

The Anti-Abortion Campaign in England, 1966–1989

This book comprises a history of the anti-abortion campaign in England, focusing on the period 1966–1989, which saw the highest concentration of anti-abortion activity during the twentieth century. It examines the tactics deployed by campaigners in their efforts to overturn the 1967 Abortion Act. Key themes include the influence of religion on attitudes towards sexuality and pregnancy; representations of women and the female body; and the varied, and often deeply contested, attitudes towards the status of the fetus articulated by both anti-abortion and pro-choice advocates during the years 1966–1989.

Olivia Dee is an oral historian of gender, women and reproductive rights based at Queens University Belfast, on the Northern Ireland Mother and Baby Homes and Magdalene Laundries project. She completed her PhD from Royal Holloway, University of London in 2017.

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The Anti-Abortion Campaign in England, 1966–1989

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Olivia Dee

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For Evan, Stella, Mum and Dad



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incredible strong women in my life, whose drive and ambition have kept me motivated for years. I am so impressed with you all, and so proud to know you.

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Abbreviations

ALRA	Abortion Law Reform Association
ALDU	Association of Lawyers in Defence of the Unborn
BCC	Birth Control Campaign
BMA	British Medical Association
<i>BMJ</i>	<i>British Medical Journal</i>
BPAS	Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service
BPAS	British Pregnancy Advisory Service
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
FPA	Family Planning Association
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
NAC	National Abortion Campaign
PAS	Pregnancy Advisory Service
SPUC	Society for the Protection of Unborn Children
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement



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Introduction

How can a woman's capacity to be a mother be measured before she has a child? Fecklessness, a bad background, being a bad manager—these are handicaps, but they are nothing to do with love, that indefinable bond, no matter how bad the social conditions, no matter how strange or difficult the circumstance, which links a mother to her child and makes her cherish it.¹

These words, spoken by Labour MP Kevin MacNamara were used to oppose the legalisation of abortion during the Second Reading of the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill in July 1966. This speech was an example of the tone of anti-abortion discourse that was to become so prevalent in the years after abortion was legalised by the 1967 Abortion Act. MacNamara's words were representative of the fervent ideology of the anti-abortion movement, which prioritised the protection of the foetus and cherished motherhood. MacNamara articulated traditional ideas about the trajectory of women's lives, including expectations around marriage and reproduction by underlining how, in his opinion, motherhood was an intrinsic part of every woman's psychology and biology. This book examines this campaign in depth for the first time, documenting the creation and expansion of the anti-abortion movement in England; its tactics, rhetoric and motivations. This campaign, still in evidence today, formed in reaction and response to the partial legalisation of abortion, would spend the following decades engaged in the crusade to restrict access and emphasise the dangers of abortion both to individual women and to the moral fabric of England overall.

The period 1966 to 1988 saw the highest concentration of anti-abortion activity during the twentieth century. Based on evidence from original oral history interviews, as well as significant archival research, this book represents the first major history of the English anti-abortion movement and focuses on the period between two turning points: the 1967 Abortion Act and the Alton Bill. The 1967 Abortion Act, which partially legalised abortion in England, was the result of half a century of

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political lobbying by the Abortion Law Reform Association, a pressure group which worked constantly to force the abortion issue into Parliament. In 1988, after over twenty years of pressure from anti-abortion campaigners, David Alton MP brought a bill before the Commons which aimed to restrict access to abortion. Despite significant support from the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children and LIFE, the two primary anti-abortion groups, the bill failed to progress. Its collapse was perceived as a watershed moment and led to (sometimes bitter) splits and divisions among anti-abortion campaigners. This book examines the tactics deployed by campaigners in their efforts to overturn the 1967 Abortion Act: examining the role and influence of religion, with particular emphasis on Christianity; attitudes towards sexuality and pregnancy; anti-abortion representations of women; and the deeply contested attitudes towards the status of the foetus in both pro-choice and anti-abortion discourse.

The research questions and methodology for this book were designed to analyse the form and development of the anti-abortion movement, as well as illuminate and contribute to the history of women and gender in twentieth-century Britain. In order to address the significant academic and historiographic lacuna on abortion in modern English scholarship, I began with a set of research questions to provide an expansive history of the English anti-abortion movement. Who formed the emerging anti-abortion groups? What tactical decisions did these organisations make within the campaign? Why and how did they pursue particular campaigns? Finally, why did they fail to overturn the partial legalisation of abortion? These questions were integral to this research, since no comprehensive, objective, history of the movement existed to reference. My research presents an alternative to the conceptual and historiographical preoccupation with narratives that emphasise fertility, pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood by focusing on anti-abortion discourse around women who chose to disrupt that process. I chose instead to emphasise the parallel narratives of women who refused this role or who, physically and mentally exhausted by it, sought to change their own relationship to motherhood.

The personal commitment and conviction of English anti-abortion activists ensured that writing the history of this movement would likely require a wide range of archival source material, but in order to reconstruct some of the thornier, less public parts of the history, this material had to be accompanied by oral history research. The focus of academic writing has been on the subject of abortion in relation to the pro-choice movement, which fought to secure legal abortion, and then spent decades defending the 1967 Abortion Act against attempts at restrictive reform from anti-abortion MPs and organisations. When the Wellcome Library acquired the full archive of the Abortion Law Reform Association in 1982 and the National Abortion Campaign in 2012, this history was

increasingly navigable, ensuring that it was now possible to examine in minute detail the committee minutes, private correspondence and internal memoranda of such pivotal activists as Madeleine Simms, Diane Munday, Stella Browne and Janet Chance, amongst others. The ALRA collections and related material have been utilised by academic researchers into the abortion reform movement, including historians such as Lesley Hall, who used the collection for her research on Stella Browne, a pro-choice campaigner in the 1930s,² and by Emma Jones, and Anne-Marie Kilday and David S. Nash, who used this material to explore the letters sent to the ALRA by (often desperate) women seeking abortions.³

What is missing from this research is the history of the opposition to these groups who worked so industriously for access to free, legal and safe abortion. These archives are particularly instrumental for this thesis as well, in as much as they provide reflections, tactical strategies and private discussions about the nature of a political enemy. Neither of the two main anti-abortion organisations, the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children (SPUC) nor LIFE have formal archives, a factor which underlined the importance of conducting oral histories to be analysed alongside existing archives. SPUC did allow me to examine their collection of related newspaper articles collected from 1966 until present day. This material constituted a thorough record of the mentions of abortion in national news media, and was therefore useful in developing an understanding of how the movement was received, and, in a wider context, the period in which abortion reform became part of the national consciousness. In addition, issues of *Human Concern*, SPUC's newsletter, and *LIFE News*, LIFE's own publication, were crucial to constructing detailed chronologies, and worked well in conjunction with the ample source material for the ALRA and contemporaries.

The term 'pro-life' is more recent than the creation of anti-abortion groups in England. The first instances of usage in English newspapers tend to be after 1973, when abortion became legal in America, and the term 'pro-life' became used more frequently. *The Observer* referenced 'the pro-life lobby' in a letter from Madeleine Simms, a member of the ALRA, in 1976.⁴ In 1977, another letter in *The Guardian* referenced 'pro-life supporters.'⁵ In a *Daily Mail* editorial in 1981, Malcolm Muggeridge referred to a 'pro-life candidate' in a Croydon election⁶ and *The Times* reported a speech by Ronald Reagan in 1986 which discussed 'anti-abortion "pro-life" lobbyists.'⁷ This book utilises primarily the 'anti-abortion' moniker. 'Pro-life' is a more recent term, as just explained, but has connotations with modern discourse that were not as relevant during the time period I have chosen to focus upon. 'Anti-abortion' is a factual representation of its ideology. Again, I use 'pro-choice' because of the movement's own use of that label, and its reflection of the message of the campaign. Where possible, I avoid 'pro-abortion' and 'anti-choice,'

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the traditional names given to the opposite movement by the two sides, and perhaps less reflective of how each group would identify itself.

