"Lewd, Obscene and Indecent"

The 1916 Portland Edition of Family Limitation

PRIMARY DOCUMENT

by Michael Helquist

THE BIRTH CONTROL pamphlet *Family Limitation* significantly shaped American thought, values, and behavior, according to the Library of Congress.[1] In more than two dozen editions published from 1914 into the 1930s, the sixteen-page document gave thousands of Americans their first access to comprehensive information on preventing pregnancy.[2] It also introduced them to an argument for reproductive rights from a feminist perspective, one that valued women's freedom and control of their personal and economic lives. Early editions warned against the personal, economic, and political effects of too many births, including exploitation by capitalists who needed cheap labor and by imperialists who required a steady supply of soldiers. Margaret Sanger, the nation's preeminent birth control advocate, first drafted *Family Limitation* to inspire working-class women to challenge such exploitation by limiting childbirth.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the content and distribution of *Family Limitation* roiled communities throughout the United States. Government officials and church leaders especially condemned the contraceptive guide as corrosive to public morality and dangerous to the well-being of the nation.[3] Public officials of Portland, Oregon, first engaged in the controversy one hundred years ago when Margaret Sanger visited the city in June 1916.

After arriving by ship from San Francisco, Sanger answered reporters' questions during an impromptu gathering on the veranda of the Portland Hotel. She asserted that Americans needed more common sense and less puritanism about birth control information.[4] Later, she agreed to the request of a union man, Carl Rave, to sell copies of *Family Limitation* at her first lecture. He had 1,000 copies printed and "paid for by lady friend," possibly Marie Equi, a local doctor, lesbian feminist, and radical labor activist.[5] On the evening of June 19, before a packed house at the Heilig Theater, Sanger argued that unwanted pregnancies, overly large families, poverty, and misery could be avoided if people adopted basic birth control methods. Near the end of her talk, police officers disrupted the gathering by arresting

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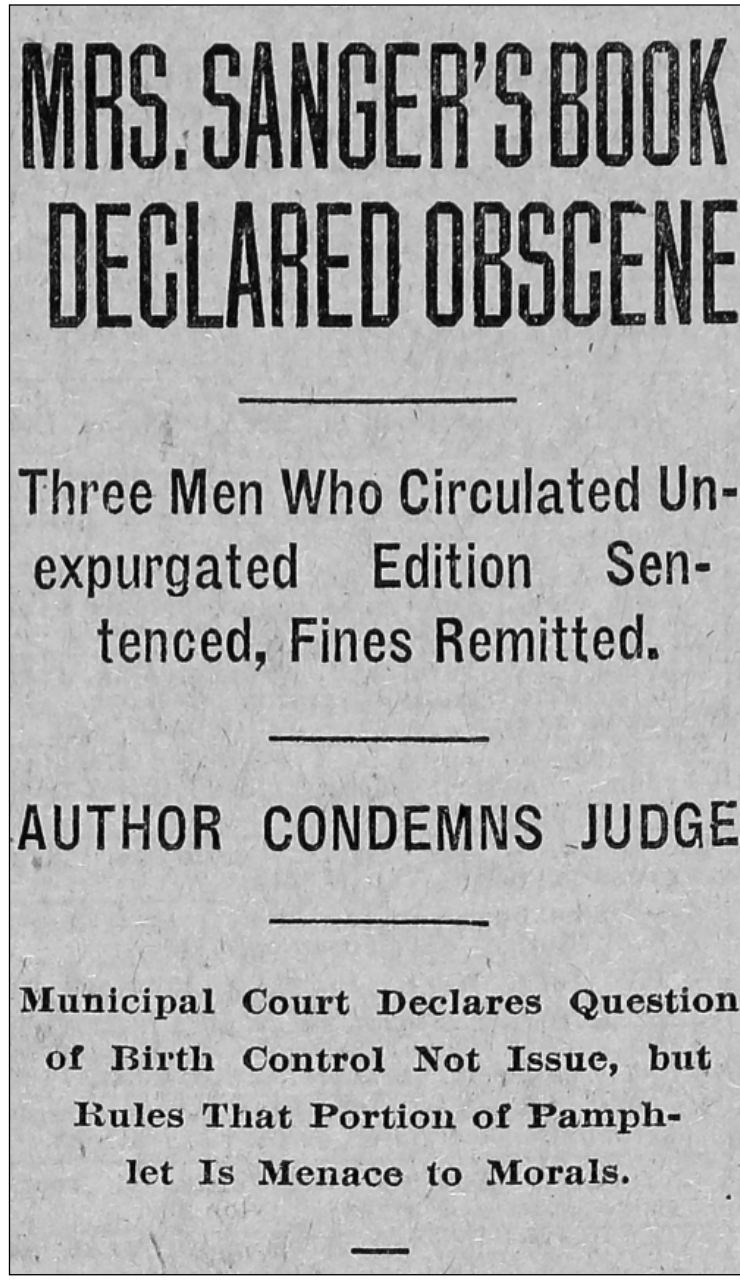

MRS. SANGER'S BOOK DECLARED OBSCENE

Three Men Who Circulated Unexpurgated Edition Sentenced, Fines Remitted.

