

## Notes

### Introduction

1. More of these news stories seem to come out every day. Here are just a couple of examples: Alex Williams, “Do You Take This Robot . . .,” *New York Times*, January 19, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/19/style/sex-robots.html>; Paula Froelich, “Eerily Realistic Sex Doll Can Smile, Moan—and Even Hold a Conversation,” *New York Post*, June 20, 2020, <https://nypost.com/2020/06/20/realistic-sex-doll-can-smile-moan-and-even-hold-a-conversation/>.

2. For more on Real Doll, see the 2012 documentary *The Mechanical Bride*, dir. Allison de Fren; Marquad Smith, *The Erotic Doll: A Modern Fetish* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); Tracy Clark-Flory, “What I Learned about Male Desire in a Sex Doll Factory,” *Guardian*, October 19, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2020/oct/19/what-i-learned-about-male-desire-in-a-sex-doll-factory>.

3. Some of the many possible examples include literature like writings by Gisèle Prassinos and Angela Carter, visual art like that by Hans Bellmer, television series like the anime *Chobits* (2000–2002), films like *Daisies* (1996), and much more. Gisèle Prassinos, *Arthritic Grasshopper: Collected Stories, 1934–1944*, trans. Henry Vale and Bonnie Ruberg (Cambridge, MA: Wakefield Press, 2017); Angela Carter, *Fireworks* (London: Virago, [1974] 2006); Sue Taylor, *Hans Bellmer: The Anatomy of Anxiety* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000); Bliss Cua Lim, “Dolls in Fragments: *Daisies* as Feminist Allegory,” *Camera Obscura* 16, no. 2 (2001): 37–77.

4. In addition to the books and articles about the history of the sex doll that I analyze in detail in chapter 1, some additional examples of recent work to reiterate this history include Kate Devlin, *Turned On: Science, Sex and Robots* (London: Bloomsbury Sigma, 2018), 38–41; Kate Lister, *A Curious History of Sex* (London: Unbound, 2020), 209–222.

5. Elen C. Carvalho Nascimento, “The ‘Use’ of Sex Robots: A Bioethical Issue,” *Asian Bioethics Review* 10, no. 3 (2018): 231–240; John P. Sullins, “Robots, Love, and Sex:

The Ethics of Building a Love Machine," *IEEE Transactions on Affective Computing* 3, no. 4 (2012): 398–409.

6. Many scholars have addressed this issue of how logics of technological advancement contribute to discrimination. One particularly powerful articulation of this argument can be found in Ruha Benjamin's keynote address to the 2021 CHI conference: Ruha Benjamin, "Which Humans? Innovation, Equity, and Imagination in Human-Centered Design," ACM CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, online event, May 11, 2021.

7. For more on methods related to Michel Foucault's concept of genealogy, as well as critiques of these methods, see Colin Koopman, *Genealogy as Critique: Foucault and the Problems of Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

8. Marshall McLuhan makes a similar argument when he writes in *The Mechanical Bride*, originally published in 1951, that mass media advertising reflects an "interfusion of sex and technology" that pervades culture, which McLuhan says is "born of a hungry curiosity to explore and enlarge the domain of sex by mechanical technique, on one hand, and, on the other, to possess machines in a sexually gratifying way." Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2001), 106.

9. Shaka McGlotten, *Virtual Intimacies: Media, Affect, and Queer Sociality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013); Paisley Gilmour, "Virtual Sex Parties—I Just Attended My First Sex Party . . . on Zoom," *Cosmopolitan*, January 27, 2021, <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/uk/love-sex/sex/a32266336/virtual-sex-parties/>.

10. For more on internet-enabled sex toys, see Jeffrey Bardzell and Shaowen Bardzell, "Pleasure Is Your Birthright: Digitally Enabled Designer Sex Toys as a Case of Third-Wave HCI," in *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (New York: ACM, 2014), 257–266.

11. Jonathan Coopersmith, "Pornography, Technology and Progress," *Icon* 4 (1998): 94–125.

12. For more on flirtations via telegraph, see Ella Cheever Thayer, *Wired Love: A Romance of Dots and Dashes* (New York: W. F. Johnston, 1880).

13. Regarding contraception as a technology, see Donna J. Drucker, *Contraception: A Concise History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020), 2.

14. For writing on teledildonics, see Howard Rheingold, "Teledildonics and Beyond," in *The Postmodern Presence: Readings on Postmodernism in American Culture and Society* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005), 274–287; Teddy Pozo, "Haptic Media: Sexuality, Gender, and Affect in Technology Culture, 1959–2015" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2016); Maria Joao Faustino, "Rebooting an

Old Script by New Means: Teledildonics—the Technological Return to the ‘Coital Imperative,’” *Sexuality & Culture* 22, no. 1 (2018): 243–257.

15. Ariane Cruz, “Techno-Kink: Fucking Machines and Gendered, Racialized Technologies of Desire,” in *The Color of Kink: Black Women, BDSM, and Pornography* (New York: NYU Press, 2016), 169–212. The image of the “women’s masturbation machine” pictured here comes from the visual supplement to Leo Schidrowitz’s 1927 sexological text, *Ergänzungswerk zur Sittengeschichte des Lasters* (Supplement to the moral history of vice). Schidrowitz does not provide an exact date for its production but does include a caption that reads: “Commercially produced apparatus that was confiscated by the police and an original of which is in the Dresden Criminal Museum.” Leo Schidrowitz, *Ergänzungswerk zur Sittengeschichte des Lasters* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927), no page numbers, figure V.

16. Jacob Kastrenakes, “Sex Toy Creator Finally Gets the CES Award She Was Denied,” *Verge*, May 8, 2019, <https://www.theverge.com/2019/5/8/18535907/ces-sex-toy-lora-dicarlo-award-reinstated-changes-promised>. This claim that a sex toy could make its user “bawl with happiness” is a reference to an advertisement for a dildo in a catalog for a Parisian sex toy seller that was published in roughly 1908. It’s part of the volume of collection catalogs currently held by the British Library that I discuss and provide more detailed citation information for in chapters 2 and 4.

17. Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

18. Regina Lynn, *Sexier Sex: Lessons from the Brave New Sexual Frontier* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008).

19. Lynn Comella, “Studying Porn Cultures,” *Porn Studies* 1, no. 1–2 (January 2, 2014): 64–70.

20. Ana Valens, “Steam’s Bestselling, Big-Budget Porn Game Has Got Nothing on These Queer Games,” *Polygon*, April 13, 2021, <https://www.polygon.com/22381939/subverse-steam-kickstarter-review-early-access-porn-sex-adult-games>; Alyson Krueger, “Virtual Reality Gets Naughty,” *New York Times*, October 28, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/28/style/virtual-reality-porn.html>.

21. Sabine Harrer, Simon Nielsen, and Patrick Jarnfelt, “Of Mice and Pants: Queering the Conventional Gamer Mouse for Cooperative Play,” in *Extended Abstracts of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (Glasgow: ACM, 2019), 1–11.

22. Lynn Comella (chair), “Sex Tech and the Erotic Imaginary: Mediating Intimacies Online and Off,” panel presentation to the Society of Cinema and Media Studies Conference, online event, March 2021.

23. Caitlin Donohue, "Center of Sex and Culture Closes—but Dr. Carol Queen Looks to the Future," 48 Hills, January 29, 2019, <https://48hills.org/2019/01/center-of-sex-and-culture-closes-but-dr-carol-queen-looks-to-the-future/>.

24. Gayle S. Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 137–181, 149.

25. Rubin points to the 1978 publication of *The History of Sexuality* as marking this turning point in thinking about the history of sex. Rubin, "Thinking Sex," 149; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

26. Although many histories of sex and sexual devices begin by looking at the dildo and/or the vibrator, I am thinking specifically of the following: Lynn Comella, *Vibrator Nation: How Feminist Sex-Toy Stores Changed the Business of Pleasure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017); Hallie Lieberman, *Buzz: A Stimulating History of the Sex Toy* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2017); Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: "Hysteria," the Vibrator, and Women's Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

27. This reference to dildo manufacturers at the start of the 1900s draws from the same advertisement mentioned in note 16. This advertisement clearly states that the dildo being sold is for use either by "men who are tired" or "women who want to play the role of a man."

28. See, for example, Devlin, *Turned On*, 23.

29. Comella, *Vibrator Nation*.

30. Maines, *Technology of Orgasm*.

31. Emily Dreyfuss, "Don't Get Your Valentine an Internet-Connected Sex Toy," *WIRED*, February 14, 2019, <https://www.wired.com/story/internet-connected-sex-toys-security/>.

32. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018).

33. Giard explains: "For the moment, no tangible proof of the existence of such dolls has been found. No bill from a merchant, no diary, no engraving, no document that attests that the love doll was produced and marketed before the twentieth century. Most likely the idea of these dolls comes from [the pornographic novelist] Saikaku. But the majority of my interlocutors in Japan, if not all, assert the opposite. 'The first dolls for adults were made in Japan four centuries ago,' they say, repeating what they heard on television or in the press." Agnès Giard, *Un désir d'humain: Les "love doll" au Japon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016), 29. I quote Giard at length here because her process of searching for historical traces of the love doll in Japan has many parallels to my search for the dames de voyage.

34. E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Tales of Hoffman* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982); Auguste Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *L'Ève future* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Monnier, 1886); Fritz Lang, dir., *Metropolis* (Germany: UFA, 1927).
35. Minsoo Kang, "The Mechanical Daughter of René Descartes: The Origin and History of an Intellectual Fable," *Modern Intellectual History* 14, no. 3 (November 2017): 633–660.
36. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 138.
37. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 139.
38. Anthony Ferguson, *The Sex Doll: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), 16.
39. Allison de Fren, "The Anatomical Gaze in Tomorrow's Eve," *Science Fiction Studies* 36, no. 2 (2009): 235–265.
40. Anaïs Nin, *Little Birds* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979).
41. Comella, *Vibrator Nation*; Lieberman, *Buzz*; Drucker, *Contraception*; Jessica Borge, *Protective Practices: A History of the London Rubber Company and the Condom Business* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020); Anjali R. Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Cynthia Ann Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls: An Erotological Investigation" (PhD diss., Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, 2006); Maines, *Technology of Orgasm*.
42. Giard, *Un désir d'humain*; Josef Nguyen, "Robots, Sex Games, and Queer Processes of Embodying Autonomy," presentation at the Society of Cinema and Media Studies Conference, online event, March 2021; Neda Atanasoski and Kalindi Vora, *Surrogate Humanity: Race, Robots, and the Politics of Technological Futures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019); Allison de Fren, "Technofetishism and the Uncanny Desires of A.S.F.R. (alt.sex.fetish.robots)," *Science Fiction Studies* 36, no. 3 (2009): 404–440; Smith, *Erotic Doll*.
43. Julie Wosk, *My Fair Ladies: Female Robots, Androids, and Other Artificial Eves* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015); Anne Marie Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Minsoo Kang, "Building the Sex Machine: The Subversive Potential of the Female Robot," *Intertexts* 9, no. 1 (2005): 5–22.
44. David Parisi, *Archaeologies of Touch: Interfacing with Haptics from Electricity to Computing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018); Rachel Plotnick, *Power Button: A History of Pleasure, Panic, and the Politics of Pushing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018); Pozo, "Haptic Media."

45. Mar Hicks, *Programmed Inequality: How Britain Discarded Women Technologists and Lost Its Edge in Computing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017); Janet Abbate, *Recoding Gender: Women's Changing Participation in Computing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012); Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women, and Modern Machines in America: 1870–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004).
46. Ruha Benjamin, *Race after Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2019); Nettrice R. Gaskins, "Techno-Vernacular Creativity and Innovation across the African Diaspora and Global South," in *Captivating Technology: Race, Carceral Technoscience, and Liberatory Imagination in Everyday Life*, ed. Ruha Benjamin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 253–274; Safiya Umoja Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism* (New York: New York University Press, 2018); Sasha Costanza-Chock, *Design Justice: Community-Led Practices to Build the Worlds We Need* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020).
47. Jacqueline Wernimont, *Numbered Lives: Life and Death in Quantum Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018); Caetlin Benson-Allott, *Remote Control* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); Carly Kocurek, *Coin-Operated Americans: Rebooting Boyhood at the Video Game Arcade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).
48. Carlin Wing, "Episodes in the Life of Bounce: Playing with a Rubber Ball," *Cabinet*, no. 56 (Winter 2014–2015), <https://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/56/wing.php>.
49. Sowande' M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016); Melody Jue, *Wild Blue Media: Thinking through Seawater* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).
50. Nicole Starosielski, *The Undersea Network: Sign, Storage, Transmission* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Alenda Y. Chang, *Playing Nature: Ecology in Video Games* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019).
51. Jacob Gaboury, "A Queer History of Computing," *Rhizome*, February 19, 2013, <https://rhizome.org/editorial/2013/feb/19/queer-computing-1/>.
52. Alexis Pauline Gumbs, *Undrowned: Black Feminist Lessons from Marine Mammals* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2020); Alexis Lothian, *Old Futures: Speculative Fiction and Queer Possibility* (New York: New York University Press, 2018).
53. Laine Nooney, "A Pedestal, a Table, a Love Letter: Archaeologies of Gender in Videogame History," *Game Studies* 13, no. 2 (2013); Aubrey Anable, *Playing with Feelings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018); Whitney Pow, "Outside the Folder, the Box, the Archive: Moving toward a Reparative Video Game History," *ROMchip: A Journal of Game Histories* 1, no. 1 (July 2019), <https://romchip.org/index.php/romchip-journal/article/view/76>.
54. Nooney, "A Pedestal"; Anable, *Playing with Feelings*, 34.