A Note on Oral History

It is striking, given the chronic paucity of existing evidence, that our understanding of marital contraceptive practices has not been enriched by any systematic oral history. Where previous oral histories have considered such issues, their interest has only been marginal.⁸

In her study on birth control in the early to mid-twentieth century, Kate Fisher discusses the methodological benefits of employing oral history and archival research simultaneously, especially in the case of subject matter where the archival research is less accessible or less likely to deal with the personal:

It is easy to see the benefits of using this method to investigate a subject such as birth control behaviour, where little material on the details and meanings of everyday practices, choices, preferences and beliefs exists in archival sources. Moreover, where individuals do appear in written sources it is frequently in a snapshot of their lives framed by others' concerns at a particular time.⁹

This critique of archival evidence rings true particularly in the case of the anti-abortion movement.¹⁰ A good deal of the available archival material is framed from the perspective of the organisation or individual who collated it, and used it to create a profile of the anti-abortion movement. Absent within this are personal, individual reflections on how these practices were constructed, and why. Fisher was aware that the archival material on her subject was unlikely to explore the individual experiences of sexuality that were not included in the quantitative or qualitative data available. In particular, Fisher emphasised how 'preconceived' notions about contraception and the advice given in marriage manuals were in fact challenged by the oral history research.¹¹ My own methodological decisions were taken to address these particular concerns, and to reflect my belief that the history of the movement itself requires the voices of those who were so committed to ensuring its success. As a researcher, I wanted to understand the motivations and tactical choices made by anti-abortion activists and the reason for their commitment to the movement which fought so tenaciously against legalised abortion.

Oral history and women's history have much in common; both turn the 'camera' of history away from the gaze of traditional historians and to the lives of others. In the same way that the creation of women's history opened up the stories and experience of half of the human race,

oral history projects the voices of those who had not previously been considered, including minorities, women, workers and members of the LGBTQ+ community. It was my belief that, for a project like this to succeed, the oral history component was vital to push past the history in the archives, and understand the stories of the members of the movement who might otherwise be lost. In order to write the history of a movement generated by the tireless work of individual activists, I wanted to use oral history to strengthen the archival material, and allow the members of the movement to share their own narratives.

Notes

1. Kevin McNamara. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 July 1966, vol 732 col 1067–165) <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/jul/22/medical-termination-of-pregnancy-bill#S5CV0732P0_19660722_HOC_13> (accessed 10 August 2017), p. 1129.
2. Lesley A. Hall, *The Life and Times of Stella Browne: Feminist and Free Spirit* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2011).
3. Anne-Marie Kilday and David S. Nash, *Shame and Modernity in Britain: 1890 to the Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Emma Jones, 'Attitudes to Abortion in the Era of Reform: Evidence from the Abortion Law Reform Association Correspondence,' *Women's History Review*, 20(2) (2011).
4. Madeleine Simms, 'Letter,' *The Observer*, 31 October 1976, p. 14.
5. Eugene Fraser, 'Letter,' *The Guardian*, 28 February 1977, p. 14.
6. Malcolm Muggeridge, 'The Vision of Life That Wins My Vote,' *Daily Mail*, 15 October 1981, p. 6.
7. Michael Binyon, 'Reagan's Pledge on Abortion,' *The Times*, 24 January 1986, p. 5.
8. Kate Fisher, *Birth Control, Sex and Marriage in Britain 1918–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 3.
9. Kate Fisher, *Birth Control, Sex and Marriage in Britain 1918–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 13.
10. Fisher used her own example, discussing how the lives of individuals and their interaction with birth control could be used to promote 'horror stories' related to traditional birth control methods for the purposes of promoting a new family planning clinic. (Kate Fisher, *Birth Control, Sex and Marriage in Britain 1918–1960* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006], p. 13).
11. Fisher argued that despite advice given in marriage manuals and those dedicated to family planning and sex, and despite 'assumptions of demographers and historians,' the belief that women were adopting new birth control methods because of a sense of 'frustration' with more traditional methods like withdrawal was not proved by the extensive oral history research. Fisher found instead that many interviewees, married between the 1920s and 1940s, had 'positive' reasons for continuing with their traditional methods, and were still managing to restrict their families to between one and three children. In addition, she argued that preconceptions about feminism and birth control attributed a position of power and agency to women when it came to contraception, supported by archival evidence that the oral history seemed to discredit. (Kate Fisher, *Birth Control, Sex and Marriage in Britain 1918–1960* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006], p. 9).

by the continuous attempts at reform across a changing political landscape. In 1970, the Conservatives secured victory in the general election, and Prime Minister Edward Heath's government presided over the Lane Committee, an in-depth investigation into the working of the 1967 Abortion Act, which concluded unanimously that the Act was working well and required no legislative amendment. When Labour returned to power in 1974 it was a Labour politician, James White, who would push for restrictive amendments and a second Select Committee to scrutinise possible abuse of the law. When the Conservatives regained power in 1979, two significant challenges to the Act from Conservative John Corrie and Liberal David Alton were high profile, but unsuccessful. In the early stages of abortion reform, in the decades after the Act was ratified, there was an emphasis in most parties on individual conscience and not party line. The Conservatives mentioned abortion in their 1974 manifesto but referred generically to changes dependent on the outcome of the Lane Committee in 1974.⁹⁸ Labour did not make access to abortion part of their manifesto until 1983, when they advocated for better facilities but acknowledged the conscience clause for those who could not support abortion for religious or personal reasons:

While continuing to defend and respect the absolute right of individual conscience, we will improve NHS facilities for family planning and abortion, including counselling and day-care; and we will remove barriers to the implementation of the existing right of choice for women in the termination of a pregnancy.⁹⁹

Despite the recognition of the conscience clause, particularly significant is the recognition of women's choice in the abortion decision, reflecting the increased visibility of the Women's Liberation Movement and the push for abortion on demand, including for women in Northern Ireland. In 1992, the Liberal Democrats made abortion part of the party line, and support for elements of abortion law became party policy. During their conference in Harrogate in 1992, they stated that despite upholding the conscience clause in theory, an alternative practitioner must always be found to provide the termination, for the first time establishing a policy on abortion access.¹⁰⁰ Yet for the duration of the period of focus for this book, abortion remained a matter of personal conscience, and was often unbound by party doctrine.

Notes

1. Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England* (London: Croon Helm, 1988), p. 25.
2. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p. 277.
3. 9 Geo. III c.58 Lord Ellenborough's Act (1803) I.

