

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources:

*American Birth Control Activist Margaret Sanger (1879 - 1966)*. 1917. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020.

Capturing her in an individual shot, this photograph of Margaret Sanger was taken in Chicago in 1917. The image was found in the Chicago History Museum database. This image is useful for our historical background on Margaret Sanger, and is an interesting primary source to document her life and life's work.

Comstock Act, ch. 258, 3 Stat. (Mar. 3, 1873).

This excerpt of the Comstock Act details the specific regulations on the production, advertisement, or sale of medicine that prevents conception, or publicizes abortion. The excerpt gives a thorough explanation as to exactly what actions are illegal under the act. Reading direct excerpts from the act allowed us to gain an understanding of the specific restrictions that Sanger and other birth control advocates worked against.

The CWLU Justice March. March 1974. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020.

<https://www.veteranfeministsofamerica.org/legacy/LEAH%20MARGULIES.htm>.

Di Veroli, Robert. "Birth Control Still Divides the World's Catholics." *Brownsville Herald*, September 13, 1978.

<https://access-newspaperarchive-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/us/texas/brownsville/brownsville-herald/1978/09-13/page-27/humanae-vitae?page=2&pci=7&ndt=by&py=1970,1960&pey=1979,1969>.

Written by Robert Di Veroli, this article served as a source of background information in order to support historical findings. Discussed in this article is the topic of Catholic people's changing opinions on birth control, and how two beliefs separate people of the same religion. An idea repeated throughout the article is the deep divide the idea of birth control was causing at the time in the Catholic Church and its communities.

*Dr. John Rock (1890-1984)*. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/pill-dr-john-rock-1890-1984>.

In this primary source, Dr. John Rock is pictured in front of a church, representing his Catholic faith and the role of religion in his arguments. The photograph was featured in a PBS article about the history of oral contraceptives. As a visual attachment, this photograph is an informative source on John Rock's background, as well as a complimentary image to the information we discuss in our project.

"Dr. John Rock on the Pill and the Church." Video. CBC. Accessed April 18, 2020.

<https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1814511998>.

Interviewed on a TV show, Dr. John Rock explains his stance in this video. Dr. Rock argues that his experiments did not violate Catholic morality or teaching. Rock

focused on the importance of the individual determining the importance of traditional teachings, stressing that one must understand the morality of their decisions first.

*Enovid: The First FDA Approved Birth Control Pill*. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/pill-g-d-searle-develops-pill/>.

This is a photograph of Enovid, the first hormonal birth control pill to obtain FDA approval in the 1960s. This photograph was found on the PBS website. It is helpful as visual documentation of an important step in the history of birth control, and more specifically, the controversies within the scientific community.

Everett Collection. *Margaret Sanger in the first birth-control clinic in the United States*. 1916. Photograph.

In this image, Margaret Sanger is seated in the first birth control clinic in the United States, an illegal establishment at the time under the Comstock Act, surrounded by other women and nurses. It was found in the Everett Collection: a database of photographs and film. The image is a useful documentation of Sanger's early efforts towards accessible contraception.

"Fertility Rate: United States, 1925-1999." Chart. CDC. March 2011. Accessed May 4, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/products/databriefs/db60.htm>.

Pictured in this source is a graph showing the fertility rate in the years 1925-1999. This source was used as support for the website's overall argument, as it is closely tied to the main topic of contraception.

Friends of the Margaret Sanger Papers. *Margaret Sanger's Arrest at Brownsville Clinic*. 1916. Photograph. <https://sangerpapers.wordpress.com/2015/07/08/margaret-sanger-jail-interview-with-the-brooklyn-daily-eagle/>.

This photograph of Margaret Sanger portrays her arrest in 1916 for the violation of the Comstock Act in the illegal opening of her birth control clinic and distribution of information on contraception. She is pictured being restrained by police. This photograph was found in the Friends of Margaret Sanger database. Her arrest was an important aspect of her story, and of the larger history of the fight for access to birth control, and having visual sources such as this one is necessary to document that story.

Getty Images. *Estelle Griswold and Ernest Jahncke celebrate the court's decision on the birth control legislature*. 1965. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://rewire.news/article/2013/06/03/contraception-for-all-the-promise-of-the-griswold-decision-is-on-the-verge-of-fulfillment/>.

