MARGARET SANGER: FEMINIST HEROINE, PUBLIC NUISANCE, OR SOCIAL ENGINEER?

by

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This thesis will examine the life and career of Margaret Sanger in her capacity as pioneer of the American birth control movement. The thesis will present divergent viewpoints from both an historic and legal perspective as to the strategies and effectiveness of her nearly 50 year campaign to bring legal birth control techniques and information to the United States.

While most of the authors and articles discussed appear to agree on the facts of Mrs. Sanger’s actions and achievements, there is a wide variety of interpretation as to the intentions and ultimate ramifications of these accomplishments.

The emphasis of the thesis will be to go beyond the differing perspectives of the cited historians/authors/legal scholars to analytically investigate the biases, circumstances, and ideological motivations behind their works and assertions. In many ways the ambiguities surrounding Margaret Sanger’s place in history mirror the contemporary confusion around the concepts of birth control, feminism, eugenics, and direct political action. Through examination of her legacy, this thesis will attempt to present a spectrum of continuing political and philosophical debate on a pertinent social topic.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my great-grandmother Francis Baden who was one of Margaret Sanger’s first clients’ at her Brownsville clinic, my grandmother Bettie Harman who instilled in me her love of learning for its own sake, my father John Gross who believed teaching was a noble profession, my mother Diane Sansoterra who taught me I was limited only by my own imagination, and to my husband and son, Christoph and Baeden Schinke, for their endless support and understanding.
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INTRODUCTION

Margaret Sanger: Feminist Heroine, Public Nuisance or Social Engineer?

To most contemporary members of Western civilization, the concept of birth control may not strike a particularly controversial chord. To the modern, democratic mind, the Biblical exhortation to “be fruitful and multiply” resounds as a decidedly anachronistic remnant. However, only in the last 100 years has a ‘natural family size’ of 11-18 children per woman been largely replaced with a family unit of 2.1 children\(^1\). This rapid and radical social change can be primarily traced in the United States to the determined life work of one woman, Margaret Sanger.

More than ninety years after she began her mission, Margaret Sanger continues to provoke historical research and controversy. Some of that interest may be attributable to the fact that each new generation reinterprets historical events to suit the prevailing \_\_zeitgeist\_. The accepted facts surrounding her work do not generally vary, but the political and social implications can and do change with the intention of the researcher and author. Depending on the political, social and religious attitudes of individual historians, Margaret Sanger is variously characterized as a courageous feminist heroine, a brazen public nuisance, or a calculating social engineer. The purpose of this historiography is to examine what the academic literature says about each of these characterizations.

Feminist Heroine – Pros and Cons

Before considering Margaret Sanger’s particular contribution to the birth control movement, one must realize that throughout human history there has been deep concern about uncontrolled reproductive fertility. As noted by Rilma Buckman, “In ancient Egypt, contraceptive recipes were recommended in the Petri papyrus of 1850 B.C. and the Ebers papyrus of 1550 B.C. Contraceptive methods are also described in the ancient documents of India, China, Persia, and the early Hebrews.”

Margaret Sanger was not a scientist or a doctor and she did not invent any new types of birth control. In the school of historical thought which would grant her heroine status, it was solely in her role of distributor of other’s knowledge that she made her contribution. The United States of her youth was a deeply divided country, by turns dramatically progressive and staunchly conservative. Its traditions, and especially its legal traditions, were not yet fully formed. As such, the United States often looked to its more well-established common law cousin, Great Britain, for legal guidance. This was particularly the case in matters of public morality. In 1868, the English common law on obscenity was articulated by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, “the test is whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences.” This was a rather broad interpretation of a subject which had previously been considered a matter of private discretion. Following

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3 As quoted in Alvah Sulloway, Birth Control and Catholic Doctrine, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 12.
England's lead, in 1873 the United States passed the “Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles for Immoral Use”, better known as the Comstock Act.

The Act was presented to Congress by self-appointed anti-vice crusader Anthony Comstock, who used public indignation over explicit pornographic images to expand the definition of obscenity to cover information about birth control methods. As noted by Alvah Sulloway in *Birth Control and Catholic Doctrine*, “Federal Comstock laws became hypersensitive instruments for the enforcement of prudery under the guise of purity.” The Act led to a veritable epidemic of similar state statutes, until within a few years, every state with the exception of New Mexico passed laws which restricted the distribution of information about contraceptive methods as well as the contraceptive methods themselves. As Sulloway states, “in no other country of the world had contraceptive information *per se* been classified with penalized indecency.”

Prior to 1913, when Margaret Sanger began a career that culminated with her position as leader of the American birth control movement, there was a general belief that God alone had the power and the right to control the conception of new life. Alvah Sulloway opines that Margaret Sanger’s proclamation that this power should be exercised by human beings was “a thesis as revolutionary in it’s implications as the first pronouncements of Luther or Darwin.”

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5 Ibid, p.12
6 Ibid, 4.
In her book *Margaret Sanger: Rebel with a Cause*, Virginia Coigney clearly supports the notion of Mrs. Sanger as heroine, writing that although she was “born into an age when babies were referred to as ‘little strangers’ and children were encouraged to believe that storks really did bring the endless company of brothers and sisters, Margaret Sanger not only talked openly and sex and birth, but she did it from the public platform.”7

Any study of Margaret Sanger’s role as feminist heroine must necessarily take into consideration her own written works, especially that of her autobiography.8 As an exceptionally private person, most historians have been forced to rely on Mrs. Sanger’s own assertions as to her actions, philosophies, and intentions. In her autobiography, Sanger writes about the feminist roots of her struggle and describes her early disenchantment with the socialist party. During a discussion about the demands of striking workers, which constituted the beginning of her political activism, she notes “I was enough of a feminist to resent the fact that woman and her requirements were not being taken into account in reconstructing this new world order about which they were all talking.”9

Experiencing frustration with her perception of the male-driven agendas of labor unions, Mrs. Sanger made her first steps towards the cause that occupied her for the remainder of her life. In 1913, she began publishing a magazine called the *Woman Rebel* which was entirely dedicated to the interests of working women and boasted “No Gods, No Masters.” She soon discovered that one of the greatest problems for working women

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was their own unchecked fertility. No matter what kind of monetary raises they might win from their bosses, it was rarely enough to keep up with an ever-expanding brood of children.\textsuperscript{10} To this discovery she added her experiences as a public health nurse during which she repeatedly saw women make themselves ill by attempting to self-abort unwanted offspring. As explained by Carole McCann in her book \textit{Birth Control Politics in the United States, 1916-1945}, “many socialist-feminist birth control supporters including Sanger, saw themselves as disrupting the capitalist conspiracy to keep the working class poor and multiplying by instructing working class women in the secrets of the rich [effective methods of birth control].”\textsuperscript{11} While the Comstock Laws forbade any distribution of birth control information, there were always ways around the prohibition for those with means. For poor women, on the other hand, Sanger noted that knowledge of contraception was practically nil, and "pregnancy was a chronic condition."\textsuperscript{12}

Linda Gordon validated the feminist basis of Margaret Sanger’s in \textit{Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America}.\textsuperscript{13} While Gordon finds fault with some of Mrs. Sanger’s tactics, she believes that her actions fit the criteria of feminism, defined as “a critique of male supremacy, formed and offered in the light of a will to change it, which in turn assumes a conviction that it is changeable.”\textsuperscript{14} In

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 106. \\
\textsuperscript{12} Sanger, \textit{An Autobiography}, p. 115 \\
\textsuperscript{14} Gordon, \textit{Woman’s Body, Woman’s Rights}, 10.
\end{flushright}
Margaret Sanger’s opinion, poor women had always been the chief sufferers under the Comstock Laws prohibiting contraceptives.

Alvah Sulloway concurs with Linda Gordon’s analysis of Mrs. Sanger’s feminism. He writes that

birth control, in its essentials, was a woman’s battle waged by women on behalf of women against men, and this fact made the new morality part and parcel of a militant feminism. Firing Mrs. Sanger in her crusading zeal was the knowledge that contraceptives would transform the status of married women from that of mere breeding machines to that of human beings with some measure of control over their biological destiny.\(^\text{15}\)

The birth control controversy erupted at a critical juncture in the larger debate on women’s roles that engaged the country. In these years, a national coalition of support developed for a constitutional amendment on women’s suffrage. Mrs. Sanger’s provocative actions, which included opening the first American birth control clinic in 1916, opened up another realm of progressive female empowerment.\(^\text{16}\) Ellen Chesler writes in *Woman of Valor* that the media coverage following Mrs. Sanger’s arrest for violation of the Comstock Laws “created a dramatic new public controversy and compelled women who were already politically mobilized to deal frankly and openly with issues of sexuality and contraception for the first time. She gave them a new cause.”\(^\text{17}\)

As David Kennedy notes in *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger*, it was at this time that the various feminist reform efforts began to coalesce,
particularly within a certain social strata: “middle-class women brought to the birth control movement the techniques of organization and propaganda they had learned in other women’s movements, like temperance and women’s suffrage.” 18 As Kennedy demonstrates, it was Margaret Sanger’s gentile countenance and demeanor which allowed her to access this wellspring of middle-class energy and resources.19 She was able to court and sustain media attention in a way that other, less refined-appearing proponents were unable. During her trial and after her release from prison, she successfully brought the issue of birth control to the forefront of the American consciousness.