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4. 9 Geo. III c.58 Lord Ellenborough's Act (1803) II.
5. Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England* (London: Croon Helm, 1988), p. 24.
6. Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England* (London: Croon Helm, 1988), p. 22.
7. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p. 279.
8. It is important to note that the 1967 Abortion Act amended this legislation, and therefore this legislation is still in effect in England today. Offences Against the Person Act 1861 (Paragraph 58) <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/vict/24-25/100> (accessed 6 November 2016).
9. Offences Against the Person Act 1861 (Paragraph 58) <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/vict/24-25/100> (accessed 6 November 2016).
10. Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England* (London: Croon Helm, 1988), p. 23.
11. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p. 284.
12. Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England* (London: Croon Helm, 1988), p. 3. See also Angus McLaren, *The Victorian Serial Killings of Dr Thomas Neil Cream* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1993) for more on these advertisements.
13. A contemporary publication.
14. 'Quacks and Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 3 February 1900, p. 356.
15. 'Quacks and Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 3 February 1900, p. 356.
16. 'Quacks and Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 3 February 1900, p. 356.
17. 'Quinine as an Abortifacient,' *The Lancet*, 17 May 1919, p. 841.
18. 'Abortion, Criminal and Other,' *The Lancet*, 2 February 1929, p. 242.
19. 'Abortion, Criminal and Other,' *The Lancet*, 2 February 1929, p. 242.
20. 'Abortion, Criminal and Other,' *The Lancet*, 2 February 1929, p. 242.
21. 'Death from Apiol Used as Abortifacient,' *The Lancet*, 16 June 1956, p. 937. For more on apiol and its use as an abortifacient, see Edward Shorter, *Women's Bodies: A Social History of Women's Encounter with Health, Ill-Health and Medicine* (London: Transaction Publishers, 1991).
22. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p. 84.
23. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977), p. 86.
24. Ann Furedi and Mick Hume eds., *Pioneers of Change: Abortion Law Reformed* (London: BPAS, 1997), p. 45.
25. Stephen Brooke, *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 102.
26. Stephen Brooke, *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 102.
27. Lesley A. Hall, *The Life and Times of Stella Browne* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2011), p. 208.
28. Rowbotham argues that Browne's pro-choice attitude alienated her from both feminists and socialists. The older generation of feminists could not see a link between liberation and sexuality. To contemporary socialists, sexuality was seen as irrelevant to politics. For more information on the foundation of the ALRA, see Sheila Rowbotham, *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States* (London: Penguin Books, 1997); Stephen Brooke, *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
29. For more on the intersection of eugenics, feminism and abortion, see Alison Bashford and Susanne Klausen, 'Eugenics, Feminism and Fertility Control,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford and New

- York: Oxford University Press, 2010). See also M. Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Lesley Hall, 'Eugenics, Sex and the State: Some Introductory Remarks,' *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 39(2) (2008).
30. The ALRA argued that families on an income of less than £3 a week constituted the largest section of the community, and that this was the primary reason for seeking abortion. Women wanted to maintain a standard of living for the existing family, and another child would have disrupted the best interests of the family. The other reasons were 'undesirability' of a birth from rape, incest or assault; underage status of the mother; loss of employment; the threat of congenital disease; death or desertion of wage earner; or that the strength and happiness of the mother would be threatened by another pregnancy. The association argued that alternatives to legalisation like abortion panels, harsher penalties and differentiation between married and unmarried women would push abortion underground, whereas contraceptive awareness, the recognition of voluntary parenthood and legalisation would actively decrease the need for abortion. See 'Memorandum for Presentation to the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion' (1937) in Alice Jenkins, *A Law for the Rich* (London: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1964), p. 90.
 31. Spontaneous abortions refer to miscarriages. House of Lords, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health 1938–1939* (HC 1939 (6089)) (London: The Stationery Office, 1999), pp. 39–40.
 32. House of Lords, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health 1938–1939* (HC 1939 (6089)) (London: The Stationery Office, 1999), pp. 39–40.
 33. A Labour Councillor for Shoreditch and the daughter of George Lansbury, Thurtle argued that the government should make a commitment to the problem of illegal abortion, and should recognise the voice of working-class women on the subject of their own reproductive health. She disagreed with the view that women were 'ignorant and uninstructed' with regard to reproduction, arguing that they were 'better instructed than any, because they are or represent the victims of the existing order of affairs.' (See Stephen Brooke, *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011], p. 112.) Thurtle, an outsider in the committee, was not satisfied with the dismissive attitudes to working-class women, believing that they were the best judge of their own capabilities and their own methods. She sought 'a clarification of the existing law,' advocating for victims of rape and incest, as well women who were pregnant, under the age of consent or had already taken four pregnancies to term. However, with the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the Minority Report and the majority of recommendations were abandoned in favour of the more immediate challenges of the conflict. (See House of Lords, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health 1938–1939* (HC 1939 (6089)) (London: The Stationery Office, 1999), p. 39.)
 34. Keith Hindell and Madeleine Simms, *Abortion Law Reformed* (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1971), p. 69.
 35. Anthony Hordern, *Legal Abortion: The English Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), p. 8.
 36. Anthony Hordern, *Legal Abortion: The English Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), p. 9.
 37. The Bourne judgement was strengthened by two other court cases over the next few years, which both established the rights of doctors to act in good faith if a termination was required. In the case of *Rex vs Bergman and Ferguson* ten years earlier, two doctors were acquitted after involvement in the abortions of four women. In this case, the judge focused on the 'honesty of

purpose,' underlining the issue of 'good faith,' which had been so integral to the Bourne judgement. In 1958, the case of *Rex vs Newton and Stungo* concerned two doctors convicted of procuring a miscarriage and constructive manslaughter. Psychiatrist Dr Stungo had referred the patient to Dr Newton, believing her to be suicidal because of her pregnancy. Stungo was acquitted because his decision was clearly a result of genuine concern for the well-being of the patient. Dr Newton was convicted on the basis of his inordinately large fee of £75, the secretive nature of the operation and the apparent medical malpractice—operating on a woman alone and neglecting to provide adequate aftercare. Despite the eventual prosecution of Dr Newton, the focus was on the absence of 'good faith' rather than the legal or illegal nature of the abortion. For further detail on these cases, see Michael Clark and Catherine Crawford, *Legal Medicine in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

38. Aleck Bourne, *A Doctor's Creed* (London: Gollancz, 1962), p. 98.
39. Aleck Bourne, *A Doctor's Creed* (London: Gollancz, 1962), p. 98.
40. Aleck Bourne, *A Doctor's Creed* (London: Gollancz, 1962), p. 99.
41. John Smeaton, 'Please Pray for SPUC on Our 45th Anniversary,' *SPUC Director Blog* <<http://spuc-director.blogspot.co.uk/2012/01/please-pray-for-spuc-on-our-45th.html>> (accessed 5 May 2017).
42. Keith Hindell and Madeleine Simms, *Abortion Law Reformed* (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1971), p. 70.
43. Claire Sewell, 'If One Member of the Family Is Disabled the Family as a Whole Is Disabled: Thalidomide Children and the Emergence of the Family Carer in Britain, c.1957–1978,' *Family & Community History*, 18(1) (2015), p. 40.
44. Madeleine Simms, 'Abortion – A Note on Some Recent Developments in Britain,' *British Journal of Criminology*, 4(5) (1963–4), p. 492.
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84. It is worth briefly considering Private Members' Bills in more detail, as so many attempts to amend the 1967 Abortion Act were defeated tactically or by the nature of the parliamentary process itself. There were several avenues an MP could pursue if they wished to propose new legislation. A Private Member's Bill was introduced by MPs and members of the House of Lords (if they are not government ministers) and could cover a large range of subjects. These bills could be proposed in three ways. It could be raised during the ballot, where members drew places; usually the first few in ballot would secure parliamentary time for their bills. Members could also suggest bills during Presentation, but these were primarily a way of introducing an idea. Finally, bills could be discussed as part of the Ten-Minute Rule, in which members could voice opinions or draw attention to a particular issue, highlight problematic aspects of current legislation, or suggest possible improvements or amendments. Again, the Ten-Minute Rule was primarily a platform rather than a method of enacting concrete change. For more on this process, see Philip Norton, *The Commons in Perspective* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985), pp. 99–101.
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This chapter has illuminated the fractured and often polarised nature of progressive, permissive legislation, and that abortion reform was an integral part of the debates around privacy and the state. Pro-choice and anti-abortion groups, politicians and individuals were in conflict over everything, including the prevalence of illegal abortion, the status of the foetus and abortion in cases of foetal disability or maternal danger. From the outset, there were disagreements within the anti-abortion community, as it struggled to define what 'anti-abortion' actually meant. By 1970, two prominent anti-abortion groups had been established, with an initial sense of collegial cooperation between them, yet over the following decades an unrelenting series of attempts to repeal or modify the 1967 Abortion Act would prove demoralising and destructive to anti-abortion campaigns. As later chapters explore, by 1989, the frictions between organisations and sometimes individual campaigners became more visible and campaigners' hopes of a unified and successful anti-abortion lobby were to remain unrealised.

