is centred on the relationship between sexuality and urban space, focusing on sex work.

Michela Turno (Independent)

Ghosts on Stage: silencing sexuality and violence in Italy, 1960-80

In 1960, following public uproar, film director Luchino Visconti was asked to cut a sex worker's rape and murder scene from *Rocco and His Brothers*. Despite that, the film became a national and international success. Twenty years later, in 1981, AAA. *Offresi* a *film vérité* on the clients of a call girl was censored just one hour before being aired on State television. The award winning filmmakers, a feminist collective, together with the former director of RAI Channel 2, were charged with aiding and abetting prostitution and with violation of privacy. All were acquitted after a long, controversial trial: however, the film has remained excluded from view for the last thirty-seven years. It remains a largely forgotten but dramatic icon of censorship. A comparative reading will try to unfold and explore why these two film productions caused such a strong responses in two very different social and historical periods. It argues that censorship was a strategy directed towards the displacement of violence, male desires and sexuality from public view. In other words, both films represent the attempt to challenge dominant narratives on sexuality and sex work, and to reveal the ambiguities and extraordinary resistances lying beneath the surface of Italian civic and public life.

Michela Turno was awarded a PhD at the University of Leicester in 2012. She has published monographs and articles on prostitution and Italian women's history and is the founder of the 'Red Project / Who Do You Think We Are?', an event focused on stigma and violence against people who work in the commercial sex trade.

Friday, 1.30 – 3.15 pm

Rethinking Sexology: new perspectives on sexual science (1890-1960)

ORB 101

(Panel convened by the Wellcome Trust-funded 'Rethinking Sexology' project team at the University of Exeter)

The study of the history of sexology is rapidly expanding. In recent years two major collections have in particular increased our understanding of the global development and exchange of sexological knowledge, by looking at the way in which 'sexual science [...] simultaneously emerged in multiple sites and [...] took multiple shapes' (Fuechtner et al, *A Global History of Sexual Science*, 2018) and how the 'intersections between national and transnational contexts, between science and culture, and between discourse and experience, shaped modern sexuality' (Bauer, *Sexology and Translation*, 2015). This panel will consider further ways in which we might understand the complex and shifting conceptions of the 'science' of sex from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. All three speakers on the proposed panel are early-career researchers on a Wellcome-funded research project 'Rethinking Sexology' at the University of Exeter, which is seeking to reconsider the emergence of the scientific study of human sexuality. In particular its critiques the assumption that 'sexology' existed as a clearly understood and primarily medical field of knowledge. Each paper in this panel will focus on a new or as yet undeveloped way of framing the history of sexology. Together they consider new audiences and producers of sexological knowledge; new legitimate forms of evidence for 'scientific' research outside of the 'medical'; and new geographical locations for sexological activities that have been overlooked or undervalued in previous scholarship. The panel will seek to encourage a discussion about how historians define and set boundaries on 'sexology' and 'sexual science' - within the context of a conference considering the changing historicization of 'sex' and 'sexuality' more broadly - and consider the wider question of how knowledge and expertise around sex were conceived of in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth.

Sarah Jones (University of Exeter)

'The Mysteries of Sex Frankly Revealed!': popular sexology in print before 1940.

Much of the existing research into the history of sexual science in the west has tended to focus on key sexological figures and the dissemination or appropriation of their scientific work. Particular attention has been paid to their work exploring the pathologies of perversion, and their attempts made to categorise and define non-normative sexual 'types'. These histories, often centring on the work of men like Iwan Bloch, Havelock Ellis, and Magnus Hirschfeld, frequently take place in elite medical spaces – the hospital, the psychiatrist's office, or the sexological institute. But sexology had another life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Through the pages of popular magazines like *Sexology*, *Marriage Hygiene*, and *Physical Culture*, through mass produced sex advice texts, and through the work of outspoken sex reformers, British and American publics were fed a steady diet of 'thoroughly scientific' information about issues surrounding sex and marriage. In this paper I will explore this popular sexology, dedicated to tips on achieving happy and healthy sex lives, as well as discussing what a good, normal marriage might look like. In doing so I will argue that scientific attempts to define the boundaries of 'normal' and 'healthy' sexuality at this time were not just being undertaken by an elite set of sexologists in medical spaces, but were also taking place amongst the producers and consumers of these popular texts.

Sarah Jones is an associate research fellow on the Wellcome Trust-funded 'Rethinking Sexology' project at the University of Exeter. Her current work explores how scientific discussions about sex were shaped by transatlantic exchanges and the 'popular' life of sexology in print.

Jen Grove (University of Exeter)

Sexologists as collectors of historical erotica in the first half of the twentieth century.

Growing scholarly attention is being given to the way in which history, and especially the classical past, informed new sexological concepts in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. For instance,

the publication of *Sexual Inversion* (1896/1897) by Havelock Ellis and Classical scholar John Addington Symonds, which drew on ancient Greek practices in order to defend contemporary male same-sex desire but also to think through the challenges of creating a paradigm which meant such desire could be treated as neither a disease nor a crime in Victorian society. But as well as historical texts, many sexual scientists were significantly interested in material and visual culture from the past. It is well known that Sigmund Freud made use of his substantial collection of Egyptian and other ancient artefacts in his psychoanalytical theory and practice. But Magnus Hirschfeld and Alfred Kinsey were also avid collectors of historical erotic art and artefacts. This paper will consider what role physical evidence of historical sexual practices, desires and customs played in the study of sex and the method of comparing past and present cultures. How did displays of historical artefacts at sexological clinics, laboratories and other spaces of sexual science relate to sexology's varied aims to research, educate, campaign and treat? And how did sexological concerns inform the wider acquisition of antiquities which was still growing the museums of Europe and America in this period? I will consider how the pursuit of collecting sat alongside the scientist's work of gathering statistical and other types of data and by what mechanisms they sought to maintain scientific authority in the face of acquisitions of being collectors of antique 'pornography' or 'obscenity'. To what extent and how were diverse visual representations of sex from the past rationalised within the project of writing the 'science' of sexuality?

Jen Grove is an Engaged Research Fellow in the Centre for Medical History at the University of Exeter. She is currently working on the the Wellcome Trust-funded 'Rethinking Sexology' project. She has published several book chapters and articles on the modern collection and reception of ancient sexually-related artefacts.