AUTHOR CONDEMNS JUDGE

Municipal Court Declares Question of Birth Control Not Issue, but Rules That Portion of Pamphlet Is Menace to Morals.

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***OREGONIAN*, JULY 8, 1916, 1.** Municipal Court Judge Arthur Langguth found the pamphlet *Family Limitation* objectionable for discussing sexual matters that might prompt "impure" thoughts, especially when the item was publicly sold or distributed. Margaret Sanger declared the ruling "a cowardly decision."

MARGARET SANGER, pictured here in 1922, was a preeminent birth control activist, nurse, and writer. She founded the first birth control clinic in the United States in 1916, and her work led to the formation of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Rave and two other men on charges of distributing obscene materials.[6] Sanger tried unsuccessfully to get the charges dropped; the police captain did agree to delay court proceedings until she returned from lecture stops in Seattle and Spokane.[7]

Before she left Portland, Sanger asked Equi to revise *Family Limitation.* She recognized that the text had been "crudely and hastily written" to get basic facts to working women, and she wanted it to be more polished with a "slightly more professional tone."[8] She apparently did not seek an overhaul of the content, and Equi did not provide one. In her autobiography, written in 1938 — twenty-two years after her Portland visit — Sanger indicated that she wanted the 1916 revision to appeal more to middle-class women. But historians have noted that Sanger did not shift to a more conservative agenda, with middle-class sensibilities, until the early 1920s and that she made no related, significant changes to her publications before then.[9] The discrepancy may result from Sanger's misremembering her 1916 intentions. That possibility is supported by Sanger's summary of her tour written a month after her Portland visit, in which she did not mention a wish to appeal more to middle-class women.[10]

Equi was well positioned to revise *Family Limitation.* She was a member of the Birth Control League of Portland and participated in the group's monthly meetings. (The league had distributed thousands of copies of *Family Limitation* throughout Oregon and the Pacific Northwest even before Sanger arrived).[11] Equi shared Sanger's early radical views on economic and social justice, and she had strong ties to union members and working-class laborers. She was also intelligent and well read; she could certainly smooth the narrative, update medical advice, and tone

down some of Sanger's political rhetoric. And, importantly, she was known to risk arrest to further a cause.[12]

During Sanger's travel to Washington State, the Portland City Council convened an emergency session and declared *Family Limitation* indecent and obscene. The five councilmen also passed an ordinance that prohibited distribution of the pamphlet.[13] When Sanger returned to Portland on June 29, she spoke at a protest rally organized by Equi at the Baker Theater and then, with Equi and two other women, handed out the newly revised pamphlet. The police promptly arrested and jailed them.[14]

A week later, on July 7, the three men and four women were tried and found guilty. Municipal Court Judge Arthur Langguth ruled that birth control itself was not on trial, but that Sanger's pamphlet — both versions — "wandered afield to the discussion of matters that were apparently indecent." He criticized the several mentions of copulation that might prompt "thoughts of impure and libidinous character" for young people of either sex and even for adults. He believed that exposure to such information might suggest that "with ease and safety, fornication might be practiced" and thus undermine the "marriage relation."[15] The male defendants were fined ten dollars each, but payment was suspended. The four women received no punishment.

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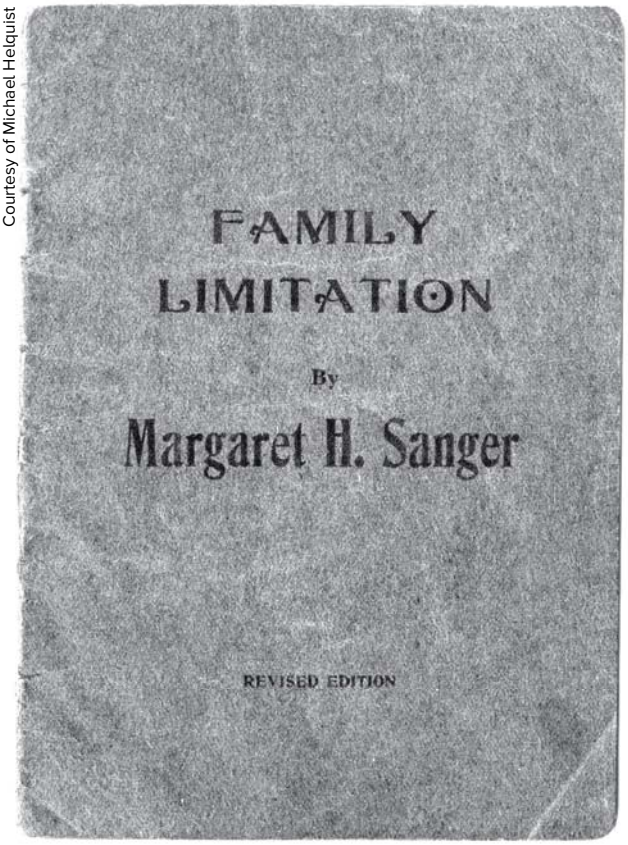
A PHYSICIAN, lesbian feminist, and labor rights activist, Marie Equi revised what became known as the Portland edition of *Family Limitation* in 1916.