Taken in 1965, this photograph, courtesy of the visual media company Getty Images, depicts Estelle Griswold, the defendant in the supreme court case *Griswold v. Connecticut*, celebrating the court's decision to legalize birth control in the United States. The legal resistance to the oral contraceptive and Planned Parenthood was one of the barriers in place preventing access to birth control and other reproductive rights. This

photograph provides evidence, as well as a snapshot in time to when one of those barriers was broken.

Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479.

A summary of the 1964 Griswold v. Connecticut Supreme Court case. It includes background information on the circumstances of the case and those involved, as well as a detailed explanation of the ending decision. This unprecedented case represented a great victory for birth control activists. We used this case as further evidence that barriers were gradually broken as birth control was no longer seen as a crime, but instead an effective way to plan a family.

Gross National Product. *Have You Had Your Pill Today*. 1968. Photograph.  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2016649073/>.

Featuring an Uncle Sam figure pointing to the viewer, and the words "Have you had your pill today," this birth control advertisement from 1968 is aimed at women and is loaded with history. It was found in the Library of Congress database. It is interesting evidence of the fast-growing popularity and widespread effects of the oral contraceptive in the late 1960's and 70s.

Hallett, Paul. "Keeping Up With Events: Birth Control Issue." *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph Register* (Cincinnati, OH), December 4, 1959.

Published in 1959, this newspaper article discusses relevant events of the time in detail, specifically updates and occurrences related to the birth control movement. The author mainly argues that all of the social and scientific arguments point toward birth control, and the Planned Parenthood organization, being immoral and wrong. Since it comes from a Catholic organization, it also focuses on what the Pope and the Bishops' stances were at the time, and makes the argument that the legalization of birth control was an anti-Catholic issue.

Harris, Louis. "Harris Poll: 28 Million Women Give Up Using Pill." *The Lincoln Star*, April 7, 1970.

This source is a poll in a 1970 newspaper about women who discontinued usage of the pill or expressed concerns for the health risks and side effects it posed. Harris specifies several concerns for women's health around the birth control pill, as well as a breakdown of statistics from different regions of the country.

Howard, Melissa. "Birth Control Movement Shifts Emphasis to Population Crisis." *Albuquerque Journal* (Albuquerque, NM), December 14, 1969.

This newspaper article is a publication from the Albuquerque Journal from December of 1969. This article focuses primarily on the birth control movement in terms of its use as a possible form of population control and to aid in the solution of overpopulation. This was an argument commonly used in support of birth control, and specifically the oral contraceptive, within the feminist movement. This article demonstrates and explains the popular defense of birth control.

Imgur. *The Birth Control Babe*. Photograph. <https://imgur.com/gallery/7RlhixJ>.

Seemingly circulated by those against birth control, this advertisement features a young woman, surrounded by men, described as a "pill poppin', penis lovin' satan's girl." It is a manipulated version of a movie advertisement from 1958, changed to put across anti-birth control ideals. It serves as an example of the social barriers that the birth control movement faced, and the concerns that were raised by those against the idea of free access to birth control.

"La Operación." Video. YouTube. Posted by The Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 1982. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bmEX5asOgMQ>.

The excerpted interview with two Puerto Rican women who were subjects in the birth control studies recounts their experience with the early form of the pill. The women describe the side effects that they endured and their motivations for participating. This source helped us better understand the perspective of the women who endured the trials. It also sheds light on how unethical some of the Puerto Rican trials may have been.

Leffler, Warren K. *Women's Liberation March from Farragut Square to Lafayette*. 1970. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003673992/>.

This photograph of the 1970 Women's Liberation March in Washington D.C captures a large group of women holding protest signs such as "women demand equality," and "women's liberation." It serves as an important visual representation of the feminist movement's role in the history of birth control in the U.S, as well as documentation of a specific protest that played a large role in women's liberation. The source was found in the Library of Congress database.

"Maternal Mortality Rate: United States, 1900-1997" Chart. CDC. October 1, 1999. Accessed May 4, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4838a2.htm>.