Notes

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90. Keith Hindell and Madeleine Simms, *Abortion Law Reformed* (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1971), p. 96.
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92. Shirley Lewis, 'Shirley Lewis Investigates the Lobby Against the Abortion Law Reform Bill,' *The Guardian*, 14 February 1967, p. 6.
93. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* (Leamington Spa: LIFE, 2007), p. 9.
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96. J.J. Scarisbrick, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 14 March 2016.
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that no changes to the legislation were needed. Yet White was now able to capitalise on the stories that were widespread, published in national newspapers and in one incendiary text. White's bill was widely considered to have been influenced by *Babies for Burning*, and it seemed to benefit from the wave of uncertainty and controversy generated by the allegations made in the book. In his appraisal of the proposed amendment, David Steel claimed that White had cited the book as his primary authority on abortion, and a collective of obstetricians and gynaecologists agreed:

There is no doubt that *Babies for Burning* played a considerable part in the lobbying that preceded the debate on Mr James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill. It was lauded in print by Mr Leo Abse, MP, the main architect of the Bill. Mr White named it as a source of his knowledge on the subject and other MPs have told how it influenced their thinking.⁹¹

Using an unsubstantiated and sensationalist text as the primary research source for an amendment bill was a cause for concern amongst pro-choice campaigners, especially after the publication of the Lane Report, which had been produced over two and a half years and was based on a wealth of written evidence and oral testimony. In addition, White was influenced by experiences in his own constituency. In 1969, it had been reported that an aborted foetus in a Glaswegian hospital had been discovered alive on its way to the incinerator.⁹² The abortion, carried out legally under the terms of the 1967 Abortion Act, was a substantial piece of evidence for those who opposed abortion and who felt this alleged episode reflected the dangers of legalising abortion at an arbitrary and potentially inaccurate gestational period. In this case, it was alleged that the mother, who had claimed to be eighteen to twenty weeks pregnant, was closer to thirty-one weeks at the time of termination.⁹³ Norman St John Stevas claimed that the disturbing report proved that the Abortion Act had 'created a climate of disregard for infant and foetal life.'⁹⁴ The event had clearly made an impression on White, who chose to target abuses of the 1967 Abortion Act with his Abortion (Amendment) Bill, tabled on 7 February 1975.

Notes

1. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579 to 5579-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 184.
2. Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish, *Babies for Burning* (London: Serpentine Press, 1974), p. 181.
3. Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish, *Babies for Burning* (London: Serpentine Press, 1974).

4. Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish, *Babies for Burning* (London: Serpentine Press, 1974), pp. 145–150.
5. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (15 July 1969, vol 787 col 411) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1969/jul/15/abortion-Amendment>> (accessed 20 August 2017), p. 411.
6. John Biggs-Davidson, 'One Man's Westminster: John Biggs-Davidson M.P.', *The Tablet*, 26 July 1969, p. 3.
7. 'The First Year of the Abortion Act', *The Lancet*, 26 April 1969, p. 867.
8. 'The Case Against Legalised Abortion', *The Times*, 11 December 1967, p. 13.
9. 'The Big Fear of Doctors Who Will Operate the New Law', *Daily Mail*, 19 April 1968; Tim Jones, 'Anomalies in the Working of the Abortion Act', *The Times*, 30 December 1968, p. 4.
10. Elspeth Rhys-Williams, 'Letters: Abortion Act', *The Times*, 28 June 1969, p. 9.
11. Ann Shearer, 'BMA Will Not Alter Ethical Code for Abortion Act', *The Guardian*, 1 April 1968, p. 4.
12. John M. Finnis, 'Abortion and Legal Rationality', *Adelaide Law Review*, 3 (1970), p. 459 <http://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law_faculty_scholarship/3> (accessed 19 December 2016).
13. Laurence Marks, 'Rising Abortion Demand Floods Hospitals', *The Observer*, 11 August 1968, p. 1.
14. 'Advice on Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 9 November 1968, p. 1025.
15. Keith Hindell and Madeleine Simms, *Abortion Law Reformed* (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1971), p. 217.
16. M. Sim, 'Advice on Abortion', *The Lancet*, 23 November 1968, p. 1193.
17. E. Tuckman, 'Advice on Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 30 November 1968, p. 1193.
18. Madeleine Simms, 'Advice on Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 7 December 1968, p. 1240.
19. Wendy Savage, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 14 April 2016.
20. Laurence Marks, 'Rising Abortion Demand Floods Hospitals,' *The Observer*, 11 August 1968, p. 1.
21. Laurence Marks, 'Rising Abortion Demand Floods Hospitals,' *The Observer*, 11 August 1968, p. 1.
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24. William Breckon, 'Mother of 6 Dies After £50 Abortion,' *Daily Mail*, 5 February 1969, p. 5.
25. 'Open Verdict on Abortion Death,' *The Times*, 13 June 1969, p. 2.
26. Symposium on the 1967 Abortion Act. See 'Abortion,' *The Lancet*, 15 February 1969, p. 355.
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28. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 300.
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31. Tim Jones, 'Anomalies in the Working of the Abortion Act,' *The Times*, 30 December 1968, p. 4.

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33. I.M. Ingram, 'Abortion Games: An Inquiry into the Working of the Act,' *The Lancet*, 30 October 1971, p. 969.
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35. Malcolm Nicolson and John E.E. Fleming, *Imaging and Imagining the Fetus: The Development of Obstetric Ultrasound* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 239.
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38. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 301.
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41. Wendy Savage, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 14 April 2016.
42. H.C. McLaren, 'Sequels of Unwanted Pregnancy,' *The Lancet*, 14 September 1968, p. 632.
43. H.C. McLaren, 'The Abortion Bill'(Letters), *The Lancet*, 11 March 1967, p. 565.
44. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 305.
45. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 1.
46. The committee consisted of professionals in various fields, including gynaecology, children's health, law, psychiatry, nursing and general practice. A full list is included with the report. See House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. ii.
47. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 184.
48. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 1.
49. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 2.
50. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 2.
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54. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 38.
55. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 41.
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60. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 55.
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64. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 184.
65. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 184.
66. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 184.
67. House of Commons, *Report of the Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act* (HC 1974 (5579)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1974), p. 184.
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71. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 320.
72. Compiled from data taken from Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 320.
73. Hospital admissions for septic abortions stood at 2500 in 1962, rising to high of 2950 in 1964–1965. In 1967, it stood at 2600, dropping to 2290 the year after and declining steadily ever year, falling to 1000 by 1972. See Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 320.
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77. 'Attempted Abortion by Bogus Doctor,' *The Times*, 26 November 1974, p. 26.
78. 'GP to be Struck Off for Abortion Fee Offence,' *The Times*, 25 July 1974, p. 2.
79. Pamela Skinner, 'Letters: Abortion Sums,' *Daily Mail*, 10 April 1974, p. 31.

