

Margaret Sanger:

Taking a stand for birth control

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Thesis

From the mid 1800s to the mid 1900s, the Comstock laws prevented the distribution of information regarding contraceptives in America. Therefore, few women had knowledge of available contraceptives, resulting in large families and high infant mortality rates, especially within the lower classes. Margaret Sanger first took a stand against the Comstock laws by publishing *Women Rebel* and *Family Limitation*, which helped start the birth control movement in America and connected Sanger with other activists. This connection helped Sanger continue her stand when she created the first birth control clinic in America. The clinic, though short lived, allowed the movement to gain support and national attention, giving Sanger a platform to start the first birth control conference in America, and later, develop the first contraceptive pill. These actions led to the widespread acceptance and use of birth control, allowing people to control their family size, contributing to the decline in infant mortality rates, and increasing women's education and employment opportunities.

Comstock Laws and Early Beliefs

The Comstock Act was passed by Congress and signed by President Grant in 1873. Many states had similar laws, collectively known as the Comstock laws. The Comstock Act prohibited both the dissemination of information about birth control and the distribution of contraceptives through the mail, because they were viewed as obscene.¹ These laws codified what many people

¹ Goldstein, James J., "Sanger, Margaret. The people of the State of New York, respondent, against Margaret H. Sanger, defendant-appellant :appellant's statement and points." New York, Hecla Press, 1916. A person who sells, lends, gives away, or in any manner exhibits or offers to sell, lend or give away, or advertises, or offers for sale, loan or distribution, any instrument or article, or any recipe, drug, or medicine for the prevention of contraception, or for causing unlawful abortion, or purporting to be for the prevention of conception, or for causing unlawful abortion, or advertises or holds out representations that can be used or applied, or any such descriptions as will be calculated to lead another to use or apply any such article, recipe, drug, medicine or instrument, or who writes or prints, or causes to be written or printed, a card, circular, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind, or gives information orally, stating when, where, how, of whom, or by what means such an instrument, article, recipe, drug, or medicine can be purchased or obtained, or who manufactures any such instrument, article, recipe, drug, or medicine is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to the same penalties as provided in the section eleven hundred and forty one of this chapter".

thought about birth control² and were influenced by conservative religious beliefs. Archbishop Hayes, a prominent leader of the Catholic Archdiocese in New York, stated, “The law was enacted under the police power of the Legislature for the benefit of the morals and health of the community... The law of God and man, science, public policy, human experience, is all condemnatory of birth control as preached by a few irresponsible individuals”.³

Despite these laws, many women wanted access to birth control.⁴ Contraceptives were unreliable, consisting of diaphragms, chemical contraceptives, condoms, and menstrual cycle based family planning.⁵ Since women in the lower classes didn’t have access to birth control, their family sizes grew, making it difficult to climb out of poverty. Many impoverished families couldn’t afford to care for their children,⁶ leading to high infant mortality rates (IMR), ranging from 23% for first born children, to 60% for twelfth born children in 1900.⁷

Upper class women were not as affected by the Comstock laws because they already had access to contraceptives. Many learned about contraceptives while travelling in Europe,⁸ where birth control was commonplace. Europe had already experienced a birth control movement, starting when Thomas Malthus wrote about overpopulation in 1798, inspiring both the Malthusian and Neo-Malthusian movements, the latter running from 1877 onwards.⁹ Due to this, most married women in Europe could obtain contraceptives and receive advice on their use. As a

² Sanger, Margaret. *The Pivot of Civilization*. Elmsford, NY: Maxwell Reprint, 1969. Print.

³ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*. New York: Dover Publications, 1971. Print.

⁴ S., J., Mrs. "To the Editor of Woman Rebel." Letter to Woman Rebel. Sept. 1914. MS. Chicago, Illinois. "I am the mother of six children. I am not well enough to have any more, and hardly strong enough to work for these. My husband is sick too, had an operation a month ago, will not be able to work for some time yet. With winter coming on it is awful. Will you please send me the information you speak of in your paper, so I can prevent me having another child".

⁵ "Contraception: Past, Present and Future Factsheet." FPA. Web. 19 Feb. 2017.

⁶ American Birth Control League, "The greatest need in America." New York, The American Birth Control League, 1924. "I am to be married in May, and my one great fear is that I will bring into the world children that can't be properly taken care of... I just cannot and must not bring into this world children to whom I can offer nothing but poverty and want".

⁷ Sanger, Margaret. *The Case for Birth Control, a Supplementary Brief and Statement of Facts*. New York: Modern Art Print., 1917. Print.

⁸ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

⁹ "History of the Birth Control Movement." *Infoplease*. Columbia University Press, 2012. Web. 26 Feb. 2017.

result, the IMR decreased significantly between 1881 and 1912, from 20.3% to 6.4% in Amsterdam, with similar results in other cities.¹⁰ Although it was illegal to sell or buy birth control in America,¹¹ women of the upper classes passed along information on various methods and recipes for contraceptives.¹² Some also bought them illegally, although they were expensive.

The Comstock laws were not changed, despite the high IMRs, because there was little advocacy for change by those in power. Also, many believed that contraceptives were immoral due to religious beliefs. Intellectual leaders, such as authors and teachers, did not take a stand on the subject of birth control.¹³ Most feminists were focused on suffrage instead.¹⁴ Government officials didn't view it as a priority, thus, despite birth control's success in Europe, its potential benefits were still largely unknown in America.¹⁵

The American Birth Control Movement Begins

Margaret Sanger began her career as a nurse in New York City in 1900. Sanger predominately cared for women from the lower classes who lacked contraceptive education.¹⁶ Birth control's value became apparent as she treated women who were relieved if there was a stillbirth,¹⁷ because they could not afford to raise any more children.¹⁸ Sanger saw the issue of

¹⁰ Sanger, Margaret. *The Case for Birth Control, a Supplementary Brief and Statement of Facts*.

¹¹ Goldstein, James J., "Sanger, Margaret. The people of the State of New York, respondent, against Margaret H. Sanger, defendant-appellant :appellant's statement and points."

¹² Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

¹³ Sanger, Margaret. *The Pivot of Civilization*. "It was not inertia or any lack of interest on the part of the masses that stood in our way. It was the indifference of the intellectual leaders".

¹⁴ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

¹⁵ Sanger, Margaret. *The Pivot of Civilization*.

¹⁶ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

¹⁷ Ibid. "Day after day such tales were poured into my ears-a baby born dead, great relief".

¹⁸ Sanger, Margaret, Esther Katz, Cathy Moran. Hajo, and Peter Engelman. *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Vol. 1. Urbana: U of Illinois, 2003. Print. "The very thought is nauseous, that where there are thousands of able bodied men willing and glad to work, these little pale-faced girls with shoulders already bent, should spend their childhood days struggling for an existence. The parents of these little ones are loathe to send them to work, but each added baby makes it harder for them to fight off starvation".

unaffordable, unplanned families as recurring, and wrote, “I was determined to seek out the root of evil, to do something to change the destiny of mothers whose miseries were vast as the sky”.¹⁹

Sanger also supported birth control due to her beliefs regarding the morality of abortion. Sanger supported the eugenics movement, which advocated altering a population through selective breeding, often based on race. Sanger said, “The object of civilization is to obtain the highest and most splendid culture of which humanity is capable. But such attainment is unthinkable if we continue to breed from the present race stock that yields us our largest amount of progeny”.²⁰ Sanger supported abortion for the purpose of eugenics. However, she believed that abortions were otherwise immoral. Therefore, she looked for other methods to limit family sizes. She was a dedicated supporter of contraceptives, saying, “Birth control has always been practiced, beginning with infanticide, which is abhorred, and then by abortion, nearly as bad. Contraception, on the other hand, is harmless”.²¹

Sanger’s first action was starting the National Birth Control League (NBCL), an organization that worked to make birth control a topic of discussion in America.²² Sanger then started a magazine with the help of the NBCL, entitled *Woman Rebel*. First published in March of 1914, the lead article said, “The aim of this paper will be to stimulate working women to think for themselves and to build up a conscious fighting character”.²³ The magazine was successful, with over 2,000 subscribers. It challenged beliefs about contraceptives in every issue.²⁴

Although Sanger believed that the magazine complied with the Comstock laws by discussing contraceptives without giving advice, its creation was met with immediate resistance

¹⁹ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

²⁰ Sanger, Margaret. "A Better Race Through Birth Control." 104 5th Avenue, New York City. Nov. 1923. *The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Web. 23 Feb. 2017.

²¹ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

²² "Margaret Sanger." *Margaret Sanger*. Web. 26 Feb. 2017.

²³ Sanger, Margaret. "The Woman Rebel." *Apache Cocoon: Welcome!* Web. 27 Jan. 2017.

²⁴ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

under the Comstock laws, and the Post Office announced that it would not deliver it.²⁵ Sanger continued publishing the magazine, and started writing a pamphlet entitled *Family Limitation*, which was a brief guide to available contraceptives.²⁶ Before completing *Family Limitation*, Sanger was charged for her publication of *Woman Rebel*. In the two years it took for the case to reach trial, she published *Family Limitation*,²⁷ knowingly breaking the Comstock laws by giving contraceptive advice.²⁸ She was tried for this as well. The case came to a close on February 18, 1916. The District Attorney dismissed the charges because the case was two years old and thus, in his opinion, no longer relevant.²⁹ Margaret Sanger had taken a stand against the Comstock laws, but had not been punished, allowing her to continue her work with more publicity and support.³⁰

The First Birth Control Clinic

By 1916, Sanger decided to create the first birth control clinic in America.³¹ Sanger learned about birth control clinics during her travels to Europe. European women of any class could go to these clinics to be educated about contraceptives.³² Although the Comstock laws prohibited anyone from giving contraceptive advice, Sanger and her supporters believed that

²⁵ Goldman, Emma. Letter to Margaret Sanger. 9 Apr. 1914. MS. Chicago, IL - Illinois. "I only hope that it will prove a false alarm, because the law pertaining to obscene literature embraces almost every channel of distribution-the express and freight, and also those who circulate or sell so-called objectionable matter. Therefore it would be almost impossible for you to continue the *Woman Rebel* if the authorities place their damnable seal upon it. However, meanwhile I am pushing the paper all I can".

²⁶ Sanger, Margaret. *Family Limitation*. New York City: Review, 1914. Print.

²⁷ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

²⁸ Sanger, Margaret. *Family Limitation*.

²⁹ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*. "Now, however, as it was realized that the indictment was two years old, and that Mrs. Sanger was not a disorderly person and did not make a practice of publishing such articles, the Government had considered there was reason for considerable doubt".