Such efforts to educate the public were fraught with difficulties. Margaret Sanger’s first problem was not merely to sell birth control to the American people, but to gain a hearing. Alvah Sulloway opines that “without Mrs. Sanger’s resourcefulness and forthright leadership, her determination to speak out, and her gallant courage in the face of overwhelming opposition, it is inconceivable that the movement could have achieved the success that it did.”20

Mrs. Sanger set out to create an organization based on grass-roots support and to lobby for the legalization of doctor-prescribed birth control. She enlisted influential individuals who could frame the issue as a public policy matter and place it on the national agenda. In 1921, she convened the First American Birth Control Conference, which was attended by social scientists, physicians, eugenicists, suffragists, and

19 Kenendy, Birth Control in America, 110.
20 Sulloway, Birth Control, 21.
reformers. The real headlines were created when the New York City police raided the concluding ceremonies and arrested Mrs. Sanger. When she appeared at the rescheduled event a few days later, thousands came to hear her speak. As Chesler states, the national press reported her call for motherhood was based on “dignity and choice, not ignorance and chance.”

The media continued to serve as her most effective public forum via lectures, newspaper publicity, and radio programs. As noted by Hazel Benjamin, “many times these lectures were delivered in the face of local opposition, which gave them additional publicity value and tended to increase solidarity among friends of the movement.” Further, Ellen Chesler writes that Margaret Sanger “turned birth control into a free-speech as well as a sexual liberation issue and won support from important liberal civil libertarians.”

In 1929, when civic authorities in Boston intervened and refused her the right to speak at Ford Hall, she dramatically stood silent, with a band of tape over her mouth, while the Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. rose besides her and read a brief prepared statement, “As a pioneer fighting for a cause, I believe in free speech. As a propagandist, I see immense advantages in being gagged. It silences me, but makes millions of others talk and think about a cause in which I live.” Rilma Buckman praised Mrs. Sanger’s bravery “the audacity of Margaret Sanger, an unknown nurse, flinging out

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21 Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 204.
the challenge: ‘I will be heard. No matter what the costs, I will be heard’” – that audacity was breathtaking. And yet it was prophetic.”

Barbara Abrash comments on Margaret Sanger’s feminist heroine credentials and notes that “throughout a long career marked by pragmatic compromises and alliances, Sanger held unswervingly to two principles – that women have a fundamental right to control their own bodies and that, regardless of economic circumstances, they should have full access to birth control information and services.”

If the final analysis of Mrs. Sanger’s legacy is to be made in terms of accomplishment, perhaps the most convincing argument for the elevation of Mrs. Sanger to feminine heroine can be found in the raw statistics. Ellen Chesler points out that in 1930, Mrs. Sanger’s Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City serviced almost twice as many patients as all of the rest of the clinics in the country combined.

While there is compelling historical opinion on the matter of Mrs. Sanger’s feminist heroine credentials, several historians have spent their careers denigrating Margaret Sanger’s achievements and intentions. They argue that Mrs. Sanger’s strategies and temperament actually hindered, rather than helped, the cause of birth control in the United States. Most of their arguments are based upon the supposition that legalized birth control was an eventual historical certainty.

To fully comprehend the difficulties faced by the birth control movement, it is essential to note that the entire concept of femininity, especially as regards political

27 Chesler, Woman of Valor, 230.
activity, was in terrific flux during this era. It was a time in which women’s influence sprang largely from their role as wife, mother, and moral role model; any discussion of sexuality was regarded as degrading to women, and therefore a threat to their power at its very source. As Carole McCann makes clear,

in the 1920’s and ‘30’s, as the political opportunities for feminist activism diminished [following passage of the 19th Amendment], other organizations in which feminist participated such as the League of Women Voters, the National Women’s Party, and the Children’s Bureau – refused requests to endorse birth control publicly, contending it was too controversial. Birth control threatened to undermine the ideology of feminine chastity that grounded the political authority of those organizations.28

There was great fear within these organizations that any discussion touching on the taboo topic of sexuality, even within the clinical realm of reproduction, would tarnish the reputations of their members. If their good names were besmirched, it would logically follow that their good works would be impeded as well. It was not merely a question of squeamishness which restrained these organizations, but a sincere fear of political impotency should their image of feminine purity be lost. Into this sensitive balance stepped Mrs. Sanger, like the proverbial bull in a china shop. For reasons resulting from both her particular family history and inherent temperament, she felt none of the usual inhibitions surrounding the subject of human sexuality and its consequences.

Historians who seek to discredit Mrs. Sanger’s achievements tend to attack her based on what they perceive as her indelicate ambition and unladylike drive for acknowledgement. Linda Gordon, a long-standing critic of Mrs. Sanger’s tactics, posits that “one key difference between Sanger and her radical friends who saw the importance

28 McCann, Birth Control Politics, 18.
of birth control was that she was dissatisfied with her role as a rank-and-file socialist organizer and was searching for something more like a career. Many biographers have commented on Margaret Sanger’s drive for recognition.”

Ms. Gordon continues in the same vein of critique, “Sanger’s differences with the organization [Planned Parenthood] boiled down to an instinctive militarism she could not shed. Birth control’s successes had only confirmed her convictions that gains were won and public opinion changed through confrontation and open conflict.”

The historian most intent on destroying Mrs. Sanger’s putative feminine heroine status is David M. Kennedy. In *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger*, Kennedy posits that any limitations of birth control’s success can be laid directly at the feet of Margaret Sanger’s “persistent emotionalism.” He argues that she retarded the success of the movement by virtue of her combative personality and that she was fundamentally unable to relinquish an iota of control to those who otherwise would have provided financial and political support. Like Gordon, Kennedy seems to find fault with Mrs. Sanger’s macho tactics, “Margaret Sanger thrived on rejection. She needed enemies. She found joy in evoking revulsion and shock.”

David Kennedy believes that it was Mrs. Sanger’s inability to compromise or restrain herself which provoked birth control’s most prominent nemesis, the Catholic Church. He writes that “Margaret Sanger often forsook rational explanation of the benefits birth control could effect in order to impugn in acidic terms the eligibility of

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30 Ibid., 358.
32 Ibid., 271.
chaste, infertile clerics to speak on contraception. Perhaps a less obsessed woman might have initiated a more reasonable discussion.”

Kennedy seeks to expand his critique of Mrs. Sanger’s disposition to her contemporaries as well. He notes disdainfully that “she was characteristically American. With so many of her generation, Margaret Sanger often allowed her ‘Emotional Me’ to triumph over her ‘Head Me’.” He postulates that Mrs. Sanger’s emotionalism was a detriment to the birth control movement, rather than as some historians assert, its engine and motivator.

The greatest scorn, however, Kennedy reserves for his declaration that by controlling the flow of information about her life, Mrs. Sanger was able to perpetuate some troublesome and false fables about her contributions to the movement. His research indicates that Mrs. Sanger was concerned about her image and reputation from the earliest days of the birth control controversy. He indicates that this persistent concern led her to represent herself in a grander light than would be otherwise warranted. Mr. Kennedy comments that Mrs. Sanger “worked to enhance her symbolic role, justifying the hardships she had suffered in her private life and legitimizing her claim to sole leadership in the birth control movement. To this end, she occasionally perpetuated some transparent myths.”