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80. M. Paton, 'Letters: Abortion Sums,' *Daily Mail*, 10 April 1974, p. 31.
81. Adrian Bingham, *Family Newspapers? Sex, Private Life, and the British Popular Press 1918–1978* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 88.
82. Michael Kelly, 'Abortion Is Like Mugging,' *Daily Mail*, 26 March 1973, p. 2.
83. 'Concern at Effect of Abortion Act,' *The Times*, 25 July 1974, p. 2.
84. 'Walkout by MPs Kills Amendment to Abortion Laws,' *The Times*, 25 July 1974, p. 2.
85. Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish, *Babies for Burning* (London: Serpentine Press, 1974), p. 11.
86. Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish, *Babies for Burning* (London: Serpentine Press, 1974), p. 172.
87. Ronald Butt, 'This Awful Silence Hanging Over Abortion on Demand,' *The Times*, 23 January 1975, p. 16.
88. Ronald Butt, 'This Awful Silence Hanging Over Abortion on Demand,' *The Times*, 23 January 1975, p. 16.
89. Jerry Cowhig, 'Letters: Review of the Law on Abortion: Preventing Abuses,' *The Times*, 29 January 1975, p. 17.
90. Helen Brook and Caroline Woodroffe, 'Review of the Law on Abortion: Preventing Abuses,' *The Times*, 29 January 1975, p. 17.
91. R.W. Beard, 'Babies for Burning,' *The Times*, 5 May 1975, p. 15.
92. Gayle Davis, 'The Great Divide: The Policy and Practice of Abortion in 1960s Scotland' (online publication), *Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* (2005) <www.rcpe.ac.uk/library/read/scotland/great-divide/great-divide.php> (accessed 15 September 2017).
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movement rested its argument on the status of the foetus as a human worthy of the same protection as the mother, meaning that a pregnancy concerned two bodies, and that abortion constituted the murder of one. *Babies for Burning* and other, similar accounts from the period were used by anti-abortion groups to emphasise the identity and person of the foetus as vulnerable to harm. Moreover, many considered the concept of foetal pain to be reiterated and proven in the graphic and distressing depictions of abortion that they believed to be the norm. Coupled with the racketeering scandals surrounding private nursing homes and maternal death, anti-abortionists could also claim that White's amendment was extending that same protection to the mother. Within this context, the anti-abortion movement and the James White bill could have flourished. However, the problems in the construction of the bill, the reliance on questionable evidence and the disastrous composition of the Select Committee ensured its ultimate failure. Despite this, anti-abortion campaigning did not cease, and new strategies and tactical decisions would continue across the 1970s and 1980s, each attempting to learn from the mistakes of the previous efforts.

Notes

1. Section 1, Paragraph 1, a-d, 1967 Abortion Act, 27 April 1968. <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/87/section/1> (accessed 12 September 2012).
2. House of Commons, *Abortion (Amendment) Bill* (Bills 1974–1975 19) (London: The Stationery Office, 1974), Part 1.
3. The Abortion (Amendment) Bill stated that no premises could be used for abortion or advice about the procedure unless it had been approved by the Secretary of State, as well as declaring all financial links that may be of relevance. It also stated that it was an offence for any person to give or receive any reward or financial incentive for referring a patient to a certain clinic or doctor. The residency clause stipulated that an abortion could only be carried out if the doctor was 'reasonably' certain that the woman had been resident in the UK for twenty weeks, i.e. had conceived in the UK. See House of Commons, *Abortion (Amendment) Bill* (Bills 1974–1975 19) (London: The Stationery Office, 1974), Part 1, 6, 1–4, lines 89–114. The bill stated that no premises could be used for abortion or advice about the procedure unless it had been approved by the Secretary of State, as well as declaring all financial links that may be of relevance. See House of Commons, *Abortion (Amendment) Bill* (Bills 1974–1975 19) (London: The Stationery Office, 1974), Part 1, 6, 1–4, lines 89–114. See also House of Commons, *Abortion (Amendment) Bill* (Bills 1974–1975 19) (London: The Stationery Office, 1974), Part 1, 7, lines 115–126.
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10. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (7 February 1975, vol 885 col 1757–1868) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1975/feb/07/abortion-Amendment-bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1819.
11. ‘Abortion Act Changes “Unnecessary,”’ *Evening Standard*, 5 February 1975.
12. Mary Russell, ‘Will the Clock Go Back on Abortion?’ *The Observer Review*, 2 February 1975, p. 28.
13. ‘BMA Attack on Abortion Bill Ends Sit-In,’ *The Times*, 24 May 1975, p. 3.
14. Kaye Wellings and Roslyn Kane, ‘Trends in Teenage Pregnancy in England and Wales: How Can We Explain Them?’ *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 92(6) (1999), p. 278.
15. ‘Fears That New Bill Will Increase Abortion Abuse,’ *The Times*, 10 March 1975, p. 2.
16. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 178.
17. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 180.
18. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 225.
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22. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 25.
23. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 240.
24. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 240.

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25. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 240.
26. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), pp. 240–241.
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29. Michael Litchfield and Susan Kentish, *Babies for Burning* (London: Serpentine Press, 1974), p. 148.
30. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 254.
31. House of Commons, Select Committee, *Special Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Abortion (Amendment) Bill Together with the Proceedings of the Committee* (HC 1974–1975 (692-II)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1975), p. 225.
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33. ‘Abortion Authors Attacked,’ *The Guardian*, 15 July 1975, p. 5.
34. ‘Abortion Horror Stories Revealed as Fantasies,’ *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1975.
35. Colin Francome, *Abortion Freedom: A World-Wide Movement* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 166.
36. Colin Francome, *Abortion Freedom: A World-Wide Movement* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 166.
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38. ‘Abortion Horror Stories Revealed as Fantasies,’ *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1975.
39. ‘Abortion Horror Stories Revealed as Fantasies,’ *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1975.
40. ‘Abortion Horror Stories Revealed as Fantasies,’ *The Sunday Times*, 30 March 1975.
41. ‘Abortion Claim Rejected,’ *The Guardian*, 18 July 1975, p. 18.
42. ‘Abortion Claim Rejected,’ *The Guardian*, 18 July 1975, p. 18.
43. ‘How One Woman Exposed the Sins of a Book that Became a Bible,’ *The Guardian*, 19 July 1978, p. 11.
44. David Paintin, *Abortion Law Reform in Britain 1964–2003* (Warwickshire: British Pregnancy Advisory Service, 2015), p. 84.
45. House of Commons, *First Report from the Select Committee on Abortion Together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Appendices* (HC 1975–1976 (573-I)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1976), p. 22.

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47. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (7 February 1975, vol 885 col 1757–1868) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1975/feb/07/abortion-Amendment-bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1822.
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49. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (7 February 1975, vol 885 col 1757–1868) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1975/feb/07/abortion-Amendment-bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1856.
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53. House of Commons, *First Report from the Select Committee on Abortion Together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Appendices* (HC 1975–1976 (573-I)) (London: The Stationary Office, 1976), p. 21.
54. Colin Francome, *Abortion Freedom: A World-Wide Movement* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 172.
55. Keith Hindell and Madeleine Simms, *Abortion Law Reformed* (London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1971), p. 50.
56. Legal abortion figures were actually beginning to decrease from 1973 onwards. Potts, Diggory and Peel estimate that there were roughly 170 legal abortions in 1973, roughly 165 in 1974, and just under 150 in 1975. See Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel, *Abortion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 300.