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid. "In Holland there are fifty-two clinics with nurses in charge, and the medical profession has practically handed the work over to nurses. In these clinics, which are mainly in the industrial and agricultural districts, any woman who is married or old enough to be married, can come for information and be instructed in the care and hygiene of her body".

they wouldn't be punished if doctors gave the advice.³³ However, doctors feared punishment under the Comstock laws,³⁴ and many believed contraceptives to be immoral,³⁵ so Sanger had to rely on nurses instead.³⁶

On October 16, 1916, Sanger opened the clinic in the Brownsville neighborhood of New York.³⁷ She opened this clinic with the help of fellow birth control advocates Ethel Byrne and Fannie Mindell, who helped Sanger to inform visitors of contraceptive options. The clinic was an immediate success as people responded to posted flyers and flocked to the clinic, eager to learn how to control their family size.³⁸ Nearly 450 women received contraceptive education during its brief opening.³⁹ During this time, Sanger believed that the clinic would be able to continue educating women, thinking that the police wouldn't interfere.⁴⁰

However, after ten days, a woman hired by the police came to the clinic disguised as a client. Soon after her arrival, the clinic was shut down and Sanger and her colleagues were arrested. Sanger was persistent, and after posting bail, she reopened the clinic. Shortly thereafter, Sanger was ejected from the building and arrested again. In court, the judge found that the

³³ Robinson, William J. Letter to Margaret Sanger. 13 Sept. 1916. MS. New York, New York. "And the first and most important thing for you to do is have every woman who applies for advice sign a slip that she is a married woman and that she wants the information for her personal use, as for either hygienic, hereditary, or economic reasons she feels herself unable to have any more children. Of course you cannot demand of the women to bring their marriage certificates, but the fact alone that they sign such a statement would absolve you from any blame and from any possible accusations of fostering immorality. If you should publicly declare yourself willing to give that information to unmarried women you would have the law down on you at once. If you do as I say and if you don't charge people anything for advice, which I know you won't, they would have great difficulty in doing anything to you, and this birth control clinic might become the germ of thousands of similar clinics".

³⁴ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

³⁵ "Doctors Against Legalizing Birth Control." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 27 Dec. 1916, Last ed.: 5. Print.

³⁶ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger:*

³⁷ Martin, George. "Margaret Sanger Says Officials Might Just As Well Accept Birth Control." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 21 Oct. 1916, late ed.: 3. Print.

³⁸ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*. "Women who had seen the brief, inconspicuous newspaper accounts came even from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the far end of Long Island. Newly married couples with little but love, faith and hope to save them from charity, told of the tiny flats they had chosen, and of their determination to make a go of it together if only the children were not born too soon".

³⁹ Sullivan, Taylor. "Posts about Brownsville Clinic on Margaret Sanger Papers Project." *Margaret Sanger Papers Project*. N.p., 14 Oct. 2016. Web. 08 May 2017.

⁴⁰ "Police Can't Stop Me,' Says Margaret Sanger." Interview by George Martin. *New York Call* 22 Oct. 1916: n. pag. Print. "“They can't find it. If they should, they can't hurt it. It is an oral clinic, and the law says nothing about not spreading birth control information orally. If they do try to interfere, I am legally prepared to carry a hard and bitter fight to the highest tribunal in the land, with the best legal talent there is”".

Comstock laws made giving contraceptive advice illegal, and thus, Sanger was convicted and sentenced to 30 days in a workhouse.⁴¹

Sanger's conviction did not have a solely negative impact, for it inspired others. Sanger wrote,

*“Formerly, a few women of wealth but of liberal tendencies had been actively concerned in the movement, but now some who were prominent socially were coming to believe on principle that birth control should not be denied to the masses. The subject was in the process of ceasing to be tagged as radical and revolutionary, and becoming admittedly humanitarian”.*⁴²

Sanger's clinic created public interest in birth control, prompting others to join the birth control movement and changing beliefs about contraceptives.⁴³

By creating the first birth control clinic in America, Sanger took a stand against the Comstock laws and the lack of public interest in birth control. She created a discussion about contraceptives and inspired influential women to become advocates, leading to a larger movement. This support gave Sanger a platform from which to base the rest of her work.

The Movement Grows

In 1918, Sanger challenged the state of New York in the New York Court of Appeals, arguing that the Comstock Act violated both the state and federal constitutions by putting women's health at risk. The judge ruled that the Comstock Act was constitutional, but decided

⁴¹ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

that contraceptive advice could be given by doctors to married women.⁴⁴ Sanger expected that doctors would be eager to use their newfound freedom to give contraceptive advice. However, by 1921, doctors still refused to give contraceptive information to their patients, inspiring Sanger to create her second birth control clinic.⁴⁵

During this time, Sanger also organized the first birth control conference.⁴⁶ Taking place in November of 1921, the conference included discussions and speeches on the morality of birth control, the scientific probability of reliable contraceptives, and birth control movements outside America.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, on the last day of the conference, the meeting was shut down by the police, and Sanger was jailed, after the secretary to Archbishop Hayes called for her arrest.⁴⁸

Sanger often debated those who opposed contraceptives⁴⁹ and frequently swayed their opinions,⁵⁰ but the Catholic Church was not convinced by Sanger. Archbishop Hayes argued,

“To take life after its inception is a horrible crime; but to prevent human life that the Creator is about to bring into being is satanic. In the first instance, the body is killed,

⁴⁴ "New York v. Sanger - The Door Is Opened." *Control, Birth, Act, and Law - JRank Articles*. Web. 11 Feb. 2017.

⁴⁵ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*. "Since the hospitals were laggard in this matter, I decided to open a second clinic of my own. It was to be in effect a laboratory dealing in human beings instead of mice, with every consideration for environment, personality, and background. I was going to suggest to women that in the Twentieth Century they give themselves to science as they had in the past given their lives to religion".

⁴⁶ Dennett, Mary Ware. Letter to Margaret Sanger. 29 July 1921. MS. New York City, New York. "Despite the terrific heat, things are moving here. Plans are under way at last for that long anticipated New York Clinic for diseased parents and Dr. Stopes is to come over in October specially for a V.P.L. public meeting to describe to Americans her London Clinic and all that it means. I hear that the plans for your November Conference are also developing fast. It ought surely to be a great service and impetus to the movement".

⁴⁷ Sanger, Margaret. "The Morality of Birth Control." Park Theatre, New York City. 18 Nov. 1921. *The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Web. 23 Feb. 2017.

⁴⁸ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

⁴⁹ Ibid. "“Why is it such an act of enmity to advocate contraceptives rather than abortions? Abortions, as you know yourself, may be quite dangerous, whereas reliable contraceptives are harmless. Why do you appose them? To my horror he replied, “We will never give over the control of our numbers to the women themselves What, let them control the future of the human race? With abortions it is in our hands; we make the decisions, and they must come to us””.

⁵⁰ Ibid. "“Wouldn’t you agree that contraception as an immediate necessity to help millions of women is of equal importance with wearing glasses to read the bible? As a good Christian Scientist you should not use them. Until you get enough faith to go without, don’t you think it better to read Mary Baker Eddy through some such means as glasses that not at all?” In one second she beamed. “You’re perfectly right. That’s only reasonable””.

*while the soul lives on; in the latter, not only a body, but an immortal soul is denied existence in time and in eternity”.*⁵¹

Opposition from the Catholic Church led many to believe that birth control was immoral, making it more difficult for laws to be passed favoring birth control, and for contraceptives to become common.⁵²

Despite resistance, Sanger continued taking a stand against traditional beliefs about birth control by persisting in her work. The success of the second clinic led to more birth control clinics throughout America.⁵³ Additionally, birth control conferences were held in cities around the country, furthering the conversation about contraception. This helped to increase the availability of contraceptive education in America, gained support for the birth control movement, and later, helped Sanger to create the first contraceptive pill.⁵⁴

Modern Birth Control

The Comstock laws remained in place until they were finally ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1965,⁵⁵ although it did become legal to sell contraceptives in 1965.⁵⁶ Eventually, birth control clinics became commonplace, rising in number to over 200 by the 1950s. Many of these clinics were operated by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the name adopted by the National Birth Control League and used from 1942 onward.⁵⁷ Although

⁵¹ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. ““The women want to start a clinic.” “But there wasn’t any enthusiasm when I suggested it the other morning.” “The people around here don’t express much openly. They were moved to quietness. But just the same they’re starting a clinic in Brattleboro””.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Comstock Law of 1873.” *The Free Dictionary*. Farlex, Web. 26 Feb. 2017.

⁵⁶ Bailey, Martha J. “Fifty Years of Family Planning: New Evidence on the Long-Run Effects of Increasing Access to Contraception.” *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*. U.S. National Library of Medicine, 2013. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.

⁵⁷ “Our History.” Planned Parenthood - Heartland. Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, 22 Nov. 2016. Web. 20 Feb. 2017.

Sanger had resigned from the presidency of the organization in 1928,⁵⁸ she continued working for the cause by overseeing many of the clinics, and giving speeches around the world about the merits of birth control.⁵⁹

Even though early attempts had been unsuccessful, by the 1950s Sanger was determined to create a birth control pill, hoping it would be a more reliable contraceptive. Sanger raised \$150,000 for the research, which was conducted by Gregory Pincus, a doctor and scientist.⁶⁰ In 1954, he discovered that a hormone, progesterone, which could be created artificially, would prevent conception by making the body believe that it was already pregnant.⁶¹ In 1960, The Pill was approved by the FDA and was immediately successful, with 2.3 million women in America taking The Pill by 1963.⁶² By 1982, 76.3% of American women aged 15-44 who had been sexually active, took a contraceptive pill.⁶³

Currently, 62% of women in America aged 15-44 use contraceptives, 16% using birth control pills.⁶⁴ Additionally, in 2010, 99.1% of sexually experienced women of child bearing age had used at least one form of contraceptive at some point in their life.⁶⁵ This was a great change from the start of Sanger's career, when only upper class women had information and access to contraceptives.⁶⁶ In 1900, there was a 23% IMR in America for first born children.⁶⁷ The IMR in

⁵⁸ Sanger, Margaret. Letter to ABCL Board of Directors. 8 June 1928. MS. New York City, New York. "In offering my resignation as President of the American Birth Control League, I do so fully confident that its progress will not be impeded or its activities slackened by any lack of these motive powers. What some call fanaticism is never dangerous to the life of such an organization as this one. Apathy and languid convictions are. I am offering my resignation fully convinced that the work will go on as before, even that new life, new people, and new energies, may be brought in".

⁵⁹ Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*.

⁶⁰ "The Pill: Timeline." *PBS*. PBS, 2001. Web. 11 Feb. 2017.

⁶¹ Buttar, Aliya, and Sheredan Seward. "The Embryo Project Encyclopedia." *Enovid: The First Hormonal Birth Control Pill | The Embryo Project Encyclopedia*. 20 Jan. 2009. Web. 20 Feb. 2017.