33 Kennedy, *Birth Control in America*, 268.
34 Ibid., 273.
35 Ibid., 18.
Professor Kennedy notes that despite her claims that no reliable information on birth control existed in the United States prior to her crusade,

the Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General’s Office in 1898 listed nearly two full pages of books and articles on the prevention of contraception. These works discussed such methods as the condom, vaginal douching, suppositories, tampons, and the ‘womb veil’ or cervical pessary. No real improvement was made on these basic techniques until the advent of the pill in the 1950’s.36

Positing that by “making birth control seem an innovation she had personally imported from France”, Kennedy alleges that “she suppressed some important historical facts: that contraception was widely practiced among certain social groups in the U.S. as early as the 19th Century; and that the medical profession did have some contraceptive knowledge available.”37 Professor Kennedy also notes that Emma Goldman had been advocating contraception for more than 10 years prior to Sanger’s involvement.38

Mr. Kennedy further contends that Mrs. Sanger’s obstinate refusal to share control of the clinics that she established was largely responsible for slowing down the dispersal of contraceptive information.39 In a scathing censure, he charges that in 1930, only 13 of the 75 American medical schools gave regular courses in contraception. At least part of the responsibility for the tragedy of continuing medical ignorance had to be laid to Margaret Sanger. Had she relinquished control of the clinic to Dickinson [a representative of the medical establishment] in 1925, she would have facilitated research, opened up the best medical journals

36 Ibid., 19.
37 Ibid., 25.
38 Ibid., 19.
39 Indeed, a body of contraceptive knowledge existed before Mrs. Sanger began her quest. In 1825, a British neo-Malthusian, Richard Carlile published the first book in the English language devoted exclusively to contraceptive theory and knowledge. In 1832 when Dr. Charles Knowlton became the first American to write on the subject, the doctor was imprisoned by the state of Massachusetts for a term of three months hard labor. In 1877, a young British couple reprinted Dr. Knowlton’s book and their subsequent obscenity conviction in England became a cause celebre.
for the publication of test results and made the clinic much more effective as a training center.\textsuperscript{40}

James Reed reproves Mrs. Sanger not for her hawkish or unyielding tactics as does David Kennedy, but rather for her idealism. Mr. Reed notes that Mrs. Sanger’s total focus on birth control as a means to a utopian society failed to take into account “the possibility that evil might continue to exist in a society of sexually well-adjusted adults and of children blessed with health and love.”\textsuperscript{41}

While historians may differ in their interpretations of Mrs. Sanger’s propriety, there is little debate about her overall effectiveness. Even the authors who find greatest fault with her as a person concede that by design or by luck, she was the right person at the right time in regards to the birth control movement. Her most strident critic, David Kennedy, after writing exhaustively of her character flaws, is forced to concede that given the political climate of the 1920’s “in temperament and personality, she was the ideal figure to lead and sustain the birth control movement in that early phase.”\textsuperscript{42} In addition, he grudgingly admits that extreme emotionalism which he so despises “carried certain advantages. It enhanced her extraordinary energy and it contributed to her charismatic leadership of the…movement.”\textsuperscript{43}

In a similar vein, Ms. Gordon, in response to her own critique of Mrs. Sanger’s ambition, does allow that “among men in most situations that kind of drive would have

\textsuperscript{40} Kennedy, \textit{Birth Control in America}, 211.

\textsuperscript{41} James Reed, \textit{From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society since 1830}, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978), 139.

\textsuperscript{42} Kennedy, \textit{Birth Control in America}, 271.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 273.
seemed so commonplace that it would have gone unmentioned.”44 Further, in concluding her book Gordon grants “if she [Mrs. Sanger] was opportunistic, she never violated her own principles. She was eclectic, but consistent. As late as 1939, she repeated what she had first said in 1919: that birth control could solve the key social problems at the roots.”45

One could argue that the definitive comment on Mrs. Sanger’s proper place in history was delivered by a former antagonist and representative of the medical establishment with whom she tangled so frequently, Dr. Robert Dickinson. When Mrs. Sanger received the Town Hall award in 1937, Dr. Dickinson offered her this tribute: “among foremost health measures originating or developing outside medicine like ether under Morton, microbe hunting under Pasteur, nursing under Nightingale, Margaret Sanger’s worldwide service hold high rank and is destined eventually to fullest medical recognition.”46

Despite their personal attitudes towards Mrs. Sanger’s methods and tactics, historians uniformly grant her respect as an icon of early feminine empowerment. Accomplished amid much personal sacrifice and pain, Mrs. Sanger’s single-minded pursuit of accessible birth control justifies her elevation to feminist heroine status in the pantheon of American womanhood.

46 Kennedy, Birth Control in America, 217.
Not many people in history can claim the simultaneous enmity of the Catholic Church and the United States judiciary, as well as Comrade Josef Stalin and the Marxist party. Margaret Sanger was one such individual. Far from seeking to pacify these powerful foes, she spent her life battling against all three groups in the courts of law and of public opinion. While they were unanimous in opposing Margaret Sanger’s actions, each of these adversaries did so following their own separate and philosophically-diverse agendas. However, each attempted to discredit Mrs. Sanger on the grounds that her work within the birth control movement constituted at the very least a public nuisance, or at its very worst, outright murder.

The common law definition of public nuisance is “something that unreasonably interferes with the health, safety, comfort, morals, or convenience of the community and that is treated as a criminal violation.” Whatever cogent arguments can be made for Mrs. Sanger’s ultimate moral and legal vindication, there can be little doubt that Mrs. Sanger caused extensive interference to the convenience of three powerful entities: the Catholic church, the United States judiciary, and Josef Stalin and the Marxist party.

The Catholic Church

From the earliest days of her crusade, Margaret Sanger found the Catholic Church to be her most combative and unrelenting enemy. Carole McCann writes that as early as 1914, the National Council of Catholic Women pledged to fight any efforts made

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anywhere in the United States to repeal laws prohibiting the “addiction” and “sin” of birth control. 48 Similarly, Ellen Chesler notes that a pamphlet issued by the National Catholic Welfare Conference condemned birth control in the same year. The author cited authoritative testimony from such far-flung witnesses as Saint Augustine, whom he quoted as having said the use of contraceptives makes “a prostitute out of the wife and an adulterer out of the husband” and to Bernard Shaw who called it “mutual masturbation.” 49

The Catholic Church, mindful of the biblical directive to their members to “be fruitful and multiply” blocked any attempts at an organized political, legal, or social movement geared towards birth control. Chesler reveals that Father John Ryan, whose mission was to articulate Church doctrine on questions of public policy, reserved his harshest words for the consequences of small families, claiming that they “foster a degree of egotism and enervating self-indulgence, which in turns diminishes the incentives to labor and reduces industrial production.” 50 He was unable to cite canonical precedent and his were essentially social objections, no different from Teddy Roosevelt on one hand or of orthodox Marxists on the other. 51

David Kennedy’s research reveals that the Church was so opposed to the topic of birth control that Church members were prepared to violate the First Amendment constitutional guarantee of free speech. 52 On November 13, 1921, Monsignor Dineen

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48 McCann, Birth Control Politics, 51.
49 As quoted in Chesler, Woman of Valor, 212.
50 As quoted in Chesler, Woman of Valor, 212.
51 Chesler, Woman of Valor, 211.
52 Kennedy, Birth Control in America, 97.
and Archbishop Hayes of the New York diocese arranged to have the Town Hall shut down by the police rather than allow Mrs. Sanger to present a panel entitled “Birth Control: Is it Moral?” Monsignor Dineen gave an interview to the press following this incident in which he posited that “decent and clean-minded people would not discuss a subject such as birth control in public.” Mr. Kennedy posits that in this stance “the church confused its moral obligations to its members with its political obligations in a democracy.”

The Catholic Church issued statement after statement against Mrs. Sanger and her movement. Not content to question only her morality, McCann imparts that Roman Catholics clerics referred to Sangerists as murderers. In 1935, an Archbishop was quoted in the New York Herald Tribune comparing “Birth Control Leagues to ‘Dillinger Mobs’ saying that both were organized to commit murder.”

To understand this struggle, one must be aware that Margaret Sanger was one of eleven children born to an extremely religious Catholic mother. Mrs. Sanger always thought that the stress of bearing so many children had contributed to her mother’s premature death in 1899 at the age of 48. In My Fight for Birth Control, she wrote that “I associated poverty, toil, unemployment, drunkenness, cruelty, quarreling, fighting, debts, and jails with large families.” Mrs. Sanger became convinced at an early age that the Catholic clergy were complicit in killing her mother.