Similarly to the graph depicting the fertility rate in the years 1925-1999, this graph was important to the website's central argument. This graph shows the maternal mortality rate in the United States during the years 1900 through 1997, which reinforced the importance of birth control, or the Pill as a method of contraception in order to decrease maternal mortality generally.

Newsweek Magazine. *John Rock on the Cover of Newsweek*. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.pressreader.com/usa/newsweek/20190705/281578062203474>.

In this image, John Rock is featured on the 1964 cover of Newsweek, an American news magazine. The Catholic physician was one of the most prominent supporters of the birth control pill in the 1960s and 70s. His cover feature demonstrates the high value of his opinion as a Catholic birth control advocate. This cover of an influential publication such as Newsweek demonstrates the importance of John Rock's career in the growing social acceptance of the oral contraceptive.

O'Connell, Jack. Pro-Birth Control Demonstrators Protest outside the 22nd World Health Organization Assembly. July 23, 1969. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/world-health-organization/transition-from-family->

[planning-to-sexual-and-reproductive-rights/0690A9DC8A5C383032C89A1BC4E4DD91/core-reader](https://www.plannedparenthood.org/planned-parenthood-wisconsin/about-us/80yearsppw/i/planned-parenthood-historical-timeline) .

This is a photograph of a demonstration outside of the World Health Organization held by pro-birth control protesters in 1969. They hold signs saying: “Free the women of the world, legalize birth control,” and “W.H.O. does what about birth control?” etc. As an example of the feminist movement’s role in influencing the public’s opinions and actions, this photograph is useful to explain the effort it took to gain access to birth control in America, and all around the world.

Planned Parenthood Clinic. Photograph. Accessed April 18, 2020.

<https://www.plannedparenthood.org/planned-parenthood-wisconsin/about-us/80yearsppw/i/planned-parenthood-historical-timeline> .

This is a photograph of an early Planned Parenthood clinic, featuring an employee distributing information about contraception and family planning. The Planned Parenthood clinics were a major aspect of the birth control movement, and images such as this one serve as evidence of their efforts to spread information and healthcare to anyone who needed it. This image is a useful visual source to accompany the information about the feminist movement’s efforts as well.

Pope Paul, VI. "Speech on Humanae Vitae." Speech, July 31, 1968. YouTube. Last modified July 31, 1968. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UG3V8Cp\\_kSw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UG3V8Cp_kSw).

This is an excerpt from Pope Paul VI's speech in 1968. Throughout the birth control movement, the Pope maintained the ban on all forms of contraception. In this speech, he talks about the church's views on contraception and why he believes it to be wrong. The religious objections from the Catholic Church were one of the many barriers facing the birth control movement, and this impactful speech demonstrates the height of those objections. This film excerpt came from the Catholic News Service.

Press, Associated. "Discoverer of Pill Discounts Critics." *Ohio Mansfield News Journal* (Mansfield, OH), January 18, 1970.

<https://access-newspaperarchive-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/us/ohio/mansfield/ohio-mansfield-news-journal/1970/01-18/page-46/discoverer-of-pill-discounts-critics?psb=relevance>.

This is a newspaper article from 1970 about John Rock. It discusses his opinions on critics of the oral contraceptive and how he responds to their concerns. The article helps to identify Rock's perspective and the way in which he intertwined his Catholic faith with his scientific studies to justify and support the Pill. John Rock’s religious and scientific perspectives were a major component in the birth control movement, as he helped to shape public opinion in addition to his medical work, and this article highlights that aspect of his career.

"Revolution in a Pill: 50-Year Anniversary of Birth Control Pill." Video. YouTube. Posted by CBS Early Show, May 6, 2010. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KmYSNOEsukM>.

This clip from a CBS show gives details about the birth control pill in the 60s. The documentary this clip was taken from was made in 2010 and focused on the social concerns and long-term effects of the oral contraceptive. The particular clip used here

features historian Ellen Chesler discussing the general public opinion on women's sexuality in the 60s and 70s and the social resistance the oral contraceptive received because of it. Because social resistance played a large role in the history of birth control, this source is useful as a summary of the "morality" of the oral contraceptive.

Sanger, Margaret. *What Every Girl Should Know*. 1916.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/What-Every-Girl-Should-Know>.