Notes

1. In 1966, the Liberal Democrats secured twelve MPs in the 1966 election. Of these twelve, ten voted for Steel's Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill, one voted against and there was one abstention. In 1975, there was a less definitive position, with five of the thirteen Liberal MPs voting for a Second Reading of James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill, but with seven abstentions and two votes against, there was no clear party line. There were similar results in 1979, during the Second Reading of John Corrie's amendment, when seven of the eleven Liberal MPs were absent, three voted in favour and only one against. See Second Reading of the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill, House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 July 1966, vol 732 col 1067–1165) <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/jul/22/medical-termination-of-pregnancy-Bill#S5CV0732P0_19660722_HOC_13> (accessed 2 September 2017); Second Reading of the Abortion Amendment Bill, House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (7 February 1975, vol 885 col 1757–1868) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1975/feb/07/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017); Second Reading of the Abortion (Amendment) Bill, House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (13 July 1979, vol 970 col 891–983) <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1979/jul/13/abortion-Amendment-Bill#S5CV0970P0_19790713_HOC_241> (accessed 15 September 2017).
2. Martin Fletcher, 'Alton may resign over Bill on abortion,' *The Times*, 17 September 1987, p. 2.
3. David Alton, *Whose Choice Anyway?* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1988), p. 14.
4. House of Commons, *Abortion (Amendment) Bill* (Bills 1987–1988 22) (London: The Stationery Office, 1987), p. 1.
5. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* (Leamington Spa: LIFE, 2007), p. 9.
6. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1234.
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9. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1228.
10. 'Mr Corrie's Bad Bill,' *The Observer*, 3 February 1980, p. 10.
11. The text of the 1967 Abortion Act read 'the continuance of the pregnancy would involve risk to the life of the pregnant woman, or of injury to the physical or mental health of the pregnant woman.' See Section 1, Paragraph 1, a-d, 1967 Abortion Act, 27 April 1968 <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/87/section/1> (accessed 12 September 2012). See also House of Commons, *Abortion (Amendment) Bill* (Bills 1987–198 22) (London: The Stationery Office, 1987), for text of Alton's Amendment.
12. Colin Francome, *Abortion Freedom* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1984), p. 180.
13. David Marsh and Joanna Chambers, *Abortion Politics* (London: Junction Books Ltd., 1981), p. 160.

14. 'Time is On the Side of the Abortion Bill Amendment,' *The Guardian*, 24 October 1979, p. 11.
15. 'Time is On the Side of the Abortion Bill Amendment,' *The Guardian*, 24 October 1979, p. 11.
16. 'Time is On the Side of the Abortion Bill Amendment,' *The Guardian*, 24 October 1979, p. 11.
17. David Marsh and Joanna Chambers, *Abortion Politics* (London: Junction Books Ltd., 1981), p. 160.
18. 'Time Squeeze on Abortion Debate,' *The Guardian*, 29 November 1979, p. 4.
19. 'Abortion Bill Delay Delights Opponents,' *The Guardian*, 8 February 1980, p. 1.
20. Julia Langdon, 'Compromise Proposed on Abortion Bill,' *The Guardian*, 15 February 1980, p. 3.
21. Colin Brown, 'Opponents Hail "Death" of Corrie Abortion Bill,' *The Guardian*, 15 March 1980, p. 26.
22. David Marsh and Joanna Chambers, *Abortion Politics* (London: Junction Books Ltd., 1981), p. 160.
23. 'Bad Law Making,' *New Scientist*, 19 July 1979, p. 170.
24. Colin Harte, *Changing Unjust Laws Unjustly: Anti-Abortion Solidarity With "the Last and the Least"* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), p. 15.
25. Grant Sheila and George Grant, 'Abortion and Rights: The Value of Political Freedom,' in Eugene Fair-Weather and Ian Gentles eds., *The Right to Birth: Some Christian Views on Abortion* (Toronto: The Anglican Book Centre, 1976), p. 1.
26. Grant Sheila and George Grant, 'Abortion and Rights: The Value of Political Freedom,' in Eugene Fair-Weather and Ian Gentles eds., *The Right to Birth: Some Christian Views on Abortion* (Toronto: The Anglican Book Centre, 1976), p. 2.
27. Grant Sheila and George Grant, 'Abortion and Rights: The Value of Political Freedom,' in Eugene Fair-Weather and Ian Gentles eds., *The Right to Birth: Some Christian Views on Abortion* (Toronto: The Anglican Book Centre, 1976), p. 2.
28. Grant Sheila and George Grant, 'Abortion and Rights: The Value of Political Freedom,' in Eugene Fair-Weather and Ian Gentles eds., *The Right to Birth: Some Christian Views on Abortion* (Toronto: The Anglican Book Centre, 1976), p. 5.
29. Grant Sheila and George Grant, 'Abortion and Rights: The Value of Political Freedom,' in Eugene Fair-Weather and Ian Gentles eds., *The Right to Birth: Some Christian Views on Abortion* (Toronto: The Anglican Book Centre, 1976), p. 5.
30. Kate Greasley, *Arguments About Abortion: Personhood, Morality, and the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 11.
31. Judith Jarvis Thomson, 'A Defense of Abortion,' in Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit eds., *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 318.
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33. Kate Greasley, *Arguments About Abortion: Personhood, Morality, and the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 12.
34. Richard Dworkin, *Life's Dominion: An Argument About Abortion, Euthanasia, and Individual Freedom* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011).

35. Kate Greasley, *Arguments About Abortion: Personhood, Morality, and the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 20.
36. Richard Dworkin, *Life's Dominion: An Argument About Abortion, Euthanasia, and Individual Freedom* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011), p. 13.
37. Richard Dworkin, *Life's Dominion: An Argument About Abortion, Euthanasia, and Individual Freedom* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2011).
38. Kate Greasley, *Arguments About Abortion: Personhood, Morality, and the Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 30.
39. Dilys Cossey, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 24 March 2015.
40. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1231.
41. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1231.
42. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1231.
43. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1233.
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51. Madeleine Cotter and John Hamshire, 'Exposed: The Truth Behind This Baby in the Abortion Campaign,' *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1988, p. 1.
52. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1233.
53. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1233.
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55. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1232.
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59. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1236.
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61. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1241.
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70. John Smeaton, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 12 March 2015.
71. *The Association of Lawyers for the Defence of the Unborn*, Autumn 1988, Number 39, p. 1 <www.lawfile.org.uk/ald39.pdf> (accessed 15th September).
72. *The Association of Lawyers for the Defence of the Unborn*, Autumn 1988, Number 39, p. 2 <www.lawfile.org.uk/ald39.pdf> (accessed 15th September).
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78. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* (Leamington Spa: LIFE, 2007), p. 12.
79. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* (Leamington Spa: LIFE, 2007), p. 12.
80. J.J. Scarisbrick, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 14 March 2016.
81. The advice was actually given by Scarisbrick during the drafting of the bill. (J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* [Leamington Spa: LIFE, 2007], p. 13). He was a historian in the 1960s and 1970s, having published several well-known texts. See J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1968); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).
82. Andrew Vetch and Alan Travis, 'Alton in the Mood to Compromise,' *The Guardian*, 23 January 1988, p. 1.
83. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 January 1988, vol 125 col 1228–96) <<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1988/jan/22/abortion-Amendment-Bill-1>> (accessed 4 August 2017), p. 1271.
84. Colin Harte, *Changing Unjust Laws Unjustly: Anti-Abortion Solidarity With "the Last and the Least"* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), p. 28.
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86. David Alton, *Whose Choice Anyway?* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1988), p. 173. Colin Harte blamed filibustering as well. The bill was picked up by Ann Widdecombe in the next parliamentary session, as part of a government bill on in vitro fertilisation. The matter was resolved with the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act in 1990 (Colin Harte, *Changing Unjust Laws Unjustly: Anti-Abortion Solidarity With "the Last and the Least"* [Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005], p. 38.).
87. *The Association of Lawyers for the Defence of the Unborn*, Spring 1988, Number 37, p. 1 <www.lawfile.org.uk/ald39.pdf> (accessed 15 September).
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89. John Smeaton, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 12 March 2015.
90. Colin Harte, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 30 January 2015.
91. J.J. Scarisbrick, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 14 March 2016.