TJ Zawadzki (University of Exeter)

'On the margins of Freudism': Stanisław Kurkiewicz and early sexology in Poland

This paper examines Polish sexology in the late nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century, focusing on the work of Stanisław Teofil Kurkiewicz (1867-1921), a Krakow-based physician who specialized in sexology. Despite its centrality in European intellectual cultures, Poland is often overlooked by historians of sexuality. Kurkiewicz, considered by some to be the pioneer of Polish sexology, developed his vision of a Polish sexological project in multiple published volumes, stirred controversy among professional circles of Polish psychoanalysts and physicians, caught the attention of reviewers and publishers abroad, and contributed to wider European debates about sex, such as Magnus Hirschfeld's discussion on masturbation. In this paper I will explore the ways in which Kurkiewicz's model of sexuality merges psychoanalytical theories of the unconscious with the emerging science of sex. I consider whether the responses from other professionals to this work reflect the tensions between sexology and psychoanalysis as competing fields seeking authority on human sexuality both in Poland and beyond. While, in places like the United Kingdom scholars see the psychoanalytical and sexological projects as distinctly separate, I ask whether this relationship is more complex in the Polish sexual scientific context. I analyze how the combination of psychoanalysis and sexology that Kurkiewicz promoted is then reconciled with religious dogma that was at the core of his identity as a sexologist. Are the ways in which he approached sexology, psychoanalysis, and religion mimicking any similar developments in Western scientific circles, or is it a unique negotiation of the three? Pertinent to the European history of sexology, psychoanalysis, and psychiatry, this offers an outlook on how Kurkiewicz – aware of the influence of Western Europe on science – navigated towards a distinct and localized sexological project and identity. Can his work help inform our understanding of the larger European sexological exchange?

TJ Zawadzki is a member of the Wellcome Trust-funded 'Rethinking Sexology' project team at the University of Exeter, and is pursuing a PhD at Exeter on the emergence of sexual science in Poland.

The long nineteenth century: infanticide, foundling hospitals and social purity work

KANE G18

Aisling Shalvey (University of Strasbourg)

The Insanity Defence in Infanticide Cases in Manchester 1880-1889

This paper will examine the rise of the insanity defence and the question of culpability in infanticide cases in Manchester and its environs from 1880 to 1889. It will also investigate how the punishment for infanticide altered following the 1883 Trial of Lunatics Act. Non-medical testimony and newspaper reports influenced the jury as well as medical witnesses, as they gave information about the sanity of the accused. Joel Eigen's study addresses the Old Bailey cases of infanticide and the insanity defence, focusing on the urban centre of London. This paper will examine twenty cases tried at the Manchester assizes and ascertain whether this follows the same conclusions drawn by Eigen. Trial proceedings can infer what the jury thought of the case, while witnesses, attorneys and judges offer their opinion on the case and the sanity of the accused. Puerperal insanity became a more accepted diagnosis, focusing on the biological instability of the mother following childbirth, and the possibility that this could result in infanticide. Very few cases were acquitted on the grounds of insanity, but insanity was still considered and debated in each case. This paper addresses the criteria for ascribing a lack of sanity in the case of infanticide, and how this was determined through assize records and newspaper reports.

Aisling Shalvey a PhD student at the University of Strasbourg. Her current research, co-funded by the Fondation pour la Memoire de la Shoah, focuses on the paediatric clinic in the Reichsuniversitat Strassburg from 1941 to 1944.

Sarah-Anne Buckley (NUI Galway)

'After I told him, he left for Havana': narratives of Irish emigrant women in the London and New York Foundling Hospitals, 1850-1902

Over the past twenty years, the experience of pregnant unmarried women in Ireland, and leaving Ireland, has become a focus of historians, sociologists, journalists, and politicians. Much of this attention has been placed on institutionalisation, migration, and the curtailment of rights, with less focus on the narratives which led women to seek assistance. This paper will explore the stories of Irish women who sought assistance from the London and New York Foundling Hospitals in the nineteenth century. Through an examination of both the accepted and rejection petitions of the two institutions, the expectations of the women involved; their relationships with the father of their child; their families' involvement and how they narrate their own stories will be addressed. While there have been a number of accounts dedicated to the history of both institutions, with Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen's recent publication *Victorian Women, Unwed Mothers and the London Foundling Hospital* representing the most in-depth assessment of the Victorian era, the experience of Irish women and children deserves further attention. The paper will reveal how many of the women and men were engaged in consensual sexual relationships, but after the pregnancy was discovered these relationships ended. While a number of cases reference violence, the files primarily contain stories of broken engagements, daily meetings, adultery, cohabitation, poverty and anger. The men are sailors, dentists, brick layers, moneylenders and veterinary students. Migration is a common theme, with men traveling to Cuba, Australia, Bermuda and South America. While the women are often discussed in the context of their pregnancy and motherhood, this paper will explore their sexuality and agency.

Sarah-Anne Buckley lectures in History at NUI Galway and is president of the Women's History Association of Ireland. Her research interests include the history of child welfare in Ireland and Britain, the history of marginalised groups of women and children, and the history of youth.

Martin Walsh (University of Limerick)

'Keep your mind well occupied [and] crowd out the devil': social purity work and young working-class men in Ireland and Britain, 1875-1918

This paper takes a comparative look at the preventative campaigns by Irish and English social purity groups to ensure that young men, in both countries, acted with moral probity towards the women that they meet in their everyday lives. The background to these moral crusades are the campaigns to remove the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1864-6 from the English legislative books in the period 1869-1885. In a number of garrison towns in England and Ireland women suspected of carrying Venereal Diseases were subjected to intrusive examination and treatment to ensure they were clean. The legislation created a double standard of morality, whereby, women were blamed exclusively for the inappropriate behaviour being witnessed on the streets of England and Ireland. Men were not subjected to the same treatment and many viewed the legislation as an opportunity to act with impunity. In 1875, Josephine Butler established the National Social Purity Alliance in England, which attempted to inculcate young men with a sense of moral chivalry in their day to day lives. From this starting point the movement spread across England and Ireland. It is intended to chart the development of these societies and the work they carried out. In light of the centenary commemoration of the First World War, the paper will also focus on the campaigns to ensure moral probity amongst British Soldiers' stationed in Ireland, England and France. For most of these young men this was their first time outside of their own communities, and a genuine fear existed they would, in their free time, engage in immoral activities. The paper will conclude by briefly discussing the impact that the Great War had on these societies and whether or not their campaigns were successful.

Martin Walsh is currently researching campaigns by social purity groups in Ireland and Malta and is working on a commissioned biography provisionally titled Richard Devane S.J.: Social Commentator and Activist, 1876-1951.