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52 McCann, Birth Control Politics, 45.
53 As quoted in Kennedy, Birth Control in America, 99.
54 Kennedy, Birth Control in America, 97.
55 As quoted in McCann, Birth Control Politics, 45.
Emily Taft Douglas excerpted an article in the July 5, 1930 *New Yorker* magazine in which the author, Helen Smith, had written:

the birth control question has looked like a personal encounter between Margaret Sanger and the Catholic Church. One might ask, however, whether the Roman hierarchy has not after all been her best friend. Several times its blundered opposition has focused public attention on the birth control movement which was not ingenious enough to do so for itself.⁵⁷

Rilma Buckman also points out the utility of vocal Church opposition in gaining national media exposure for Mrs. Sanger. She writes that

attacks by the Roman Catholic Church offered additional opportunities [for agitation]. Mrs. Sanger did not deliberately seek out these duels, but neither did she avoid them…Sanger wrote in the April 1918 issue of *The Birth Control Review* that ‘when one sums up the activities of the movement…it is interesting to note that where arrests were made, where sentences were imposed upon advocates, there the movement is now strongest.’⁵⁸

James Reed interprets the battle between Mrs. Sanger and the Church as a relatively benign difference of opinion. He opines that this clash was a result of two competing definitions of women’s place in the modern world. Sanger stood for the small family system prevalent among the middle classes, equality for women in the family and in society, and the pursuit of personal satisfaction as a right. The Church considered her view anti-natalist, reaffirmed that the married woman’s place was in the home, her duty was to bear many children, and social duty should always overrule the hedonistic impulses of the individual.⁵⁹

As Sulloway indicates, a compromise of sorts was eventually reached in 1932 when Kyusaku Ogino and Hermann Knaus, two physicians working independently, identified the time of ovulation in humans and demonstrated that its occurrence was

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⁵⁹ Reed, *From Private Vice*, 111.
relatively constant, approximately 15 days after the onset of menses.\textsuperscript{60} This discovery allowed for popular acceptance of the rhythm method, a type of birth control based on ovulation prediction rather than any external contraceptive method.

One gathers the sense that the Church had been waiting for just such an opportunity for, as noted by Alvah Sulloway, “only with the discovery of a natural method of birth control…which required no contraceptives, did the first cracks appear in the stained-glass window.”\textsuperscript{61} The Church began to seek ways to legitimize the rhythm method without undermining their objections to contraceptives.

Mr. Sulloway continues on to explain that, “men and women could now regulate control how many children they would have and at what intervals, thereby revolutionizing the health, finances and mental outlook of whole families. Yet the church would deny them this right unless they do it the Church’s way.”\textsuperscript{62}

The church apparently was oblivious to their own inconsistency, which on the one hand condemned contraceptives for moral reasons and at the same time promoted a natural method of achieving the same result. Despite their early insistence that only the rhythm method was sanctioned by the Church, within the next decade the Church effectively ended their opposition to Margaret Sanger’s work. The Church moved on to what it considered to be the larger social evil, that of abortion. This abdication left Mrs. Sanger essentially victorious against her most vocal nemesis.

\textsuperscript{60} Sulloway, \textit{Birth Control}, 85.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., xxii.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., xxi.
On eight separate occasions, Margaret Sanger was jailed by American courts for her actions in favor of the birth control movement. Most of these arrests resulted from violations of the Comstock Act regulating obscenity within the postal system. Regardless of later legal victories, Mrs. Sanger’s numerous indictments expressed her intent to circumvent existing laws. She never claimed innocence for the offenses for which she was charged, but instead, she simply reiterated that the existing laws, not her behavior, were wrong.

As Chesler reports, at the start of her quest for legalized birth control, she faced some extreme cases of judicial prejudice. At her first trial in 1915, in which she was tried for distributing a pamphlet called *Family Limitation*, the judge told her “your crime is not only a violation of the laws of man, but of God as well, in your scheme to prevent motherhood. Some women are so selfish that they do not want to be bothered with children.”

After returning from her exile in 1915 to face trial, Mrs. Sanger had expected to receive help from the organization she had created, the Birth Control League. As Douglas notes, she was surprised to be informed by Mary Ware Dennett that “the purpose of the League was to change the laws in an orderly constitutional way. Since the league disagreed with her tactics [breaking existing obscenity laws], they would not sanction her

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63 As quoted in Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 127.
activities.”64 Not only did the American judicial system consider her a nuisance, so did her fellow movement members!

The League was not alone in attempting to take an orderly and legal course towards birth control. Most other organizations also sought a dignified journey through the Halls of Congress. Mrs. Sanger remembered being advised by her attorney, Samuel Untermyer, “the law may not be what it should be, but you’ll never get anywhere by violating it. It must be changed by legal methods; gather all your friends and go to Congress.”65

David Kennedy notes that even in her first court case, she experienced the power of the media working on her behalf. After pictures of her and her children were published in the national newspapers, the prosecution suddenly filed a notice to quash the indictment, effectively dismissing the case. Kennedy finds evidence that the Assistant United States Attorney on the case commented that “we were determined that Mrs. Sanger should not be a martyr if we could help it.”66 It is believed that possibly Woodrow Wilson himself intervened on Mrs. Sanger’s behalf, after he received letter pleading her case, among them ones signed by Marie Stopes, H.G. Wells, and other prominent English citizens. 67

Margaret Sanger’s next violation of the Comstock laws was even more flagrant than her first. Not content merely to publish information on contraceptive methods, on

64 Douglas, Margaret Sanger, 88.
66 As quoted in Kennedy, Birth Control in America, 80. (U.S. District Court for Southern New York, Criminal Docket, 7:152-154, The People of the United States vs. Margaret Sanger)
67 Kennedy, Birth Control in America, 80.
October 16, 1916 in Brownsville, New York, she opened the first American clinic
devoted solely to birth control. The clinic was staffed with several nurses, herself among
them, but no doctors had been persuaded to join the risky venture. She knew that by
opening this clinic she was violating existing New York obscenity statutes. As expected
and desired, 10 days later, the clinic was raided by police. As chronicled by Ellen
Chesler,

with a gaggle of Brownsville mothers defiantly following behind them, Sanger
and Mindell [the receptionist] were taken to the local station house, where they
were arraigned and released on $50 bail. But they chose to reap the publicity
value of remaining overnight in a cold, vermin-infested jail. Several weeks later,
Margaret opened the clinic, but was closed down again, and she was charged with
maintaining a public nuisance.\textsuperscript{68}

Mrs. Sanger recounts in her autobiography that after this second arrest, her
sympathetic landlord, Mr. Rabinowitz, was forced by the police to sign ejection papers
closing the clinic permanently. She notes that “in the Netherlands, a [similar] clinic had
been cited as a public benefaction; in the U.S. it was closed as a public nuisance.”\textsuperscript{69}

Douglas writes that a few months after the clinic was closed, Mrs. Sanger
discovered that the United States Army was using a section on venereal disease from her
1912 book \textit{What Every Girl Should Know}.\textsuperscript{70} “Five years previously the Post Office had
suppressed this chapter as obscene – now the Army had reprinted it as educational
material to protect the health of American soldiers – albeit without acknowledgement to
the author.”\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{68} Chesler, \textit{Woman of Valor}, 152.
\textsuperscript{69} Sanger, \textit{An Autobiography}, 222.
\textsuperscript{70} Douglas, \textit{Margaret Sanger}, 134.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 134.
It was at this point in her career that Margaret Sanger had the epiphany which would change the course of the debate on legalized birth control. It is unclear whether she was an underappreciated legal scholar or her decision was merely an inspired leap of faith. There is some possibility that she was aware of the celebrated 1877 British case of Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh, in which their convictions on obscenity charges had been overturned on appeal, resulting in an expanded judicial interpretation of these laws. Whatever the origins of her decision, she decided to bring a test case to the judiciary.

As Douglas explains,

It was the New York laws that were [her] greatest stumbling block….Section 1142 of the Penal Code said that no one could give contraception advice for any reason, but Section 1145 offered a loophole – it allowed physicians to prescribe for ‘the cure or prevention of disease’. The exemption had been added to protect men from venereal disease. It was Margaret’s inspired view that an enlightened judge would use the loophole to secure the needs of married women.72

By appealing her public nuisance case to the Court of Appeals, Mrs. Sanger was able to bring the issue before an activist court. Although the court ultimately confirmed her conviction and sentenced her to a month in jail, for the first time, Judge Crane interpreted Section 1145 in a way favorable to birth control advocates. Virginia Coigney writes that the January 8, 1918 ruling outlined the circumstances under which physicians might be permitted to provide contraceptive information.73 The original Section 1145 language referring to “the cure or prevention of disease” was broadened by the Judge to include “any alteration in the state of the body which causes or threatens pain or

72 Ibid., 141.
73 Coigney, Rebel with a Cause, 125.
sickness. This meant that for the first time, New York doctors could legitimately and legally prescribe birth control to their patients without risk of prosecution.