Other accounts have detailed Sanger's troubles in Portland — the only city on her tour to place her behind bars.[16] But the 1916 local edition of *Family Limitation* has not previously been analyzed or compared with editions that preceded or followed it.[17] The Portland version was distinctive for a strong marketing appeal to union members that reflected the intersection of labor organizing and advocacy for reproductive rights. The pamphlet



Courtesy of Michael Helquist

THE 1916 Portland edition of *Family Limitation* is a basic, sixteen-page guide to contraception. The 4½-by-6-inch pages contain three illustrations, with a stock paper cover.

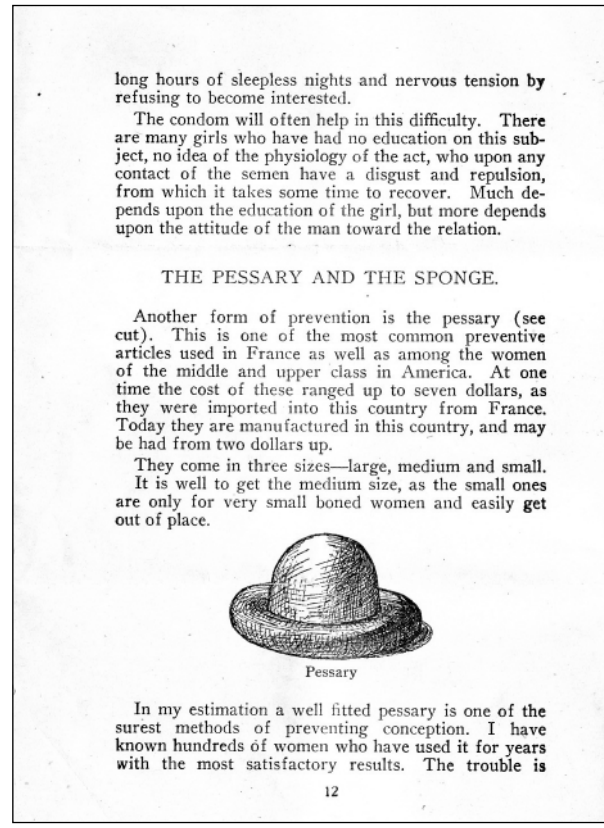
also directed specific advice to men, deleted specific mention of abortion, and criticized local authorities and the medical profession.

Sanger first drafted *Family Limitation* in 1913, compiling information and advice that she had gleaned from consultations with experts in France and Holland, where there were few restrictions on contraceptive information and products.[18] In 1914 she authorized printing 100,000 copies. New editions followed, but the basic content remained consistent. Its core was prescriptive, with self-help recommendations in simple, explicit language. It described a variety of devices, compounds, and solutions that could prevent pregnancy, including pessaries (similar to diaphragms), condoms, sponges, laxatives, vaginal tablets, and douches that were believed to have a spermicidal effect. Most were available from a druggist; many could be mixed at home.[19]

The pamphlet described a pessary, for example, as one of the most common preventatives used in France and in the United States by middle- and upper-class women who could afford doctors to advise them about the device and its proper use. The text warned women to use only those pessaries that were soft, pliable, and without flaws or pinholes. Sanger added her personal belief that a good pessary was the most reliable method for preventing pregnancy, provided it fit well. In a similar manner, various compounds were recom-

mended, including a vaginal suppository mix of boric acid, salicylic acid, chinosol, and glycerine gelatin. Users were urged to "allow 20 minutes for melting" and to be sure to insert the compound into the vagina several minutes before sexual activity to ensure that it melted first. These and similar instructions filled twelve of the sixteen pages of the pamphlet.[20]

Each edition also included a section titled "A Nurse's Advice to Women," in which Sanger relied on her nursing background to address matters of sexual hygiene and sexual practices. She exhorted women to stop being afraid of their bodies and to become informed about their "physical construction." She extolled the healthy, life-enhancing effects of satisfying sexual acts, and, most of all, she repeated that women must learn how to prevent pregnancy. Her work years earlier in the slums of New York emboldened her to write plainly: "The inevitable fact is that unless you prevent the male sperm from entering the womb, you are going to be pregnant."



long hours of sleepless nights and nervous tension by refusing to become interested.