⁶² "The Pill: Timeline." *PBS*.

⁶³ Daniels K, Mosher WD, Jones J. Contraceptive methods women have ever used: United States, 1982-2010. National health statistics reports; no 62. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2013.

⁶⁴ "Contraceptive Use in the United States." *Guttmacher Institute*. 23 Sept. 2016. Web. 11 Feb. 2017.

⁶⁵ Daniels K, Mosher WD, Jones J. Contraceptive methods women have ever used: United States, 1982-2010. National health statistics reports; no 62. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2013.

⁶⁶ Sanger, Margaret. *The Pivot of Civilization*.

1960 was 3.2%, and in 1968, the IMR was 2.4% (Appendix A).⁶⁸ Scientists attribute 1/3 of the decline in these years to the rise in contraceptives,⁶⁹ and there is clear correlation between increased use of contraceptives and decrease of IMRs (Appendix B).⁷⁰ Today, the IMR is only 0.6%.⁷¹ Sanger's work to make birth control commonplace, along with other factors including better sanitation, medicine, and quality of life, led to this decline.⁷²

Sanger's work also led to women having fewer children, making family sizes more planned and affordable.⁷³ In 1917, American women bore an average of 3.4 children, in 1950, 3.3 children, and in 1970, 2.48 children (Appendix C).⁷⁴ In 2016, women bore an average of 1.86 children.⁷⁵ Along with the greater availability of contraceptives, this decline allowed more women to pursue higher education, and to seek work outside of their homes. Women with access to The Pill were 20% more likely to enroll in college than those who did not.⁷⁶ Furthermore, a study in 2002 estimated that 30% of the increase of women working skilled jobs from 1970 to 1990 was due to The Pill.⁷⁷

⁶⁷ Sanger, Margaret. *The Case for Birth Control, a Supplementary Brief and Statement of Facts*.

⁶⁸ "Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999: Healthier Mothers and Babies." Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1 Oct. 1999. Web. 02 May 2017.

⁶⁹ Wright, Nicholas H. "Family Planning and Infant Mortality Rate Decline in the United States." *American Journal of Epidemiology* 101.3 (1975): 182-86. John Hopkins University, 18 Sept. 2016. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. "About one-third of the infant mortality decline between 1960 and 1968 has thus been attributed to change in the distribution of live births by maternal age and birth order, mostly through individual family planning".

⁷⁰ "Family Planning Can Reduce High Infant Mortality Levels." *Guttmacher Institute*. Guttmacher Institute, 15 Mar. 2016. Web. 20 Feb. 2017.

⁷¹ Geoba.se. "Gazetteer - The World - Infant Mortality Rate - Top 100+ By Country (2017)." *Geoba.se: Gazetteer - The World at Your Fingertips*. CantyMedia, n.d. Web. 11 Feb. 2017.

⁷² "Family Planning/Contraception." *World Health Organization*. World Health Organization, Dec. 2016. Web. 01 May 2017. "Family planning can prevent closely spaced and ill-timed pregnancies and births, which contribute to some of the world's highest infant mortality rates".

⁷³ "Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999: Family Planning." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. "Smaller families and long birth intervals have contributed to the better health of infants, children, and women, and have improved the social and economic role of women... Modern contraception and reproductive health care systems that became available later in the century further improved couples' ability to plan their families".

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ "Contact CIA." Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 02 May 2017.

⁷⁶ Sonfield, Adam, Kinsey Hasstedt, Megan L. Cavanaugh, and Ragnar Anderson. "The Social and Economic Benefits of Women's Ability To Determine Whether and When to Have Children." (2013): 3-48. *Guttmacher Institute*. Guttmacher Institute, Mar. 2013. Web. 1 May 2017.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* "Goldin and Katz's 2002 study led the way on research regarding these historic professional advances and found that the initial increase in access to the pill was linked to a sharp rise in the number of unmarried, college educated women who invested in careers requiring many years of education. They estimated the pill accounted for more than 30% of the increase in the proportion of women in skilled careers from 1970 to 1990".

Sanger's stand also led to contraceptive information becoming commonplace. Today, contraceptive information is not only available in the birth control clinics that she worked to create, but also through doctors,⁷⁸ and taught in 72% of public and private school health classes.⁷⁹

Conclusion

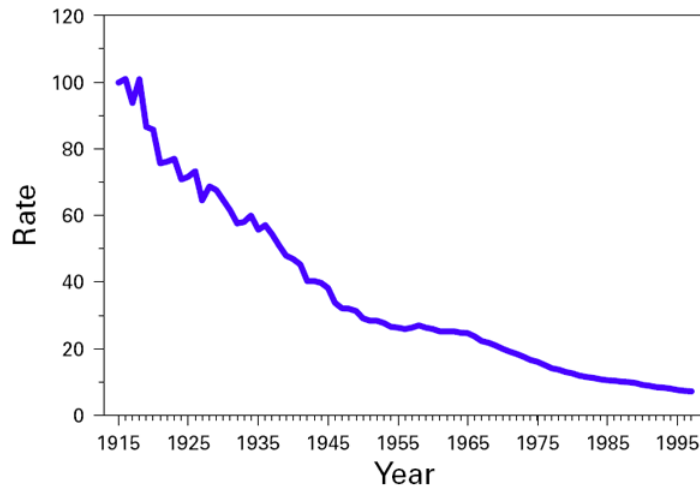
Margaret Sanger first took a stand against the Comstock laws when she published *Woman Rebel* and *Family Limitation*, which garnered the publicity and support needed to start the first birth control clinic in America. The creation of this clinic gained more national attention for the birth control movement, taking a stand against traditional religious beliefs and political indifference. This gave her the platform needed to start the first birth control conference in America, and later, help to develop The Pill. Sanger's stand changed attitudes and education about birth control. It led to safer, more reliable contraceptives, resulting in the decrease in IMRs and average family size, allowing more women to pursue higher education and employment.

⁷⁸ "BBC - Ethics - Contraception: Medical Ethics and Contraception." *BBC News*. BBC, 2014. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

⁷⁹ "American Teens' Sources of Sexual Health Education." *Guttmacher Institute*. Guttmacher Institute, 27 Oct. 2016. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

Appendix A

FIGURE 1. Infant mortality rate,* by year — United States, 1915–1997

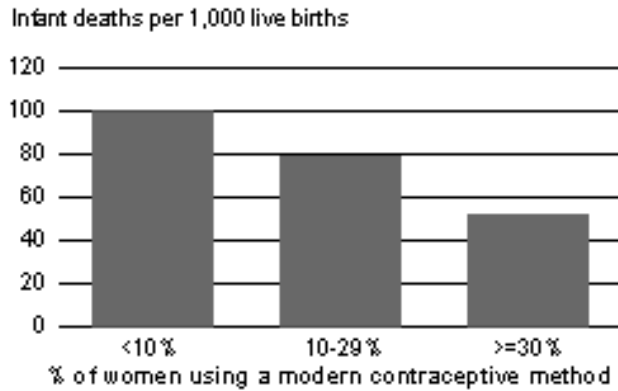


*Per 1000 live births.

"Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999: Healthier Mothers and Babies." Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1 Oct. 1999. Web. 02 May 2017. <<https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4838a2.htm>>.

This graph illustrates the decline in the IMR throughout the 20th century, and shows how the IMR decreased as contraceptive availability increased.

Appendix B



"Family Planning Can Reduce High Infant Mortality Levels." *Guttmacher Institute*.

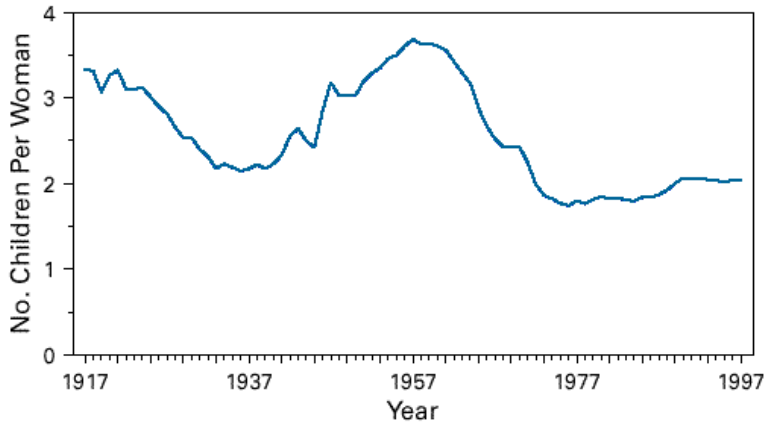
Guttmacher Institute, 15 Mar. 2016. Web. 20 Feb. 2017.

<https://www.guttmacher.org/report/family-planning-can-reduce-high-infant-mortality-levels>.

This graph represents how contraceptives and infant mortality rates are directly related on a global level.

Appendix C

FIGURE 1. Fertility rates* — United States, 1917–1997



*The total fertility rate is the sum of age-specific birth rates for single years of age for women aged 14–49 years. The birth rates for single years of age used to compute total fertility rates are based on births adjusted for underregistration for all years and on population estimates adjusted for underenumeration; therefore, they cannot be compared with birth rates and fertility rates.

"Achievements in Public Health, 1900–1999: Family Planning." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

<<https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4847a1.htm>>.

This graph portrays the fertility rates throughout the 20th century, and demonstrates the decrease in fertility rates following The Pill's creation.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Access to Birth Control Act, H.R. H.R. 728, 113th Cong. (2013). Print.

This bill helped me learn about modern contraceptive laws, especially about how today lawmakers are trying to ensure that pharmacies always have contraceptives, and always give said contraceptives to people who need it. I also used this source to compare the laws of today to the laws of the 1900s, regarding birth control, and to take a look at priorities of said lawmakers in the differing times.

Access to Birth Control Act, S. S.2960, 114th Cong. (2016). Print.

Using this bill, I learned about how the same Act was attempted to pass as the aforementioned one, only three years later and in the senate, and how neither of them were passed. I looked at the current legislature and legislative plans for birth control. I used it to compare the laws of today to the laws that existed when Margaret Sanger was working for the birth control movement, as well as to learn about what changes current lawmakers hope to make regarding birth control. I also used this source to learn about how difficult it is for bills about contraceptives to be passed, even today, helping me to compare the values of lawmakers in Sanger's time, and the values that they have today.

American Birth Control League, "The greatest need in America." New York, The American Birth Control League, 1924.

This pamphlet described individual testimonies that the American Birth Control League sought out as to why they want birth control to be available to them. It also described why the American Birth Control League believed that contraceptives should be known about and be common, helping me to compare Sanger's beliefs to the birth control movement as a whole beliefs. It also helped me learn about the types of public campaigns that the American Birth Control League did to gain support for their cause.