Following many years of unsuccessful lobbying in Congress, Mrs. Sanger returned to the Courts with the 1936 case of United States vs. One Package of Japanese Pessaries. Finding herself stymied in importing pessaries (diaphragms), Mrs. Sanger again chose to rely on a favorable judicial interpretation to gain what she could not achieve politically. By then, Mrs. Sanger had married her second husband, the wealthy industrialist, Noah Slee. At her behest, he ordered a large shipment of pessaries to be delivered to his factory in Canada where they were legal. As Douglas notes, once they arrived, he dictated a statement to the newspapers that these pessaries would be repackaged and sent to his factory at Rahway, New Jersey. As Mrs. Sanger had intended, Hazel Benjamin states that the pessaries were seized in New Jersey and the medical director of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau was charged with Federal libel.

On December 7, 1936, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed the libel charges and took the opportunity to reinterpret the Comstock Laws. In James Reed’s analysis of the One Package decision,

Judge Augustus Hand solved the problem of making a 19th Century obscenity law reasonable in the 1930’s by ruling that although the language of the

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74 Ibid., 125.
75 It was at this juncture that Margaret Sanger acquiesced to the fact that birth control would henceforth be the hands of doctors, rather than nurses or laypeople as she had initially envisioned.
76 United States vs. One Package of Japanese Pessaries, 13 F. Supp.334 (E.D.N.Y 1936), aff’d 86 F 2d 737 (2nd Cir. 1936)
77 Douglas, Margaret Sanger, 182.
Comstock law was uncompromising, if Congress had available in 1873 the clinical data on the dangers of pregnancy and the usefulness of contraceptive practice…birth control would not have been classified as obscenity.\textsuperscript{79}

Thus, Alvah Sulloway notes that “by a single decision a federal court decreed that the law which everyone since 1873 had believed to be the law was actually not the law at all.”\textsuperscript{80}

Douglas provides perhaps the most cogent explanation of the \textit{One Package} victory in which the legal scholar Morris Ernst is quoted: “in the U.S., we almost never repeal outmoded legislation in the field of morality. We either allow it to fall into disuse by ignoring it or we bring persuasive cases to the court to get the obsolete laws modified by judicial interpretation.”\textsuperscript{81}

The attempts at orderly political action had failed because few members of Congress felt that their futures were dependent upon favorable action on these bills, while some feared that a vote for birth control might cost them their seats, especially those with strongly Catholic districts. As Benjamin notes, regardless of their own personal opinions on the matter, there appeared to be a general reluctance to arouse religious controversy.\textsuperscript{82}

She further opines that the birth control lobby actually “fared rather well in the acceptance of the decision of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals by the executive branch of the government permitted it to retire gracefully from the legislative field with banners still flying.”\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{79} Reed, \textit{From Private Vice}, 121.
\textsuperscript{80} As quoted in Sulloway, \textit{Birth Control}, 30.
\textsuperscript{81} Douglas, \textit{Margaret Sanger}, 222.
\textsuperscript{82} Benjamin, “Lobbying for Birth Control”, 60.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 60.
It must be considered rather extraordinary that in the span of little more than twenty years, Margaret Sanger had graduated from being a public nuisance criminal to achieving explicit judicial approval for her birth control movement.

**Stalin and the Marxist Party**

Unlike the antagonism of the Catholic Church and the U.S. judiciary, the Marxist party objections to Margaret Sanger’s movement were not based on moral, spiritual, legal, or technical grounds. Instead, the Marxist enmity towards all birth control stemmed from a philosophical contradiction inherent in its doctrine. The party derided Margaret Sanger as a symbol of Malthusian principles which threatened the Marxist promise of a future socialist utopia which would require no means of population control.

William Petersen elucidated upon the reasons Marxists were philosophically compelled to reject birth control:

According to Malthus’s principle of population, the natural force of sexual attraction tends to raise the population beyond the number that can be supported. Socialists of every denomination – among others, Charles Hall, Robert Owen, P.J. Proudhon, Charles Fourier – unanimously repudiated a theory that nature could be so cruelly unfeeling. Marx rejected Malthus…”the contemptible Malthus,” ‘shameless sycophant of the ruling class,’ who perpetuated a ‘sin against science.’

In light of his belief in the scientific inevitability of socialism, Marx was forced to reject Malthusian principles because if Malthus was right than he was fighting a losing

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battle. He wrote that if Malthus was correct about population pressures, “socialism cannot abolish poverty, but only communalize it.”

It was of paramount importance to Karl Marx’s economic and political theories that humans be able to transcend all biological limitations. Petersen emphasized that German Social Democrat orthodoxy, taken directly from Das Capital, maintained that “socialism is better able to preserve the equilibrium between population and means of subsistence than any other form of community.” Following this logic, population control in a socialist country was not necessary, as the world had “a superabundance of land capable of cultivation, awaiting the labor of fresh hundreds of millions.” Friedrich Engels agreed with Karl Marx’s position. Writing to a colleague, he stated that “we proletarian socialists should not foresee any problems of possible overpopulation in the future socialist society.”

According to Marx and Engels, the realization of a socialist system would eliminate all social problems forever, including those of overpopulation. Several decades later, it was therefore impossible for the Marxist party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to admit any need for birth control or for activists like Margaret Sanger.

As for Mrs. Sanger, she, in turn, had very little use for Marx. As noted by David Kennedy, ‘by 1922 she had explicitly repudiated Marxism as ‘purely masculine reasoning’ which perpetuated the melodramatic fiction of class antagonism and which,

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85 As quoted in Petersen, “Marxism”, 80. (emphasis in original)
86 Petersen, “Marxism”, 83.
87 As quoted in Petersen, “Marxism”, 83.
88 As quoted in Petersen, “Marxism”, 83.
because of its ‘superficial, emotional, and religious character, had a deleterious effect upon the life of reason.”

The Marxist party line regarding the “abomination” of birth control reached a crescendo in the 1950’s. Petersen notes that Joseph Stalin himself took exception to Mrs. Sanger, calling her “the American racist Margaret Sanger” and declared that she was bent on “the raving fascist idea of breeding a special stock of people especially adapted to atomic warfare.” Petersen writes further that Stalin condemned all birth control proponents “masquerading as scientists and philanthropists, lackeys of American monopolies openly advocate cannibalism and try to justify the demonical plans for the mass extermination of peoples.”

The rest of the Marxist party followed Comrade Stalin’s lead even after his death in their attitude towards birth control. At the 1959 United Nations Population Commission, a proposal to include the words “Malthusian” and “birth control” in a projected demographic dictionary met with vociferous objections by the Soviet delegation. The principle Soviet representative stated that “such mistaken concepts should not find their place in an official dictionary.” Thus, as Petersen drolly remarks, “in international bodies like the United Nations, there was a strange cooperation between

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89 Kennedy, *Birth Control in America*, 112.
90 As quoted in Petersen, “Marxism”, 93.
91 Ibid, 93.
92 Ibid, 93.
93 As quoted in Petersen, “Marxism”, 93.
Communist and Catholic spokesmen, uncomfortable for both, and for proponents of planned parenthood, a constant source of hilarity.”

The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 fundamentally signaled the end of the Marxist socialist system. Even before its absolute demise, there had been cracks in the communist negation of birth control behind the Iron Curtain. Abortion rates in the former U.S.S.R. were always much higher per capita than in capitalist countries with access to contraceptives. By the 1960’s, Soviet leader Brezhnev admitted that Marx and Stalin had been wrong, and that the U.S.S.R. could benefit from modern birth control techniques.

Throughout her career as the American leader of the birth control movement, Margaret Sanger faced some very formidable foes. At various times, by various enemies she was called a “public nuisance”, a member of the “Dillinger Mob”, a “racist” and a “cannibal.” Despite this vitriol, Mrs. Sanger continued doggedly in her pursuit of legal and accessible birth control.

In evaluating the issue of Mrs. Sanger as a public nuisance, it is useful to evaluate the historical outcome of each separate institutional skirmish. Of her three main adversaries, most religious organizations now cede the concept of birth control, even if they still disagree with external methods; the United States legal system as of the 1965

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94 Petersen, “Marxism”, 94
95 Chesler, Woman of Valor, 275.
96 Ibid., 278.
97 Petersen, “Marxism”, 94.
case *Griswold vs. Connecticut* declared that birth control is a solely personal matter; and in the last two decades, the Marxist party has basically experienced its own extinction.98

Social Engineer

Of all the possible labels which could be attached to Margaret Sanger’s work, perhaps the most controversial would be that of social engineer. An exploration of this concept necessitates two distinct avenues of inquiry. The first mandates an investigation into the definition of the term. Buckan provides an illuminating guide for this purpose by defining social engineering as “the rational, scientific molding of the structural organization of society with the purpose of promoting social progress…the social engineer has an objective in mind which requires change in the framework of society.”99 Ms. Buckman adds that “the social engineer goes far beyond social reform…because of their willingness to attack social problems at their structural foundations.”100

An acceptance of this definition advances one to a more problematic second question: Did Margaret Sanger’s actions in favor of birth control compel her to attempt this type of radical change through legal and legislative channels or through the far more disturbing mechanism of eugenic selection?