The condom will often help in this difficulty. There are many girls who have had no education on this subject, no idea of the physiology of the act, who upon any contact of the semen have a disgust and repulsion, from which it takes some time to recover. Much depends upon the education of the girl, but more depends upon the attitude of the man toward the relation.

THE PESSARY AND THE SPONGE.

Another form of prevention is the pessary (see cut). This is one of the most common preventive articles used in France as well as among the women of the middle and upper class in America. At one time the cost of these ranged up to seven dollars, as they were imported into this country from France. Today they are manufactured in this country, and may be had from two dollars up.

They come in three sizes—large, medium and small. It is well to get the medium size, as the small ones are only for very small boned women and easily get out of place.

Pessary

In my estimation a well fitted pessary is one of the surest methods of preventing conception. I have known hundreds of women who have used it for years with the most satisfactory results. The trouble is

12

Courtesy of Michael Helquist

THIS ILLUSTRATION from *Family Limitation* describes the use of a well-fitting pessary as the most reliable method for preventing pregnancy. This birth control method was popular among middle- and upper-class women in the United States.

She was impatient with any woman who thought inserting a pessary or a tablet prior to the sexual act was unseemly:

It is far more sordid to find yourself, several years later, burdened down with half-a-dozen unwanted children, helpless, starved, shoddily clothed, dragging at your skirt, yourself a dragged-out shadow of the woman you once were.[21]

Sanger's early feminist and radical views enveloped the prescriptive information and nurse's recommendations.

Courtesy of Michael Helquist

Several large editions of "Family Limitation" have been exhausted. This new edition is mainly the result of the stupid persecution of the city administration of Portland, Ore. It caused the arrest of three union men at a Margaret Sanger meeting on June 19th., 1916 for selling this booklet.

Birth Control is promoted by prominent labor officials. ***Olaf Tveitmoe, editor of "Organized Labor" of San Francisco, Chas. Bennet, Business Agent of the River Steamboat M. U., of Portland, Ore., Marshall Wright, Business Agent of the I. L. A., of Tacoma, E. B. Ault, editor "Labor Union Record", of Seattle, Joe S. Hoffman, Business Agent of the A. M. C. & B. W., of Seattle, Anton Johansen, General Organizer of the U. B. of C. & J.*** have endorsed the movement.

Carl Rave, of the I. A. of B. St. & O. Iron Workers, an active union propagandist, has met with the greatest success in spreading the "Birth Control" message among the unions of the Pacific Coast.

This edition is made chiefly for union men and women. It is placed in their hands with the sincere wish that it may help in in realizing the ideals of union labor. We believe it will aid in the emancipation of women and help to bring us better working class conditions.

Under the capitalist regime, the rise and fall of working class conditions correspond with the rise and fall of the trades union movement.

THE INSIDE FRONT cover of the Portland edition of *Family Limitation* features a note from Marie Equi condemning the prosecution of the three men arrested for distributing the booklet at a 1916 rally.

She advised working-class women to refuse to supply labor markets with children to be exploited at a time when child-labor restrictions were inconsistently enforced. Instead, she urged women to take control of their bodies

and to recognize that doing so was "the one most direct method for you working women to help yourself today."[22]

Another standard component of the pamphlet addressed the problem of ill-matched timing of climaxes for female and male partners and the practice of "coitus interruptus." Sanger believed that a woman left unsatisfied could experience serious physical and psychological effects, including "disease of her generative organs, besides giving her a perfect horror and repulsion for the sexual act." (Biographer Jean H. Baker noted that Sanger "still accepted the androcentric fiction" that semen deposited on the walls of the uterus was critical for women's health).[23] Sanger thought the practice was responsible for men's concern about the "sexual coldness and indifference in their wives." She countered that "nine times out of ten it is the fault of the man" who satisfied his own desire and then promptly went off to sleep. As a result, she wrote, a woman learned to "protect herself" from sleepless nights and nerves by refusing to become interested. (She did not mention masturbation as an option). Sanger encouraged sex education for women and more cooperation and consideration from men.