Maternal bodies

ORB 132

Eiko Saeki (Hosei University, Tokyo)

The placenta and the ambivalent relations between maternal-foetal bodies in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868)

The modern notion of the body, based on Cartesian dualism is pervasive, despite numerous critiques, and this view has shaped discourses on reproduction, creating a tendency to focus either on the pregnant woman or the foetus. To theorize the inseparable status of the woman and her foetus, which is the very essence of pregnancy, this study sheds light on the meanings attached to and practices surrounding the placenta during the Tokugawa period in pre-modern Japan (1603-1868). Though often neglected in research on reproduction, a focus on the placenta allows us to elucidate how people understand the beginning of life, boundaries of the body, and the relationship between the maternal and foetal bodies. Drawing upon childrearing manuals, obstetrical textbooks, as well as children's books and illustrated story books, this paper deciphers how doctors and moral entrepreneurs considered the role and functions of the placenta; how popular literature described the placenta; and how elites and ordinary people treated the placenta after delivery. By doing so, I demonstrate that people in Tokugawa Japan held ambivalent views on the relationship between the maternal and foetal bodies. That is, while the pregnant woman's body was seen as a nurturer and protector to the foetus, it was also considered source of danger. People held strong beliefs that a pregnant woman's inappropriate behaviours would cause serious harm to the foetus, and the placenta was protecting the foetus from the toxins derived from the woman's inappropriate eating and drinking.

Eiko Saeki is an associate professor in the Faculty of Sustainability Studies at Hosei University in Tokyo. Her research specializes in politics of reproduction and sociology of the body. Her current project examines the competing conceptualizations of the beginning of life in the Tokugawa period in Japan.

Rachel Bennett (University of Warwick)

'Inmates of an entirely different class': regulating the maternal body in the nineteenth-century Irish prison

When we think of nineteenth-century prisons, we conjure up images of fortress-like structures wherein the harshest conditions prevailed for those incarcerated within their high walls. This paper will explore what it was like to be pregnant, to have a baby and to be a new mother in this carceral space. Drawing upon the overarching conference themes, it will examine how pregnancy and childbirth were incorporated spatially into the prison environment, through the inclusion of lying-in wards in the prison hospital and the creation of nurseries, but will also explore how the maternal body fitted into the prison regime. Irish convict prisons in the second half of the nineteenth century were intended to strictly regulate the criminal body by dictating a prisoner's daily diet, exercise and communication. However, the paper will demonstrate that, for pregnant women and new mothers, these things were contested, negotiated and adapted by prison authorities, including the medical officer. In turn, the maternal body was a source of concern for the authorities but also a vehicle for resistance on the part of the prisoner as it could act as a barrier to discipline. An additional key theme of this paper will be the debates over the presence of babies in the prison. While there were acknowledgments that infants under a certain age could not be removed from their mothers for practical as well as moral reasons, there were lamentations over issues surrounding the risk of moral contagion of the younger generation by their criminal mothers and the difficulty the presence of babies could pose to the maintenance of a strict penal regime.

Rachel Bennett is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Warwick. She works as part of the Wellcome Trust-funded project, 'Prisoners, Medical Care and Entitlement to Health in England and Ireland, 1850-2000'.

Judy Bolger (Trinity College, Dublin)

Breastfeeding in nineteenth-century Ireland

This paper seeks to determine if upper- and lower-class women in nineteenth-century Ireland had similar or different breastfeeding experiences. It analyses the class-related concerns regarding wet-nursing to offer a wider assessment of nineteenth-century attitudes towards maternal responsibilities. A qualitative analysis of contemporary medical literature is employed to determine the extent of knowledge and relevance such material may have had in women's infant feeding choices. With the use of case-studies and institutional records, various experiences of breastfeeding and wet-nursing are contrasted and analysed to highlight contemporary social concerns regarding motherhood. Issues such as an expanding medical profession, female autonomy, maternal responsibility and pauper vulnerability impacted on women's decisions to breastfeed. This paper will argue that upper-class Irish women were afforded flexibility in their mothering abilities as their decision to breastfeed was often based upon personal choices. However, lower-class, or poor Irish women's 'innate' ability to mother was often capitalised on through the employment of wet-nursing. As such, lower-class women's decision to breastfeed was often for financial reasons, rather than maternal responsibility.

Judy Bolger is a PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin. Her topic is institutionalised motherhood in Ireland during the nineteenth century.

A Free State? Sex, sexuality and reproduction in post-independence Ireland

ORB 123

Sandra McAvoy (Independent)

'Contraception is in itself intrinsically evil, and a direct violation of natural and divine law'

In 1930 the papal encyclical, *Casti Connubii*, characterised the Roman Catholic Church as 'standing erect in the midst of the moral ruin which surrounds her' and made clear that its position was that those who used any artificial method of fertility control would be 'branded with the guilt of a grave sin' (para. 56). In Ireland, legislation prohibiting the importation and sale of contraceptives was passed in 1935. Aspects of pre-1935 political discussion of contraception focused on public decency issues and related contraception to a perceived undermining of public morality. Arguments that access to contraception might be essential for the protection of some married women's health did have some traction but no provision was made for such access, perhaps because the dominant Catholic Church's position - that 'contraception is in itself intrinsically evil, and a direct violation of natural and divine law' - precluded exceptions. This paper draws on selected archival and published materials to examine aspects of anti-birth-control discourse as it related to both public and private morality and particularly its implications for women. It will include an analysis of a small group of texts that were designed to clarify Church teaching on intimate issues for the benefit of priests who might have to deal with parishioners' questions or confessions about the use of contraceptives. They included such matters as whether contraceptive use invalidated marriage, and whether it was permissible to use protection against venereal disease. Sources used are largely from a period that begins with the deliberations of the Evil Literature Committee in 1926 and ends in the mid 1940s.

Sandra McAvoy is a former coordinator of Women's Studies programmes in University College Cork. Her work has focused on the history of sexuality, particularly on the history and politics of reproductive rights in Ireland, and also on the history of the women's movement. She is a co-editor of Sexual Politics in Modern Irish History (2015).

Síle Healy Hunt (Independent)

Impaired morals, sexual deviancy and illegitimacy: the Public Dancehalls Act, 1935

There were calls for strict regulation of dancing in an effort to regulate the moral compass of the fledgling Free State in the early 1930s. Part of this regulation was the introduction of the Public Dancehalls Act 1935. In September 1938, the Department of Justice, in testing the efficacy of the Public Dancehalls Act 1935 instructed the Garda Síochána to furnish full details in a confidential report with regard to the licences granted in each jurisdiction, the conditions attached to each licence granted and the general observations made by each District Court Judge at the licencing sessions in relation to same from September to December 1938. A circular was sent to the superintendent of each district regarding same to gauge 'candid expression of opinion in the working of the Act and on the abuses alleged in some quarters to emanate from public dancing'. Superintendents examined the origin and place of the commission of sexual offences in their respective jurisdictions and gauged whether there was evidence of immorality at dances. The conclusion gathered on examination of the aforementioned reports throws into question previous assumptions and conclusions drawn by eminent commentators in relation to the Public Dancehalls Act 1935. The suspicions of dancehalls contributing to 'impaired morals' and unwanted pregnancy were unfounded. There was no concrete evidence to show a correlation between the prevalence of unmarried mothers and indecent assaults and the presence of dancehalls.