*Legal and Legislative Social Engineering*

In her book, *My Fight for Birth Control*, Mrs. Sanger gave an analysis of her 1916 plans: “I mapped out plans for a national campaign of four steps: agitation, education,
organization, and legislation." She was greatly hampered in her efforts by both the Comstock Laws and by the public’s perception of the struggle. As noted by Alvah Sulloway:

contraceptives had never fully outgrown the evil reputation cast upon them by the bad company they kept in 1873. Obscenity, pornography, and illicit abortion are not sympathetically regarded by legislators and courts of law. The first advocates of birth control in the U.S. could not even begin to emphasize the merits of their case until they had convinced their listeners that they were neither criminals, freaks, not subversive agents seeking to undermine marriage and morality.102

It was the natural inclination of birth control groups to attempt to change existing laws through the legislative process. Especially after the 1920 passage of the 19th Amendment which freed up the energies of the suffragettes, birth control activists routinely assailed the offices of Congress. As Buckman notes, the proponents of birth control were able to obtain resolutions of support from over 1000 organizations nationwide.103 With these endorsements, great pressure was built up in favor of liberalized birth control legislation.

Margaret Sanger was the leader of this Congressional effort from the years 1928 through 1936. She was able to persuade the foremost practitioners in the fields of medicine, religion, law, and economics to appear before Congressional committees and at hundreds of meetings throughout the country. Yet despite these many years of attempts, the campaign before Congress and the state legislatures failed decisively. It was only redeemed by successful action in the courts. Sulloway clarifies that “from the beginning

101 Sanger, My Fight, 45.
102 Sulloway, Birth Control, 16.
of the movement, Mrs. Sanger and her legal advisors had realized that…even though the legislatures remained deaf to appeals for modification of the law, judges could provide the requested relief.” 104 It is Buckman’s opinion, however, that the years of Congressional lobbying were not wholly in vain: “Although these activities did not lead to favorable action in Congress, they built up an informed public opinion which helped to make possible the judiciary’s liberal interpretation of existing laws.” 105

Considering the forgoing, one must conclude that there is insufficient evidence to call Mrs. Sanger a social engineer by virtue of her labors in the legislative and legal field. If that were so, anyone who attempted to change or make a law could be so labeled. Indeed, her critics in this area find fault with her mainly for the limitations they perceive in her attempts to change society’s “structural foundations.” Anita Clair Fellman writes that “[Mrs. Sanger’s] belief that birth control was the linchpin of all other reforms…induced her and the movement to overstate the importance of effective contraception at the expense of other fundamental improvements in people’s lives.” 106

James Reed condemns Mrs. Sanger for timidity in the area of social change, “no one was more disturbed by or worked harder to publicize the conditions that bred the high infant mortality rate in the U.S. in comparison to other industrial nations, but she failed to broaden her criticism of the inequities of the American health system into an attack on the distribution of income in the U.S.” 107

104 Sulloway, Birth Control, 27.
107 Reed, From Private Vice, 138.
Eugenic Theory Influence

The most perplexing aspect of Mrs. Sanger’s legacy is the lingering question of whether or not she was an active proponent of eugenics theories and practices. As Chelser notes, the term eugenics was first used by Sir Francis Galton, the founder of modern statistics and distant cousin of Charles Darwin. Taking its name from the Greek *eugenes* meaning “well-born”, Sir Galton called for the regulation of human reproduction to enhance the biological characteristics of humanity. McCann states that Galton’s goal was to “improve humanity by giving the more suitable races and strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable.”

It should be noted that American proponents of eugenic theories had different concerns than their European counterparts. McCann explains that “within the dominant culture of the 1916-1945 period, the declining fertility of the white, native-born middle class relative to that of the ethnic immigrant poor provoked great concern about the nation’s future.”

Mrs. Sanger voluntarily associated herself with the American eugenics movement for several reasons. For one, as McCann notes, the terminology of eugenics (genetic capacity, reproductivity, pregnancy wastage, expressed fertility, etc.) effectively desensitized the public discussion of birth control by obscuring the sexual activity that occasioned contraceptive use. In addition, Mrs. Sanger found it useful that “eugenic

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111 Ibid., 125.
concerns with racial health and betterment lent ideological credence to social and economic indicators for birth control."\textsuperscript{112}

Linda Gordon acknowledges that “most birth control clinics appreciated the eugenicists’ support for disseminating contraceptives in the absence of pathological indications. [In exchange] many clinics conducted inquiries into the hereditary histories of their patients and presumably advised the women as to the desirability of having children.”\textsuperscript{113} It is important to realize, however, that “the new eugenics was not a reform program but rather a justification for the status quo.”\textsuperscript{114}

Margaret Sanger first mentions eugenics in her article “Birth Control and Racial Betterment”\textsuperscript{115} where she writes “like the advocates of Birth Control, the eugenicists…seek to assist the race toward the elimination of the unfit. Both are seeking a single end but they lay emphasis upon different methods.”\textsuperscript{116} She admits “I personally believe in the sterilization of the feebleminded, the insane and the syphilitic.”\textsuperscript{117} By the end of the article, however, she makes a more familiar assertion, “only upon a free, self-determining motherhood can rest any unshakeable structure of racial betterment.”\textsuperscript{118}

One of Mrs. Sanger’s main critics, David Kennedy, derides her connection to eugenics and her request that medicine should broaden its conception of its

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 123.
\textsuperscript{113} Gordon, \textit{Woman’s Body, Woman’s Rights}, 286.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid, 274.
\textsuperscript{115} Margaret Sanger, “Birth Control and Racial Betterment”, \textit{Birth Control Review}, Vol. 3, No. 2 (February 1919): 11
\textsuperscript{116} Sanger, “Birth Control”, 12.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 5.
responsibilities to include the amelioration of eugenic problems. In a similar vein, Linda Gordon conducted extensive research of Margaret Sanger’s alliance with the eugenics movement. Among the many interviews Mrs. Sanger gave over the years, “late in the 1920’s she had cited a Princeton University authority who had classified the U.S. population as consisting of 20 million intellectual persons, 25 million mediocre, 45 million subnormal, and 15 million feebleminded.” Ms. Gordon notes that the virulence of Mrs. Sanger’s eugenic rhetoric grew more extreme in the early 1930’s. In 1932 she recommended the sterilization or segregation of “the whole dysgenic population.”

At times, Mrs. Sanger combined her eugenic sympathies and her passion for birth control with her marked antipathy for President Franklin Roosevelt. She wrote in 1935, “as long as the procreative instinct is allowed to run reckless riot through our social structure...as long as the New Deal and our paternalist Administration refuse to recognize this truism, grandiose schemes for security may eventually turn into subsidies for the perpetuation of the irresponsible classes of society.”

Mrs. Sanger would return repeatedly to the idea that birth control was a cost effective way to control government spending on what she perceived as the less fit members of society. Arguing that birth control would cut public expenditures and thus taxes, she said “we are a nation of business men and women; we should use good business methods and cut our overhead.”