55. Teddy Pozo, Bonnie Ruberg, and Chris Goetz, "In Practice: Queerness and Games," *Camera Obscura* 32, no. 2 (2017): 153–163.

56. I recognize that there are indeed existing items that we would term *sex robots* that have been developed both in research contexts and for the consumer market. The point that I am making here is that the discourse around sex robots today far exceeds the actual reality of such robots, with many items that are described as extremely "realistic" in fact looking and sounding anything but real.

57. For example, see the 2017 documentary *The Sex Robots Are Coming*, dir. Nick Sweeney.

58. Michael Moran, "Bizarre, 'Hand-Holding' Robot Sounds, Smells and Even Sweats like a Real Woman," *Daily Star*, November 5, 2020, <https://www.dailystar.co.uk/tech/news/bizarre-hand-holding-robot-sounds-22962352>.

59. Christian Wagner, "Sexbots: The Ethical Ramifications of Social Robotics' Dark Side," *AI Matters Newsletter* 3, no. 2 (2018): 52–58; Laura Bates, "The Trouble with Sex Robots," *New York Times*, July 17, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/17/opinion/sex-robots-consent.html>; Blake Foden, "More 'Abhorrent' Child Sex Dolls Imported amid Startling Warning," *Canberra Times*, March 10, 2019, <https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/5993186/more-abhorrent-child-sex-dolls-imported-amid-startling-warning/>; Kathleen Richardson, "The Asymmetrical 'Relationship': Parallels between Prostitution and the Development of Sex Robots," *ACM SIGCAS Computers and Society Newsletter* 45, no. 3 (2015): 290–293; Bryan Menegus, "Sex Robots May Literally Fuck Us to Death," *Gizmodo*, December 19, 2016, <https://gizmodo.com/sex-robots-may-literally-fuck-us-to-death-1790276123>.

60. Ezio Di Nucci, "Robot Sex and the Rights of the Disabled," in *Robot Sex: Social and Ethical Implications*, ed. John Danaher and Neil McArthur (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018): 73–88; Eduard Fosch-Villaronga and Adam Poulsen, "Sex Robots in Care: Setting the Stage for a Discussion on the Potential Use of Sexual Robot Technologies for Persons with Disabilities," in *Companion of the 2021 ACM/IEEE International Conference on Human-Robot Interaction* (New York: ACM, 2021), 1–9; Wilhelm E. J. Klein and Vivian Wenli Lin, "'Sex Robots' Revisited: A Reply to the Campaign against Sex Robots," *SIGCAS Computers and Society Newsletter* 47, no. 4. (2018): 107–121.

61. Oliver Korn, Gerald Bieber, and Christian Fron, "Perspectives on Social Robots: From the Historic Background to an Expert's View on Future Developments," in *Proceedings of the 11th Pervasive Technologies Related to Assistive Environments Conference* (New York: ACM, 2018): 186–193.

62. I am referring here to the International Congress on Love and Sex with Robots (controversies around which are too tortuous to fully elaborate on here), now being hosted for its sixth year in August 2021. See <https://www.lovewithrobots.com/>.

63. Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books, 2014), 129.
64. Safiya Umoja Noble, "Your Robot Is Not Neutral," in *Your Computer Is on Fire*, ed. Thomas S. Mullaney, Benjamin Peters, Mar Hicks, and Kavita Philip (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2021), 199–212.
65. Nguyen, "Robots, Sex Games, and Queer Processes."
66. Sebastien Deterding, "#boycottACE and Institutional Corruption," Gamification Research Network, October 31, 2018, <http://gamification-research.org/2018/10/boycottace-and-institutional-corruption/>; Marina Adshade, "We Need Academic Conferences about Robots, Love, and Sex," *Slate*, December 13, 2018, <https://slate.com/technology/2018/12/love-sex-robots-conference-bannon-academic-research.html>.
67. I have chosen not to cite examples directly here, since many of the works in question come from fields in which research "impact" is judged quantitatively by the number of publication citations (regardless of the context of the citation), and these impact scores themselves function as cultural capital, lending legitimacy to such publications.
68. Ari Schlesinger, "A Feminist Programming Language?," FemTechNet, July 14, 2014, <https://femtechnet.org/2014/07/a-feminist-programming-language/>.

## Chapter 1

1. David Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots: The Evolution of Human-Robot Relations* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).
2. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 22.
3. Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: "Hysteria," the Vibrator, and Women's Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 221.
4. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 232, 236.
5. Levy, 237.
6. Levy, 237.
7. Levy, 237.
8. Levy, 181.
9. For a recent example of a text that reprints this image and presents it as an actual photograph of the dames de voyage, see Rebecca Clark, "Gag Reflexes: Sex Doll Slapstick and Fran Ross's Oreo," *Post45*, January 22, 2020, <https://post45.org/2020/01/gag-reflexes-sex-doll-slapstick-and-fran-rosss-oreo/>.



10. Anthony Ferguson, *The Sex Doll: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010).
11. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 1.
12. Ferguson, 1.
13. Ferguson, 16.
14. Hallie Lieberman, *Buzz: A Stimulating History of the Sex Toy* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2017).
15. Lieberman, *Buzz*, 19.
16. Lieberman, 119.
17. Lieberman, 119.
18. Jia Tolentino, "The Rage of the Incels," *New Yorker*, May 15, 2018, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-rage-of-the-incels>.
19. Julien Arbois, *Dans le lit de nos ancêtres: Sexualité, moeurs, et vie intime d'autrefois* (Bernay, France: City Editions, 2016).
20. Kate Lister, *A Curious History of Sex* (London: Unbound, 2021).
21. Arbois, *Dans de lit de nos ancêtres*, 212–213; my original French to English translation.
22. For more on the colonial and racialized implications of these narratives, see chapter 5.
23. Priscille Lamure, "Petite histoire de la poupée érotique," *Savoirs d'Histoire* (blog), October 26, 2017, <https://savoirdhistoire.wordpress.com/2017/10/26/petite-histoire-de-la-poupee-erotique/comment-page-1/>.
24. Lamure, "Petite histoire de la poupée érotique"; my original French to English translation.
25. Julie Bech, "A (Straight, Male) History of Sex Dolls," *Atlantic*, August 4, 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2014/08/a-straight-male-history-of-dolls/375623/>.
26. Bech, "History of Sex Dolls."
27. Bech.
28. "Nazi Sex Dolls: Hitler's Secret Plan to Manufacture Sex Dolls," *Penthouse*, May 2016.
29. "Nazi Sex Dolls."

30. John Danaher and Neil McArthur, eds., *Robot Sex: Social and Ethical Implications* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017), 1.
31. John Danaher, "Should We Be Thinking about Robot Sex?," in *Robot Sex: Social and Ethical Implications*, ed. John Danaher and Neil McArthur (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017), 3–14.
32. Danaher, "Should We Be Thinking about Robot Sex?," 3.
33. Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women, and Modern Machines in America: 1870–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004).
34. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 237; Lieberman, *Buzz*, 119.
35. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16; Bech, "History of Sex Dolls."
36. Arbois, *Dans de lit de nos ancêtres*, 212–213; Lamure, "Petite histoire de la poupée érotique."
37. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 237.
38. Lieberman, *Buzz*, 19.
39. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16. As for the statement that France and Spain were at the height of their respective naval empires in the seventeenth century, numerous historical accounts document that the 1600s were actually a time of considerable decline for Spain's naval forces following the Thirty Years' War. For France, the seventeenth century appears to have been a period of expansion in the country's naval history, though what we might call the real historical "height" of the French navy seems to have come under Napoleon in the early 1800s. This clarification is relevant because it underscores the ahistoricity and inaccuracy of many seemingly historical details that surround the tale of the dames de voyage. For an overview of these histories, see, for example, Jeremy Black, *Naval Power: A History of Warfare and the Sea from 1500 Onward* (London: Red Globe Press, 2009). For a historiographic reflection on how narratives about maritime history have themselves been constructed starting in the twentieth century, see A. D. Lambert, "The Construction of Naval History 1815–1914," *International Quarterly Journal of the Society for Nautical Research* 97, no. 1 (2011): 207–224.
40. Arbois, *Dans de lit de nos ancêtres*, 212.
41. Bech, "History of Sex Dolls."
42. "Nazi Sex Dolls"; Lamure, "Petite histoire de la poupée érotique."
43. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 237; Lieberman, *Buzz*, 119.
44. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 1.
45. Arbois, *Dans de lit de nos ancêtres*, 213.

46. Bech, "History of Sex Dolls."
47. Jack Z. Bratich and Heidi M. Brush, "Fabricating Activism: Craft-Work, Popular Culture, and Gender," *Utopian Studies* 22, no. 2 (2011): 238.
48. See, for example, Chad M. Mosher, Heidi M. Levitt, and Eric Manley, "Layers of Leather: The Identity Formation of Leathermen as a Process of Transforming Meanings of Masculinity," *Journal of Homosexuality* 51, no. 3 (2006): 93–123.
49. For the gender dynamics of maker culture, see Andrea Marshall and Jennifer Rode, "Deconstructing Sociotechnical Identity in Maker Cultures," in *Proceedings of the 4th Conference on Gender & IT—GenderIT '18* (New York: ACM Press, 2018), 91–100. For the gender dynamics of hacker culture, see Allison Adam, "Hacking into Hacking: Gender and the Hacker Phenomenon," in *Gender, Ethics and Information Technology* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 128–146.
50. Bech, "History of Sex Dolls"; Lieberman, *Buzz*; Clark, "Gag Reflexes."
51. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 301.
52. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16.
53. Another example of a publication that repeats the tale of the dames de voyage during this period is Meredith Gwynne Fair Worthen, ed., *Sexual Deviance and Society: A Sociological Examination* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 262.
54. There are some exceptions, including Lieberman's 2017 *Buzz*, which draws directly from Levy's *Love and Sex with Robots* rather than Ferguson's *Sex Doll*. Lieberman, *Buzz*, 119.
55. Danaher, "Should We Be Thinking about Robot Sex?," 12.
56. Many pages after Ferguson discusses the dames de voyage (primarily on page 16), he describes the so-called Dutch wives supposedly used by the Japanese, which he writes "[originated] in the seventeenth century, when merchant ships would carry leather dolls around for the comfort of the crew" (27). Bech, in her article, pulls these two elements of Ferguson's text together, talking about both the dames de voyage and the Dutch wives in one paragraph. It appears that Danaher then further splices these elements together, creating the "fact" that the dames de voyage were used by seventeenth-century Dutch sailors. Bech also mistakenly—though perhaps intentionally humorously—refers to the dames de voyage as "masturbation puppets," likely a mistranslation of the French word *poupée* as contained in the phrase *poupée erotique* (sex doll)—a signal that Bech is pulling, at least in part, from a French-language source.
57. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

58. Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 15; Amanda Phillips, “Negg(at)Ing the Game Studies Subject,” *Feminist Media Histories* 6, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 16.

59. An entire section in *Robot Sex* is dedicated to the theme of defending robot sex, followed shortly thereafter by another about the possibility of robot love.

60. Among a handful of tells in the *Penthouse* article, the author refers to the sailors’ dolls as both dames de voyage and damas de viaje, as Ferguson does.

61. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16, 214. Ferguson gives the title of this magazine as *Avantoure: Anthology of Temptation* in the body of the text on page 16, but lists it as *avantoure*, specifying that the article appeared in the July–August 2006 issue, in his bibliography on page 214. Following Ferguson, and given the inaccessibility of the published article, I cite it here as Amy Wolf, “Dames de Voyage,” *avantoure* (July–August 2006): page numbers unknown.

62. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16.

63. Richard Macmanus, “Avantoure: A Magazine for the Web Age,” ReadWrite, December 4, 2006, [https://readwrite.com/2006/12/04/avantoure\\_web\\_magazine/](https://readwrite.com/2006/12/04/avantoure_web_magazine/).

64. Personal email correspondence with the author, November 2017.

65. Amy Wolf, “On Water,” early draft for “Dames de Voyage” shared with permission by the author (2006).

66. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16–20; Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 177–181, 237–239; Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907); Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization*, trans. M. Eden Paul (London: Rebman Limited, 1909); René Schwaebélé, *Les Détraquées de Paris: Étude Documentaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque du Fin de siècle, 1904); Henry N. Cary, *Erotic Contrivances: Appliances Attached to, or Used in Place of, the Sexual Organs* (Chicago: printed privately, 1922). For others seeking out Bloch’s text, note that both Ferguson and Levy give slightly incorrect citations. Levy states that the German text dates from 1909; this is in fact the date of the English translation. Ferguson lists the date as 1908, which seems to split the difference between the 1907 German-language and 1909 English-language publications. I offer this clarification because Bloch published a number of books released in a number of editions during this period, so it’s particularly useful to have precise dates. For those seeking out Schwaebélé’s text, note that Levy lists it as having been published in 1905, when it was in fact published in 1904 and then published in a second edition in 1910. Also, the English-language translations of Schwaebélé’s text that Levy provides, which he states come from a translation by John Snugden (Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 179), seem in fact to be amateur translations that have not been published elsewhere.

67. For example, in Ferguson's discussion of sex robots, where he engages with Levy's book at length. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 190–193.

68. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 180.

69. Cynthia Ann Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls: An Erotological Investigation" (PhD diss., Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, 2006).

70. David Levy, "Intimate Relationships with Artificial Partners" (PhD diss., Maastricht University, 2007).

71. Levy includes a thank-you to Moya in the acknowledgments section of his book (Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, vii) and the preface to his dissertation (Levy, "Intimate Relationships with Artificial Partners," v) for sharing "helpful advice on early 20th century sex artefacts." In our personal correspondence (August 2020), Moya confirmed that she shared her full dissertation project with Levy while he was in the process of writing his own.

72. For instance, Levy's quote from Bloch's *The Sexual Life of Our Time* (Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 177–178) is, in fact, an abbreviated passage from one found in Moya's dissertation (Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 43). Similarly, the extended passage from Cary's *Erotic Contrivances* that Levy quotes (Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 238–239) is itself an excerpt from a longer quotation that Moya provides (Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 62–64). In her own discussion of Cary's text, Moya explains that she found the text in her archival research at the Kinsey Institute Library only by luck. "Possibly less than ten copies" were ever made, she writes, and an error in cataloging meant that even the copy owned by the Kinsey Institute did not come up through standard searches (Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 53). This makes the chances that Levy too was able to access the text extremely limited. Indeed, in the preface of his dissertation, Levy thanks Moya for "kindly provided abstracts" from Cary's text (Levy, "Intimate Relationships with Artificial Partners," v), a note that curiously disappears from the acknowledgments page when Levy's project is revised and published as a book (Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, vii).

73. Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 178; Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 237.

74. There is admittedly a complication in this genealogy, since Amy Wolf's article also describes the dames de voyage as sailors' dolls, and was published in 2006, one year before Levy's book. One possible explanation is that Wolf, who mentions no sources in her article, read or heard a version of Levy's work in progress. Another possibility is that both Wolf and Levy were drawing in part from similar versions of the tale circulating through informal early internet spaces like forums and listservs.

75. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 181.

76. Levy, "Intimate Relationships with Artificial Partners," 186.
77. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, vii; Levy, "Intimate Relationships with Artificial Partners," v.
78. Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 44.
79. Moya, 43.
80. Moya, 44.
81. *Ergänzungswerk zur Sittengeschichte des Lasters: illustrationskommentar für studienbibliotheken und wissenschaftler/mediziner und juristen zu den textabhandlungen des hauptbandes* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927); Leo Schidrowitz, *Sittengeschichte des Lasters die Kulturepochen und ihre Leidenschaften* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927); Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 44.

## Chapter 2

1. One text from an intermediary time period that I admittedly found late in my research is Hillel Schwartz's book *The Culture of the Copy*, which was originally published in 1996. Schwartz does describe early sex dolls as having been used by sailors and recounts a bawdy anecdote about a sea captain who caught his first mate having sex with a doll. However, the types of dolls that Schwartz is describing are commercially produced rubber dolls much closer to the *femmes en caoutchouc* discussed in chapter 4, and his reference to the use of such dolls by sailors (which he draws from a 1900 essay that introduces a volume on the history of the mannequin) is in keeping with the cultural association between sex dolls and sailors discussed in chapter 3. Thus, it's unlikely that the notion that sailors actually made such dolls at sea came directly to later authors, like Amy Wolf in 2006, through Schwartz, since their stories are so dissimilar. Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books, 2014); Octave Uzanne, "Les femmes dociles: Visite à l'industriel d'Anvers," introduction to *Le Mannequin*, by Léon Riotor (Paris: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1900).

2. The texts I focus on in this section are from the 1960s and 1970s, but it's worth noting that a few examples from this genre of work do continue to appear up through the 1990s. One is the 1992 book titled *The Encyclopedia of Unusual Sexual Practices* by Brenda Love, which includes one of the few references to the *dames de voyage* in her entry for fornicatory dolls, seemingly suggesting that the term *dames de voyage* might serve as a synonym for sex dolls more generally. Love does also mention sailors in this entry, stating that "the more expensive types [of sex dolls] were once popular among European sailors and had pubic hair and even a clitoris"—a suspect claim followed not by a source but instead, curiously, by a description of an inflatable sheep with a hole beneath its tail for penetration. Brenda Love,

*The Encyclopedia of Unusual Sexual Practices* (New York: Barricade Books, 1992), 118–119.

3. Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

4. Advertising images are from the following: Paul Tabori, *The Humor and Technology of Sex* (New York: Julian Press, 1969), n.p.; Evelyn Rainbird, *The Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids* (New York: Minotaur Press, 1973), 68.

5. An example of one such text that focuses explicitly on so-called fornicatory dolls and related items is Aaron J. Abelard, *Substitute Lovers* (Hollywood: Barclay House, 1969).

6. R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Special Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Legal Studies*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1894); Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (New York: Random House, 1936).

7. The two books with the same title published in the same year are Gerhard Stoltz, *Sex Gadgets* (Cleveland, Ohio: Classics Library, 1968) and Roger Blake, *Sex Gadgets* (Cleveland, Ohio: Century, 1968). The quote is from Cynthia Ann Moya, “Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls: An Erotological Investigation” (PhD diss., Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, 2006), 12.

8. Amy Dumont and Ashton Dumont, *Sex Devices and How to Use Them* (Los Angeles: Argyle Books, 1970).

9. Dumot and Dumont, *Sex Devices*, 5.

10. Dumot and Dumont, 3–56, 60–64.

11. Tabori, *Humor and Technology of Sex*, 383–384. The reference to oil here suggests that Tabori is drawing from Iwan Bloch’s work, as described ahead, or from another author who drew from Bloch.

12. Evelyn Rainbird, *Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids*. Ironically, despite the higher quality of research, Rainbird is one of the most mysterious authors in this bunch; Moya points out that she is likely a “made-up character,” probably a creation of the Penthouse Media Group, though she is far from the only author mentioned here to use a pseudonym. Moya, “Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls,” 83.

13. Rainbird, *Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids*, 49.

14. Rainbird, 60.

15. Dumont and Dumont, *Sex Devices*; Roger Blake, *Sex Gadgets*; Tabori, *Humor and Technology of Sex*.
16. Jane Long, *A Housewife's Guide to Auto-Erotic Devices in the Home* (San Diego: Greenleaf Classics, 1972). Rainbird also mentions this book, even including an image of the cover in her book, with the description, "The cover of a typical American paperback, ostensibly giving unusual data but in fact consisting of casually invented fantasy material." Rainbird, *Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids*, 63.
17. Henry N. Cary, *Erotic Contrivances: Appliances Attached to, or Used in Place of, the Sexual Organs* (Chicago: printed privately, 1922); Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behavior: Volume One* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961), 151.
18. Heike Bauer, "Disciplining Sex and Subject: Translation, Biography and the Emergence of Sexology in Germany," in *English Literary Sexology* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 21–51.
19. Laurie Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).
20. Heike Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2017).
21. Leo Schidrowitz, *Sittengeschichte des Lasters die Kulturepochen und ihre Leidenschaften* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927); Leo Schidrowitz, *Ergänzungswerk zur Sittengeschichte des Lasters* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927).
22. Schidrowitz, *Sittengeschichte des Lasters*, 214. My original translation from the German.
23. Erich Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher* (Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1910).
24. Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*, 499.
25. Georg Back, *Sexuelle Verirrungen des Menschen und der Natur* (Berlin: Standard-Verlag, 1910), 432–433.
26. Exactly which text of Bloch's these slightly later works were drawing from gets a little messy. Bech is clearly quoting from Bloch's 1907 *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, discussed ahead. Wulffen, by contrast, offers slightly different information, but still credited to Bloch. This is because Wulffen appears to actually be drawing from an earlier discussion of the dames de voyage that appeared in Bloch's 1903 book, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis* [Contributions to the aetiology of psychopathia sexualis]. Iwan Bloch, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis: Zweiter Teil* (Dresden: Verlag von H. R. Dohrn, 1903).
27. Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls," 37–38.



28. Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907). English-language texts sometimes state the date of this work as 1909; that is because 1909 is the publication date for the official English translation of Bloch's book: Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization*, trans. M. Eden Paul (London: Rebman Limited, 1909).

29. In addition to texts that use this passage to talk explicitly about the dames de voyage, we see this same passage from Bloch in other works about sex tech and sex dolls, such as Allison de Fren, "Technofetishism and the Uncanny Desires of A.S.F.R. (alt.sex.fetish.robots)," *Science Fiction Studies* 36, no. 3 (2009): 401–440, 410.

30. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 648–649.

31. Although *The Sexual Life of Our Time* is often the text credited with originating Bloch's discussion of the dames de voyage, Bloch in fact first writes about the dames de voyage four years earlier, in his 1903 book, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis* [Contributions to the aetiology of psychopathia sexualis]—which did not, unlike *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, receive an official English translation. Here, in this earlier text, Bloch positions his discussion of the dames de voyage after a description of people who have sex with statues. He then writes: "How far fornication goes in this area is shown by the fact that today the so-called 'dames de voyage,' i.e., whole female bodies made of rubber, are sold to debauched old men [*roués*]. The genitals are faithfully imitated and even the secretion of the glandulae Bartholini is imitated by a 'pneumatic tube' filled with oil. There are even said to be replicas of full men for women." Bloch, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, 301; my original translation. Bloch later revises and expands upon this earlier description in his 1907 text, adding more details about the dolls' workings and citations to related texts while also removing the word *roués*, a disparaging term—in effect, casting the purchase and use of elaborate sex dolls in a more positive light.

32. For examples of works representing the recurring interest in the Digesting Duck from scholars in science and technology studies, see Daniel Cottom, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Digestion," *Representations* 66 (April 1, 1999): 52–74; Jessica Riskin, "The Defecating Duck, or, the Ambiguous Origins of Artificial Life," *Critical Inquiry* 29, no. 4 (June 2003): 599–633.

33. For example, see Anthony Ferguson's comment that sex dolls sprang from "the germ of male desire" to "create something which was female in appearance, but completely receptive and non-judgmental." Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 1.

34. Note that this *as* construction is consistent in Bloch's original German text (which uses *als*) as well as the official English translation. Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, 710.

35. Admittedly, the fact that Bloch chooses to use the French terms *hommes* and *dames de voyage* in his German-language text adds another layer of complexity, suggesting that the terms may be euphemistic or idiomatic.

36. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 649. Others translate this title as “The Misfits of Paris,” but the meaning of *détraqué* is closer to the English *deranged*, communicating a sense of wild (in this case, sexual) behavior. The second *e* in *détraquées* as it appears in Schwaebél’s title implies that the book is specifically about Parisian women engaging in wild behavior.

37. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 649. The word that Bloch uses to describe Madame B.’s story in his original German text is not *romance* (as the English translation suggests) but rather *roman*, a novel. This distinction, while minor, helps make clear that Bloch did recognize the fictional nature of the work, while later authors who have learned about *La Femme endormie* through the English translation of Bloch’s text have often interpreted the phrase *erotic romance* to mean an actual, factual account of an extended romantic tryst between a human man and a sex doll. Bloch, *Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit*, 711.

38. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 649.

39. René Schwaebél, *Les Détraquées de Paris: Étude Documentaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque du Fin de siècle, 1904). A second edition of the book was released in 1910, this time without the illustrations—supposedly so that the volume would be deemed less pornographic and more appropriate for sale: René Schwaebél, *Les Détraquées de Paris: Étude de mœurs contemporaines* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1910).

40. As blogger Sabine Huet points out in a 2008 post, *Les Détraquées de Paris* could be considered a queer text, part of what Huet refers to as a largely missing history of lesbian erotica. Sabine Huet, “René Schwaebél, ‘Les détraquées de Paris. Etude de mœurs contemporaines.’ Nouvelle Edition, Daragon libraire-éditeur, 1910,” *Les Introuvables lesbiens* (blog), December 3, 2008, <http://romanslesbiens.canalblog.com/archives/2008/12/03/7575073.html>.

41. Victor Leca, *Paris-Fêtard: Guide secret de tous les plaisirs* (Paris: P. de Porter, 1907).

42. Leca, *Paris-Fêtard*, 21.

43. *Le Rire: Journal humoristique*, October 29, 1910.

44. Schwaebél, *Les Détraquées de Paris: Étude de mœurs contemporaines*, 84–85. Note that page numbers for *Les Détraquées de Paris* come from the 1910 edition.

45. Schwaebél, *Les Détraquées de Paris*, 33.

46. Schwaebél, *Les Détraquées de Paris*, 33. Another charming bit of humor in this story is that, the narrator claims, Dr. P. has to take pains to avoid arrest and make

sure that his bespoke sex doll fabrication operation looks like a legitimate business, so he stocks his store with large balloon animals to throw police off the trail.

47. I am thinking here specifically of the anecdote told by Octave Uzanne in his introduction to *Le Mannequin*, where he describes having visited the city of Antwerp fifteen years prior and been taken to a shop that sold hand-crafted life-sized dolls. This story too has a bawdy air to it, like a tall tale of sex tourism. Uzanne, “Les femmes dociles.”

48. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 649.

49. Bloch, 649.

50. Madame B. (Alphonse Momas), *La Femme endormie* (Melbourne: J. Renold, 1899).

51. See, for example, the following texts, all authored by Momas: Georges de Lesbos, *Voluptés bizarres* (Amsterdam: no publisher listed, 1893); Erosmane, *Lubricités, récits intimes et véridiques d’anecdotes galantes extraites de la vie privée des célébrités contemporaines* (Brussels: no publisher listed, 1891); Fuckwell, *Petites et grandes filles* (London: no publisher listed, 1907).

52. Jon Stratton, *The Desirable Body: Cultural Fetishism and the Erotics of Consumption* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 215; Auguste Villiers de l’Isle-Adam, *L’Ève future* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Monnier, 1886).

53. Paul Booth, “Slash and Porn: Media Subversion, Hyper-Articulation, and Parody,” *Continuum* 28, no. 3 (May 4, 2014): 396–409.

54. Madame B., *La Femme endormie*, 1.

55. Madame B., 1.

56. Madame B., 5.

57. Madame B., 3.

58. Madame B., 3.

59. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 649. Interestingly, Bloch does not mention these catalogs in his 1903 book, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis* [Contributions to the aetiology of psychopathia sexualis], in which an earlier version of his discussion of the dames de voyage appears, suggesting that he encountered these catalogs sometime between 1903 and 1907.

60. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 649.

61. Many of the documents surrounding the dames de voyage suggest that the sale of sex dolls was illegal in Paris during this period. See, for example, *Les Détraquées de Paris*, which includes reference to the fact that the seller of sex dolls

in the “Homunculus” story had to avoid drawing the attention of the police. Other evidence includes documentation of legal cases in which individuals who distributed advertisements for sex dolls on the streets of Paris were brought to court under charges related to the promotion of obscenity and indecency, as discussed in chapter 4.

62. A small selection of catalogs for rubber goods and other intimate devices has thankfully been preserved by the Internet Archive. Other examples come from Album 7 in the Milford Haven Collection, currently held by the British Library, as described ahead.

63. Advertisements for these catalogs begin appearing in Parisian newspapers as early as 1891, starting with the rubber manufacturer Maison A. Claverie. Claverie’s ads are followed soon after by many other sellers, with names such as Maison Durand, Maison C. Bor, Leigh’s, and Office des Inventions Reunies, though it’s unclear how many of these companies apart from Claverie actually produced their own items.

64. Manuel Charpy, “Craze and Shame: Rubber Clothing during the Nineteenth Century in Paris, London, and New York City,” *Fashion Theory* 16, no. 4 (December 2012): 433.

65. Cary, *Erotic Contrivances*, 48. Cary’s reference here to *naval officers* does not appear in Rainbird’s text. However, it’s consistent with the cultural associations between sex dolls and sailors that started forming in France at the turn of the twentieth century, which I discuss in chapter 3.

66. Rainbird, *Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids*, 53.

67. Rainbird, 53.

68. Tracking down these documents has been a saga in and of itself, and I detail it here so that others after me will hopefully be able to find them. Rainbird gives the following citation for her reference to these sex toy catalogs: “British Museum Private Case, Album 7, The Milfordhaven Catalogues” (Rainbird, *Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids*, 51). This turns out to be a citation to what is referred to as the Milford Haven collection, which was previously the private collection of George Mountbatten, second Marquess of Milford Haven. Originally, the collection contained pornography, erotic catalogs, and erotic postcards. When George Mountbatten died in 1938, the collection passed to his son, David Mountbatten. In 1961, David Mountbatten was implicated in the Profumo affair, a major political scandal in which Secretary of the State for War John Profumo (under conservative prime minister Harold Macmillan) was revealed to be having an extramarital affair with a nineteen-year-old model. In the aftermath, David Mountbatten dispersed his father’s collection. The curators at the British Library report that, of this initial collection, “a small collection of erotic prospectuses and catalogs for obscene books, pictures and instruments,

dating from 1889 to 1929 was donated to the British Museum in 1963 and these are now at Cup.364.g.48.” Email communication from Elias Mazzucco on the Rare Books and Music Reference Team at the British Library, April 16, 2021. These items were stored briefly in the British Museum’s infamous Private Case, established in the 1850s to contain “obscene material,” the contents of which were later transferred to the British Library in 1973. It is there at the British Library, still at Cup.364.g.48, that these items still remain, where they are overseen by the Rare Books team. Unfortunately, they have been deemed too delicate to produce images of, which is why the images from the catalogs here in this book have been recreated by an artist. Those on the hunt for these materials will find that a second segment of George Mountbatten’s original collection—namely, his cache of erotic postcards—has landed at the Victoria and Albert Museum, where it’s also labeled as the Milford Haven Collection. As for the actual catalogs of sexual devices in question, they are contained in what is called Album 7. In 2019, bibliographer Patrick J. Kearney published a list of the contents of Album 7. Among these are advertisements and catalogs for erotic books, but some are for clandestine catalogs of erotic novelties and apparatuses. The full citation for the bibliographic list of the contents of Album 7 is as follows: Patrick J. Kearney, *Album 7: A Transcription of an Important Collection of Erotic Ephemera in the British Library* (Santa Rosa, CA: Scissors & Paste Bibliographies, 2019). For more information about the humorous circumstances by which the Milford Haven postcard collection came to be archived by the Victoria and Albert Museum (one begrudging internal memo between curators written in 1982 reads, “I supposed we are committed to accepting this gift”), see Erika Lederman, “French Postcards: History Revealed,” *V&A Blog*, November 2, 2015, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our-collections/french-postcards-history-revealed?doing>.

69. Advertisement (bottom-right corner of page), *La Lanterne*, June 25, 1891, 4; my French to English translation of this advertisement.

70. Advertisement (bottom center), *La Grisette: Revue populaire illustrée*, August 10, 1895, 3; my French to English translation of this advertisement.

71. Maison L. Bador, *Fabrication perfectionnée de caoutchouc dilaté et baudruche* (Paris: commercial catalog, 1900), cover.

72. Maison L. Bador, *Fabrication perfectionnée*, 1; my original French to English translation.

73. Maison L. Bador, 8; my original French to English translation.

74. Maison L. Bador, 10; my original French to English translation.

75. Jessica Borge, *Protective Practices: A History of the London Rubber Company and the Condom Business* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020), 17.

76. Agnès Giard, *Un désir d’humain: Les “love doll” au Japon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016), 29.

### Chapter 3

1. Jean-Yves Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue: Politique et démocratie au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 7.
2. Margaret C. Creighton and Lisa Norling, "Introduction," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900*, ed. Margaret C. Creighton and Lisa Norling (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), vii–xiv, viii.
3. Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue*, 8.
4. M. le compte E. A. Sallins, "En Des Jours pareils! Récit russe du temps de Pougatcheff," in *Bibliothèque universelle et revue Suisse* (Lausanne, Switzerland: Bureaux de la Bibliothèque universelle, October 1893), 149–167. The story's subtitle, "A Russian story from the time of Pougatcheff," refers to a mid-eighteenth-century pretender to the Russian throne who led an unsuccessful rebellion against Catherine II. It's therefore best understood as a work of loosely historical fiction.
5. Sallins, "En Des Jours pareils!," 154–155.
6. Admittedly, the term does not seem to have been one of the more commonly used colloquial terms for sex workers. *Paris-Fêtard*, the 1907 guide to Parisian sex tourism that I discuss in chapter 2, refers to prostitutes and women performing other kinds of erotic labor using a variety of lingo (e.g., *dames galantes* or "loose women"), but nowhere does it mention *dames de voyage*. Victor Leca, *Paris-Fêtard: Guide secret de tous les plaisirs* (Paris: P. de Porter, 1907).
7. "Le Rire de la semaine," *Le Rire: Journal humoristique*, March 19, 1910, no listed page numbers (pages 1 and 2 following cover).
8. The year 1903 is the publication date for Iwan Bloch's *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis: Zweiter Teil*, in which he first discusses the *dames de voyage*. Iwan Bloch, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis: Zweiter Teil* (Dresden: Verlag von H. R. Dohrn, 1903), 301.
9. Henry N. Cary, *Erotic Contrivances: Appliances Attached to, or Used in Place of, the Sexual Organs* (Chicago: printed privately, 1922), 48; Evelyn Rainbird, *The Illustrated Manual of Sexual Aids* (New York: Minotaur Press, 1973), 49.
10. "Le Rire de la semaine." Although this story is presented in a humorous light, it appears to be true as it was reported on simultaneously by multiple newspapers. For example, see the write-up of the court case in the Chronique (Chronical) section of *L'Éclat de rire: Journal humoristique*. G. de Saint-Loup, "Chronique," *L'Éclat de rire: Journal humoristique* 134 (1910): 14.
11. "Le Rire de la semaine"; my original French to English translation.

12. "Le Rire de la semaine"; my original French to English translation.
13. "Le Rire de la semaine"; my original French to English translation.
14. René Crevel, *Êtes-Vous Fous?* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1929).
15. Crevel, *Êtes-Vous Fous?*, 178
16. Roger Peyrefitte, *Des Français* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973).
17. Peyrefitte, *Des Français*, 101; my original French to English translation.
18. Vladimir Volkoff, *The Turn-Around*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Bodley Head, 1981).
19. Volkoff, *Turn-Around*, 130.
20. Madame B. (Alphonse Momas), *La Femme endormie* (Melbourne: J. Renold, 1899).
21. Georges Eclar, "La Femme du capitaine," *La Grisette: Revue populaire illustrée*, October 10, 1895, 83–85.
22. Eclar, "La Femme du capitaine," 84.
23. Eclar, 84–85.
24. Eclar, 85.
25. Eclar, 84.
26. Clément Voutel, "La Poupée," *La Vie Parisienne*, October 15, 1921, 883, 886–887.
27. As mentioned in the introduction, Olympia appears in Hoffman's 1816 story "Der Sandman" ("The Sandman"), which is about a young man who falls in love with a beautiful automaton, forsaking his flesh-and-blood fiancée and ultimately meeting an untimely demise in his quest to attain her. See E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Tales of Hoffman* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982).
28. Voutel, "La Poupée," 886; my original French to English translation.
29. Vald'Es, "Portraits en pied," *La Vie Parisienne*, October 15, 1921, 888.
30. For more on these advertisements, see chapter 2. For more on the sale of these items, see chapter 4.
31. Cary, *Erotic Contrivances*, 48; as quoted in Cynthia Ann Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls: An Erotological Investigation" (PhD diss., Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, 2006), 62.
32. For more on the various roles that women played in the seafaring world and on ships, see Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women:*

*Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

33. Haskell Springer, “The Captain’s Wife at Sea,” in *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900*, ed. Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 92–117.