Síle Healy Hunt is an independent scholar. Her research interests include sexuality and the Public Dancehalls Act 1935, the social activities of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, 1800-1970, and censorship and communism in 20th-century Ireland.

Conor Heffernan (University College Dublin)

More Sinned Against than Sinning? Building the Body Beautiful in 1930s Ireland

Founded by Mary Bagot Stack, an Irish born woman in London in 1930, the Women's League of Health and Beauty quickly became one of the largest popular organisations of the 1930s. Boasting bases across the British Commonwealth, the League's uniform, emblem and messages of change became synonymous with a 'new woman' ideal. Aimed at women across the life cycle, the organisation became a means of empowering women to take charge of their own health, life and most importantly, their public identity. Through an examination of the previously neglected Irish branches, both North and South of the border, the following presentation examines the impact of the Women's League 1930s Ireland. In particular the presentation is concerned with the censorship measures enacted against the Southern Irish branch, which owing to clerical pressure, changed its attire, name and costume to more 'respectable', Catholic approved materials. While this may suggest a clipping of the League's influence, the presentation counterbalances this point with a discussion of the League's role in providing new exercise and recreational outlets for Irishwomen. Outlets that stressed ideas of modernity, change and female empowerment through the physical body. In doing so, the presentation draws heavily from post-modern and feminist critiques. In particular Judith Butler's ideas of performativity and Michel Foucault's technologies of the self are used to argue that Irish members within the Women's League of Health and Beauty simultaneously challenged and recreated gender identities through physical practices, despite the measures enacted against the group. The talk thus highlights the importance of the fleshy, lived body for female identity and sexuality.

Conor Heffernan is a PhD student at University College of Dublin, funded by the Irish Research Council and Universities Ireland. Studying the role of physical culture in Ireland from 1890 to 1939, his work is particularly concerned with the importance of exercise and bodily expressions in identity formation.

Friday, 3.35 – 5.00 pm

Gendered troubles in post-independence Ireland

KANE G18

Máire Leane (University College Cork)

Disciplining gendered troubles: discursive and symbolic representations of adolescent sexualities in the new Irish state

Drawing on clerical discourses, this paper considers representations of adolescent sexualities in Ireland in the early decades of the new state. It will explore the rendering of adolescents as discursive and symbolic subjects and tease out the ways, in which these renderings, were fused with class concerns, and implicated in a disciplining of gender.

Máire Leane holds the role of Dean in the office of the Deputy President and Registrar at University College Cork. Her academic work in the School of Applied Social Studies centres on sexuality, feminism, gender and disability. She co-edited Sexualities and Irish Society: A Reader (2014) with Elizabeth Kiely.

Liam O’Callaghan and David M. Doyle (Liverpool Hope University)

Gender, Sexual Morality and the Death Penalty in Independent Ireland, 1923-44

This paper examines capital cases with a sexual dimension in Ireland prior to the Second World War. Murder, its investigation, prosecution and punishment in Ireland often had strong sociological dimensions, and the study of individual cases offers fascinating insights into Irish society and social cleavages within it. Police reports, government memos, petitions and newspaper coverage of capital cases reveal the extent to which rape, infidelity and illegitimacy accompanied capital murder in the fledgling Irish state. Moreover, these various sources were heavily infused with intertwined discourses of gender, class and sexual morality. This paper, inevitably then, is primarily concerned with cases involving women. With particular focus on women as perpetrators, accomplices and victims, this paper will focus on the impact, if any, that the sexual element of various cases had upon the thinking of those involved in deciding whether to extend the prerogative of mercy to those under sentence of death. Another concern of this paper is the extent official sources and petitions conflated sexual immorality with class and gender. Placing capital cases with a sexual element in their historical, social and cultural contexts, this paper will offer a fascinating perspective on both official and hidden Ireland in the formative decades of independence.

Liam O’Callaghan is a Senior Lecturer at Liverpool Hope University. David Doyle is a lecturer in law at NUI Maynooth. They have co-authored a book on the history of capital punishment in Ireland that will be published by Liverpool University Press in 2019.

Eugenics and feminism

ORB 101

Merle Weßel

(University of Greifswald)

An Unholy Union? Eugenic Feminism in the Nordic Countries, c.1890-1940

Eugenics in the Nordic countries are mostly known through the notorious and long-standing sterilization laws in place between the 1930s and the 1970s. However, eugenics in the Nordic countries was a broad social movement that affected various parts of the people's lives. This paper looks at the connection between eugenics and feminism in the Nordic countries during the early twentieth century. The main question asked is why did some first-wave feminists find eugenics as appealing ideology? Additionally, how did the engagement of Nordic feminists in the debate about eugenics in connection with hygiene and public health, and their activity in various eugenic practices, shape the perception of the female body and female sexuality in the young Nordic welfare states? I argue, by analysing various publications of Nordic feminists, such as sex manuals, articles, pamphlets and books, that eugenic feminists used eugenic ideology as a method to empower women in the context of motherhood. The emphasis of the importance of the role of mothers as savers of race and nation would, feminists hoped, strengthen their social role and support demands for equal rights. However, women not fit for motherhood were denied equal rights and the eugenic feminists demanded restricted methods, such as institutionalization or sterilization, to prevent them from harming the national stock.

Merle Weßel is a lecturer in Nordic history at the University of Greifswald, Germany. Her main research interests are in gender history, cultural history and medical humanities in the 20th century. She is currently working on a project about the castration of sex offenders in Germany after the Second World War.

Mary Muldowney (Independent)

Moya Woodside – a compassionate eugenicist?