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121 Ibid., 282.
122 Ibid., 314.
123 Ibid., 304.
Ellen Chesler notes that despite the American popularity of eugenic theories in the 1910’s and 1920’s, by the beginning of the 1930’s, the reputation of eugenics had finally begun to decline. As she explains, “the rise of fascism in Europe was calling attention to its most perverse implication. Still however tenuous, Margaret’s relationship with eugenics has since provided ammunition for opponents to her left and her right politically, who have argued that contraception is nothing more than an instrument of social control.”124

Despite compelling evidence that Mrs. Sanger espoused eugenic rhetoric during her career, there is a countervailing historical assertion that she was never a sincere eugenicist or subscribed to their racist views. In this view, Mrs. Sanger was able to manipulate these groups to serve her own ends without being co-opted by them. Carole McCann writes that “eugenicists were powerful allies against the medical hegemony. Eugenic studies of fertility provided the movement with a language that helped dissociate birth control from sexual controversy.”125

While today the concept of eugenics is associated with Hitler, it is important to realize that during the Progressive Era these principles were attractive to many American and European intellectuals. Mrs. Sanger was introduced to eugenics by her British lover, the liberal writer Havelock Ellis. According to Chesler, Mr. Ellis considered eugenics a civilized alternative to conventional social theory.126 Taking into account the combined

124 Chesler, Woman of Valor, 217.
125 McCann, Birth Control Politics, 19.
126 Chesler, Woman of Valor, 122.
influence of biology, heredity, and environment on human behavior, he advocated a program of “social hygiene.”\textsuperscript{127}

McCann echoes these assertions, explaining that Mr. Ellis’s eugenic ideas were not centered on racial or ethnic criteria but rather geared towards the abolition of class distinctions and women’s sexual liberation.\textsuperscript{128} His main motivation was to free women “from the shroud of repressive Victorian attitudes.”\textsuperscript{129}

These historians point out that the ugly and tragic link of eugenics with the intolerance and prejudice that produced Nazism has undermined its earlier association with scientific progress meant to promote the welfare of the individual and the public.\textsuperscript{130} Mrs. Sanger’s uneasy alliance with eugenics was based on their shared assertion that legalized contraception was essential to national well-being, but she derived her sympathies from the radical socialist wing of the British movement. As McCann notes, this faction proclaimed that “whereas nature had once provided the mechanism for the selection of human traits, social institutions (under capitalism) provided the mechanism now.”\textsuperscript{131}

Further efforts to redeem Mrs. Sanger’s reputation focus on an evolving concept of race in the Progressive Era. McCann writes that “race was a highly flexible term in this period. It could be used in the sense that we would use society, nation, or population

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 122.
\textsuperscript{128} McCann, \textit{Birth Control Politics}, 106.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., 106.
\textsuperscript{130} Chesler, \textit{Woman of Valor}, 122.
\textsuperscript{131} McCann, \textit{Birth Control Politics}, 106.
today...racial betterment, regardless of how race was defined, was a key ideological element of the Era.”

In her own writing, when Mrs. Sanger did specify the race that she sought to improve, it was the hybrid race developing in America’s melting pot. Even her more persistent detractor, David Kennedy, concedes that she went out of her way to clarify her definition of unfit emphasizing that she “deplored” the use of the term in reference to “races or religions.”

With respect to race, McCann rehabilitates Mrs. Sanger from accusations of bigotry, noting that Sanger was personally committed to racial equality and fired or transferred workers in her clinics would were bigoted. As Kristin Luker notes, Mrs. Sanger believed that African American women could and would use birth control if given the option, despite the conviction held by many that black men and women were either too irresponsible or too unmotivated to take on the middle-class capacity to plan and arrange fertility.

McCann finds that whereas eugenicists tended to represent cultural and class differences as the fixed biological characteristics of race and favored social reforms in the United States which reflected this such as immigration restriction, marriage licensing requirements and compulsory sterilization, Mrs. Sanger loudly disputed this

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132 Ibid., 14.
133 Margaret Sanger, *The Pivot of Civilization*, (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1922), 64.
134 Kennedy, *Birth Control in America*, 118.
135 McCann, *Birth Control Politics*, 152.
hereditarianism, arguing that environmental differences such as economic deprivation, were the principle causes of social degeneracy.\textsuperscript{137}

Another factor which differentiated Mrs. Sanger’s outlook on the eugenics issue was her avid feminism. In “Birth Control and Racial Betterment”, Mrs. Sanger declared that “while eugenicists insist that a woman’s first duty was to the state, the birth control movement contends that her duty to herself is her first duty to the state.”\textsuperscript{138} At heart, Margaret Sanger was a pragmatist. Whatever uncomfortable alliances and coalitions needed to be made for the good of the birth control movement, she was prepared to make them. Her strong personality allowed her to extract the help she required without being forced to compromise her innermost principles. James Reed concurs with this assessment,

\textit{while she shared values with other feminists and eugenicists, she always maintained her distance, insisting that birth control was the essential first step in a rational plan freeing women or breeding a better race. She took help where she could get it, but the demands of her cause came first, and cooperation did not reach beyond borrowing additional justification for spreading contraceptive practice.}\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{137} McCann, \textit{Birth Control Politics}, 16.
\textsuperscript{138} Sanger, “Birth Control”, 4.
\textsuperscript{139} Reed, \textit{From Private Vice}, 131.
CONCLUSION

No historian herein discussed disputes that Margaret Sanger was a woman who followed her convictions and passions to their fullest extent. Indeed, as Chesler states, evidence exists that reliable contraceptives were available in the United States by the late 1920’s, and this was made possible only by the interventions of J. Noah Slee (Mrs. Sanger’s second husband) and Herbert Simonds (a former lover), two staunch capitalists who sought the favors of Mrs. Sanger more than profit.140

It must also be admitted that Mrs. Sanger was prophetic in many of her observations about the result of population pressures on the course of world affairs. Reed notes that in December 1920, she predicted that Japan’s unchecked population growth would force expansion and conflict with the U.S.141

In Alvah Sulloway’s estimation, Mrs. Sanger was not just an activist for birth control but indirectly of world peace. He notes that

population pressures, as we have seen in the case of Japan’s conquest of Manchuria and the lebensraum slogan of Nazi Germany, are the primary causes of war. By doing nothing about them, we diminish our chances of survival in an age of nuclear weapons. In addition…these pressures make for worldwide political and economic instability, a climate in which dictatorships flourish and civil liberties vanish.142

However she is perceived -feminist heroine, public nuisance, or social engineer- Margaret Sanger continues to fascinate largely through the strength of her achievements and single-minded vision. The literature about her exposes an intricate web of conflicts

140 Chesler, Woman of Valor, 215.
141 Reed, From Private Vice, 133.
142 Sulloway, Birth Control, xix.
including philanthropic impulse, rebellion, naïveté, self-sacrifice, arrogance, impatience, radicalism, as well as strains of conservatism. To some, Mrs. Sanger was a heroine and a near saint. To others, she was immoral and an enemy of society. As Coigney finds, to still others, she was a fanatic.143

It was a measure of her influence that among supporters, McCann notes that “Sangerism” meant the use of contraceptives by women to control their fertility while among opponents the same word referred to the villainous practice of contraception which they derided.144

A testament to the lasting impact of Margaret Sanger’s crusade was delivered by H.G. Wells in 1935. During a fundraising dinner, Mr. Wells raised his glass to Mrs. Sanger and intoned

Alexander the Great changed a few boundaries and killed a certain number of men, but he made no lasting change in civilization. Both he and Napoleon were forced into fame by circumstances outside themselves and by currents of the time, but Margaret Sanger made her own currents and circumstances. When the history of our civilization is written, it will be a biological history, and Margaret Sanger will be its heroine.”145

143 Coigney, Rebel with a Cause, 16.
144 McCann, Birth Control Politics, 5.
145 As quoted in Chesler, Woman of Valor, 361.
LESSON PLAN

Designing Women: Architects of the Modern Feminist Agenda

Introduction

This lesson plan is a four week course of study on feminism in the Progressive Era and its lasting effect on subsequent generations. This lesson will utilize the lives of three women: Alice Paul, Margaret Sanger, and Emma Goldman to illustrate the struggles and achievements of women during this period.

Several historical themes are emphasized throughout the lessons. Beyond the historical facts contained herein it is hoped that the students will learn and understand that;

• ordinary people can, with organization and persistence, make a huge difference in their society;

• major social and political evolution is usually the culmination of much hard work by many people, both known and unknown;

• progress is usually accomplished at the expense of great personal sacrifice;

• protections of the First Amendment must be applied to unpopular as well as popular viewpoints in a democracy; and

• peaceful protest can be much more effective than the use of violence in achieving needed change.
The lesson consists of three case studies and a final assessment. The first case study of Alice Paul promotes discussion of the women’s suffrage movement and the equal rights amendment. The second case study of Margaret Sanger discusses the evolution of the birth control movement and its connections to the constitutional protections of freedom of speech and the right to privacy. The third case study uses the life of Emma Goldman to further explore free speech issues, as well as the utility of political dissent in a democracy. The three day final assessment is designed to evaluate understanding of the three case studies.

Each day’s lesson contains a “hook” which is intended to draw students more deeply into the subject matter. All “hooks” as well as content discussions are written in lecture format.
Designing Women: Architects of the Modern Feminist Agenda
Case Study 1: Alice Paul - Iron Jawed Angel

The introduction and first case study is organized as a six day unit based on a 55 minute class session. The first day’s subject is a general introduction to feminism in the progressive era followed by a week long overview of the suffrage movement in the United States. The lesson uses the life of Alice Paul to illustrate the achievements of the campaign to secure equal rights for American women. The content of this week’s lesson focuses on how a group of determined women, as exemplified by Alice Paul, forced the government of the United States to grant women the right to vote.