The cover of a 1916 issue of *What Every Girl Should Know*, Margaret Sanger's publication aimed at teaching girls and women about their own bodies. These articles were very influential in the founding of Sanger's career and of the birth control movement. They serve as evidence of the lasting impact Sanger had on the movement in her writing, and as useful examples of the many writings she published on the subject of sex education and birth control.

"Woman Attached to Chain." Cartoon. *Birth Control Review*.

<https://library.csun.edu/SCA/Peek-in-the-Stacks/sanger>.

The cover of an issue of Margaret Sanger's *Birth Control Review* from 1923. The cover features an editorial cartoon of a woman held down by the weight of "unwanted babies." It was found in the CSUN Library. Margaret Sanger's publications were extremely influential in the early 1900s, and sources such as this one, featuring an impactful and argumentative image, serve as great examples of the powerful nature of her career.

Sanger, Margaret H. "Interview with Margaret Sanger." By Mike Wallace. YouTube. Last modified September 21, 1957. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CrkrkSiFApA>.

This clip includes a section of an interview done by Margaret Sanger in 1957 on the Mike Wallace Report. In this interview, Sanger gives some of her opinions of the specifics of abortion and birth control. This source was used as supporting evidence of Sanger's claims and beliefs, as well as a background into her public opinions on topics important to the movement at the time.

"Morality and Birth Control." February 1918. Accessed April 18, 2020.

[http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/documents/speech\\_morality\\_and\\_bc.php](http://www.nyu.edu/projects/sanger/documents/speech_morality_and_bc.php).

In this document, written by Margaret Sanger, she argues in support of birth control in the context of women's power and autonomy. Sanger specifically states, "woman can never call herself free until she is mistress of her own body. Just so long as man dictates and controls the standards of sex morality, just so long will man control the world". This argument is crucial to the project as it is a clear statement of the opinion Margaret Sanger held.

"Women Chained to Weight." Cartoon. *Birth Control Review*, 1923.

<https://library.csun.edu/SCA/Peek-in-the-Stacks/sange>.

This cartoon, found in one of Margaret Sanger's publications from the early twentieth century, features a woman chained to a weight labelled "unwanted babies." Sanger's message was that all women deserved to take control of their own lives, and

they couldn't do that without taking control of their reproductive health, and that message can be seen in this editorial cartoon.

Sedlak, Jim. Interview. Chicago, IL. February 24, 2020.

We conducted a personal interview over the telephone with Jim Sedlak, the Vice President of the American Life League, about his views on the oral contraceptive and the birth control movement. He discussed the health concerns around the birth control pill, his religious and ethical reasoning against the Pill, actions he has taken to express and enforce his organization's opposition to it, and the history of the pro-life movement against Planned Parenthood and contraception.

"Social Changes Lead Married Women into Labor Force." Infographic. Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. April 1, 2006.

<https://www.stlouisfed.org/publications/regional-economist/april-2006/social-changes-lead-married-women-into-labor-force>.

This graph, created by the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, depicts the labor force participation rate data spanning from 1955 to 2005. Focusing on different categories of women in the United States, such as unmarried, married, and widowed, it shows the growth of women's participation in the workforce over time. As a result of the birth control movement and the rising popularity of the oral contraceptive, the number of women, married or not, in the U.S. workforce grew rapidly. This data came from the U.S. Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Tetlow, William H. *Planned Parenthood Publicity Director Marcia Goldstein holds up an advertisement for family planning services*. 1967. Photograph.

A photograph of Marcia Goldstein, the Publicity Director of Planned Parenthood in 1967, holding up a sign that reads "You can decide how many children you want. Planned Parenthood can help with information on birth control and infertility services." Goldstein advocates for Planned Parenthood and the new idea of "family planning" promoted by Sanger and other feminists.

Underwood & Underwood. *Margaret Sanger Surrounded by Twelve Other Women*. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/93504866/>.

Depicting Margaret Sanger surrounded by twelve women, this image shows some of Sanger's fellow birth control advocates, around her desk, in a year from 1920 and 1940. This image gives an idea as to how Margaret Sanger's office looked in the years she dedicated to fighting for women's reproductive freedom. This photograph is a powerful image of some of the most influential women in the birth control movement, and it serves as an interesting view into their lives and careers.