34. See, for example, Norling and Creighton, *Iron Men, Wooden Women*; Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whaleshery, 1720–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); David Cordingly, *Seafaring Women: Adventures of Pirate Queens, Female Stowaways, and Sailors’ Wives* (New York: Random House, 2007); Suzanne J. Stark, *Female Tars: Women aboard Ship in the Age of Sail* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2017).

35. For more recent historical writing on women pirates, see Laura Sook Duncombe, *Pirate Women: The Princesses, Prostitutes, and Privateers Who Ruled the Seven Seas* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2017).

36. See, for example: Henry Trotter, “Soliciting Sailors: The Temporal Dynamics of Dockside Prostitution in Durban and Cape Town,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 3 (September 2009): 699–713.

37. Sowande’ M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 83–84.

38. See, for example, David Cordingly, “Men without Women,” in *Seafaring Women*, 138–153.

39. Cordingly, “Men without Women,” 142.

40. Cordingly, 145.

41. See, for example, Daniel Hannah, “Queer Hospitality in Herman Melville’s ‘Benito Cereno,’” *Studies in American Fiction* 37, no. 2 (2010): 181–201; Hiram Pérez, “The Queer Afterlife of Billy Budd,” in *A Taste for Brown Bodies* (New York: New York University Press), 25–48.

42. My thanks to Gina Bardi, reference librarian at the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park Research Center for confirming my understanding of the particular challenges posed by these documents and the unlikelihood of finding references to sex dolls in such materials. Personal communication with the author, November 9, 2017.

43. Gina Bardi, personal communication with the author, November 9, 2017.

44. One other route I explored at length, but which ultimately proved to be a dead end, was scouring various archives for the Spanish phrase *damas de viaje*, which a



handful of contemporary authors mention alongside *dames de voyage*. This turns up nothing of relevance; my guess is that the inclusion of *damas de viaje* into discussions of early sex dolls is a twenty-first-century invention. A heads-up for others after me interested in pursuing a similar line of investigation: the World Newspaper Archive initially seems to turn up numerous references to *damas de viaje*, but closer inspection reveals these are actually bits of text from either high-society announcements about women going on trips or advertisements for women's luggage.

45. Peter Kasin, "The Monthly Chantey Sing at San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park: An Introduction" (no publication info; shared via personal communication with author, November 11, 2017). The info sheet also includes a note explaining that there are various forms of the word *chantey*, which can apparently be spelled *chantey*, *chanty*, *shanty*, *shantie*, or *shantey*.

46. Kasin, "Monthly Chantey Sing."

47. These include Peter Kasin, park ranger in the Interpretation Division and sea chantey expert at the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park; Amy Parsons, associate professor in the Department of Culture and Communication at California State University Maritime Academy; and Gibb Schreffler, assistant professor in the Department of Music at Pomona College.

48. Individual correspondence with the author, November 13, 2017.

49. My thanks to Amy Parsons for suggesting this line of archival inquiry and for pointing me to the American Periodicals Series database, from which the primary sources related to this topic were drawn.

50. The Seaman's Friend, "The Salvation of Seamen Difficult," *The Christian Herald and Seaman's Magazine*, March 7, 1824, 153.

51. G. McPherson Hunter, "The Sailor and City Problems: Where the Real Peril of the Seaman Begins," *New York Observer and Chronicle*, May 3, 1906, 562.

52. Hunter, "The Sailor and City Problems," 562.

53. Hunter, 562.

54. Individual correspondence with the author, November 16, 2017.

55. Cordingly writes: "We find the conventional belief that most ships' figureheads depicted women to be far from the case. The predominance of female figureheads was a nineteenth-century phenomenon, and it is only because so many more of these have survived than the earlier lions, dragons, and warriors that we assume that women were more popular on the bows of ships" (Cordingly, *Seafaring Women*, xv).

56. Creighton and Norling, "Introduction," vii, x.

57. Information about this figurehead comes from the catalog entry for the item as part of the collection at the National Maritime Museum. See <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/18784.html>.
58. Michael P. Dyer, "Scrimshaw," in *Encyclopedia of Marine Mammals*, 3rd ed., ed. Bernd Würsig, J. G. M. Thewissen, and Kit M. Kovacs (Burlington, MA: Elsevier, 2018), 841–845.
59. Some examples include the Mystic Seaport Museum, the Nantucket Whaling Museum, and the Hull Maritime Museum.
60. Janet West and Arthur G. Credland, *Scrimshaw: The Art of the Whaler* (Hull, UK: Hull City Museums & Art Galleries, 1995).
61. "Whale Bone Porn': Ann Pimental Outraged at Vancouver Maritime Museum's Scrimshaw Exhibit," *HuffPost*, March 25, 2013, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/whale-bone-porn-ann-pimental\\_n\\_2950987](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/whale-bone-porn-ann-pimental_n_2950987).
62. Information about items on display via Gilda Salomone, "There's More to the Vancouver Maritime Museum's Exhibit than 'Whale Bone Porn,'" Radio Canada International, March 25, 2013, <https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2013/03/25/theres-more-to-vancouver-maritime-museums-exhibit-than-whale-bone-porn/>; Jason Smythe, "I Know It When I See It: Scrimshaw and Whale Bone Porn," *Satellite Gallery* (blog), April 27, 2013, <https://satellitegallery.wordpress.com/2013/04/27/i-know-it-when-i-see-it-scrimshaw-and-whale-bone-porn-2/>.
63. Tristin Hopper, "It's All Fake: Vancouver Exhibit's 'Whale Bone Porn' Is Not 19th-Century Scrimshaw, Former Museum Director Says," *National Post*, March 30, 2013, <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/its-all-fake-vancouver-exhibits-whale-bone-porn-is-not-19th-century-scrimshaw-former-museum-director-says>.
64. Hopper, "It's All Fake."

#### Chapter 4

1. For the British context, see, for example, Jessica Borge, *Protective Practices: A History of the London Rubber Company and the Condom Business* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 2020). For the German context, see, for example, Götz Aly and Michael Sontheimer, *Fromms: How Julius Fromm's Condom Empire Fell to the Nazis*, trans. Shelley Laura Frisch (New York: Other Press, 2009); Donna J. Drucker, *Contraception: A Concise History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020), 40–41. For the American context, see, for example, Drucker, *Contraception*, 22.
2. As I will discuss in greater detail when I address issues of race surrounding the tale of the dames de voyage, these rubber items were sometimes manufactured in a dark

brown-black color, as in the example of the *ventre de femme* mentioned in chapter 2. At other times, they were produced in white or pink.

3. Borge, *Protective Practices*, 16.

4. Drucker, *Contraception*, 17.

5. Borge, *Protective Practices*, 16. As Borge helpfully clarifies, rubber vulcanization has been described as a “first revolution” in the manufacture of such items, followed later by another “revolution” in the development of latex rubber, which was thinner, cheaper, stronger, and safer to produce than simple galvanized rubber and which became nearly ubiquitous as the go-to material for condoms by the 1930s. Borge, *Protective Practices*, 17, 19. Drucker, *Contraception*, 17.

6. Carlin Wing, “Episodes in the Life of Bounce: Playing with a Rubber Ball,” *Cabinet*, no. 56 (Winter 2014–2015), <https://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/56/wing.php>.

7. Varnout et Galante, *Catalogue des appareils et instruments de médecine et chirurgie en caoutchouc vulcanisé* (Paris: Imprimerie Administrative de Paul Dupont, 1851).

8. Varnout et Galante, *Catalogue des appareils*, title page.

9. Varnout et Galante, 35–36, 15–16, 13–14, 46.

10. Maison L. Bador, *Fabrication perfectionnée de caoutchouc dilaté et baudruche* (Paris: commercial catalog, 1900).

11. Maison L. Bador, *Fabrication perfectionnée*, 3.

12. Maison L. Bador, 16, 12.

13. Advertisement for Maison A. Claverie, *La Lanterne*, June 25, 1891, 4 (lower right-hand corner).

14. Advertisement for Maison A. Claverie, *La Lanterne*, September 20, 1891, 4 (lower middle).

15. Information about the contemporary Claverie store, as well as text and images presenting the company’s narrative about its own history, are available at <https://mademoiselleclaverie.com/> (accessed April 29, 2021).

16. See <https://mademoiselleclaverie.com/histoire/>.

17. René Schwaebélé, “Homunculus,” in *Les Détraquées de Paris* (Paris: Bibliothèque du Fin de siècle, 1904).

18. Julian Jackson, *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 22.

19. Raisa Adah Rexer, *The Fallen Veil: A Literary and Cultural History of the Photographic Nude in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 4.
20. Rexer, *Fallen Veil*, 23. This reference to paper dolls suggests small, flat, pornographic cutouts, not sex dolls.
21. Rexer, 123.
22. Rexer talks about this phenomenon occurring in the 1870s, with street vendors of nude images “arrested all over Paris” (Rexer, 150). Yet in 1900, four hundred *camelots* (street hawkers) were arrested for carrying obscene postcards. Jean-Yves Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue: Politique et démocratie au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 261.
23. Feona Attwood, “Fashion and Passion: Marketing Sex to Women,” *Sexualities* 8, no. 4 (October 2005): 392–406.
24. Carina Hsieh and Natasha Burton, “A Brief History of the Rabbit,” *Cosmopolitan*, June 30, 2020, <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/sex-love/advice/a4805/history-of-the-rabbit/>.
25. As Mark McLelland explains in discussing censorship of pornographic media materials in Japan, “the number of obscenity cases brought before the courts since the 1970s has been relatively small,” which McLelland attributes to “a range of self-regulatory mechanisms . . . that advise members on permissible limits.” This suggests that the design of the rabbit vibrator may have emerged through similar self-regulatory mechanisms. Mark McLelland, “Sex, Censorship and Media Regulation in Japan: A Historical Overview,” in *Routledge Handbook of Sexuality Studies in East Asia*, ed. Mark McLelland and Vera Mackie (London: Routledge, 2014), 409.
26. For an influential example, see David Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots: The Evolution of Human-Robot Relations* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 249.
27. The advertisement for a demicorps can be found in Album 7 of the Milford Haven Collection at the British Library. While only a selection of the catalog in which the advertisement appears has been preserved in the album, the seller seems to have left hand-written notes on the preserved pages, indicating that the items are being sold by a company called the Office des Inventions Réunies at Rue Truffaut in Paris.
28. “Les Femmes en caoutchouc,” *L’Indépendant de Mascara*, August 27, 1885, 3; Georges Eclar, “La Femme du capitaine,” *La Grisette: Revue populaire illustrée*, October 10, 1895, 83–85.
29. See the advertisement from the Office des Inventions Réunies in Album 7 mentioned in note 27.

30. This conversion is based off of information provided at <https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>.

31. An example of an advertisement offering dildos at different sizes for a variety of prices can be found in Album 7 of the Milford Haven collection at the British Library. This text comes from a three-page fold-out advertisement, on a page labeled *godmiché* (dildo), with no information about the seller.

32. Edmond Picard, *La Veillée de L'huissier: Conte de Noël* (Brussels: Ferdinand Larcier, 1885), no page numbers.

33. *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1851* (Baltimore: R. J. Matchett, 1851), 63, 216.

34. William Henry Boyd, *The Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore: R. Edwards and W. H. Boyd, 1858), 127, 328; *Baltimore City Business Directory for 1858–59* (Baltimore: J. C. Nicholson and H. Q. Nicholson, 1858), 60.