The most striking features of the Portland edition were Equi's comments appearing on the inside front and back covers.[24] No other edition adopted as direct an appeal to a specific audience or as critical an assessment of local officials and physicians.[25] The front page reads:

This new edition is mainly the result of the stupid persecution of the city administration of Portland, Ore. It caused the arrest of three union men at a Margaret Sanger meeting on June 19, 1916 for selling this booklet.

Equi then shifted to her primary message, which envisioned linking reproductive rights, union goals, and women's freedom:

This edition is made chiefly for union men and women. It is placed in their hands with the sincere wish that it may help in realizing the ideals of union labor. We believe it will aid in the emancipation of women and help to bring better working class conditions.

To strengthen her message, she listed on the front page the names and affiliations of seven influential labor leaders of the Pacific Coast who endorsed and promoted birth control for their members.[26]

Equi's appeal built on the collaboration already underway between union laborers and birth control advocates. Union workers and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) members had helped distribute nationwide the first 100,000 copies of *Family Limitation.* Many also knew that the much-admired IWW organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was a strong proponent of birth control. And union members often witnessed the toll of unwanted pregnancies for workers and their families.

In her revision, Equi included more political rhetoric and fewer comments on the healthful effects of sexual intercourse. She apparently found the prescriptive information and medical

advice basically sound, as she made few changes. Equi emphasized the effectiveness of a few compounds over others, and she discouraged the use of a few.[27] She expanded the role of men in preventing pregnancies and encouraged them to accept their responsibility. Equi indicated that she understood men's concerns about birth control and advised them on how to correctly use a condom to avoid "stricture" and breakage, noting that wearing a condom could help them delay their ejaculation during intercourse. She recommended use of a product, "Sanitube," that purportedly improved sexual hygiene and helped avoid "bringing into the world . . . diseased offspring."[28]

Equi polished the text and streamlined the content of the pamphlet to a modest degree. She deleted a few of Sanger's chatty asides about birth control practices in Europe and other observations not crucial to her message. She substituted Sanger's rhetoric in minor instances; for example, she changed Sanger's entreaty to "comrade workers" to "neighbors and acquaintances."[29]

In an important change from previous versions, the Portland edition dropped a specific endorsement of abortion as a birth control option. Sanger's 1913 draft version had reflected her support for abortion as a last resort. She had advised women to never allow an unwanted pregnancy to continue for more than a month: "If you are going to have an abortion, make up your mind to [do] it in the first stages, and have it done." She believed having an abortion was a woman's choice, but she proposed that the decision would be unnecessary if women took care to prevent conception.[30]

Sanger's straightforward acceptance of abortion was mostly deleted from the 1914, 1915, and 1917 editions, and Portland's 1916 version omitted all direct mention of abortion. Whether Sanger requested the deletion or Equi initiated it is not known. If the decision was Equi's, it was puzzling. By 1916, she was a well-known abortion provider in Portland, and she knew how important abortion was to a great many desperate women.[31] Recent arrests for distributing *Family Limitation* may have prompted her to delete explicit references in hopes of influencing the trial outcome. (As it turned out, abortion was not specifically cited as a cause for the ruling against the pamphlet). She did, however, reprimand her medical colleagues for not intervening in times of severe distress and disease for their pregnant patients, as noted on the back inside cover:

> *The medical profession, bound by prejudice and superstition inherited from church and state, under the code of professional ethics, is prohibited from rendering any relief in the disease of pregnancy.*[32]

Equi cited pregnant women who presented to doctors their serious ailments, such as Bright's disease, heart disease, insanities, melancholia, idiocy, consumption, and syphilis. In such cases, she lamented that physicians are only allowed to "tide women through their pregnancy if possible." Even though the life of a woman may

be "positively endangered" — and thus permissible under many abortion restrictions — Equi noted that the doctor cannot "relieve" a woman, that is, provide an abortion, without enlisting a colleague in consultation. She would have known that such agreement was difficult to obtain. As a result, Equi claimed that the mortality of these stricken mothers and their infants was very high and that premature births were common.

The 1916 Portland edition ended with an exhortation not present in the earlier versions but retained in the 1917 edition, a reflection perhaps of Equi's influence:

To conserve the lives of these mothers and to prevent the birth of diseased or defective children are factors emphasizing the crying need of a sound and sane educational campaign for birth control.