Committee in Defence of the 1967 Abortion Act discussed the issue of more extreme fringe groups:

The trustees of the British Pregnancy Advisory Service were concerned that its association with the National Abortion Campaign, through Co-Ord, was seriously damaging its reputation and therefore its plans for expansion. This resulted from NAC's adoption of aims relating to legal abortion after viability, which excited great antagonism on various committees with which BPAS was having to negotiate.¹¹⁴

In 1975, spurred by the new threats posed by SPUC and LIFE, the National Abortion Campaign formed to defend the 1967 Abortion Act. NAC was a more radical ALRA, promoting women's right to choose. By campaigning actively for choice, and abortion on demand in the first trimester, NAC had made a divisive statement.¹¹⁵ The Co-Ord was a link between these organisations, and they were not united on all elements of legal abortion.

The image of female body, and especially the pregnant body, was re-evaluated during the twentieth century, as new technologies and ideologies challenged traditional gender roles and ideas about morality. As this chapter has demonstrated, these changes were reflected in the discourse of the anti-abortion movement as well. Some campaigns played upon the separation between woman and foetus, prioritising the vulnerability of the unborn. Some chose to identify women as victims of masculinised culture or feminism, reminding them of the natural joys of childbearing; or construed as paternalistic and misleading by the opposition. Even if the culpability of the mother was not stressed, anti-abortion rhetoric placed equivalent value and importance on the life of the woman and the life of the foetus. As this chapter has demonstrated, the varying imagery of the female body within this debate is testament to the controversial and polarising nature of abortion and the female body, and to the diverse methodologies of individual anti-abortion groups.

Notes

1. Dilys Cossey, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 24 March 2015.
2. The focus on heterosexuality reflects the work to be done on female homosexuality and motherhood, and on the changing attitudes towards lesbianism during the twentieth century. For more on female homosexuality, see Rebecca Jennings, *Lesbians and Tomboys* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
3. For more information on the history of ovarian cancer treatment, see Mihaela Cristea, et al., 'Practical Considerations in Ovarian Cancer Chemotherapy,' *Therapeutic Advances in Medical Oncology*, 2(3) (2010), pp. 175–187.

4. Bernard Fisher conducted trials in 1971 to determine whether less radical mastectomies could be as effective in treating breast cancer. The trials would eventually reveal that there was no difference in the results of each control group. For more information, see Kate Travis, 'Bernard Fisher Reflects on a Half-Century's Worth of Breast Cancer Research,' *Journal of the National Cancer Institute*, 97(22) (2005), pp. 1636–1637.
5. Hera Cook, 'Sexuality and Contraception in Modern England: Doing the History of Reproductive Sexuality,' *Journal of Social History*, 40(4) (2007), p. 918. See also Hera Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, & Contraception 1800–1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
6. Kaye Wellings and Roslyn Kane, 'Trends in Teenage Pregnancy in England and Wales: How Can We Explain Them?' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 92(6) (1999), p. 278.
7. The teenage birth rate dropped from 48 per one thousand (1972) to 43.9, and continued to decline at a much faster rate, 40.5 (1974), 36.4 (1975), 32.2 (1976) and 29.4 in 1977. See Kaye Wellings and Roslyn Kane, 'Trends in Teenage Pregnancy in England and Wales: How Can We Explain Them?' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 92(6) (1999), p. 278.
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12. Dilys Cossey, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 24 March 2015.
13. Dilys Cossey, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 24 March 2015.
14. Lesley A. Hall, 'Sexuality,' in Ina Zweingiger-Bargielowska eds., *Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), p. 52.
15. Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918–1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 240.
16. Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918–1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 241.
17. Kate Fisher, '“She Was Quite Satisfied with the Arrangements I Made”: Gender and Birth Control in Britain 1920–1950', *Past and Present*, 169 (2000), p. 168.
18. Kate Fisher, '“She Was Quite Satisfied with the Arrangements I Made”: Gender and Birth Control in Britain 1920–1950', *Past and Present*, 169 (2000), p. 168.
19. Dilys Cossey, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 24 March 2015.
20. See also Hera Cook's discussion of doctors' unwillingness to teach female contraceptive methods and the 'wanton' nature of female contraception in 'Contraception and Sexuality 1890s–1950s,' in Hera Cook ed., *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, & Contraception 1800–1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 122–142. For general discussion of women's experiences of contraception, see Kate Fisher, 'Gender Relations and Birth Control Practices,' in *Birth Control, Sex, and Marriage in Britain 1918–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 189–237; Madelaine Ward, *Nursing Tales: Personal Reminiscences of Sexual Health*

- Nursing in the Twentieth Century* (Bicester: Bound Biographies, 2014); 'Body Work,' in Jenni Diski ed., *The Sixties* (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2009), pp. 49–68. For oral history discussions of women's experiences with contraception, see British Library, *Sisterhood and After* <www.bl.uk/sisterhood/interviews> (accessed 2 August 2016).
21. Marie Stopes, *Married Love* (London: The Pelican Press, 2015), p. 42.
22. Marie Stopes, *Married Love* (London: The Pelican Press, 2015), p. 53.
23. Janet Chance, 'A Marriage Education Centre in London,' in Lesley A. Hall ed., *Outspoken Women: An Anthology of Women's Writing on Sex, 1870–1969* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 108.
24. Janet Chance, 'A Marriage Education Centre in London,' in Lesley A. Hall ed., *Outspoken Women: An Anthology of Women's Writing on Sex, 1870–1969* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 108.
25. Leonora Eyles, *Unmarried but Happy* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1956), p. 15.
26. Laura Hutton, 'The Unmarried,' in Lesley A. Hall ed., *Outspoken Women: An Anthology of Women's Writing on Sex, 1870–1969* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 273.
27. Laura Hutton, 'The Unmarried,' in Lesley A. Hall ed., *Outspoken Women: An Anthology of Women's Writing on Sex, 1870–1969* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 273.
28. Clare Langhamer, *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 50.
29. Lesley A. Hall, 'Sexuality,' in Ina Zweingiger-Bargielowska ed., *Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), p. 59.
30. 'Venereal Disease and Young People,' *British Medical Journal*, 5383 (1964), p. 575.
31. Clare Langhamer, 'Adultery in Post-War England,' *History Workshop Journal*, 62(1) (2006), p. 1.
32. Lesley A. Hall, 'Sexuality,' in Ina Zweingiger-Bargielowska ed., *Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), p. 59.
33. Lesley A. Hall, 'Sexuality,' in Ina Zweingiger-Bargielowska ed., *Women in Twentieth Century Britain* (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), p. 59.
34. Anthony Hordern, *Legal Abortion: The English Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), p. 40.
35. Anthony Hordern, *Legal Abortion: The English Experience* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971), p. 37.
36. Jane Lewis, *Women in Britain Since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 54.
37. Barbara Wootton, 'What Would Lord Reith Say?' *The Observer*, 16 December 1962, p. 9.
38. Jane Lewis, *Women in Britain Since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 42.
39. Sybil Neville-Rolfe, *Social Biology and Welfare* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949), p. 305.
40. Olwen Ward-Campbell, *The Feminine Point of View* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1952), p. 57.
41. Judith Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College* (London: William Heinemann, 1957), p. 149.
42. The Street Offences Act 1959 made it illegal to 'loiter or solicit in a street or public place for the purpose of prostitution.' (Street Offences Act 1959 <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Eliz2/7-8/57/section/1> (accessed 15 September 2017)).
43. In 1968, sociologist Frances Heidensohn argued that prostitution flourished 'when family ties [were] strong and the status of all women, especially wives, [was] low,' implying that the characterisation of women and

traditional gender roles were linked with the morality of women and society at large. (Frances Heidensohn, 'The Deviance of Women: A Critique and an Enquiry,' *The British Journal of Sociology*, 19(2) (1968) p. 165). Julia Laite asked whether 'the rise of the permissive society would . . . be lost upon the "common prostitutes" who were the subjects of the unprecedented campaign to clear the streets in the late 1950s.' (Julia Laite, *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London 1885–1960* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)). The discussion around prostitution, like abortion, seemed to characterise certain women as different, or deviant, having broken away from traditional concepts of marriage, sexuality or motherhood.