35. If anything, rubber manufacturing and distribution seems to have been far more prevalent in the New York City area. For example, an exhibit catalog from the Third Annual Exhibition of the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts, held in Baltimore in 1850, notes that “gum elastic” items were contributed by a number of companies located in other states. These items included rubber belting from the New York company Reece & Hoyt, general rubber goods from a company called Union India Rubber Company, also in New York, and a collection of “nine dozen men, women and children’s metallic boots, shoes and sandals, from the Goodyear Manufacturing Rubber Shoe Company” located in Connecticut. *Third Annual Exhibition of the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts* (Baltimore: Sherwood & Co., 1850), 1, 11, 9. Indeed, a New York City directory for the year 1854–1855 includes no fewer than nineteen listings for businesses operating in India rubber, as well as numerous additional companies with names like New Brunswick Rubber Company, New York India Rubber Warehouse, Goodyear’s Rubber Packing Co., and Goodyear Rubber Emporium. Charles R. Rode, *New-York City Directory, for 1854–1855* (New York: Doggett and Rode, 1854), 285. One thing you realize quickly in trying to make sense of the mid-nineteenth-century rubber industry in the United States is that business owners with no ostensible connection to Charles Goodyear seemed to have zero qualms about branding their companies with his name.

36. *Third Annual Exhibition of the Maryland Institute*.

37. These patents were issued in 1854 (patent number 11,135) and 1858 (patent number 22,080), respectively.

38. Société Excelsior, *Catalogue général d'articles de preservation intime à l'usage des deux sexes* (Paris: 1905), 54.

39. Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue*, 7.

40. Basic information regarding the Paris World's Fairs has been drawn from material published by the curators of Gallica, an online archive associated with the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. See Catherine Brial, "Les expositions universelles dans Gallica," *Le Blog Gallica*, January 1, 2013, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/blog/01012013/les-expositions-universelles-dans-gallica>.
41. For examples of historical scholarship illustrating the centrality of technology at the world's fairs and their importance for the development of twenty-first-century technologies, see Ron Becker, "'Hear-and-See Radio' in the World of Tomorrow: RCA and the Presentation of Television at the World's Fair, 1939–1940," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 21, no. 4 (October 2001): 361–378; Paul Mason Fotsch, "The Building of a Superhighway Future at the New York World's Fair," *Cultural Critique* 48, no. 1 (2001): 65–97.
42. The 1900 Paris World's Fair alone reportedly drew fifty million visitors. Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue*, 24.
43. Robert W. Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893–1940," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 135–155; Nathan Cardon, *A Dream of the Future: Race, Empire, and Modernity at the Atlanta and Nashville World's Fairs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
44. Isabel Morais, "'Little Black Rose' at the 1934 *Exposicao Colonial Portuguesa*," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, ed. Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 21.
45. Walter Putnam, "'Please Don't Feed the Natives': Human Zoos, Colonial Desire, and Bodies on Display," *French Literature Series* 39 (2012): 55–68; Sadiya Qureshi, "Displaying Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus,'" *History of Science* 42, no. 2 (2004): 233–257.
46. Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).
47. Cheryl R. Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 22.
48. Henri de la Madelène, "Figaro à l'exposition," *Le Figaro*, September 16, 1855, 7.
49. de la Madelène, "Figaro à l'exposition," 7; my original English translation. Note that the ellipses in this passage are present in the original; they do not indicate missing text.
50. de la Madelène, 7.
51. Étienne Ducret, "Le Caoutchouc," *La Chanson: Journal de musique populaire*, May 15, 1880, 8. It appears that this 1880 version of "Le Caoutchouc" may actually

have been a rewrite of an earlier song by the same title. A listing for a song by the same title appears in the Parisian circular *Lice Chansonnrière* in 1843. Unfortunately, though the circular is cataloged in Gallica, it appears its contents have been lost. *Lice Chansonnrière* (Paris: L. Vieillot, 1843).

52. Ducret, "Le Caoutchouc," 8.

53. Ducret, 8. A "finger cot" (*doigtier*) was a rubber finger cover.

54. Étienne Ducret, "Le Caoutchouc," *Lice Chansonnrière* (Paris: no publisher listed, 1898), 121–125. The listed authors of both the 1880 and 1898 versions of the song are the same, but it is unclear whether Étienne Ducret was indeed involved in the writing of both versions or whether the songs are being credited to him as the original author without note of who has updated them.

55. "Notes sur l'exposition," *La Vie Parisienne*, August 3, 1867, 558.

56. "Notes sur l'exposition," *La Vie Parisienne*, August 17, 1867, 592.

57. "Les Femmes en caoutchouc."

58. George Méliès (dir.), *L'Homme à la tête en caoutchouc* (Star Film Company, 1901).

59. Alphonse Lafitte, "La Femme en caoutchouc," *La Tintamarre*, March 10, 1872, 2–3.

60. Lafitte, "La Femme en caoutchouc," 3.

61. Rexer, *Fallen Veil*, 26.

62. "La Fraude," *Le Radical*, August 15, 1887, 2; Jean Frollo, "L'Imagination des fraudeurs," *Le Petit Parisien*, September 17, 1890, 1; Georges Acker, "Les Contrabandiers," *La Lanterne*, January 6, 1897, 2.

63. Frollo, "L'Imagination des fraudeurs," 1; Acker, "Les Contrabandiers," 2.

64. Acker, "Les Contrabandiers," 2.

65. Acker, 2.

66. Mollier, *Le Camelot et la rue*, 8.

67. Mollier, 244.

68. Mollier, 260.

69. Mollier, 148–149.

70. Mollier, 261.

71. F. Bellay, "Un Traquenard policier," *L'intransigeant*, October 24, 1900, 2; "Le Cas de l'empereur des camelots," *La Justice*, October 24, 1900, 2.

72. Bellay, "Un Traquenard policier," 2.
73. "Le Cas de l'empereur des camelots," 2.
74. "Le Cas de l'empereur des camelots," 2.
75. M. Pierre, "Carnet Judiciaire: Femmes en caoutchouc!," *Gil Blas*, January 19, 1902, 3; F. Bellay, "La Traite des . . . poupées," *L'intransigeant*, January 20, 1902, 2; "Nouvelles judiciaires," *Le Radical*, January 20, 1902, 2.
76. Bellay, "La Traite des . . . poupées," 2.
77. For example: Clément Voutel, "La Poupée," *La Vie Parisienne*, October 15, 1921, 883, 886–887.
78. Voutel, "La Poupée," 886.
79. This shift is illustrated in a 1919 catalog from Maison Claverie (which has seemingly rebranded as Établissements A. Claverie) for an artificial leg with the product name La Française. The catalog's title page includes both a note that Claverie is now an official supplier to military hospitals and a listing of Claverie's many awards from various world's fairs between 1912 and 1919. Here the remedicalization of rubber manufacture meets the long history of associating technological prowess with the world's fairs. Établissements A. Claverie, *La Jambe Artificielle "La Française"* (Paris: Établissements A. Claverie, 1919).
80. Lynn Comella, *Vibrator Nation: How Feminist Sex-Toy Stores Changed the Business of Pleasure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 114.
81. Paisley Gilmour, "How to Tell If Your Sex Toy Is Toxic," *VICE*, March 1, 2018, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/bj5bqv/how-to-tell-if-your-sex-toy-is-toxic>; Dangerous Lilly, "Yes, Jelly Sex Toys Can Be Dangerous," *Dangerous Lilly* (blog), October 6, 2010, <http://dangerouslilly.com/2010/10/yes-jelly-sex-toys-can-be-dangerous/>.
82. Kim Airs, "Flesh and Fantasy: What's New in the Sex Doll Industry," *AVN*, January 22, 2020, <https://avn.com/business/articles/novelty/flesh-and-fantasy-whats-new-in-the-sex-doll-industry-861528.html>.
83. Amanda Phillips, "Dicks, Dicks, Dicks: Hardness and Flaccidity in (Virtual) Masculinity," *Flow: A Critical Forum on Media and Culture*, November 27, 2017, <https://www.flowjournal.org/2017/11/dicks-dicks-dicks/>.

## Chapter 5

1. For writing on teledildonics, see Howard Rheingold, "Teledildonics and Beyond," in *The Postmodern Presence: Readings on Postmodernism in American Culture and Society* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005), 274–287; Teddy Pozo, "Haptic Media: Sexuality, Gender, and Affect in Technology Culture, 1959–2015" (PhD diss., University



of California, Santa Barbara, 2016); Maria Joao Faustino, "Rebooting an Old Script by New Means: Teledildonics—the Technological Return to the 'Coital Imperative,'" *Sexuality & Culture* 22, no. 1 (2018): 243–257.

2. For examples of Machulis's ongoing work on teledildonic butt plugs, see the portfolio of projects on his website (<https://kyle.machul.is/portfolio/>), as well as news reporting about his projects, such as: Samantha Cole, "This Animal Crossing-Enabled Buttplug Will Let You Hook Up In-Game," *VICE*, June 30, 2020, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/pkyk9y/animal-crossing-connected-buttplug-vibrator>.

3. Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women and Modern Machines in America, 1870–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 9.

4. Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine*, 9.

5. Oldenziel, 10.

6. Mar Hicks, *Programmed Inequality: How Britain Discarded Women Technologists and Lost Its Edge in Computing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017); Jennifer S. Light, "When Women Were Computers," *Technology and Culture* 40, no. 3 (1999): 455–483.

7. Laine Nooney, "The Uncredited: Work, Women, and the Making of the U.S. Computer Game Industry," *Feminist Media Histories* 6, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 119–146; Adrienne Massanari, "#Gamergate and the Fapping: How Reddit's Algorithm, Governance, and Culture Support Toxic Technocultures," *New Media & Society* 19, no. 3 (March 2017): 329–346.

8. Joanna Radin, "Digital Dystopias: How Michael Crichton Taught Me to Start Worrying and Fear the Future," presented to Data & Society as part of the Future Perfect Conference, June 16, 2017; Sherry Turkle, *The Second Self: Computers and the Human Spirit* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 200.

9. Julie Wosk, *My Fair Ladies: Female Robots, Androids, and Other Artificial Eves* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 6–7.

10. Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: "Hysteria," the Vibrator, and Women's Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Hallie Lieberman, *Buzz: A Stimulating History of the Sex Toy* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2017); Lynn Comella, *Vibrator Nation: How Feminist Sex-Toy Stores Changed the Business of Pleasure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

11. Donna J. Drucker, *Contraception: A Concise History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020); Claire Jones, *The Business of Birth Control: Contraception and Commerce in Britain before the Sexual Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).

12. For an example of popular histories of sex and sexual technologies that repeat the trope of the "ancient dildo," see Kate Devlin, *Turned On: Science, Sex and Robots* (London: Bloomsbury Sigma, 2018), 22.

13. Anne Marie Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 10.
14. Erich Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher* (Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1910); Leo Schidrowitz, *Sittengeschichte des Lasters die Kulturepochen und ihre Leidenschaften* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927), 214.
15. Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*, 299.
16. Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), 648; René Schwaebé, *Les Détraquées de Paris: Étude de mœurs contemporaines* (Paris: H. Daragon, 1910), 85.
17. See, for example, Anthony Ferguson, *The Sex Doll: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), 1.
18. Clément Voutel, "La Poupée," *La Vie Parisienne*, October 15, 1921, 886.
19. Madame B. (Alphonse Momas), *La Femme endormie* (Melbourne: J. Renold, 1899).
20. Rebecca Clark, "Gag Reflexes: Sex Doll Slapstick and Fran Ross's Oreó," *Post45*, January 22, 2020, <https://post45.org/2020/01/gag-reflexes-sex-doll-slapstick-and-fran-rosss-oreo/>.
21. Others have identified more nuanced cultural politics related to gender and sexuality in the film—arguing alternately, for example, that the film questions but ultimately renormativizes sexual identity or that the film successfully represents queer kinship structures and queers gender norms. Kate O'Neill, "Female Effigies and Performances of Desire: A Consideration of Identity Performance in *Lars and the Real Girl*," *FORUM: University of Edinburgh Postgraduate Journal of Culture & the Arts*, no. 6 (2008): 1–13; Claire Sisco King and Isaac West, "This Could Be the Place: Queer Acceptance in *Lars and the Real Girl*," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 1, no. 3 (2014): 59–84.
22. Olivia Belton, "Metaphors of Patriarchy in *Orphan Black* and *Westworld*," *Feminist Media Studies* 20, no. 8 (November 16, 2020): 1211–1225.
23. Anastasia Salter and Bridget Blodgett, *Toxic Geek Masculinity in Media* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
24. Katherine Cross, "Press F to Revolt," in *Diversifying Barbie and Mortal Kombat: Intersectional Perspectives and Inclusive Designs in Gaming*, ed. Yasmin B. Kafai, Gabriela T. Richard, and Brendesha M. Tynes (Pittsburgh: ETC Press, 2016), 23–34.
25. Henri de la Madelène, "Figaro à l'exposition," *Le Figaro*, September 16, 1855, 7.
26. Alphonse Lafitte, "La Femme en caoutchouc," *Le Tintamarre*, March 10, 1872, 2–3; Georges Eclar, "La Femme du capitaine," *La Grisette: Revue populaire illustrée*, October 10, 1895, 83–85.