A call for preventing births of seriously impaired children inevitably triggers discussion about eugenics.[33] For Equi, no other document has surfaced that reveals how she understood the complicated, nuanced issue of eugenics. No evidence suggests that she supported involuntary sterilization, mandatory isolation, or forced abortions. Sanger's own reputation has suffered for her endorsement of what historian Jean Baker referred to as "aspects of a mainstream movement dedicated to improving human beings."[34]

The Portland edition retained the pamphlet's affirmation of sexual activity with straightforward descriptions of sexual relations. The matter-of-fact content about women's sexuality was uncommon even among radicals at the time, much less among the general population. These were a few of the passages that Judge Langguth cited as examples of how the pamphlet text had wandered into indecency.[35]

The 1916 Portland edition of *Family Limitation* was distinctive by several measures. It targeted union members in an early example of modern niche marketing to achieve behavior change. The appeal was specific, direct, and enhanced with endorsements from respected union leaders. The text also directed information and advice specifically to men about their concerns as well as their duties with birth control. For the first time, this basic guide engaged both sexes in responsible decision-making for preventing pregnancy and controlling family size. At the same time, the local edition reflected how birth control advocates tried to negotiate the hostile environment of the political establishment around questions of reproductive rights. The deletion of all direct mention of abortion may have reflected the political sentiment in Portland, and Equi probably had these realities in mind when she dismissed Portland officials' "stupid persecution."

Finally, Sanger's choice of Equi to revise the edition appears to reflect what historian Joan M. Jensen referred to as Sanger's gradual shift from "socialist-feminist arguments of self-help" to a reliance on professional guidance and birth control services from doctors.[36] Equi's beliefs were firmly rooted in radical socialist demands for a political and economic overhaul, but she was also a licensed

doctor. Perhaps she represented a pivotal transition for Sanger.

The reactions to *Family Limitation* in Portland firmly established the city's engagement with a social and political issue that troubled officials for decades. The conflict also reflected one of the ways hundreds of Oregon women exercised their political strength four years after they won the right to vote. Women advocates and their male supporters protested the restrictions on dissemination of the pamphlet in the courtroom and in the streets. In a similar manner, Equi's involvement helped establish the role of political radicals in the struggle for women's rights and the contributions of lesbians to the history of the state and region.

In her 1938 autobiography, Sanger recalled her arrest in Portland: "The papers made a great to-do about the affair but it was not a type of publicity of my choosing and did little to bring the goal nearer."[37] By then, Sanger had become more conservative as she sought increased professional support and more philanthropic donations.[38] And she chose to ignore her published intention to break the law during her 1916 tour in order to draw more public attention to her cause.[39] The commotion in Portland was certainly noticed by much of the public, with several reports in the city's dailies and with crowds of observers packing the courtroom.[40] Regardless of Sanger's misgivings about the effectiveness of the Portland visit, the local edition of *Family Limitation*, with its targeted appeal to union members, was evidently popular throughout the Pacific Northwest. A revised third edition has been located, suggesting ongoing use. The pamphlet remained a critical document to its readers and a testament to its time.[41]

NOTES

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1. In June 2012, the Library of Congress mounted an exhibit in Washington, D.C., that highlighted the "Books That Shaped America." Among the eighty-eight volumes was Margaret Sanger's *Family Limitation,* https://sangerpapers.wordpress.com/2012/07/16/family-limitation-a-book-that-shaped-america (accessed March 1, 2016).

2. The Margaret Sanger Papers Project, Microfilm Edition, Library of Congress lists twenty-two editions. Others are known to have been produced by different birth control groups, unions, and other organizations. http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/publications/

LC-WritingsIndex.pdf (accessed January 15, 2016).

3. Margaret Sanger encountered resistance to her publications and lectures ever since she undertook her birth control campaign, including charges against her in New York in 1914, a ban against her speaking in Akron, Ohio, a near-riot in St. Louis after a theater manager attempted to prevent her from speaking, and a refusal to allow her speaking in St. Paul. Emma Goldman was also arrested — in New York and in Portland — for her talks on birth control. Sanger complained of the steady opposition she encountered from the Catholic Church. For accounts of the resistance, see Margaret Sanger, "A Birth Control Lecture Tour," August 9, 1916, The Public Writings and Speeches of Margaret Sanger, https://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/webedition/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=320118.xml (accessed January 15, 2016); and Jean H. Baker, *Margaret Sanger, A Life of Passion* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2011), 75–112.

4. Margaret Sanger, *Margaret Sanger, An Autobiograph*y (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 203; Sanger, "A 'Birth Control' Lecture Tour."

5. "Two Birth Control Trials in Court," *Oregonian*, July 1, 1916, 16. On the possible financing of the 1,000 copies of *Family Limitation*, see Margaret Sanger and Esther Katz, *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger, Volume 1*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 192*n*18.

6. Marie Equi greeted Sanger soon after she arrived. "Mrs. Sanger Is Here," *Oregonian*, June 17, 1916, 15. Sanger, *An Autobiography*, 204–06; "Pamphlet Seller Held, Carl Rave Arrested for Birth Control Activity," *Oregonian,* September 9, 1916, 9.