American Birth Control League. *What We Stand For: Principles and Aims of the American Birth Control League*. New York City: n.p., 1921. Print.

I used this informational pamphlet to learn about the early parts of the birth control movement that Margaret Sanger was a part of. I used it to learn about the aims of the American Birth Control League, which Margaret Sanger was the president of, as well as to compare these aims to her goals described in her various books, and the

differentiating goals that she had throughout her life. This pamphlet also helped to make clear the type of work that the American Birth Control League was doing to make discussion about contraceptives common.

"Anarchists in Wild Defiance Curse Judges In Court." *The Evening World* [New York] 10 Sept. 1915, Final Edition ed.: 1-2. Print.

This newspaper article described how Margaret Sanger's husband, William Sanger, distributed Family Limitation for her while Margaret Sanger was in Europe. It described how William Sanger was told to pay a fine for breaking the Comstock laws, but he refused, and was thus sent to jail. In response, supporters gathered at the Court of Special Sessions in protest, and although they caused a lot of mayhem, they were eventually forced to leave the premises and William Sanger was arrested under the Comstock Laws. This helped me learn about what was going on with the birth control movement during Margaret Sanger's absence in Europe, and also helped me learn about how much support the Sangers had due to their political allies.

Andersson, Thor. "A Letter to the Mother of the World Population Union." Letter to Margaret Sanger. 5 Sept. 1927. MS. Stockholm, Sweden.

In this correspondence between Thor Andersson and Margaret Sanger, Thor Anderson thanked Sanger for working tirelessly for the birth control movement, and thanked her because it had caused the movement to grow on a global level. I used this source to learn about birth control movement leaders across the world's response to Margaret Sanger's work, as well as to learn about how Margaret Sanger's work impacted people all the way in Sweden, and how this impact fueled other countries' birth control movements.

"Birth Control Advocate Is On Way to Chicago- Will Explain Doctrine." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 1 Apr. 1916, Last Edition ed.: 8. Print.

I used this newspaper article to look at Margaret Sanger's early advocacy, as well as to learn how others were responding to it. This article described how Sanger was going across America in early 1916, trying to persuade women to support contraceptives and the birth control movement. Sanger also encouraged women to start birth control clinics modeled after the clinics in Europe, although it was a few months before Sanger created her own clinic in November. This article showed how many women were skeptical of Sanger's beliefs, but that many women in Chicago were excited for her to come there, because they had heard so much about her so they wanted to hear her speak for themselves.

"Birth Control Is Aim of New League." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 12 May 1915, Noon ed.: 1-2. Print.

This newspaper article described how Sanger was starting the National Birth Control League, and starting a magazine entitled Woman Rebel, sparking controversy. It wrote about the reactions that the public had to Sanger starting the National Birth Control League, most thinking that it was either unnecessary or scandalous, as well as to learn about the government's reactions to Woman Rebel being published, which is that it was illegal. As well as this, I used this article to learn about the other leaders of the National Birth Control League, and why they believed in the cause.

Birth Control: What It Is, How It Works, What It Will Do: The Proceedings of the First American Birth Control Conference Held at the Hotel Plaza, New York, November 11, 12, 1921. New York: Birth Control Review, 1922. Print.

This book was a transcript of everything that happened during the first birth control conference in America, which Margaret Sanger helped to start. I used it to learn about the various speeches on the merits of birth control, the legality of birth control, the morality of birth control, and the probability of reliable birth control. I also used it to learn about how large of an event this conference was, and to learn about the various speakers who gave speeches during the conference. It also gave me insight on how the movement was progressing outside of Sanger's work, and helped me learn about why many birth control advocates supported this movement.

"Bollinger Baby Case Agitation May Carry Birth Control Fight to Congress." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 29 Nov. 1915, Last Edition ed.: 31-32. Print.

I used this newspaper article to learn about the other factors besides Margaret Sanger's work that led to the advocacy and public interest in birth control. This article described how the death of a child in Chicago spurred the parents and the community to try and repeal laws preventing information about contraceptives, or the Comstock laws. Margaret Sanger had no involvement in these acts, however, they greatly helped her cause by spurring public interest.

Cooper, John M. Birth control. Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Council, 1923.

This book written by John Cooper, a professor at a Catholic university, outlined why the Catholic Church found contraceptives to be immoral, explaining that activists such as Sanger used extremist cases to gain support and gain the belief that birth control is moral, while ignoring that the extremist cases are a rarity and that most people would have access to contraceptives, which the author believed that the Christian religion

outlined as an immoral method. I used this primary source book on the morality of birth control to learn more about why many opposed birth control and Margaret Sanger's work.

Dennett, Mary Ware. Letter to Margaret Sanger. 29 July 1921. MS. New York City, New York.

In this letter, Mary Dennett described what her plans for the year of 1921 regarding the birth control movement. She also gave advice to Sanger on what she should do to manage to start the first birth control conference in America, as well as to create the first legal birth control clinic. I used this letter to learn more about all of Sanger's plans during the year of 1921, as well as what she and her friends were doing to prepare for them. I also used it to learn more about the early plans for the birth control convention, and how Margaret Sanger went about creating the legal birth control clinic in 1921.

"Doctors Against Legalizing Birth Control." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 27 Dec. 1916, Last ed.: 5. Print.

I used this newspaper article to learn about how some doctors during the time felt about birth control, and how that differed from how Sanger wanted said doctors to feel about birth control. This article described how many doctors felt that not only were contraceptives immoral, but they were also dangerous and a health risk. They also said that contraceptives would cause a population crisis, and that women should either be abstinent or have children. Sanger on the other hand believed that contraceptives were perfectly safe and moral, would solve a population crisis, and give women the freedom to choose. I used it to learn about why many doctors felt that there shouldn't be birth control, and why many doctors refused to give contraceptive advice to any patient, as well as to learn about the opposition to the birth control movement in general.

Drysdale, C. V., Dr., Havelock Ellis, Dr., William J. Robinson, Dr., and A. Grotjahn, Professor. "Small or Large Families." New York: Critic and Guide, 1917. Print.

"Small or Large Families" was about how some of the medical professionals of the early 20th century felt about contraceptives. It described how there were many pros and cons of contraceptives, and never provided a clear answer as to whether they should be used or not. I used it to learn about why some felt so morally opposed to contraceptives, while others felt so morally in support of contraceptives. I also used this source to learn more about the eugenics movement, and the medical reasons people had for supporting it, and to learn why some doctors felt that contraceptives were bad for the population and for women's health.

Drysdale, C. V., "The empire and the birth-rate." 1914. Print.

This book talked about the birth control movement from a Neo-Malthusian standpoint. I learned about the Neo-Malthusian movement, its goals, and it's differences and similarities when compared to the birth control movement in America. This report described how the author felt that birth control was necessary for Britain to expand its empire, and showed how the population growth rates were unsustainable. This author argued that contraceptives must be used to combat overpopulation, contrary to Margaret Sanger and the American birth control movement which focused more on high infant mortality rates, poverty, and a mother's freedom to choose.

Fitzpatrick, James. "New York Birth Control Rebel Is Fed Forcibly-Mrs. Sanger Explains Fight." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 27 Jan. 1917, Last ed.: 30-31. Print.

I used this newspaper article to learn about Margaret Sanger's and Ethel Byrne's strike against their punishment for the creation of their birth control clinic by refusing to eat unless they were forced to. This article described how when Ethel Byrne was convicted, which happened before Sanger's conviction, she went on a hunger strike until she was force fed through a tube. Sanger later followed suit when she was thrown in jail, taking a stand against the Comstock laws. I also used this article to learn about how people across the nation were reacting to Sanger's work, and to see whether people agreed with her actions or not.

Greeley-Smith, Nixola. ""Woman Rebel" Set Against Poor People Having Large Families." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 13 Mar. 1915, Noon Edition ed.: 1-3. Print.

This article was centered around how people felt that Sanger was saying that poor people should never have children, and that's why they opposed birth control. Sanger, unlike the Neo-Malthusian movement, used poverty to argue that contraceptives should be available, causing many to believe that Sanger hated poor people and didn't want to have children, rather than how Sanger just wanted people to have the option not to have children. I used this newspaper article to learn about how the idea of birth control was perceived back then, and to learn about why it was difficult for the birth control movement to gain support, because many felt that the birth control movement was attempting to force others to use contraceptives rather than letting it be an option available for everyone but not required for anyone.

Goldman, Emma. Letter to Margaret Sanger. 9 Apr. 1914. MS. Chicago, IL - Illinois.

Emma Goldman was one of Margaret Sanger's main associates within the birth control movement, corresponding with her regularly. This letter showed how the Comstock Laws

first affected Margaret Sanger and the creation of Woman Rebel in 1914. This letter let me know just how immediate the Post Office's retaliation against Sanger was, and how little Sanger could do because of these acts. It also showed me the reactions of other birth control advocates, and taught me about Sanger's associates within the birth control movement and how she interacted with them. As well as this, it showed how Sanger and her colleagues thought very little of the threat of the Comstock law, believing that they wouldn't be punished, until it was too late.

Hamilton, Alice. "Poverty and Birth Control." New York City, American Birth Control League, 1921.

This book described how lack of contraceptives and poverty were directly correlated, and argued that the only way to eliminate poverty was to make birth control accessible for everyone. I used this book to learn about other members of the American Birth Control League during the time that Margaret Sanger was president. I used this source to learn about how other activists for birth control felt, and to learn about how the belief that large families caused poverty, and that contraceptives would cause family sizes to decrease, and subsequently poverty, was a very common belief.

"Harvard Mirador Viewer." *Harvard Mirador Viewer*. N.p., n.d. Web. 16 Jan. 2017. <[https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:3889709\\$4i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:3889709$4i)>.

This is a primary source book that was published online that contained the court case of Margaret Sanger's trial for the creation and distribution of the magazine, Women Rebel. I used this to find out more about the Comstock Laws, and what exactly the Comstock Act detailed and what the laws in New York added to as well as to learn more about how the trial transpired. It helped me understand the court ruling, as well as understand why she was brought to trial in the first place.

"Japan Will Permit Mrs. Sanger to Land." *The Evening World* [New York] 20 Feb. 1922, Final Edition ed.: 4. Print.

I used this newspaper article to learn about the challenges that Margaret Sanger faced while traveling to advocate for birth control. Sanger spent much of the 1920s and 1930s traveling throughout the world giving speeches on the merits of birth control, however, some countries did not welcome her arrival. This article describes how Sanger was only allowed to land in Japan after she promised that she wouldn't advocate for birth control while she was there, although in the end she gave many speeches about birth control while she was in Japan.

Goldstein, James J., "Sanger, Margaret. The people of the State of New York, respondent, against Margaret H. Sanger, defendant-appellant :appellant's statement and points." New York, Hecla Press, 1916.