27. Lafitte, "La Femme en caoutchouc," 3; Eclar, "La Femme du capitaine," 85.
28. "Les Femmes en caoutchouc," *L'Indépendent de Mascara*, August 27, 1885, 3.
29. "Les Femmes en caoutchouc," 3.
30. "Les Femmes en caoutchouc," 3.
31. "Les Femmes en caoutchouc," 3.
32. Emma Grey Ellis, "Whitney Cummings—and Her Sex Robot—Take on Modern Womanhood," *WIRED*, July 31, 2019, <https://www.wired.com/story/whitney-cummings-netflix-special/>; Brittany Knuper, "It's about Time: *Dragula* Winner Landon Cider and the History of Drag Kings," *The Mary Sue*, November 4, 2019, <https://www.themarysue.com/dragula-landon-cider-drag-king-winner/>.
33. Initially, the satirical cartoon from 1868 of the rubber woman wearing Greco-Roman robes and inflating men made out of animal-skin condom material that I discuss in chapter 4 seems like a potential exception as its artist is credited as Alma Tadema. However, upon further research, Alma Tadema is not the name of a woman artist but rather an unhyphenated version of the name Lawrence Alma-Tadema, a Dutch painter who lived in England and was best known for his paintings depicting classical scenes. The joke here in "attributing" the comic to Alma Tadema is that it's an image, a distinctly ribald one, that has been drawn in the grandiose style of an Alma-Tadema painting. Image associated with the feature "Promenade au salon," *Journal Amusant*, May 16, 1868, 4–6, image on page 5. For information regarding Lawrence Alma-Tadema, see Louise Lippincott, *Lawrence Alma Tadema: Spring* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990).
34. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 1.
35. See, for example, Ferguson, 16.
36. Bloch, *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, 301.
37. Schwaëblé, *Les Détraquées de Paris*.
38. Madame B., *La Femme endormie*.
39. See, for example, Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 16.
40. Jean Genet, *Querelle de Brest* (Paris: Gallimard, 2010).
41. Martii Lahti, "Dressing Up in Power: Tom of Finland and Gay Male Body Politics," *Journal of Homosexuality* 35, no. 3–4 (June 4, 1998): 185–205; Andrew Stephenson, "'Our Jolly Marine Wear': The Queer Fashionability of the Sailor Uniform in Interwar France and Britain," *Fashion, Style & Popular Culture* 3, no. 2 (March 1, 2016): 157–172.

42. Jack King, "The Gay Ecstasy of The Village People," BBC, August 4, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20200804-the-gay-ecstasy-of-the-village-people>.
43. George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).
44. In addition to the examples of queer studies scholarship mentioned earlier in this book, see Matthew Knip, "Homosocial Desire and Erotic Communitas in Melville's Imaginary: The Evidence of Van Buskirk," *ESQ: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture* 62, no. 2 (2016): 355–414; Kellen Bolt, "Squeezing Sperm: Nativism, Queer Contact, and the Futures of Democratic Intimacy in Moby-Dick," *ESQ: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture* 65, no. 2 (2019): 293–329.
45. B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), xxvi, 108, 103.
46. Hans Turley, *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 2.
47. Turley, *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash*, 2, 9.
48. Stefan Helmreich, "The Genders of Waves," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1–2 (2017): 29.
49. For more on rethinking technology through notions of the sea, see my discussion of Melody Jue's *Wild Blue Media* and the "blue humanities" in the conclusion to this book. Melody Jue, *Wild Blue Media: Thinking through Seawater* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).
50. Sebastian Zulch, "Embracing Radical Softness: An Interview with Poet and Artist Lora Mathis," HelloFlo, December 5, 2016, <https://helloflo.com/embracing-radical-softness-interview-poet-artist-lora-mathis/>. For more on radical softness in relation to technology and digital media, see Teddy Pozo, "Queer Games After Empathy: Feminism and Haptic Game Design Aesthetics from Consent to Cuteness to the Radically Soft," *Game Studies* 18, no. 3 (2018); Andi Schwartz, "Soft Femme Theory: Femme Internet Aesthetics and the Politics of 'Softness,'" *Social Media + Society* 6, no. 4 (October 2020).
51. Sadie Plant, "The Future Looms: Weaving Women and Cybernetics," *Body & Society* 1, no. 3–4 (1995): 45–64.
52. See, for example, Sarah Fox, Rachel Rose Ulgado, and Daniela Rosner, "Hacking Culture, Not Devices: Access and Recognition in Feminist Hackerspaces," in *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing* (Vancouver: ACM, 2015), 56–68.

53. Andi Schwartz, "Low Femme, Low Theory: An Ethno-Archive of Femme Internet Culture" (PhD diss., York University, 2020), 95.

54. Rhea Ashley Hoskin, "Femme Theory: Refocusing the Intersectional Lens," *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice* 38, no. 1 (2017): 95–109; Laura Brightwell and Allison Taylor, "Femme Theory: Refocusing the Intersectional Lens," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 18–35.

55. Andi Schwartz, "Locating Femme Theory Online," *First Monday*, July 1, 2018, <https://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/9266>.

56. Gabrielle Kassel, "Being a 'Queer Femme' Is about More than Just the Way You Dress," *Women's Health*, July 16, 2020, <https://www.womenshealthmag.com/relationships/a33299024/queer-femme/>.

## Chapter 6

1. One particularly unexpected node in the cultural constellation that surrounds the story of the Dutch wives is American artist Jasper Johns's two visual works titled *The Dutch Wives*, one an encaustic painting with collage elements from 1975 and the other a screen print from 1977. Both of Johns's pieces are abstract works featuring a crosshatch pattern disrupted by a small dark spot circled in red. Art historians have passed down their own lore about the works' title, with many (most notably Michael Crichton, writing in 1994) repeating a statement that a "Dutch wife" was a wooden "board with a hole, used by sailors as a surrogate for a woman"—suggesting that the dark spot that appears in Johns's works represents a hole for insertion. However, this explanation is itself suspect. In *Jasper Johns: Gray*, James Rondeau et al. give a commendably skeptical and thorough footnote documenting the lineage behind this backstory, where they write: "[Crichton] did not attribute the definition [of *Dutch wife*] to the artist in his published text, and we cannot substitute it in any other source," explaining that Crichton later claimed that Johns himself had given this definition for the term in a series of interviews conducted in 1976 and 1977. The authors go on to state that "the phrase is one of many in the English language that uses Dutch as a shorthand for a derogatory characterization. . . . The phrase 'Dutch wife' can also be used to refer to an open-frame bolster bed, made of bamboo or thick rattan . . . It is possible that the title refers to the formal qualities of such a frame as related to the crosshatch pattern." James Rondeau, Jasper Johns, Douglas W. Druick, Mark Pascale, and Nan Rosenthal, *Jasper Johns: Gray* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2008), 77; Michael Crichton, *Jasper Johns* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994).

2. For an example of a text that says the Dutch wives were sex dolls made by Asian people and adopted by Dutch sailors, see Julian Arbois, *Dans le lit de nos ancêtres: Sexualité, mœurs, et vie intime d'autrefois* (Bernay, France: City Editions, 2016), 212.

3. Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

4. For an example of a text that says that Dutch wives were sex dolls originally made by Dutch sailors and brought to Asia, see Anthony Ferguson, *The Sex Doll: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), 27.

5. For an example of a text that says that the Dutch wives were sex dolls made by Dutch sailors after seeing bamboo sleeping cages in Asia, see Priscille Lamure, "Petite histoire de la poupée érotique," *Savoirs d'Histoire* (blog), October 26, 2017, <https://savoirsdhistoire.wordpress.com/2017/10/26/petite-histoire-de-la-poupee-erotique/comment-page-1/>.

6. Most contemporary tellings of this story ultimately point back to Alan Scott Pate's book *Ningyo: The Art of the Japanese Doll* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2005), which includes a description of elaborate sex dolls supposedly made in eighteenth-century Osaka. This description has similarities to certain accounts of the dames de voyage (the dolls are mechanized, warm water can be poured into the dolls, they are referred to as "traveling beauties," etc.). However, Pate admits that he has been unable to find any surviving material evidence of these sex dolls (275). He gives no citation for his statements about the traveling beauties, though David Levy seems to have contacted Pate to ask for his source (Levy, "Intimate Relationships with Artificial Partners" [PhD diss., Maastricht University, 2007], v). Pate, in turn, claims that he drew his info from Mitamura Engyo's text "Takeda Hachidai" or "Eight Generations of the Takeda Family" (Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots: The Evolution of Human-Robot Relations* [New York: Harper Collins, 2007], 249). However, "Eight Generations of the Takeda Family" is not a primary account from either the 1600s or 1700s. Rather, it is a work from the first half of the twentieth century, part of a larger oeuvre about the morals and customs of everyday life in Edo-era Japan. Although I have not been able to access Engyo's text in full, my sense is that it doesn't tell a version of the story of the traveling beauties that fully matches Pate's. Even if it did, it's equally possible that the story was an early twentieth-century invention. All of this matches up with Japanese historian Agnès Giard's assertion that contemporary accounts of early Japanese sex dolls are erroneous. Mitamura Engyo, *Takeda Hachidai*, vol. 21 of *Mitamura Engyo Zenshu* [*The Complete Works of Engyo Mitamura*] (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1976); the original date of publication is unclear, but the author lived from 1870 to 1952. Agnès Giard, *Un désir d'humain: Les "love doll" au Japon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016), 40.

7. There are a number of ways to walk through this citational lineage, but one illustrative trail looks like this: Priscille Lamure's online article "Petite histoire de la poupée érotique," which has since been picked up by many other sources, talks about the Dutch wives as sex dolls (and also ties them directly to the dames de voyage). Lamure claims to be drawing from Julien Arbois's book *Dans le lit de nos ancêtres: Sexualité, moeurs, et vie intime d'autrefois*, which in turn claims to be drawing

from Agnès Giard, “Pourquoi les poupées gonflables s'appellent des épouses hollandaises” [Why inflatable dolls are called Dutch wives], *Libération*, January 23, 2013, [https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2013/01/23/pourquoi-les-poupees-gonflables-s-appellent-des-epouses-neerlandaises\\_1811808/](https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2013/01/23/pourquoi-les-poupees-gonflables-s-appellent-des-epouses-neerlandaises_1811808/). Yet as information moves between these texts, we see a number of slippages. For example, Arbois misses the nuance of Giard’s article, where she describes how bamboo sleeping cages filled a symbolic role in cultural traditions involving husbands and wives, and instead reports that the “bamboo wives” were actual, literal sex dolls. There are also a number of claims in Arbois’s text that clearly do not come from Giard, but rather from Anthony Ferguson’s uncited *The Sex Doll: A History*, or another intermediary text through which Arbois encounters Ferguson’s work, though Arbois again scrambles Ferguson’s claims. To support his own claims that seventeenth-century European merchant ships brought leather sex dolls to Japan through the Dutch East India Company, Ferguson points (in a roundabout way) to David Levy’s *Love and Sex with Robots*. Levy cites Alan Scott Pate’s *Ningyo: The Art of the Japanese Doll*, in which Pate writes that contemporary sex dolls in Japan are called “Dutch wives” because Dutch merchant marine vessels carried them onboard (Pate, 275). Unlike Ferguson or Levy, however, Pate then expands on this story by describing how Dutch wives were supposedly produced in Japan itself a hundred years later: “In the eighteenth century, the Yamamoto and Takeda families in Osaka were known for the creation of Japanese versions of ‘Dutch wives,’ called *shutsuro bijin* (lit. traveling beauties) or *koshoku onna* (play women). Highly realistic in their execution, these dolls incorporated a device that allowed warm water to be poured inside the figure, giving it a greater verisimilitude, as well as zenmai spring-driven mechanisms that allowed their arms and legs to be moved. Exceptionally popular among government officials stationed in Osaka, they were banned during the Horeki era (1751–63)” (275). What we see here is how the story of the Dutch wives has moved through a very similar trajectory of citation, missing citation, adaptation, and so on as the tale of the dames de voyage.

8. Giard, “Pourquoi les poupées gonflables.”

9. Mario Esposito, “What’s a Bamboo Wife?,” *Good Night’s Rest*, June 24, 2019, <https://www.goodnights.rest/about-pillows-bolsters-cushions/bamboo-wife/>.