Moya Woodside was Honorary Secretary of the Belfast branch of the Society for Constructive Birth Control in the late 1930s and she also worked for the Belfast Welfare Committee in the same period. She became a psychiatric social worker in the 1940s and went on to work in deprived areas of London. Her support for eugenic ideas on population control is evident in her writings, including the diary she wrote in Belfast for Mass-Observation from 1940 to 1941. In 1951 Woodside became a Fellow of the Eugenics Society, supported by Dr C.P. Blacker who was an advocate of eugenic sterilisation. In 1946, Woodside had been sponsored by Dr Clarence Gamble of the pharmaceutical company Proctor & Gamble to take up a post in the Institute of Social Science in the University of North Carolina, to carry out a study of the impact of the 1933 Sterilisation Act in that state. She published the results of the research in 1950 in a book entitled *Sterilization in North Carolina: A Sociological and Psychological Study*. Although Woodside was in favour of voluntary sterilisation, in the 1960s her book was used by the Eugenics Board of North Carolina to justify the increased number of involuntary sterilisations of poor black women. The history of eugenic thought has been well documented in terms of Britain and the United States, but there has been no detailed examination of its influence on Ireland. In 1992, Greta Jones recommended an 'intensive and wide-ranging investigation' into the history of eugenics in Ireland but that has yet to be done. This paper will outline how Moya Woodside's work provides a valuable case study for examination of the relationship between class and income, and political and religious sectarianism in Ireland, Britain and the United States.

Mary Muldowney is an independent scholar and adult education consultant who designs and delivers training courses for community groups and trade unions. She is a leading Irish oral historian, whose books include The Second World War and Irish Women: an oral history (2007) and Trinity and its neighbours: an oral history (2009)

Perspectives on historical child sexual abuse

ORB 123

Kate Gleeson (Macquarie Law School, Sydney)

Sex, Race and Postcoloniality: implications for redress and reparations for child sexual abuse

In this paper I am concerned with the historical implications of the deceptively complex question of why it is that the Irish State has responded with comprehensive State-funded redress for historical child sexual abuse, when the Australian State has refused this remedy despite its international leadership exhibited in the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse. It is my argument that the difference in State responses ultimately and predominantly concerns race, and that contemporary responses to historical child sexual abuse must be appreciated through the combined lens of race, biopower and colonialism. I argue that the 19th and 20th century institutionalisation of children in each country represented a technique of biopolitics aimed at homogeneous racial purification and the health of the national population. Furthermore, the differing ways in which that race-based institutionalisation was understood and carried out in each country has had profound implications for the possibilities of redress today. In short, the institutionalisation of Irish children aimed to protect and cultivate an ‘Irishness’ that became ascendant in the Irish Republic through the repossession of colonised land and resources and reclamation of culture and language, and therefore may be acknowledged and redressed without disturbing the nation’s postcolonial identity. In contrast, the Australian race-based institutionalisation of children formed one stage of a coordinated program of ultimately inconclusive cultural and biological Indigenous genocide motivated by land acquisition, that cannot be acknowledged and redressed without fatally disturbing the national mythology of the Australian ‘settlement’ and provoking the ‘epistemological crisis’ of White Australia. Hence the ‘slow violence’ of race based colonialism endures in different ways in the various mythologies, cosmogonies and sexual histories of postcolonial states.

Kate Gleeson is senior lecturer and research director in Macquarie Law School, Sydney, Australia. She has published widely on the regulation of bodies, sex and sexuality in comparative and historical contexts.

Sinéad Ring (University of Kent)

Resisting the Harms of ‘Innocence’ through Memories: an alternative history of child sexual abuse in Ireland

This paper will explore the normative force of the trope of innocence in shaping and reconstituting Irish law’s relationship to the past. It will examine the body of case law that deals with claims of child sexual abuse dating back decades. This jurisprudence expresses a ‘standard account of child sexual abuse in Ireland’; that innocent children were abused by evil men who intimidated their victims into silence; that Irish society was ignorant of any wrongdoing, and therefore innocent of any complicity. In its claiming of a right to do memory acts, this account is violent in an ethical sense. In using innocence to close down talk of responsibility beyond individual perpetrators, law is defining the terms of history. The paper seeks to expose this violence and to offer a reading that reveals an alternative history of child sexual abuse in Ireland. The paper explores how the memories of victims, as expressed in the cases, may open up a space for consideration of law’s implication in a decontextualised version of history. While law is concerned with maintaining its own processes, a critical re-reading of the sources it uses to do so (victims’ memories) allow us to pose new questions about law’s and society’s complicity in the sexual abuse of children in the years from the founding of the Irish State until the turn of the millennium. This is a question that goes beyond our duties to victims; it involves how our most prominent institution for truth telling, the criminal trial, relates to the always-contested past.

Sinéad Ring is a Senior Lecturer at Kent Law School. She has published widely on the legal dimensions to historical child sex abuse in Ireland, as well as on abortion law.

Documenting Irish LGBT history

ORB 132

Sonya Mulligan and Ger Moane

Outitude: documenting Irish lesbian herstory (with excerpts from the forthcoming documentary)

The makers of the forthcoming documentary, *Outitude* introduce and discuss the film. *Outitude* explores the history of the Irish lesbian community in relation to grassroots activism, collectives, community, academia and politics from the 1970s to the present day.

Sonya Mulligan is the director of Outitude. She is a film-maker and writer who has been active in the Arts and in feminist and LGBT+ politics for more than 20 years. Her short films include Into the Wild (GAZE, 2011) and Staged (winner of IDSFMF best score, 2015). Ger Moane is the producer of Outitude. She is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at University College Dublin and has been an activist in feminist and LGBT+ politics for over 30 years. She has published in the areas of human rights, feminism and psychology, and has written about the development of lesbian politics and community in Ireland.

Edmund Lynch

A Different Country: Ireland's LGBT history (with excerpts from the award-winning documentary)

Based on over 180 interviews with Irish LGBT people and supporters of LGBT rights, *A Different Country* (2016) tells the inspiring story of a community's struggle against criminalisation and repression from the foundation of the Sexual Liberation Movement in 1973, through the decriminalisation of homosexual acts in 1993, up to the triumphant passing of the marriage equality referendum in 2015. The film won Best Documentary at the 2016 GAZE film festival. Director Edmund Lynch will discuss the film and play selected excerpts from its many interviews.

Edmund Lynch is a veteran LGBT activist, a filmmaker and a retired producer at RTÉ, the Irish national broadcaster.