This case described why Sanger believed that she shouldn't be punished, and described why she thought that the Comstock laws were Unconstitutional. I used this case to learn more about Sanger's reasoning for being able to create the first American birth control clinic. I used it to learn about why her lawyer thought that she shouldn't legally be punished, as well as to learn about how the law both did and didn't support Sanger's case.

Lawrence, David. "Woman Advocate of Birth Control Put Under Arrest." *The Evening World*[New York City] 2 Dec. 1921, Final Extra ed.: 1. Print.

This article described how Sanger was arrested after the secretary to Archbishop Hayes called for her arrest at the last meeting during the first birth control conference, held in the church. It showed how Archbishop Hayes and Sanger had actually arranged for them to use the space, but the secretary decided to have Sanger arrested nonetheless. I used this newspaper to learn about Sanger's arrest at the birth control conference in 1921. I used it to learn more on why she was arrested initially, as well as to learn what Sanger's reaction to being arrested was, and what the public's reaction to Sanger being arrested was.

Little, C., Over-population as a cause of war. New York : American Birth Control League, 1928.

This article was written by a member of the Neo-Malthusian movement and later published by the American Birth Control League since the two groups were very interconnected. It described how the author felt that overpopulation caused World War One, and therefore contraceptives must be used to prevent overpopulation and subsequently, another world war. I used this article to learn about the other activists' motivations for working for the birth control movement. I used it to learn about the neo-malthusian movement and how advocates for it worked with Sanger closely and corresponded with her regularly. I also used this article to learn about how many felt that overpopulation led to world war one, and how that was an important reason for many as to why contraceptives should be legal and widely used.

Martin, George. "Margaret Sanger Says Officials Might Just As Well Accept Birth Control." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 21 Oct. 1916, late ed.: 3. Print.

In this article, Margaret Sanger defiantly stated that the police wouldn't be able to close the first birth control clinic, and that they should give up and accept birth control. I used

this newspaper article to learn about how the police tried to shut down Margaret Sanger's first birth control clinic almost immediately after it's opening, as well as to learn about the public's reaction to the birth control clinic's existence. I also used this article to learn about Sanger's reaction to the police trying to shut down her clinic, and her unwavering faith that she wouldn't be punished due to the Comstock laws.

"Police Can't Stop Me,' Says Margaret Sanger." Interview by George Martin. *New York Call* 22 Oct. 1916: n. pag. Print.

This interview took place shortly after Sanger created the first birth control clinic in America. Sanger talked about how the clinic was going wonderfully, and how the police would never be able to close it. I used this interview to learn about how Sanger felt that the birth control clinic was going shortly after it's creation. I used it to learn about how she thought that she would not be punished for the creation of said clinic, as well as to learn how the public had reacted to it's creation. I also used this source to learn how Sanger, along with many others, were misinformed about the Comstock Act and subsequent laws, and to learn about the public's reaction to Margaret Sanger's clinic.

“People of the State of New York ex rel. Margaret H. Sanger, Ethel Byrne and Fannie Mindell, relators-appellants, against warden or keeper of detention pen of the Court of Special Sessions, Kings County, or the warden or keeper of the County Jail of Kings County, or any other person in charge, custody or control of the bodies of Margaret H. Sanger, Ethel Byrne and Fannie Mindell, respondents :appellants' brief in support of motion for stay of proceedings.” New York, Hecla Press, 1916.

This book was a copy of the transcript for the trial that was held for the creation of the first birth control clinic. I used this to learn more about Margaret Sanger's trial for creating the first birth control clinic, as well as to learn about how drawn out the trial was and how controversial the subject was.. I used these court proceedings to learn about what Margaret Sanger, Ethel Byrne, and Fannie Mindell's argument against prosecution was, what the reasoning for their eventual prosecution was, and what the laws were regarding this matter.

Pusey, William Allen, Dr. Medicine's Responsibilities in the Birth Control Movement. N.p.: n.p., 1925. Print.

I used this book to learn about other birth control movements during Sanger's time. This book described the actions and beliefs of the late Neo-Malthusian movement. I used this to learn about how that movement compared to the birth control movement in America, the former focusing on preventing overpopulation, the latter focusing on preventing

poverty and unplanned families. I also used it to learn about how most people of the time viewed sex, and how that influenced opinions regarding contraceptives.

Robinson, William J. Letter to Margaret Sanger. 13 Sept. 1916. MS. New York, New York.

William Robinson was a doctor in New York, as well as an advocate for the birth control movement and one of Sanger's close correspondents throughout her activism. In this letter, he gave advice to Sanger about the creation of the first birth control clinic, as well how it would be possible to create said clinic in a legal manner, saying that she would need doctors to give contraceptive advice, although he would not give said advice. I used this letter to understand the other advocates for the birth control clinic, and to understand the process that was the decision to make the first birth control clinic.

Robinson, William J. Population and Birth Control. New York: Critic and Guide, 1917. Print.

I used this book written by a doctor of the 20th century who was also an advocate for birth control and an associate of Margaret Sanger to learn about how other birth control activists felt about the progress of the birth control movement. I used this source to learn about the other occurrences in the birth control movements, outside of Sanger's work to bring birth control into the public in a positive light. I also used this source to learn about how many felt that birth control's only purpose was to avoid overpopulation, even though Sanger felt that contraceptives should be used so that women have a choice as to whether or not they give birth.

Sanger, Margaret. "A Better Race Through Birth Control." 104 5th Avenue, New York City. Nov. 1923. *The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Web. 23 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=306638.xml>>.

This was a speech given by Margaret Sanger about why birth control was important so that it could be used for eugenics. I used this speech to learn more about the eugenics movement, and to learn about how Margaret Sanger supported eugenics. I used it to learn about how Margaret Sanger supported eugenics, and wanted humanity to obtain a 'perfect race' through selective breeding. I also used this speech to learn that eugenics was widely accepted among people, especially among those in the birth control movement.

Sanger, Margaret. *Family Limitation*. New York City: Review, 1914. Print.

I used this pamphlet written by Margaret Sanger to learn about the various contraceptive methods that were available during the time, as well as to learn about why Sanger almost went to jail for creating this pamphlet, and to learn about how effective contraceptives were during this time. This pamphlet described the available contraceptives, though it did not say how to obtain them, and urged women to use them to control the size of their family.

Sanger, Margaret. Letter to ABCL Board of Directors. 8 June 1928. MS. New York City, New York.

This was the letter that Margaret Sanger sent to the American Birth Control League to resign from her presidency of the organization. She wrote about how she was confident that they would continue to do their work without her as president, and urged them to keep on fighting for birth control. I used this letter to learn about how Margaret Sanger resigned from the American Birth Control League in 1928. I used it to learn about her motivations for doing so, as well as to learn about her plans for the future after her resignation. I also used it to learn about the relationship between Sanger and the other directors of the American Birth Control League.

Sanger, Margaret. *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*. New York: Dover Publications, 1971. Print.

*This book was used to find out the details of Margaret Sanger's life through her own eyes. I used it to learn why she chose to start the magazine *Women Rebel*, why she chose to start the first birth control clinic, how she accomplished these things, as well as how the general public reacted to her acts, and the background as to why she decided that she wanted to do these things. I also used this source as a base for my project, it being the first source used to learn about the general layout of Sanger's activism. It helped me learn what parts of her life I needed to research on, and what parts were not crucial to her activism.*

Sanger, Margaret. *Motherhood in Bondage*. New York: Brentano's, 1928. Print.

I used this book to get more information on Margaret Sanger's opinions on birth control and family management. I used it to learn why she was such a large supporter of birth control, as well as to learn about the individual experiences of people Sanger had helped and worked with, and their experiences with being forced into large families due to not having contraceptives. In this book Sanger described how she believed that women would

never be truly free until they had contraceptive access, believing that large families were the reason for the lack of women in the workplace.

Sanger, Margaret. *My Fight for Birth Control*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Incorporated, 1931. Print.

I used this primary source book to learn more about Sanger's early experiences with working for birth control, especially the creations of her birth control clinics, and the reactions of the public towards these. I used it to learn more about Sanger's perspective on her actions, and to learn more about the specific incidences she experienced during her work. This book described how difficult it was to create the first birth control clinic, and showed that the clinic gained a lot of much needed national attention for the birth control movement.

Sanger, Margaret. "The Birth Control Movement in 1923." 104 5th Avenue, New York City. Apr. 1924. *The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Web. 23 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=300368.xml>>.

This speech described how Sanger felt about the progress of the birth control movement during the 1920s, as well as what actions had been taken to advance the movement. I used this speech given by Sanger to learn about the birth control movement, and Margaret Sanger's opinions on how far the movement had come, especially in regards to how far the movement had come since Sanger started working for the birth control movement in 1914. I also used this speech to learn about the various projects that Sanger was working on during the early 1920s.

Sanger, Margaret. *The Case for Birth Control, a Supplementary Brief and Statement of Facts*. New York: Modern Art Print., 1917. Print.

This book described various statistics on birth control, and Sanger used these statistics to argue that birth control was necessary and should be made legal and accessible. I used this book by Margaret Sanger to learn more about how the lack of birth control influenced people's lives, as well as to learn about statistics regarding infant mortality rates, maternal mortality rates, and how poverty correlated to the number of children that a family had.

Sanger, Margaret. "The Morality of Birth Control." Park Theatre, New York City. 18 Nov. 1921. *The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Web. 23 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=238254.xml>>.

I used this speech by Margaret Sanger given during the first birth control conference to learn more about her opinions on the morality of birth control, and to learn about the different parts of the birth control movement that were so highly debated, one of them being whether it was moral to have birth control or not. I used it to learn about how Sanger argued that it was rather that it was immoral to oppose contraceptives, because they limited a woman's freedom to choose, and often caused families remained impoverished. I also used this speech to gain insight on how the first birth control conference was conducted.

Sanger, Margaret. *The Pivot of Civilization*. Elmsford, NY: Maxwell Reprint, 1969. Print.

I used this book written by Margaret Sanger to learn more about the early aspects of birth control. This book described how society viewed contraceptives as immoral, and Sanger argued in the book about the various conditions of poverty facing women, using them as arguments in support of birth control. I also used this book to learn about what Sanger's opinions on birth control were in the 1920s, as well as how these beliefs differed to those of the general public.

Sanger, Margaret. "'Woman Rebel' and the Fight for Birth Control." 163 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Apr. 1916. *The Public Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=306320.xml>>.

In this speech, Sanger described why she started Woman Rebel, what the issues were about, why she stopped publishing Woman Rebel, and what she believed the impact that she had was due to this publication. I used this speech to learn more about why Margaret Sanger decided to stop publishing Woman Rebel. I also used this speech to learn about why Margaret Sanger decided to publish Woman Rebel in the first place, and what she thought that she accomplished by publishing Woman Rebel for the brief amount of time that she did.