10. Giard, “Pourquoi les poupées gonflables.”

11. Hugh Wilkson, “1882: A Dutch Wife,” in *Travellers’ Tales of Old Singapore*, compiled by Michael Wise (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Editions, 1998), no printed page numbers.

12. An example illustrating this sense that the bamboo sleeping cages come from an earlier historical time can be found in the 1985 Korean short story “My Tale of the Bamboo Wife,” discussed in greater length ahead, in which a younger character finds a “bamboo wife” and brings it to an older character to ask what it is, explaining,

“Considering your venerable age, sir, I thought you might know.” Hwang Sun-wŏn, “My Tale of the Bamboo Wife,” trans. Bruce Fulton and Ju-Chan Fulton, *Azalea: Journal of Korean Literature & Culture* 8, no. 1 (2015): 174.

13. For more on Japanese obscenity laws and their relationship to sex toys, see my discussion of the rabbit vibrator in chapter 3.

14. Lamure, “Petite Histoire.”

15. For more on connections between prostitution and port cities, see my discussion of sex work in relation to maritime studies in chapter 3.

16. Wilkson, “1882: A Dutch Wife.”

17. Wilkson.

18. Wilkson.

19. “A Sleepless Night in the Tropics,” *Ballou’s Monthly Magazine* 75, no. 6 (June 1892): 462–464.

20. “A Sleepless Night in the Tropics,” 462.

21. “A Sleepless Night in the Tropics,” 463.

22. Hwang Sun-wŏn, “My Tale of the Bamboo Wife.”

23. Hwang Sun-wŏn, 178.

24. Hwang Sun-wŏn, 179.

25. Some examples of texts discussed elsewhere in this book that include sexual technologies from Asia in their histories are Paul Tabori, *The Humor and Technology of Sex* (New York: Julian Press, 1969); Ferguson, *Sex Doll*; Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*.

26. Carlin Wing, “Episodes in the Life of Bounce: Playing with a Rubber Ball,” *Cabinet*, no. 56 (2014–2015), <https://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/56/wing.php>.

27. Anjali R. Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 100; Marquis de Sade, *Philosophy in the Boudoir or, The Immoral Mentors*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Penguin Books, 2006). For more on dildos in *Philosophy in the Boudoir*, see Liza Blake, “Dildos and Accessories: The Functions of Early Modern Strap-Ons,” in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 130–155.

28. Arondekar, *For the Record*, 97–98.

29. Clément Voutel, “La Poupée,” *La Vie Parisienne*, October 15, 1921, 883, 886–887.



30. "Les Femmes en caoutchouc," *L'Indépendant de Mascara*, August 27, 1885, 3.
31. Henri de la Madelène, "Figaro à l'exposition," *Le Figaro*, September 16, 1855, 7.
32. Louis Chude-Sokei, "The Uncanny History of Minstrels and Machines, 1835–1923," in *Burnt Cork: Traditions and Legacies of Blackface Minstrelsy*, ed. Stephen Johnson (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 104–132; Catherine A. Stewart, *Long Past Slavery: Representing Race in the Federal Writers' Project* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 13.
33. Voutel, "La Poupée," 886.
34. Moya Bailey, *Misogynoir Transformed: Black Women's Digital Resistance* (New York: New York University Press, 2021).
35. Maison L. Bador, *Fabrication perfectionnée de caoutchouc dilaté et baudruche* (Paris: commercial catalog, 1900), 4.
36. Maison L. Bador, *Fabrication perfectionnée*, 4.
37. Jessica Borge, *Protective Practices: A History of the London Rubber Company and the Condom Business* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 16.
38. Advertisement (center of page), *La Grisette: Revue populaire illustrée*, August 10, 1895, 2.
39. Advertisement, *La Grisette*.
40. For an example of an account that emphasizes the idea that the dames de voyage were stored in ships' holds, see Arbois, *Dans le lit de nos ancêtres*, 213.
41. Sowande' M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 9.
42. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, 84.
43. Mustakeem, 86–87.
44. Chunghee Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
45. Madame B., *La Femme endormie*.
46. For a particularly recent example of yet another popular history that points back to *La Femme endormie*, see Kate Lister, *A Curious History of Sex* (London: Unbound, 2020).
47. Madame B., *La Femme endormie*.
48. Alexandre Dumas, *Captain Pamphile*, trans. Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Classics, 2006).

49. Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2006); Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick* (New York: Macmillan, 2016); J. K. Huysmans, *Against Nature* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).
50. Andrew Brown, "Introduction," in Alexandre Dumas, *Captain Pamphile*, trans. Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Classics, 2006), xi–xv, xi.
51. Alexandre Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003); Dumas, *The Three Musketeers* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982).
52. Dumas, *Captain Pamphile*, 88.
53. Dumas, *Captain Pamphile*, 140, 150, 151.
54. Dumas, *Captain Pamphile*, 153.
55. Eric Martone, "Introduction: Alexandre Dumas as a Francophone Writer," in *The Black Musketeer: Reevaluating Alexandre Dumas within the Francophone World*, ed. Eric Martone (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 1–32, 2.
56. Madame B., *La Femme endormie*.
57. Neda Atanasoski and Kalindi Vora, *Surrogate Humanity: Race, Robots, and the Politics of Technological Futures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 190, 192.
58. Atanasoski and Vora, *Surrogate Humanity*, 193.
59. Atanasoski and Vora, 193.
60. Nettrice R. Gaskins, "Techno-Vernacular Creativity and Innovation across the African Diaspora and Global South," in *Captivating Technology: Race, Carceral Technoscience, and Liberatory Imagination in Everyday Life*, ed. Ruha Benjamin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 253–274.
61. Gaskins, "Techno-Vernacular Creativity," 252.
62. Gaskins, 252, 253.
63. Ruha Benjamin, "Introduction: Discriminatory Design, Liberating Imagination," in *Captivating Technology: Race, Carceral Technoscience, and Liberatory Imagination in Everyday Life*, ed. Ruha Benjamin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 1–22, 12.
64. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, 125.
65. Jessica Marie Johnson, "Markup Bodies," *Social Text* 36, no. 4 (December 1, 2018): 57–79.
66. M. Oliver, "Lupe Fiasco's 'Drogas Wave' Could Have Been a Great Album with a Bit of Editing," *Pop Matters*, October 1, 2018, <https://www.popmatters.com/lupe-fiasco-drogas-wave-2609079350.html>.

67. Nettrice R. Gaskins, "Deep Sea Dwellers: Drexciya and the Sonic Third Space," *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 10, no. 2 (October 10, 2016), 68–80: 68, 73, 72.
68. Ytasha Womack, *Afrofuturism: The World of Black Sci-Fi and Fantasy Culture* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2013), 9.
69. Womack, *Afrofuturism*, 9.
70. Suzanna Chan, "'Alive . . . Again.' Unmoored in the Aquafuture of Ellen Gallagher's Watery Ecstatic," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1–2 (2017): 246.
71. Alexis Pauline Gumbs, *Undrowned: Black Feminist Lessons from Marine Mammals* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2020).
72. Gumbs, *Undrowned*, 2.

## Chapter 7

1. Allison de Fren, "Technofetishism and the Uncanny Desires of A.S.F.R. (alt.sex.fetish.robots)," *Science Fiction Studies* 36, no. 3 (2009): 401–440, 407.
2. de Fren, "Technofetishism," 409.
3. Heather Schoenfeld, *Building the Prison State: Race and the Politics of Mass Incarceration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
4. John Mercer, "In the Slammer: The Myth of the Prison in American Gay Pornographic Video," *Journal of Homosexuality* 47, no. 3–4 (September 15, 2004): 151–166.
5. David Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots: The Evolution of Human-Robot Relations* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 181.
6. Cynthia Ann Moya, "Artificial Vaginas and Sex Dolls: An Erotological Investigation" (PhD diss., Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, 2006), 44.
7. Leo Schidrowitz, *Ergänzungswerk zur Sittengeschichte des Lasters* (Vienna: Verlag für Kulturforschung, 1927).
8. Schidrowitz, *Ergänzungswerk*, no page numbers, figure XX.
9. Making sense of the various published versions of Hirschfeld's *Sexualpathologie* is a bizarrely vertiginous business as the work contains multiple volumes that were published out of order and were then republished together in a later volume. The text in which this image appears is the third volume of three, which was originally published in 1920. The page numbers I give for this text are internal to this volume specifically. This is helpful to know for others looking for this image because the 1921 full version of *Sexualpathologie*, which has all three volumes, has different sets

of page numbers for each volume. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie: Ein Lehrbuch für Ärzte und Studierende: Dritter Teil* (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag, 1920). Image appears on unnumbered page between pages 128 and 129.

10. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, 129.

11. Hirschfeld, unnumbered image page between pages 128 and 129.

12. Angelo, *Prisoners' Inventions* (Chicago: Whitewalls, 2003).

13. Angelo, *Prisoners' Inventions*.

14. Angelo.

15. Angelo.

16. Angelo.

17. Rebecca Clark, "Gag Reflexes: Sex Doll Slapstick and Fran Ross's Oreo," *Post45*, January 22, 2020, <https://post45.org/2020/01/gag-reflexes-sex-doll-slapstick-and-fran-rosss-oreo/>.

18. Anthony Ferguson, *The Sex Doll: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010).

19. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 24–25.

20. Graeme Donald, *Mussolini's Barber: And Other Stories of the Unknown Players Who Made History Happen* (Oxford: Osprey, 2010).

21. "Hitler Ordered Nazis to Make Sex Dolls So Soldiers Wouldn't Catch Syphilis from Prostitutes," *Daily Mail*, July 11, 2011, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/-2013397/Hitler-ordered-Nazis-make-sex-dolls-soldiers-wouldnt-catch-syphilis-prostitutes.html>.

22. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 25.

23. One point of connection to the lineage of the tale of the dames de voyage is the anecdote from the pseudoscientific book *Sex Devices and How to Use Them*, in which a man describes seeing a live sex show featuring a sex doll during his time as an American soldier in Germany. This suggests that the story of the Nazi blow-up doll likely has connections to earlier stories about sex dolls in relation to World War II. Amy Dumont and Ashton Dumont, *Sex Devices and How to Use Them* (Los Angeles: Argyle Books, 1970).

24. Nick Dyer-Witheford and Greig de Peuter, "Empire@play: Virtual Games and Global Capitalism," *CTheory* (2009): 5–13.

25. Clark, "Gag Reflexes"; Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 24.

26. Bethania Palma, "Did Hitler Invent the Inflatable Sex Doll?," Snopes, July 22, 2020, <https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/inflatable-sex-doll/>; Stephen Johnson, "Did Hitler Really Invent the Sex Doll?," 13th Floor, December 6, 2016, <http://www.the13thfloor.tv/2016/12/06/did-adolf-hitler-invent-the-sex-doll/> (accessed May 15, 2021); Ian Smith, "FACT or FICTION? Hitler Invented the Inflatable Sex Doll . . . Allegedly!," The Vintage News, September 14, 2015, <https://www.thevintagenews.com/2015/09/14/fact-or-fiction-hitler-invented-the-inflatable-sex-doll-allegedly/>.
27. Ferguson, *Sex Doll*, 25.
28. Ferguson, 25.
29. Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots*, 22.
30. Levy, 177.
31. Auguste Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, *L'Ève future* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Monnier, 1886); Madame B. (Alphonse Momas), *La Femme endormie* (Melbourne: J. Renold, 1899); René Schwaebélé, *Les Détraquées de Paris: Étude Documentaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque du Fin de siècle, 1904).
32. Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization*, trans. M. Eden Paul (London: Rebman Limited, 1909).
33. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 648.
34. Ferguson, *Love Doll*, 11, 12.
35. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018).
36. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 242.
37. Ovid, 242.
38. Ovid, 241.
39. Ovid, 240–241.
40. Ovid, 243.
41. Ovid, 243.
42. Ovid, 243.
43. Ovid, 243.
44. Ovid, 243.
45. Ovid, 242.
46. Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, 648.

47. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 242.

48. Carlo Collodi, *The Adventures of Pinocchio*, trans. Ann Lawson Lucas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

### Conclusion

1. Anaïs Nin, *Delta of Venus* (New York: Pocket Books, 1977).
2. Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018).
3. Bliss Cua Lim, "Dolls in Fragments: Daisies as Feminist Allegory," *Camera Obscura* 16, no. 2 (2001): 37–77, 47, 51.
4. Julie Wosk, *My Fair Ladies: Female Robots, Androids, and Other Artificial Eves* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 166.
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