Secondary Sources:

Bean, Frank D. Review of *The Contraceptive Revolution* by Charles F. Westoff and Norman B. Ryder. "A Chronicle of Change." *Family Planning Perspectives* 9, no. 5 (1977): 239-40. Accessed January 12, 2020. doi:10.2307/2134439.

Frank D. Bean is a Research Associate and an Associate Professor at the Population Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin. In this review, he highlights fertility patterns and trends of the contraceptive revolution described by Charles F. Westoff and Norman B. Ryder in *The Contraceptive Revolution*. He mentions the shift in attitudes towards abortion and sterilization also included in the book. Using statistical evidence and scientific findings, Bean summarizes Westoff and Ryder's argument for the social, economic, and scientific change that occurred over the course of the contraceptive revolution.

Briggs, Laura. *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

In *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*, Laura Briggs explores Puerto Rico's relationship with the mainland, taking gender, reproduction, and sexuality into consideration. She cites topics such as overpopulation, nationalism, and feminism to examine the course of Puerto Rican colonialism in the 1900s. This topic broadened our understanding of how reproductive practices could influence international or interstate relations, and how different approaches and technologies were made to solve the rising issue of overpopulation. The concepts of feminism, gender, and reproduction are central to my argument on the oral contraceptive and the social controversies it instigated. Briggs suggests that many of the U.S. imperial efforts were motivated by family and sexuality.

Goldin, Claudia, and Lawrence F. Katz. "The Power of the Pill: Oral Contraceptives and Women's Career and Marriage Decisions." *Journal of Political Economy* 110, no. 4 (2002): 730-70. Accessed January 8, 2020. doi:10.1086/340778.

Written by Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz from Harvard University and the National Bureau of Economic Research, this article delves into the usage of the birth control pill by young college graduate women and the correlation between the increase in women joining professional programs and the rise in age of first marriage for college graduate women in the U.S. Goldin and Katz demonstrate the role of the birth control pill in extending women's opportunities beyond the domestic sphere. This article strengthened our argument for the connection between the feminist movement and the oral contraceptive. It highlights the economic impact the Pill has on women pursuing careers or educational opportunities outside of the household.

Hsu, S.C. "Book Review Department : *The Time Has Come*, by John Rock, M.D., with an Introduction by Christian A. Herter, Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1963, 208 Pp." *International Social Work* 11, no. 2 (April 1968): 81-84. doi:10.1177/002087286801100214.



In this review, S.C. Hsu outlines the contents of *The Time Has Come* by Dr. John Rock, a Catholic gynecologist. According to Hsu, the book is divided into four parts: the central crisis, the doctrine conflict, the public policy conflict, and research development. As a follower of Catholicism but also a key figure in the development of the oral contraceptive, Dr. Rock had a unique perspective which allowed him to provide insight into the opposition between Catholics and non-Catholics on the issue of birth control. We used this source as an indication of Dr. Rock's studies and beliefs, and as corroboration for other research on the Catholic birth control controversy.

Johnson, R. Christian. "Feminism, Philanthropy and Science in the Development of The Oral Contraceptive Pill." *Pharmacy in History* 19, no. 2 (1977): 63-78. [www.jstor.org/stable/41109030](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41109030).

In this journal article from *Pharmacy in History*, a quarterly journal publishing pieces about the history of drugs and pharmaceuticals, and the science, medicine, and industry surrounding them, R. Christian Johnson examines the feminist ideology behind the development of the oral contraceptive pill and the figures and ambitions that helped it come to fruition. The religious controversy tied to the roots of the Pill is important to its social history and early development. The article provides useful background information about the science behind the Pill as well as the evolution of the Catholic Church's view of the Pill over the years.

Kelly, Timothy. Review of *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* by Leslie Woodcock Tentler. *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 4 (2006): 1237-240. Accessed January 12, 2020. [www.jstor.org/stable/3790271](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3790271).

In this review, Timothy Kelly from the Department of History at Saint Vincent College summarizes the work presented by Leslie Woodcock Tentler in her book, *Catholics and Contraception: An American History*. Kelly includes details from the book on the Catholic birth control controversy, the preference of the rhythm method over the oral contraceptive, and the consequences of the birth control ban upheld by Paul VI. Tentler introduces the concept of family planning to complete her summary of the Catholic views on birth control. This source was useful to our disclosure of the Catholic opposition to the oral contraceptive and the evolution of the Catholic perspective.