Sanger, Margaret. "The Woman Rebel." *Apache Cocoon: Welcome!* N.p., n.d. Web. 27 Jan. 2017. <<http://wyatt.elasticbeanstalk.com/mep/MS/xml/ms308396.html>>.

I used this primary source magazine created by Margaret Sanger to learn more about what the magazine she started was about, what the articles ended up relating to, what the

initial intent of the magazine was, to learn about the magazine that started her involvement in the birth control movement, and to find quotes to use in my paper. The magazine was used both for Sanger and her associates to write articles about the events in the birth control movement and about why birth control should be supported, as well as a place for other women to contribute by writing in articles to be published.

"Sex Ignorance Called Menace Of Poor by Judge Stelk." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 29 Dec. 1916, Last ed.: 1-3. Print.

This newspaper article was used to learn more about how the birth control movement was progressing outside of New York, and how the public was reacting to it. I also used this article to learn about how the birth control movement worked when separated from Sanger. I used this article to learn about women in Chicago's reaction to being told that birth control could help bring them out of poverty, and having this news told to them by a judge, though outside of a court. This occurrence caused many women to start to consider birth control as an option, and brought the movement more to light with such a public figure addressing the issue.

S., J., Mrs. "To the Editor of Woman Rebel." Letter to Woman Rebel. Sept. 1914. MS. Chicago, Illinois.

This letter was written to Margaret Sanger during the time of the publication of Woman Rebel. The author described how she desperately wanted contraceptives, and just didn't have access to them, and asked Sanger for advice on what to do, because she couldn't afford another pregnancy. I used this letter written to Margaret Sanger, who was the editor, and one of the authors of Woman Rebel. I used this letter to learn about the situation that many women across America faced due to the lack of information due to the Comstock laws. I also used this letter to learn about what people wrote to the Woman Rebel magazine about.

The methods and conditions of birth control. S.l. : s.n., 1927.

I used this pamphlet to learn more about how people other than Margaret Sanger felt about the use of contraceptives. This pamphlet detailed the various methods that were available for birth control, as well as the specific circumstances that it was deemed moral by the author to use said methods of birth control. This taught me about how many in the birth control movement had differing beliefs to her, with Sanger not believing in any specific conditions that must be met for people to use contraceptives.

"Threat of Prison Won't Stop "Woman Rebel" from Advocating "Birth Control"." *The Day Book* [Chicago] 13 Jan. 1916, Noon ed.: 14-15. Print.

This newspaper article detailed how determined and tenacious Sanger was even when threatened with prison. I used this article to find out more about Sanger's trial for Woman Rebel and Family Limitation. I used it to learn about how outsiders were reacting to this occurrence, as well as to learn about how the trial happened, as well as whether people approved or disapproved of Margaret Sanger during the time

Secondary Sources

"82.06.03: The History of Birth Control." 82.06.03: *The History of Birth Control*. N.p., 2016. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<http://teachersinstitute.yale.edu/curriculum/units/1982/6/82.06.03.x.html>>.

This was a website that gave the main overview of the birth control movement during the 20th century. I used this website to learn more about why the Comstock laws were initially put into place, as well as to learn about the various methods of contraception that were used at the time. I also used this website to learn about abortion and infanticide, and how those methods were viewed and how those views changed as the world moved into the 20th century.

"Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999: Family Planning." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4847a1.htm>>.

I used this website to learn more about how the birth rate per woman changed during the 20th century. I also used this website to learn more about how this change in rate correlated to the increasing popularity of contraceptives, and to learn about how this compares to world wide statistics. This website gave all the main statistics revolving family planning, most notably family sizes, and correlated it to the rise of contraceptives, which was much in part to Sanger's work, helping me to prove my thesis.

"Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999: Healthier Mothers and Babies." *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1 Oct. 1999. Web. 02 May 2017. <<https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4838a2.htm>>.

This article to was about the changes in infant and maternal mortality throughout the 1900s. It showed how the infant mortality rate was extremely high in the beginning, but decreased more and more rapidly as time went on and contraceptives grew in popularity.

I used this website to learn about the various reasons for those declines. I also used this source to learn about how this decline correlates to Margaret Sanger's work and advocacy for birth control.

"American Teens' Sources of Sexual Health Education." *Guttmacher Institute*. Guttmacher Institute, 27 Oct. 2016. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.guttmacher.org/fact-sheet/facts-american-teens-sources-information-about-sex>>.

I used this website to learn more about modern day contraceptives. I used it to learn about how many schools, both public and private, teach about contraceptives, and how effective this teaching is. I also used this website to learn more about how this education has changed in the past 20 years, with education on the subject going from a more abstinence only teaching to a teaching that educates young people about contraceptives.

"Anti-Birth Control Arguments in the Birth Control Movement." *Forem108*. N.p., 21 May 2015. Web. 08 May 2017. <<https://forem108.wordpress.com/anti-birth-control-arguments-in-the-birth-control-movement/>>.

*This article was about the various modern day arguments against birth control, and how they compare to the past, though the arguments are similar seeing as they normally revolve around religion. I used this website to learn about why people have opposed contraceptives both during Margaret Sanger's time, and modern day. I used it to learn how many used to view women who used contraceptives as sluts. I also used it to learn about the modern struggles of accessing contraceptives, and to learn about court cases such as *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores Inc.*, where Hobby Lobby refused to pay for its employees' contraceptives, and won their court case surrounding the issue.*

Bailey, Martha J., Brad Hershbein, and Amalia R. Miller. "The Opt-In Revolution? Contraception and the Gender Gap in Wages." *American Economic Journal. Applied Economics*. U.S. National Library of Medicine, July 2012. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3684076/>>.

*I used this article to learn about the connections between the rise of contraceptives, specifically *The Pill*, and the rise of women in the workplace. I also used it to learn about the rise of women getting education, and to learn about Sanger's long lasting impact by giving women the freedom to plan their family sizes, helping them to enter the workforce. This article described various statistics correlating the rise in contraceptives to the rise in women pursuing higher education and employment, helping me to prove my thesis.*

Bailey, Martha J. "Fifty Years of Family Planning: New Evidence on the Long-Run Effects of Increasing Access to Contraception." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*. U.S. National Library of Medicine, 2013. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4203450/>>.

In this article, the author talked about how the rise in contraceptive availability after The Pill's creation and after Griswold v. Connecticut, a court case allowing contraceptives to be sold, and their effects on family life. I used this article to take a look at the correlations between contraceptives, government programs promoting family planning, and the decline of infant mortality and incline of wealth. I used it to learn about the support of contraceptives over the years, as well as to learn about Margaret Sanger's impact surrounding long term contraceptive projects.

Baker, Jean H. *Margaret Sanger: A Life of Passion*. New York: Hill and Wang, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012. Print.

I used this biography to learn about Margaret Sanger's life as a whole. I used it to learn about Margaret Sanger's motivations for becoming an advocate for the birth control movement, and to learn about common misconceptions that caused many to disapprove of contraceptives. I also used this to learn about the immediate responses and impacts of Margaret Sanger's work.

"BBC - Ethics - Contraception: Medical Ethics and Contraception." *BBC News*. BBC, 2014. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/contraception/ethics_contraception_1.shtml>.

This article was about the various moral components that come with giving contraceptive advice, as well as the struggles of being a doctor who does not believe in contraception, yet has to legally give contraceptive advice. I used this website to learn about how doctors have adapted to being able to give contraceptive advice, and what the different moral components they face when they give contraceptive advice. I also used this website to learn about how now, all doctors must give contraceptive advice, free of personal bias, if their patient requests said advice.

Branum, Amy M., Ph.D., and Jo Jones, Ph.D. "Trends in Long Acting Reversible Contraception Use Among US Women Aged 15-44." *NCHS Data Brief, Number 188, February 2015* (2015): n. pag. National Center For Health Statistics, Feb. 2015. Web. 7 May 2017. <<https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo57612/db188.pdf>>.

In this government report, the authors described the use of contraception and how it has risen in popularity, as well as described various statistics regarding contraception. I used this report to look at birth control usage today. I used it to learn about which

contraceptive methods are the most popular, and to learn about which methods have decreased in use over time. I used it to learn about how the age group of 25-34 uses contraceptives the most out of the age range of 15-44, and I used it to learn about how contraceptive pills have grown less and less popular.

Buttar, Aliya, and Sheredan Seward. "The Embryo Project Encyclopedia." *Enovid: The First Hormonal Birth Control Pill | The Embryo Project Encyclopedia*. N.p., 20 Jan. 2009. Web. 20 Feb. 2017. <<https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/enovid-first-hormonal-birth-control-pill>>.

This website described the various events that led up to The Pill, such as Sanger's fundraising and Pincus' research, as well as described how difficult it was to get FDA approval for The Pill. I used this website to learn about how progesterone prevented conception by making the body believe that it was already pregnant, and how it was artificially made so that it could be used in the first contraceptive pill. I also used this website to learn about how Enovid, the contraceptive pill, worked, and how it was created, as well as who the various contributors to the project were and why they decided to help.

Buttar, Aliya. "The Embryo Project Encyclopedia." *Katharine McCormick (1876-1967) | The Embryo Project Encyclopedia*. Arizona Board of Regents, 18 Mar. 2015. Web. 20 Feb. 2017. <<https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/katharine-mccormick-1876-1967>>.

This article described Sanger's search for someone to fund The Pill, and about how she found Katherine McCormick, who donated 150,000 dollars, covering most of the project. I used this website to learn more about Katherine McCormick, who donated most of the money used to research and create the first contraceptive pill. I used this website to learn about what drew Katherine McCormick to Sanger's project, and to learn about how Katherine McCormick was involved with the creation of the first birth control pill.

Chou, Jessica, July 2 2015 9:30 PM, Birth Control News • Sex & Relationships • Wellness, and Photographed By Jessica Nash. "What Life Was Like Before The Pill." *Life Before The Pill*. N.p., n.d. Web. 23 Oct. 2016.

In this article, women who were born before the 1930s and later, and thus never had access to The Pill described how not having The Pill impacted their lives, and described the changes they saw in relationships people had once The Pill became available. I used this website to help me better understand the short term effects of the creation of the birth control pill. It helped me learn about different people's experiences before it's existence, as well as the reaction to it directly after it's creation.

Cobble, Dorothy Sue. *Feminism Unfinished: A Short, Surprising History of American Women's Movements*. Place of Publication Not Identified: Liveright, 2015. Print.

I used this book to learn about the birth control movement both what Margaret Sanger took part of and what she influenced, and what she didn't, and to learn what other birth control activists, such as Emma Goldman, were contributing to the movement.. I also used this book to learn about how the birth control movement compared to other feminist movements of the twentieth century, and to learn about how these movements influenced each other and influenced America.