7. Michael Helquist, *Marie Equi, Radical Politics and Outlaw Passions* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 147–52. Marie Equi paid the seventy-five dollar bail for the men.

8. Sanger, *An Autobiography*, 205.

9. Joan M. Jensen, "The Evolution of Margaret Sanger's 'Family Limitation' Pamphlet, 1914–1921," *Signs*, 6:3 (Spring 1981): 548–67. Jensen notes that after 1915 Sanger gradually shifted "to the Right" into the 1920s when she aligned herself more with middle-class women's groups. Intrinsic to this transition was Sanger's greater reliance on professional advice and contraceptive services from doctors rather than her previous emphasis on self-help to empower women. Ellen Chesler, *Woman of Valor, Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America* (New York: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1992), 14–15, 198.

10. Sanger, "A 'Birth Control' Lecture Tour."

11. Caroline Nelson to Margaret Sanger, correspondence, June 12, 1915, Sanger and Katz, *The Selected Papers,* 136–37; "What the Birth Control Leagues Are Doing," *The Birth Control Review* 1:1 (February 1917). The Birth Control League of Portland, Oregon, was established in May 1915. Members disseminated thousands of pieces of birth control materials, including *Family Limitation*, throughout Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. The league convened monthly meetings at the Central Library in Portland and attracted several prominent speakers, including Dr. Marie Equi; Dr. Samuel Gellert; Dr. Mae Cardwell; C.E.S. Wood; Dr. Ella K. Dearborn; Dr. Bertha Stuart of Reed College; Charles H. Chapman, Ph.D., former president of the University of Oregon; and Miriam van Waters, Ph.D., formerly of the Boston Juvenile Court. There were also chapters of the American Birth Control League in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Spokane.

12. Equi graduated from the University of Oregon Medical Department in 1903 and maintained a general practice with an emphasis on serving women and children. She had been an active suffragist and civic reformer before becoming radicalized by police mistreatment in a cannery strike in Portland in 1913. Equi had already been arrested several times in Portland, including during the 1913 cannery strike and the Preparedness Day Parade on June 3, 1916. See Helquist, *Marie Equi,* 116–22, 142–145.

13. "Book Sale Stopped: Council Act Brands Mrs. Sanger's Pamphlet as Obscene, Criticism Induces Action," *Oregonian,* June

24, 1916, 18.

14. For a report of Sanger's court testimony and arguments by defense attorney C.E.S. Wood, see "Two Birth Control Trials in Court," *Oregonian*, July 1, 1916, 16; and "Sanger Cases Are Now Up To Court," Oregonian, July 2, 1916. The other two women who were arrested were Mrs. F.A. Greatwood and Maude Bourner. The three men arrested were Carl Rave, Ralph Chervin, and E.L. Jenkins.

15. "Mrs. Sanger's Book Declared Obscene," *Oregonian*, July 8, 1916, 16; Sanger, "A 'Birth Control' Lecture Tour," 2; "Decision," (Judge Langguth's ruling in the *Family Limitation* case), 0201-01 A200-001, Birth control – legal decision, Portland Archives and Research Center, Portland, Oregon.

16. Helquist, *Marie Equi*, 145–152; "Margaret Sanger Arrested in Portland!" Margaret Sanger Papers Project, June 20, 2013, https://sangerpapers.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/margaret-sanger-arrested-in-portland/ (accessed January 5, 2016); Sanger, "A 'Birth Control' Lecture Tour," 83–84.

17. Jensen, "The Evolution," 551–52. Jensen did not include the 1916 Portland edition in her analysis.

18. For notes and discussion of the sections of the 1913 draft for *Family Limitation*, see http://www.glennhorowitz.com/dobkin/family_limitation_manuscript_notebook www.glennhorowitz.com/dobkin/family_limitation_manuscript_notebook (accessed March 1, 2016).

19. Baker, *Margaret Sanger.* 85–90, 110–113; Helquist, *Marie Equi*, 145–52. Laxatives were considered at the time to be helpful as an abortifacient, although it was later considered hearsay unsupported by scientific study. Sanger deleted this reference from versions of the pamphlet after 1920.

20. *Family Limitation*, 1914 edition, and following editions. The 1917 edition noted that suppositories were becoming more generally used in the United States than any other means of prevention. By that time suppositories could also be found at any reliable pharmacy.

21. Jensen, "The Evolution." A line-by-line comparison of the 1914 and 1915 editions reveals that they are virtually the same.

22. *Family Limitation*, 1915 edition, http://sangerpapers.org/sanger/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=128069.xml (accessed March 1, 2016). A line-by-line comparison of the 1914 and the 1915 editions reveals that they are virtually the same.