McGregor, Deborah. Review of *The Fertility Doctor: John Rock and the Reproductive Revolution* by Margaret Marsh and Wanda Ronner. *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21, no. 2 (2012): 343-45. Accessed January 12, 2020. [www.jstor.org/stable/41475090](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41475090).

This review by Deborah McGregor from Indiana University illustrates Margaret Marsh and Wanda Ronner's arguments from *The Fertility Doctor: John Rock and the Reproductive Revolution*. She gives a brief overview of Dr. Rock's work and contraceptive studies in partnership with Gregory Pincus. Through her synopsis of Rock's career, she identifies his role in the reproductive revolution and his scientific contribution to the development of the Pill. His experimentation with hormones and different approaches comprised a significant portion of the research leading to the Pill's creation.

Mosher, William D., Charles F. Westoff, and National Center for Health Statistics (U.S.). 1982. *Trends In Contraceptive Practice, United States, 1965-1976*. Hyattsville, Md.: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Office of Health Research, Statistics, and Technology, National Center for Health Statistics.

This source is composed of statistics regarding the use of contraception by married women ages 15-44. The collected data on methods of contraception contributed to my research on contraceptive trends and shifts. The data presented in this document was gathered from the National Survey of Family Growth, Series 23, No. 10. The years of the collection were 1965, 1973, and 1976. Methods of contraception listed in the survey include the oral contraceptive pill, male sterilization, the rhythm method, and female sterilization. The document offers a statistical standpoint and the presented data can evidence many of the patterns observed during the 1960s and 1970s.

Reed, Lori Stephens, and Paula Saukko. *Governing the Female Body: Gender, Health, and Networks of Power*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010.

The book provides a detailed analysis on the racial, gender, and socioeconomic biases associated with scientific and medical advancements in women's health. Chapter 7, "The Pill in Puerto Rico and Mainland United States: Negotiating Discourses of Risk and Decolonization", provides evidence in support of the idea that a substantial part of the development of the "pill" paved the way for exploitation of certain populations and ethical concern. Arguments in this chapter highlight the idea that the Pill was not only a revolutionary medical advancement but also a turning point in women's history and advocacy.

Reiterman, Carl. "Birth Control and Catholics." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 4, no. 2 (1965): 213-33. doi:10.2307/1384139.

The article provides ample reasoning behind the conflicted view of the Catholic church towards birth control. This source uses the words and ideas of various qualified figures, including authors, scientists, and religious leaders, to demonstrate how Catholic values can intersect with the use and distribution of contraceptives of any kind. This article allowed us to explore the Catholic opposition to birth control more deeply and with arguments from several other articles, books, and religious passages.

Tuana, Nancy. "The Speculum of Ignorance: The Women's Health Movement and Epistemologies of Ignorance." *Hypatia* 21, no. 3 (2006): 1-19. Accessed January 9, 2020. [www.jstor.org/stable/3810948](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810948).

This article was published in the Summer 2016 issue of *Hypatia*. Nancy Tuana discusses the role of feminism in the women's health movement and the study of ignorance. Tuana provides background on the women's health movement and relates ignorance with resistance movements generally. She argues against the characterization of the women's health movement as a liberation movement and labels it instead as an epistemological movement. She describes the motivations behind the movement and how feminist objectives played out over the course of the mid-late 1900s. We utilized this source to provide background and a different perspective on the women's health movement and the historical context of the Pill's development.

Watkins, Elizabeth Siegel. *On the Pill: A Social History of Oral Contraceptives, 1950-1970*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Elizabeth Siegel Watkins is a professor of the history of health sciences at the University of California, San Francisco. In this book, she investigates the parts of the history of the Pill that are often overlooked or overshadowed by its popularly perceived nature as a revolutionary medical achievement. The book gave us a broader understanding of its reception by the public in the 1960s when it was first put on the market. By focusing specifically on two decades, Watkins is able to engage in a thorough analysis of the social, cultural, and economic impact of the Pill, including how it was used and accessed by women of different social classes.