Saturday, 9.45 – 11.45 am

***Queering Irish History: revealing, preserving and sharing
LGBT histories***

ORB 255

(Panel convened by Orla Egan)

Orla Egan (University College Cork/Cork LGBT Archive)

Queer Republic of Cork: the development of Cork's LGBT community and of the Cork LGBT Archive

Cork has a long and rich history of LGBT activism, community formation and development. Since at least the 1970s LGBT people in Cork have forged communities, established organisations, set up services and reached out to others. As well as campaigning for LGBT rights and providing services and supports to LGBT people, the LGBT community has played a vital role in movements for social justice and political change in Cork. Yet this community, like many other LGBT communities worldwide, has been largely invisible in historical accounts and its contribution to social and political change and developments largely unacknowledged. Versions of Irish LGBT history which do emerge usually focus on activities in Dublin, ignoring the dynamic activism throughout the rest of Ireland. In focusing on the development of the Cork LGBT community I hope to expand the existing narratives about Irish history and heritage and also about LGBT history in Ireland, moving beyond the predominant focus on activities in Dublin. Many of the 'firsts' in Irish LGBT activism happened in Cork, but this is often unknown or ignored; the first Irish Gay Conference (1980), the first Irish AIDS leaflet (1985), the first Irish Lesbian and Gay Film Festival (1991), the first LGBT float in a Patrick's Day Parade (1992). I have created the Cork LGBT Archive to gather, preserve and share information about the Cork LGBT Community. There is a both a physical collection and a digital archive. An Exhibition, *Queer Republic of Cork*, was organised as part of Irish Heritage Week in 2016 (winning a prize under the Hidden Heritage category) and a book of the same name was published in December 2016. This paper would highlight key moments in the development of the Cork LGBT Community and would explore the challenges and benefits of developing the Cork LGBT Archive.

*Orla Egan is a PhD student in Digital Arts and Humanities at University College Cork. She created the Cork LGBT Archive, using the Arthur Leahy collection, a private collection gathering since the 1970s. She created an online digital archive, corklgbtarchive.com, and is the author of *The Queer Republic of Cork* (2016).*

Páraic Kerrigan (NUI Maynooth)

Projecting a Queer Nation: mainstreaming queer identities on Irish documentary film

The documentary has been central to the media activism of gay and lesbian communities internationally. Several scholars maintain that the documentary has been crucial in creating a queer consciousness and consolidating community identities (see Dyer 1990; Gorman-Murray 2013; Waugh 1990; 2011). Thomas Waugh (2011) asserts that the form has been a 'primary means by which lesbians and gay men have carried out their liberation struggle' (248). In the post-Stonewall era of the 1970s however, Waugh notes that gay and lesbian documentaries were subjected to a blackout in public bodies and broadcasting, resulting from anxieties around representing gays and lesbians in mainstream media (2011, 110). The Irish media landscape during the seventies stands in contradiction to the US situation, where the country's public service broadcaster, Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) deployed the documentary as one of the first modes of representing queer Irish lives on screen. In a period where gay male sex acts were a criminal offence, the documentary served as a challenge to official Ireland's treatment of queer citizens. The focus of this paper is on two queer Irish documentaries: *Tuesday Report*

(1977) and *Access Community Television* (1984). It argues that mainstreaming approaches were a central representational strategy to these two documentaries that represented Irish gays and lesbians. This mode of representation was crucial as the documentary form in Irish broadcasting attempted to normalise social attitudes towards queer identities. The documentaries also reveal the cultural specificities of the Irish context, particularly relating to their imagined audience. Both addressed the Irish family, which Tom Inglis (1997) refers to as the dominant power basis of Irish society during the period. This attempted to reconfigure conceptualisations of the traditional, normative family. This paper concludes that the queer Irish documentary was integral in challenging public bodies and institutions to bring about social change, particularly regarding the criminalisation of homosexuality.

Páraic Kerrigan lectures in Media and Cultural Studies at NUI Maynooth where he is completing his doctorate entitled Queering in the Years: Gay Visibility in Irish Media, 1974-2008. He has published in journals including Media History, Studies in Documentary Film and Critical Studies in Television.

Patrick McDonagh (European University Institute, Florence)

*'The circumstances peculiar to organising gay people in the West are indeed a quare lot':
Gay and Lesbian Activism in 1980s Galway*

In the same year as the European Court of Human Rights ruled in favour of David Norris in his legal battle against the Irish state, the Galway Gay & Lesbian Collective were recipients of the Peadar O'Donnell Achievement Award. According to the *Galway Advertiser*, the awards were introduced to recognise 'people who work to improve the community we all share in'. This award was given before Norris' victory at the ECHR, and represented the first time an award was actually given to a gay/lesbian organisation in Ireland at that time. Yet, this moment has not made it into the 'official history' of gay and lesbian activism in Ireland. Instead, this 'official history' is dominated by an overwhelming focus on the legal battle and events centred in Dublin. Ignored in this narrative are the other forms and sites of activism outside Dublin. Gay liberation is not solely about institutional reform, nor, can it be brought about solely by legal battles. Gay liberation is more than institutional reform, it also includes, for example: the individuals acceptance of their sexuality, meeting other gay/lesbian individuals, developing a space to socialise in and feeling part of the broader society. This is brought about by gay and lesbian individuals, both inside and outside gay/lesbian organisations, through a myriad of different ways. In this paper, I want to explore some of the ways in which activists in 1980s Galway sought to promote a spirit of a gay community and gay/lesbian liberation. In particular, this paper asks where were the sites of provincial activism in Galway? What kind of activism took place here? How did activists reach out to isolated homosexual individuals? What challenges did provincial activists encounter? By broadening the scope of the movement to include a region outside Dublin, I hope to challenge the hitherto, Dublin-centric view of the gay/lesbian movement in the Republic of Ireland.

Patrick James McDonagh is a PhD researcher at the European University Institute where he works on the history of the Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement in the Republic of Ireland 1970s-90s. He is a contributor to the forthcoming Same-Sex Relationships in History (Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

Sara R. Philips (Transgender Equality Network of Ireland)

Living in the Shadows: trans identities in Irish history

When *Time* magazine declared that 2014 was the transgender tipping point, Ireland still did not recognise trans identities in law. It was another year before that was to happen. However, despite media attention and the fact that trans people have become more visible, the assumption is that the trans community arrived from nowhere. That of course is not the truth. Trans people have been part of society, including Irish society, throughout the centuries. Ireland has a rich history of those of us who have lived on the margins and while it may be difficult to research, there is no doubt we have left an indelible

mark. The Irish Trans Archive researches and curates our story and the impression it has left on Irish history. We examine some of the discourse over the past two centuries and discuss some of the individuals who bravely chose to live authentic lives in the gender they believed themselves to be.

Sara R Phillips is chair of the Transgender Equality Network of Ireland. For over thirty years Sara has researched trans history in Ireland and curates the Irish Trans Archive.