"Contact CIA." Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 02 May 2017. <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2127.html>>.

This government factbook pad information about America's current fertility rate of 0.6%, and how said rate compares to other countries of the world. I used this source to compare the current fertility rate to the rates of the 1900s both before and after Margaret Sanger's work.

"Contraception: Past, Present and Future Factsheet." FPA. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.fpa.org.uk/factsheets/contraception-past-present-future>>.

I used this secondary source website to learn about which contraceptive methods used in the early 1900s were effective, and which ones weren't. I also used it to learn about which contraceptives are still used today, and about the opinions society held about each contraceptive, and which contraceptive methods were most popular.

"Contraceptive Use in the United States." *Guttmacher Institute*. N.p., 23 Sept. 2016. Web. 11 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.guttmacher.org/fact-sheet/contraceptive-use-united-states>>.

The Guttmacher Institute is an Institute created by a former president of Planned Parenthood. This organization takes statistics on anything related to reproductive health, most commonly statistics on contraceptive use, abortion, and infant mortality rate. People from both sides of the political spectrum quote the Guttmacher, seeing that it is a highly respected source. I used this website to gain more information about what birth control in America looks like today, with 99.1% of women of childbearing age having used a contraceptive at least once in their life.. I used it to learn about how that differs to what it looked like during Sanger's lifetime, as well as to learn about which methods are more popular than others, specifically in regards to using contraceptive pills, which Sanger had been the first to work to create.

"Comstock Act." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d. Web. 22 Oct. 2016.

I used this secondary source website to learn more about how the Comstock Act worked. It gave me the foundation of when and why this act was created, and how it affected the citizens of America at that time, allowing me to understand why contraceptives were not common in America, and why Sanger was punished so frequently for breaking the Comstock Act and the related Comstock laws.

"Comstock Law of 1873." *The Free Dictionary*. Farlex, n.d. Web. 26 Feb. 2017. <<http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Comstock+Law+of+1873>>.

This website described the Comstock laws and why they were put into place, most specifically talking about its creator, Anthony Comstock, who believed very strongly that contraceptives were obscene. I also used this website to learn about how they were repealed, and to learn about how that didn't happen until 1983, even though there were many exceptions made in the Comstock laws before that, and even though the Comstock laws were no longer strictly enforced. I also used this website to learn about how it finally became legal to sell contraceptives in 1965 with the case of Griswold v. Connecticut.

Craats, Rennay. *History of the 1900s*. Mankato, MN: Weigl, 2002. Print.

I used this book to learn about the American birth control movement in the context of the rest of American history. This book described the various movements and major events of the 1900s, helping me place Margaret Sanger's work in historical context and helping me to learn about the global events that impacted Margaret Sanger's decisions and the way that the birth control movement impacted American history.

Daniels K, Mosher WD, Jones J. *Contraceptive methods women have ever used: United States, 1982-2010*. National health statistics reports; no 62. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2013.

This report described the various methods of contraception that have been popular from the late 20th century to modern day. It described methods such as contraceptive pills, and how they were really popular until more recently. I used report to learn more about the effects The Pill had on society, as well as to learn about the various methods of contraception that gained and lost popularity as time went on. I used it to learn of statistics about the number of women using each method of contraception, and how that historically related to Margaret Sanger's work.

"Family Planning Can Reduce High Infant Mortality Levels." *Guttmacher Institute*. Guttmacher Institute, 15 Mar. 2016. Web. 20 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.guttmacher.org/report/family-planning-can-reduce-high-infant-mortality-levels>>.

I used this website to learn about how birth control correlates with infant mortality rates, what other factors lead to infant mortality rates, and to find out about the figures and statistics relating to infant mortality rates in correlation to contraceptives. I also used this website to learn about how infant mortality rates have decreased over the years, and how this decrease relates to contraceptives, as well as other factors such as general health. This website also included a graph correlating contraceptives and infant mortality rates on a global level, which I included in my appendix.

"Family Planning/Contraception." *World Health Organization*. World Health Organization, Dec. 2016. Web. 01 May 2017. <<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs351/en/>>.

This report by the World Health Organization talked about the effects of contraceptives on the health of mothers and children. I used this secondary source article to learn about how major institutions, such as the World Health Organization view the rise of contraceptives. I used it to learn that the World Health Organization contributes the decline in infant mortality in part to the rise in contraceptive use, and to learn about the current statistical use of contraceptives in various parts of the world.

"Fertility Rate, Total (births per Woman)." *Fertility Rate, Total (births per Woman) | Data*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN?locations=US>>.

This website gave statistics on the birth per woman throughout history while also putting it in historical context with the drastic decline in the 1930s due to the Great Depression, the major increase in the 1950s due to the baby boom caused by World War Two, and the immediate decline after the creation of the contraceptive pill in 1960. I used this website to help me understand the change in births per woman since 1960, specifically looking at the statistics that correlated with the first contraceptive pill's growing popularity. I used this source to help me understand the impact that Sanger had on the size of families.

"Figure 1.1. Families Are Changing." *Doing Better for Families* (2011): n. pag. OECD, 2011. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <<https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/47701118.pdf>>.

This report published by the OECD took a look at the statistics of member countries of the OECD regarding contraceptives and the decrease in family sizes and increase of women pursuing employment. I used this website to learn about the increase of women working and the increase of women getting higher education, and how that correlated with the decline of family sizes, and the different way that families looked. I also used this

article to learn about the impacts on the economy this rise had, and to learn about how these events connected to the timeline of Margaret Sanger's work.

Freudenheim, Ellen. "America's First Birth Control Clinic Opened a Century Ago, in Brooklyn." *The Huffington Post*. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 30 Sept. 2015. Web. 08 May 2017. <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ellen-freudenheim/planned-parenthood-harks-_b_8205064.html>.

In this website, the author described the Brownsville neighborhood, and the Brownsville clinic that Sanger created. I used this website to learn more about the Brownsville Clinic that Margaret Sanger helped to create. This article explained how the clinic was automatically a success, with 100 women coming to its doors on the first day of its opening. It described how these women were of all nationalities, for the Brownsville neighborhood was incredibly diverse, and how they were all responding to Sanger's flyer advertising the clinic.

Geoba.se. "Gazetteer - The World - Infant Mortality Rate - Top 100+ By Country (2017)." *Geoba.se: Gazetteer - The World at Your Fingertips*. CantyMedia, n.d. Web. 11 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.geoba.se/population.php?pc=world&type=019&page=2>>.

This website described the infant mortality rates of every country in the world, and what those statistics were historically. I used this website to learn more about the United State's current infant mortality rate, so that I could compare it to the infant mortality rate when Sanger was starting her research. I used this to learn about how far the United States has come with preventing infant deaths in comparison to where the United States used to be.

Gray, Madeline. *Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control*. New York: Marek, 1979. Print.

I used this book to learn about Margaret Sanger's life and work, as well as her relatively immediate impact on the use of contraceptives in America. I used it to learn in detail how and why Sanger decided to create the first birth control clinic in America, as well as to fact check the things written in Margaret Sanger's books, since there were occasionally minor inaccuracies.

"History of Contraception, Anthony Comstock." *History of Contraception, Anthony Comstock*. Case Western Reserve University, 2010. Web. 20 Feb. 2017. <<https://case.edu/affil/skuyhistcontraception/online-2012/Comstock.html>>.

This book described how the Comstock Act was enacted, and talked about how Anthony Comstock believed contraception to be immoral due to religious beliefs. I used this website to learn more about the Comstock Act, and to specifically learn about Anthony Comstock. I used this website to learn about how Anthony Comstock got the Comstock Act passed, as well as to learn about why Anthony Comstock was such a strong opposer of contraceptives. I also used this website to learn about the public's reactions to this act.

"History of the Birth Control Movement." *Infoplease*. Columbia University Press, 2012. Web. 26 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/science/birth-control-history-birth-control-movement.html>>.

I used this website to learn more about how the birth control movement evolved over time. I also used this website to learn more about the birth control movement in Europe, how it got started, and how the birth control movement first happening in Europe influenced the birth control movement in America, as well as influenced Margaret Sanger's work.

"Infant Mortality Rates 1950-2010." *Infoplease*. Infoplease, n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0779935.html>>.

This website gave the statistics on infant mortality rates in the past 60 years, allowing me to directly see Margaret Sanger's impact. I used this secondary source website to learn about how the infant mortality rate has decreased in the last 60 years. I also used this website to determine the correlation between the infant mortality rate and the increased use of contraceptives because of Margaret Sanger's work.

Janet A. Kohen (1981) , "Housewives, Breadwinners, Mothers, and Family Heads: the Changing Family Roles of Women", in *NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 08*, eds. Kent B. Monroe, Ann Arbor, MI : Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 576-579. <<http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/5862/volumes/v08/NA-08>>.

In this paper, the author described the roles of women throughout history, and how those roles changed due to contraceptives, specifically bringing more women into the workplace. I used this secondary source article to learn more about the affects that birth control had on women's role in the workplace. I used it to learn about how widespread

use of reliable contraceptives led to lower fertility rates, which then led to more women pursuing higher education, as well as more women joining the workforce.

Johnson, John W. *Griswold v. Connecticut: Birth Control and the Constitutional Right of Privacy*. 1st ed. Kansas: U of Kansas, 2005. Print.

I used this book to learn about the case of Griswold v. Connecticut, which was the decision that finally allowed contraceptives to be bought and sold legally, rather than purchasing them on the black market. This book described the entire court case and why the decision was made, under the belief that it would improve women's and children's health, as well as the immediate impacts, such as contraceptives becoming more common and the infant mortality rate declining.

Kennedy, David M. *Birth Control in America*. N.p.: n.p., 1970. Print.

This book described the birth control movement as a whole, how it impacted America, and who was involved in the movement. I used it to learn about the birth control movement in America as a whole, rather than just the parts that Margaret Sanger was a part of. I used it to learn about how Margaret Sanger impacted the rest of the birth control movement, and how various members of the birth control movement influenced Margaret Sanger's beliefs and actions. I also used it to learn about the widely differentiating beliefs and motivations throughout the entire birth control movement.

Levitan, Sar A., and Richard S. Belois. "Working Wives and Mothers: What Happens to Family Life?" *Monthly Labor Review* (1981): 26-30. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <<https://www.bls.gov/pub/mlr/1981/09/art4full.pdf>>.

In this book, the author layed out how women were using contraceptives and leaving working at home for working in a job, and described the various potential pros and cons of this. I used this book to look at how others viewed the rise of contraceptives, and subsequent rise of women in the workplace. I used it to learn about how many attribute more women joining the workplace at least in part to family planning methods becoming more available, and how this directly affected the economy and home life of the time.