23. Baker, *Margaret Sanger,* 86–87.

24. The 1916 Portland edition of *Family Limitation:* http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31175035151243;view=1up;seq=1 (accessed January 15, 2016)

25. *Ibid*.

26. The labor leaders listed on the inside front cover of the 1916 Portland edition are Olaf Tveitmoe, editor of "Organized Labor" of San Francisco; Charles Bennet, Business Agent of the River Steamboat M.U. of Portland, Oregon; Marshall Wright, Business Agent of the I.L.A. of Tacoma; E.B. Ault, editor, "Labor Union Record," of Seattle; Joe S. Hoffman, Business Agent of the AMC&BW of Seattle; and Anton Johansen, General Organizer of the UB of C&J. All had endorsed the birth control movement.

27. Equi emphasized taking Beecham's Pills, a laxative, for cleansing the bowels and "assisting with the menstrual flow." She suggested three additional douche solutions, but she suggested that bi-chloride be avoided. The 1917 edition deletes several of the suggested compounds from the 1915 and 1916 versions, indicating the subjective nature of determining which compounds were judged effective and the different experiences of individuals involved in drafting new editions.

28. *Family Limitation*, 1916 Portland edition, 10–11. The 1917 edition drops the targeted messages to men and does not mention use of Sanitube.

29. As it turned out, Sanger relied on a

new edition in 1917, not Equi's 1916 revision, to update her prescriptive information more expansively and to polish the writing more extensively. The 1917 edition of *Family Limitation* is available online at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/31790/31790-h/31790-h.htm (accessed March 1, 2016). Jensen, "The Evolution," 551. Jensen noted that Sanger dropped "financiers and ruling classes" from the 1917 edition and substituted "working women" for "working class."

30. The draft document appears to have been written in 1913 and served as the basis for the 1914 initial edition, but others consider this draft to be a handwritten transcription of Margaret Sanger's earliest 1914 edition. The document in question is available at www.glenhorowtiz.com/dobkin/family_limitation_manuscript_notebook (accessed January 20, 2016).

31. See Helquist, *Marie Equi,* 85–96; also, Michael Helquist, "'Criminal Operations': The First Fifty Years of Abortion Trials in Portland, Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 116:1 (Spring 2015): 6–39.

32. *Family Limitation*, 1916 Portland edition, inside back cover. This particular criticism of U.S. doctors was not retained in the 1917 edition, although restrictions on doctors' helping pregnant patients with serious illnesses was included, http://sangerpapers.org/sanger/app/documents/show.php?sangerDoc=128069.xml (accessed January 10, 2016).

33. Mark A. Largent, "'The Greatest Curse of the Race,' Eugenic Sterilization in Oregon, 1909–1983," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* 103:2 (Summer 2002): 188–209. In 1917 the Oregon State Legislature authorized a state Board of Eugenics that oversaw the forced sterilization of citizens deemed undesirable.

34. Baker, *Margaret Sanger*, 3–8, 159–65; Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 195–96, 214–17.

35. "Decision," (Judge Langguth's ruling in the *Family Limitation* case), 0201-01 A200-001 Birth control — legal decision, Portland Archives and Research Center.

36. Jensen, "The Evolution," 549. There is no evidence that Equi consulted with the Birth Control League of Portland members about the pamphlet revision, but it seems reasonable that she would have discussed the more important changes with the league's leaders if not others as well.

37. "Emma Goldman Is Put Under Arrest," *Oregonian*, August 7, 1915, 12. Sanger could not have been greatly surprised by her arrest in Portland. The year before, Portland police arrested the anarchist Emma Goldman for publicly discussing birth control.

38. Jensen, "The Evolution," 548–67. Jensen analyzed how the political rhetoric in the pamphlets from 1914–1921 evolved from the radical feminist ideology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to a more conservative and mainstream expression by the 1920s. The 1920 edition of *Family Limitation*, however, employs even stronger exhortations to working women with comments such as "the need for information concerning birth control is even more urgent today" and "big battalions of unwanted babies" make life so difficult for working women and "keep her in poverty and stress." "Papers of Margaret Sanger, microfilm," Library of Congress, box 200, reel 129.

39. Jensen, "The Evolution," 549.

40. "Two Birth Control Trials in Court," *Oregonian*, July 1, 1916, 16.

41. Margaret Sanger to Charles and Bessie Drysdale, correspondence, August 9, 1916, Sanger and Katz, *The Selected Papers*, 185–88. The Birth Control League of Portland had printed and distributed *Family Limitation* throughout the Pacific Northwest even before Sanger's 1916 visit. There is little reason to believe the IWW and union members discontinued this activity. At the start of the trial of the four men and three women in Portland, Judge Langguth ordered all copies of the pamphlet be returned to the owner, except for one that he requested for use by the court.