Fiachra Ó Súilleabháin (University College Cork)

'Coming out, Letting Go': gay fathers' narratives in Ireland

Personal politics, sexual politics and politics of the 'family' have entered a new era in Ireland, where gay couples today can have their relationship and family status legally recognised. This contrasts sharply with the description of Ireland in 1988 as the worst legal regime in Western Europe for lesbians and gay men (Robson, 1995). The pace of legal and social changes over the past two decades belies the negative influences heterosexism and heteronormative hegemony has had on LGBT+ people in Ireland, particularly those who grew up in an era when male homosexuality was both a crime and a mental disorder. Male homosexuality was constructed as immoral, evil and at odds with family life. Plummer (1995) has described how the stigma around homosexuality impacts negatively on a gay person's identity; 'shame and secrecy, silence and self-awareness, a strong sense of differentness – and of peculiarity – pervades the consciousness' (Plummer, 1995: 89). In terms of parenthood and parenting, Berkowitz (2008) discusses the 'devastating ways' heterosexism infiltrates gay men's procreative consciousness and argues that gay men's desires to become parents are intimately tied to the social and historical contexts in which they come of age. Heterosexuality and parenthood are deeply intertwined in Irish socio-cultural history. This paper will explore how growing up in the 1970s to mid-1990s influenced the procreative consciousness of gay men in Ireland. It is based on data from small-scale, qualitative interviews with seven gay fathers. During their in-depth interviews, they provided narratives about their life experiences and their journey to identify as gay, about their paths to parenthood, and about negotiating their sexual and parenting identities. These fathers' narratives demonstrate how societal views of male homosexuality during their youth and early adulthood resulted in them believing they would have forfeit parenthood by coming out. This paper provides an insight into hidden aspects of Ireland's LGBT+ history.

Fiachra Ó Súilleabháin lectures in social work in the School of Applied Social Studies, University College Cork. His research interests include LGBT+ studies and sexualities and social policy. Along with his colleague Máire Leane he is currently researching the experiences of trans young people in Ireland.*

Pornography, sexualisation and sex advice

ORB 203

Alicja Gontarek (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin)

Image sexualisation of Romani women in the interwar Polish press

The most important source of knowledge regarding the Romani minority is the Polish press, which constitutes a limitless reservoir of information on the Romani people on the Polish land. Registering, sometimes quite diligently, the indications of their presence and their culture, the press sources created at the same time a stereotypic image of the Romani people, influencing the collective consciousness of the mass reader. An analysis of the most important informational and political newspapers indicates that two stereotypes dominated coverage on the Romani minority – the negative one, presenting it as

people of lower category, prone to misdemeanours, especially thefts, and another one, opposing, which may be described as romantic. The sentimental description was dominated by an awe over the free, unencumbered nomadic life style. This strand also contains the description, which attested to excessive attention of the Polish author to the beauty and the outfit of the Romani women, which may be interpreted as a sign of superficial interest of the Romani culture. Emphasizing the charms of the young Romani girls became a rule in the 20th century – a detailed description of their faces was a main focus (eyes, lips, teeth, complexion, hair, bust) as well as colourful, compelling outfit and jewellery or other female fashion attributes. Basically, such perception attested not only to the idealisation of Romani women, but also to a far reaching sexualisation of the Polish ideas regarding the Romani women, which of course is not only a Polish trait. Similar creations were created in German or Austrian press, especially in the 19th century, although they were not only done by the male authors, but also by the female ones. Such image supported observations on other subjects related to the role of women in the Romani community, and of course it did not acquiesce to the reality (many members of the caravan suffered from poverty, lived in very harsh conditions, and were ridden with diseases, and their outfits were rather humble). Such image was strengthened in the 1930s when the Polish government decided to have officially supported the newly formed Romany representation (the so called King of the Gypsies from the Kwiek family). At that time the press titles were filled with the intense descriptions of the court life, in which women played an important role. They were mostly described as princesses and lovers, who were subjects of desire and who were being taken, which would have often begun intense conflicts between the royal clans.

Alicja Gontarek is an Assistant Professor at the Ethnic Research Unit of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin, Poland. Her publications include Żydzi Mińska Mazowieckiego w latach, 1918-1939 (2015). She is currently working on the history of Jewish and Gypsy people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Ciara Meehan (University of Hertfordshire)

'Has he called you frigid lately?' Sex advice in 1960s Irish women's magazines

Martin Kennedy posed this question in his column for *Woman's Choice* magazine in 1968. It was followed by another question, relating to intimacy during pregnancy: 'How are you to keep him happy during these difficult months?' The article had every appearance of being yet another piece of advice that encouraged wives to think of their husband's sexual needs. However, as one reader who subsequently wrote to the magazine put it, 'the article appreciated that marriage is a two-sided affair in the area of sex as in other areas'. At a time when the Bishop of Clonfert was denouncing RTÉ's *The Late Late Show* from the pulpit after an audience member quipped that she had not worn a nightdress on her honeymoon, Irish women's magazines were not dedicating giving significant column inches to the subject of sex, but they were also promoting female enjoyment of the act. Although RTÉ did much to bring certain issues into living rooms around Ireland and open up discussions, there were limits to the topics that could be covered. In contrast, magazines could push the boundaries in a way that television could not. This paper will explore the editorials, articles, advice columns and letters pages of 1960s Irish women's magazines for what they reveal about attitudes towards sex and sexuality. It will consider the 'guilt complex' expressed by numerous readers and the advice given in response. Ultimately, it will show how the magazines acted as important sites of information about a topic that was not comfortably or readily discussed in society.

Ciara Meehan is Head of History and Reader in History at the University of Hertfordshire. She is the author of The Cosgrave Party (2010) and A Just Society for Ireland? (2013). She is currently finishing a book on women's magazines, advice literature and everyday life in 1960s Ireland.

Caroline West (Dublin City University)

The Lovelace Legacy: lessons learnt from the world's first 'porn star'

The 1970s saw major changes to the production of pornography in America, and also a shift in societal attitudes to porn and sex. Until the 1970s those involved in porn were mainly anonymous, wearing masks and were generally prostitutes acting in short films often imported from Europe to America. The release of *Deep Throat* in 1972 irrevocably changed the course of the development of the porn industry and the status of the women working in it. With *Deep Throat* came the adult industry's first 'porn star' - Linda Lovelace. Lovelace's engagement with the celebrity circuit and later with anti-porn feminists and subsequent condemning of the porn industry has been the subject of much debate. This presentation will outline the social context of the film's release, and how Lovelace's experiences have been discussed within feminist circles. By examining the issue of exploitation in relation to Lovelace, we can learn about power relations within discourse on sexuality and build on Foucault's ideas around the relationship between power, sex and knowledge. This presentation will outline the lessons to be learnt from this point in the history of porn in how we study topics that are politically charged such as pornography, and how as researchers we have an ethics of consequences to adhere to when we write about sexuality and pornography, both in general discussions and within feminist discussions.

Caroline West is a PhD researcher based in Dublin City University. Her research looks at the experiences of women in the American pornography industry and how those experiences are treated within feminist discussions of pornography.