"Margaret Sanger." *Margaret Sanger*. N.p., n.d. Web. 26 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1676.html>>.

This website described the main events in Sanger's life that pertained to the birth control movement. I used this website to learn more about why Margaret Sanger started the National Birth Control League. I also used it to learn more about why she fled to Europe

instead of facing trial after being called to court for the publishing of Woman Rebel. As well as all of this, I used this website to learn about why Margaret Sanger primarily decided to join the birth control movement.

Mosher, William D., and Jo Jones. *Use of Contraception in the United States: 1982-2008*. Hyattsville, MD: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics, 2010. Print.

I used this article to look at the use of contraceptives and their impact in America. This article looked the popularity of different contraceptive methods, as well as the impact they have had on the infant mortality rate, the total fertility rate, the maternal mortality rate, and women's health in general. I also use this source to learn about various contraceptive methods and how they work.

"New York v. Sanger - The Door Is Opened." *Control, Birth, Act, and Law - JRank Articles*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 Feb. 2017. <<http://law.jrank.org/pages/24655/New-York-v-Sanger-Door-Opened.html>>.

This article described the court case of New York v. Sanger, in which Sanger tried to get the Comstock laws removed, arguing that they were unconstitutional, and managed to get doctors the freedom to give contraceptive advice. I used this website to learn about the decision made after New York v. Sanger, which was called the Crane decision, making it so that doctors could give advice on contraceptives to married women without having to worry about being arrested for offering such advice.

"Our History." Planned Parenthood - Heartland. Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, 22 Nov. 2016. Web. 20 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.plannedparenthood.org/planned-parenthood-heartland/who-we-are/history>>.

In this website, the author detailed the various changes that Planned Parenthood has gone through throughout history, such as the change from the American Birth Control League to Planned Parenthood in 1944. I used this website to learn more about the timeline of Planned Parenthood, as well as to learn the effect that Sanger had in said timeline. I used it to learn about Sanger's affiliations with Planned Parenthood after she had resigned as board of directors from the American Birth Control League, and I used it to learn about the different projects that Planned Parenthood has taken on, such as helping fund The Pill's development.

Palmer, Niall A. *The Twenties in America: Politics and History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2006. Print.

This book detailed every major political movement that occurred in the 1920s, including the birth control movement. I used this book to learn about how the American birth control movement effected and was affected by the other events of the 1920s. This book detailed the major events of the 1920s, including many of Sanger and the rest of the birth control movements projects. It also showed what other events were going in during Sanger's work in the 1920s, helping me to see the birth control movement's impact on other events of the 1920s.

"Posts about Birth Control Review on Margaret Sanger Papers Project." *Margaret Sanger Papers Project*. N.p., n.d. Web. 08 May 2017.
<<https://sangerpapers.wordpress.com/category/birth-control-review/>>.

*I used this website to learn more about the writing projects that were crucial to the birth control movement, as well as the people who made them happen. I used it to learn about *The Birth Control Review*, a magazine created in 1917, which gave updates on the birth control movement, as well as to learn more about how the public recieved the creation of *Women Rebel and Family Limitation*. I also learned about Sanger's associates that helped her to make this magazine possible.*

Sanger, Margaret, Esther Katz, Cathy Moran. Hajo, and Peter Engelman. *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Vol. 1. Urbana: U of Illinois, 2003. Print.

This book was a collection of Margaret Sanger's letters, speeches and diaries. This book also included background information, such as who the person Sanger was writing a letter to or who wrote a letter to Sanger was, and why they were affiliated with Sanger, or what event a speech was given at and how the speech was received by it's audience. I used this secondary source collection of primary source letters, speeches, and diary entries by Sanger to learn more about how she started the first birth control clinic, how she gained support from others, and overall, just a look into what she and her correspondents thought of the birth control movement, and how that subsequently influenced the movement.

Sanger, Margaret, and Esther Katz. *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Vol. 2. Urbana, IL: U of Illinois, 2007. Print.

This is the second volume of the aforementioned book, including documents from the 1930s and onwards, whereas the previously mentioned book had sources from the 1900s through the 1920s. I used this book of letters, interviews, and speeches either by Sanger,

or addressed to Sanger, to learn more about Sanger's interactions with fellow birth control advocates, with scientists, and with political leaders. I used it to learn about the spread of birth control clinics across America, and I used it to learn more about who Sanger worked closely with, and who those associates themselves were.

Sawhill, Isabel V., and Quentin Karpilow. "Three Facts about Birth Control and Social Mobility | Brookings Institution." Brookings. Brookings, 28 July 2016. Web. 08 May 2017. <<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2013/10/31/three-facts-about-birth-control-and-social-mobility/>>.

I used this website to learn about current statistics regarding contraceptives. This website showed how the percent of women using contraceptives has drastically gone up, yet the number of unintended pregnancies remains high. This website also shows which methods of birth control have remained common and which aren't used as much anymore, like how the percent of women using contraceptive pills used to be over 70%, but now only 16% people using contraceptives have chosen contraceptive pills.

"Science Museum. Brought to Life: Exploring the History of Medicine." *Early Methods of Birth Control*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.sciencemuseum.org.uk/broughttolife/techniques/earlymethodsofbirthcontrol>>.

In this website, the author described various methods for contraception that were common before modern contraceptives were developed. These methods included early forms of the condom, spermicides, and diaphragms. I used this website to learn more about the different methods of contraceptives that were used during the ancient times, and how those methods worked. I also used this website to learn about how those methods became more modern birth control methods, and I used this website to learn about which methods became more popular in which regions as time went on.

Sonfield, Adam, Kinsey Hasstedt, Megan L. Cavanaugh, and Ragnar Anderson. "The Social and Economic Benefits of Women's Ability To Determine Whether and When to Have Children." (2013): 3-48. *Guttmacher Institute*. Guttmacher Institute, Mar. 2013. Web. 1 May 2017. <https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/social-economic-benefits.pdf>.

This report detailed how the rise of women pursuing higher education and employment directly related to the number of women using contraceptives, I used this research paper to learn more about the impact of Sanger's work. I used it to learn about how widespread use of contraceptives led more women to get secondary education, as well as more women to get a job. I also used this research paper to learn about the quantitative data behind the impact of the birth control pill.

Sullivan, Taylor. "Posts about Brownsville Clinic on Margaret Sanger Papers Project." *Margaret Sanger Papers Project*. N.p., 14 Oct. 2016. Web. 08 May 2017. <<https://sangerpapers.wordpress.com/tag/brownsville-clinic/>>.

I used this website to learn about how the first birth control clinic in America operated. This website described how Sanger started this clinic with the help of her associates Ethel Byrne and Fannie Millen, and explained how around 450 women flocked to the clinic during its brief opening. This website also showed how the clinic was closed by the police, and taught me about how Sanger and her colleagues fought legal punishment as much as they could.

"The First American Birth Control Conference." Margaret Sanger Papers Project. N.p., 12 Nov. 2010. Web. 11 Feb. 2017. <<https://sangerpapers.wordpress.com/2010/11/12/the-first-american-birth-control-conference/>>.

This article detailed the various speeches and events that took place during the first birth control conference in America. I used this article to learn more about the first birth control conference in November of 1921. I used it to learn about how Sanger started said conference, as well as who was at the conference, what was discussed at the conference, and what the impact of this first conference was.

"The Pill." PBS. PBS, n.d. Web. 22 Oct. 2016.

I used this website to get a general understanding of Margaret Sanger's life, specifically about how and why she decided to develop the first contraceptive pill. I mainly used it to gain background information on the creation of the first contraceptive pill, so that I knew how to refine my searches and what I specifically wanted to research, specifically focusing on the long term impact of the birth control pill.

"The Pill: Timeline." PBS. PBS, 2001. Web. 11 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/pill/timeline/timeline2.html>>.

This website detailed the basic layout of how The Pill was created, and what worldwide events were happening at the same time. I used this website to learn more about how the first contraceptive pill was created, and how that pill evolved into the ones used more currently. I also used it to learn about how Sanger decided to try and start this project, and to learn about the different scientists that were involved in the creation of this pill.

Tobin, Kathleen A. *The American Religious Debate over Birth Control 1907-1937*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001. Print.

This book gave an overview of the various reasons that people were morally opposed to contraceptives, the book going over the Bible quotes that they used in their arguments. I used this book to learn about why many opposed birth control during the time of Margaret Sanger's work. I used it to learn about the Catholic Church's beliefs regarding sex, and how that influenced early opinions about contraceptives. I also used this source to learn about other religious opposition regarding birth control outside of the Catholic Church, and to learn about how those who supported birth control reacted to those who opposed it.

Weschler, Toni. *Taking Charge of Your Fertility: The Definitive Guide to Natural Birth Control, Pregnancy Achievement, and Reproductive Health*. New York: William Morrow, an Imprint of HarperCollins, 2015. Print.

I used this book to learn about modern contraceptive methods that are gaining popularity. This book detailed the pros and cons of contraceptives such as birth control pills, while suggesting that more women should use natural methods that this book attempted to prove as effective. I used this book to compare contraceptive methods of Sanger's time to the methods that are being used today.

Wittenstein, Vicki O. *Reproductive Rights: Who Decides? Minneapolis: Twenty-First-Century*, 2016. Print.

This book went over the modern birth control movement and compared it to the movement Margaret Sanger was a part of, while posing the question of: Should women have the right to birth control, and how far does that right go? I used this book to learn more about modern contraceptives. I used it to learn about the history of birth control, as well as Margaret Sanger's role in this, but also to learn about the controversies around birth control today. I used it to learn about how the advancements in technology lead to new contraceptives, and to learn about the surrounding controversies behind each method.

"World Population Data Sheet 2012." *Fact Sheet: The Decline in U.S. Fertility*. N.p., 2012. Web. 25 Feb. 2017. <<http://www.prb.org/publications/datasheets/2012/world-population-data-sheet/fact-sheet-us-population.aspx>>

I used this website to learn about the number of children per woman rate has changed over the years. I used this website primarily to learn about how these statistics correlate

not only to the birth control movement, but also to learn about how they correlated to other world events, such as the great depression.

Wright, Nicholas H. "Family Planning and Infant Mortality Rate Decline in the United States." *American Journal of Epidemiology* 101.3 (1975): 182-86. John Hopkins University, 18 Sept. 2016. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.
<<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.1015.5702&rep=rep1&type=pdf>>.

In this research paper, the author looked at how the infant mortality rate declined, especially after the creation of The Pill, and looked at the correlation between contraceptives and infant mortality rates. I used this secondary source to learn more about the correlation between the increased use of contraceptives, specifically the creation of The Pill, and the lowering of infant mortality rates. I used this site to learn about Margaret Sanger's impact through The Pill on infant mortality rates even after she stopped working for the birth control movement.