44. 1967 Abortion Act, Section 1, Paragraph 1, a-d <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/87/section/1> (accessed 12 September 2012).
45. Mary Boyle, *Rethinking Abortion: Psychology, Gender, Power and the Law* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 64.
46. Mary Boyle, *Rethinking Abortion: Psychology, Gender, Power and the Law* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 64.
47. Mary Ann Warren cited by Valerie Bryson, *Feminist Debates: Issues of Theory and Political Practice* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 155.
48. Mary Ann Warren cited by Valerie Bryson, *Feminist Debates: Issues of Theory and Political Practice* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), p. 155.
49. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 July 1966, vol 732 col 1067–165) <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/jul/22/medical-termination-of-pregnancy-bill#S5CV0732P0_19660722_HOC_13> (accessed 10 August 2017), p. 1086.
50. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (22 July 1966, vol 732 col 1067–165) <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/jul/22/medical-termination-of-pregnancy-bill#S5CV0732P0_19660722_HOC_13> (accessed 10 August 2017), p. 1086.
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ideas about personhood were rejected and how the decline of traditional religious practices were reflected in wider social norms and moral codes.

However, it is vital to note that this research is completed at a time of upmost relevance in the current political climate, both in England and internationally. Anti-abortion discourse periodically resurfaces in Parliament and attempts to restrict access to abortion are sometimes subtle, but significant. In 2012, an amendment to the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act, which recommended lowering the time limit for abortion to twenty weeks, failed to secure enough votes.¹⁰ In 2015, Fiona Bruce proposed an amendment to the Serious Crime Act, which would have made abortion on the basis on gender a specific crime, which a *Guardian* opinion piece called a 'strategic attempt to criminalise abortion,' by 'promoting the faulty logic that women are not to be trusted to make decisions about their reproductive futures.'¹¹ The amendment was rejected by 291–201.¹² Both SPUC and LIFE still exist today, and they have continued to campaign against abortion, as well as euthanasia, IVF, gay marriage and three-parent babies.¹³ Their campaigns have, of course, been influenced by international anti-abortion discourse, with the US anti-abortion movement occupying a key position on the global stage, despite, or indeed because of, its often extreme tactics.¹⁴

In Northern Ireland, women are still, at the time of writing, refused the right to an abortion, and traditional religious narratives about the body and the sanctity of unborn life remain present in political discourse. Calls for the repeal of the Eighth Amendment, which criminalises abortion and protects the right to life of the unborn, have intensified in recent years and in 2016, over seven hundred Northern Irish women travelled to England or Wales for an abortion.¹⁵ The coalition of sorts between the DUP and the Conservative government ensures that a conversation about England's own legislation will likely be requested or mandated at some point in the future. For these reasons, it is of vital importance that a comprehensive and singularly focused history has been compiled, recording for posterity the origins and political strategies of the movement.

Notes

1. Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990 <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/37/section/37> (accessed 20 August 2017).
2. The Act also regulated the use of embryo experimentation, creating the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority which was responsible for this research: 'to make provision in connection with human embryos and any subsequent development of such embryos; to prohibit certain practices in connection with embryos and gametes; to establish a Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority; to make provision about the persons who in certain circumstances are to be treated in law as the parents of a child.' (Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990 <www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/37/section/37> [accessed 20 August 2017].)
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4. Colin Harte, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 30 January 2015.
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6. Shirley Lewis, 'Shirley Lewis Investigates the Lobby Against the Abortion Law Reform Bill 1967,' *The Guardian*, 14 February 1967, p. 6.
7. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* (Leamington Spa: LIFE, 2007).
8. J.J. Scarisbrick, Olivia Dee, Oral History Interview, 14 March 2016.
9. 'We question the probity of this situation and will be sharing our concerns with others in a position to take appropriate action to ensure that donations to the political fight are used for that purpose.' See Cherry Norton, 'Founder Quits Anti-Abortion Group Over Strategies,' *The Independent*, 16 July 1999.
10. The final vote was Ayes 71, Noes 393. See House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (20 May 2008, vol 476 col 222) <<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/200708/cmhansrd/cm080520/debtext/80520-0013.htm#08052057002243>> (accessed 15 September 2017).
11. Rebecca Schiller, 'A Vote to Criminalise Gender-Selective Abortion Will Be a Disaster for Women,' *The Guardian*, 23 February 2015 <www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/23/vote-criminalise-gender-selection-abortion-disaster-women> (accessed 15 September 2017).
12. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debate* (23 February 2015, vol 593 col 113) <<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/201415/cmhansrd/cm150223/debtext/150223-0003.htm#15022341000190>> (accessed 15 September 2017).
13. In 2015, LIFE launched 'Stop GM 3-Parent Babies' to campaign against the process of inserting a DNA sample from a third 'parent' during the IVF process. (See LIFE blog: 'Three Parent Babies,' *LIFE* <<https://lifecharity.org.uk/news-and-views/response-three-parent-embryo-consultation/>> [accessed 15 September 2017]). SPUC claimed that the Marriage (Same-Sex Couples) Bill would 'undermine the anti-abortion institution of real (i.e. heterosexual) marriage,' (see SPUC blog 'Education Secretary Challenged to Be Honest About Gay Marriage Bill,' *SPUC* <www.spuc.org.uk/news/press-releases/2013/february/education-secretary-challenged-to-be-honest-about-gay-marriage-bill> [accessed 15 September 2017]). In addition the organisation stated that IVF for women over forty was 'a nonsensical waste.' See www.spuc.org.uk/news/news-stories/2013/february/free-ivf-for-over-40s-is-a-nonsensical-waste [accessed 17 September 2017]. SPUC also created the 'Lives Worth Living' campaign, which stated 'we the undersigned call upon the Chief Executive of NHS England/Wales to stop the end of life practices in NHS hospitals by which sick, elderly patients are assessed to have only 3 days to live and dehydrated and starved to death.' See campaign blog 'Lives Worth Living,' *SPUC* <www.spuc.org.uk/get-involved/campaign-with-us/lives-worth-living> [accessed 15 September 2017]).
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SA/NAC National Abortion Campaign

- SA/NAC/B Campaigns and Events 1975–1990
- SA/NAC/E Related Organisations 1975–1997
- SA/NAC/G Textual Resources 1975–1985

SA/NBT National Birthday Trust Fund

- SA/NBT/U/7/12 International Pro-Life Information Centre

SA/PAT The Patients Association

- SA/PAT/D/1 Abortion

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2SJA/F/8 Records of the St Joan's Alliance

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