Representations of mothers and motherhood

ORB G27

Clodagh Tait (Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick)

The Mammy Returns: revenant mothers in Irish folklore

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Irish people believed that the dead might return either as ghosts, or because they were not truly dead, having been swapped for a 'changeling' and taken 'away' by the fairies. Hundreds of accounts of encounters with such revenants survive in the papers and publications of folklore collectors and in the Irish Folklore Commission archive. Mothers, especially those who had died soon after childbirth or when their children were still young, are often the focus of such narratives. Mothers had important supernatural roles in Irish lore, in protecting children from magical harm and rescuing them from fairy interference. Revenant mothers were believed to continue to care for their children even after they themselves had died or been taken. They were seen, heard and 'felt' advising on cures, dandling their babies, and undertaking household tasks such as spinning and sweeping. Some ghost mothers asked for prayers on behalf of their souls, and assisted their children at their time of death: they might also robustly defend the graves of their dead children. These stories tell us much both about supernatural beliefs and about ideas of 'good' mothering in the Irish part.

Clodagh Tait lectures in History at Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick. She has published on a wide variety of topics including commemoration, violence, martyrdom, childbirth and infant rearing, naming, religious culture, and the folklore of graveyards.

Heather Laird (University College Cork)

'I don't know what any o' yours ud do without your ma': common tropes in the representation of working-class motherhood in Irish literature

The figure of the overburdened and under-resourced mother valiantly struggling to look after and provide for her children dominated twentieth-century literary depictions of working-class Irish women, particularly in male-authored texts. In some narratives, such as James Plunkett's *Strumpet City* (1969), details provided of the day-to-day reality of maintaining a dwelling and family on a working-class wage function to expose the injustices of the economic and political status quo. In other works, including Paul Smith's *The Countrywoman* (1961), the portrayal of an impoverished yet diligent working-class mother allows for a damning appraisal of a church that encourages the woman to unquestionably accept her situation. This figure has also been utilised in Irish writing, most famously in Seán O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), to underpin a critique of 'abstract' politics. Juno Boyle is grounded in an unrelenting struggle to keep her family sheltered and fed. O'Casey's play forms an opposition between the 'real' instincts of maternal love, as personified by Juno, and the supposed illusory nature of political commitment, whether that commitment is to anti-treat republicanism or to the labour movement. In this paper, I argue that all three sets of narratives rely on an idealised and essentialist concept of motherhood. For example, the more fervently the reader believes that Mary Fitzpatrick in *Strumpet City* is a 'good' mother who is doing everything in her power to care for her children, the more successful are the condemnations offered in this text of prevailing economic and political forces. While the careworn but dutiful mother/nurturer is the dominant female figure in narratives that draw on Irish working-class life, some texts contain alternative or opposing versions of working-class motherhood. I provide a brief overview of these writings, exploring the extent to which they interrogate patriarchal ideologies of maternity. I focus in particular on works by women that challenge the idea of motherhood as 'natural', and foreground issues relating to the 'dark' side of maternity, including 'illegitimacy', abortion and infanticide.

Heather Laird is a postcolonial scholar and lecturer in the School of English, University College Cork. Her publications include Subversive Law in Ireland, 1879-1920 (2005), Commemoration (2018) and (as editor) Daniel Corkery's Cultural Criticism (2012).

Lorraine Grimes (NUI Galway)

'Such cases seem very annoying to you': the representation of Irish unmarried mothers in Britain, 1926-59

This paper explores the representation of Irish unmarried mothers in Britain from 1926-1959. It will investigate the stigma of illegitimacy and the representation of unmarried mothers as "immoral" in politics and society. This paper uses the records of philanthropic, government and religious organisations to examine perceptions of unmarried motherhood. This will be achieved through critical analysis of correspondence between Church clergy, lay workers and political leaders. It will focus specifically on those women who migrated to Britain seeking assistance from clergy and philanthropic organisations in Britain. It will incorporate the attitudes of clergy and lay workers, in both Ireland and Britain, towards the large numbers of Irish unwed mothers migrating to Britain. Were clergy and political leaders in Ireland happy with this emigration pattern putting less strain on the services in Ireland? Or were they ashamed of the large numbers seeking assistance abroad and the perceived failure of the State to provide for unmarried mothers and their children efficiently at home? This paper will explore these questions in further detail. In addition, this paper will briefly look at the repatriation scheme and efforts to send these women back to Ireland.

Lorraine Grimes is a PhD student at NUI Galway. Her research project is entitled 'Migration and Assistance: Irish Unmarried Mothers to Britain 1926-1967'.

Helga Krüger-Kirn and Leila Zoe Tichy (Philipps University of Marburg)
Motherhood and Gendered Parental Positions in Germany

This paper analyses media depictions of motherhood in Germany as a *longue durée* phenomenon. While taking into account the Foucauldian construct of the discourse, we also explore this topic from a psychoanalytical standpoint. We make use of two different empirical approaches: the first approach focuses on guidebooks about parenthood and the other on person-centred interviews. The guidebooks represent the current models of motherhood, but they are at the same time strongly influenced by traditional models of motherhood. The interviews will give us the opportunity to trace transgenerational models of motherhood, which are often unconscious. With the psychoanalytic perspective (*Tiefenhermeneutik*) we will be able to contextualise them with historical developments. Therefore, with our psychohistorical and psychoanalytical perspective, we will connect both socio-historical conditions to individual behaviour and vice versa. Recent academic research in Germany shows that although the forms of living as a family and of motherhood are becoming more diverse and the images of motherhood becoming more fluid, most young families are relying on the classic bourgeois family concept: the father as the main breadwinner and the mother as being primarily occupied with maternal work. Especially after the second child, this reversion to traditionalisation becomes virulent. While this backlash is prestructured by society, it remains unclear why the discourse about motherhood seems to have such a strong influence that overrides other personal and societal differences. Our question is how from a psychoanalytical perspective agendered notions and forms of parenthood fall prey to unconscious expectations of femininity and masculinity. Thereby we build on the thesis that, only by considering the constitutive interdependence of subjective parenthood schemes and unconscious gendered identifications, the paradoxical forms of lived fatherhood/masculinity and motherhood/femininity can be elucidated.

Helga Krüger-Kirn is a psychoanalyst and researcher about motherhood, gender relations and bodily experience at the Philipps University Marburg. Her publications include Motherhood - between construction and experience (2017). Leila Zoe Tichy works as a researcher at the Philipps University Marburg. She combines a theoretical approach with qualitative empirical research, currently in the field of feminism, motherhood and gendered parental positions. They work together on an interdisciplinary research project entitled 'Crisis of gender relations? Anti-Feminism as a threat to social integration'.