This first case study will require a class set of each of the following:

1. video clips from One Woman, One Vote,
2. reading materials on Alice Paul with attendant questions,
3. a video clip from Iron-Jawed Angels with a set of Quiz questions to follow,
4. a chronology of the women’s suffrage movement and a map of state suffrage victories prior to the passage of the 19th Amendment with attendant questions,
5. cartoons and primary sources from the era and a set of worksheet questions in connection with the primary sources,
6. a poem in tribute to Alice Paul and art materials (colored pencils, markers, watercolors, construction paper)
7. the CD The Blaze of Day: The Suffragette Movement and
8. a set of Wilson petition activity instructions.
No specific prior knowledge is required for this unit. It would be helpful if students had previous experience working with primary sources, but it is not absolutely necessary.

**Day One**

**Introductory "Hook"** Explain that you are beginning a new unit on the rise of feminism in the progressive era and how it changed forever the lives of all Americans, male and female. Begin with a little pop quiz in which you ask your students to raise their hands if they’ve ever heard these names before (Wait for response after each name is called…if anyone raises their hand, ask if they know what she did or stood for): Who has heard of Alice Paul? Margaret Sanger? Emma Goldman?

Next ask your students about their familiarity with these names….George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin? They will probably be familiar with those! Explain to the students that those women mentioned before were, in their way, equally important to the lives of all Americans as the founding fathers. Ask the students if they are curious about that statement? Ask them if they are wondering, if that is true, why haven’t they heard of them before? Explain that it’s no real wonder that they’ve been left in the dark about these early feminists. Ask students to take a look at their history books and compare the coverage given to each historical figure. (Make this comparison with your standard United States History textbook for the eleventh grade). For example, using a standard text, such as *The Americans: Reconstruction through the*
students will see that eighteen pages is devoted to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson gets fifteen pages, and Ben Franklin has seven full pages written about him. In contrast, have the students look at what is written about the women mentioned earlier. Alice Paul is mentioned twice, for a total of perhaps one page. Emma Goldman receives exactly two sentences in the textbook. And what of Margaret Sanger? She’s not mentioned at all. Ask the students what they think of that? Does that mean that these three women who stood up for the right to vote, the right of free speech, and the right to voluntary motherhood weren’t important?

Before that determination can be made, it’s important to know what the issues were and if these women really did impact our country on the same magnitude as the founding fathers. With that in mind, our class will take the next few weeks to learn about these women’s lives and causes and in the end, the students themselves will decide if they are fairly or unfairly slighted in the history textbooks.

Transition Start with the issue of women’s suffrage (show the first 7 minutes from the video One Woman, One Vote)\textsuperscript{147}. Students will view images of the Suffragette March on Washington D.C., including the pageantry and the violence surrounding this historical event.

Lesson Content Ask your students if they saw anything in this video that surprised them? Ask how many of them were aware that women only received the right to vote in 1920, not even 100 years ago? As a preliminary discussion, enquire if the class

\textsuperscript{146} Gerald Danzer, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, et al. \textit{The Americans: Reconstruction through the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century}, (Boston: McDougal Littell Inc., 1999)

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{American Experience: One Woman, One Vote} (Public Broadcasting Station Direct, 1995), 120 minutes, may be ordered for $29.95 from http://www.shoppbs.org/product/index.jsp?productId=2055921.
thinks that this right to vote was handed to women by the benevolence of the American government or was it something that both women and men fought for over decades of struggle?

At this point, inform the class that they will start the examination of the fight for suffrage by looking at the life of one of its central characters, Alice Paul who was completely devoted to gaining equal rights for women. Distribute Alice Paul Handout #1. Ask the class to read this handout and answer the questions at the end. Require that each answer be at least two complete sentences and let them know that the answers will be reviewed as a class near the end of the period.

**Days Two & Three**

**Introductory “Hook”** Begin with a discussion about individual choice and determination. Let the students know that there are some questions that each of us should ask ourselves. Some of these might include: “What would I personally do to fight injustice?” “What would I be willing to endure for something I believe in?” “What would you sacrifice for a principle?” These are hard questions to answer. Perhaps most of us don’t know our own limits until they are tested. As your students the following questions: When reading about the experiences of the suffragettes, do you find them brave or foolish? Do you think they started out with this kind of burning zeal or did they acquire strength through their sufferings? (If class is engaged, continue discussion)
Tell the class that they will spend the rest of the period and half of the next watching a recent HBO film called *Iron Jawed Angels*\(^ {148}\). This film shows some of the evolution of the suffrage movement in the progressive years. Explain to the class that this isn’t where the struggle began. Hand out a set of questions to be discussed and turned in on Day Three.

*Iron Jawed Angels* Questions

1. How would you characterize the main figures of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns? Describe their strategies and tactics.

2. What kind of opposition do the women face? Were the biggest challenges from the government or from rival suffrage organizations?

3. Describe some of the techniques that the government used against the suffragettes.

4. What were the convictions that motivated the suffragettes?

5. Were the suffragettes engaged in a popular or unpopular movement?

6. What type of sacrifices did the suffragettes make for their cause?

7. Describe the impact of the media in exposing the forced feedings of the suffragettes. Was this productive or counter-productive for the movement?

8. On what date did the Nineteenth Amendment, supporting women's suffrage, become law?

For the second half of Day Three, distribute a chronology and a map of the women’s suffrage movement. Distribute Alice Paul Handout #2. The students should use the timeline and state suffrage map to answer the 10 questions, either in class or as homework, depending on available time.

**Day Four**

**Introductory “Hook”** Show the class a series of political cartoons on the issue of suffrage – Start with Alice Paul Cartoon #1…ask the class to describe the image, the issue, its symbols, and the perspective of the artist who rendered it. Do the same with Alice Paul Cartoon #2. Ask the class what they think are the tip-offs that lets them know what the artist wants them to think about the issue? Ask the class if they find these cartoons an effective way to communicate? Why or why not?

Welcome the class to SUFFRAGE PRIMARY SOURCES DAY! The class may ask what is a primary source? If so, brainstorm a little bit on what constitutes a primary source (allow for some discussion before giving a definition). Primary sources are records of events as they are first described without anyone else’s interpretation or analysis. These items can be letters, photographs, cartoons, maps, printed material such as newspapers, video and sound recordings. A primary source can also be a physical object like clothing, furniture, and tools.

Explain that it is always important to understand that just because a source is primary doesn’t mean it is free from bias or opinion. In fact most primary sources are specifically written or designed to persuade an audience. Sometimes their position is way
out in the open or overt, while sometimes the source is more subtle about their perspective.

Inform the class that they will be doing some investigation work today, checking out a number of primary sources on the suffragette movement. Hand out the primary sources worksheet. Distribute three copies per student of Alice Paul Handout #3 plus one packet per pair of the three primary sources to analyze each source. Advise the students to take their time, remembering that good detective work requires patience and persistence. Form the class into pairs, and let them know that in pairs, they will be responsible for completing three worksheets.

If time permits, students should share their analysis of each primary source at the end of the period.

**Day Five**

*Introductory “Hook”* Begin class by posing some questions: What images come to your mind when asked to think of the women’s suffrage movement? Is it the faces of the dedicated women, their posters of protest, or perhaps the angry responses of men? Advise the class that on this day they will explore their reactions to this movement in an artistic medium. Distribute Alice Paul Handout #4. Let them know that this is a poem written in tribute to Alice Paul, but really it’s a tribute to all suffragettes from Susan B. Anthony on down the line. Reiterate to the class that big social change is rarely the work of a single person and the issue of suffrage is no exception.
Permit the students to take a few minutes to read the poem over two or three times. Allow a moment for the students to picture these images in their mind. Ask them to get some art materials. They may use either use colored pencils, markers, watercolors or collage to illustrate the poem and its central ideas. While the students are working, play a few selections from this CD to set the mood (Play The Blaze of Day: The Suffragette Movement149, a collection of speeches and music from the era - selections 5-15 should be particularly appropriate: Suffrage for Women, Why Women Want to Vote, Women and Democracy, Suffragettes' Anthem, In the Days That Are Coming Bye and Bye, That Ragtime Suffragette, Suffragette, You Can't Blame the Suffragettes for That, Suffragee, Women's Opportunity, Politics and the Home).

Give the class until 10 minutes before the end of class. Next, set the stage for the concluding activity of the Alice Paul unit. Hand out Alice Paul Handout #5. Form the class into groups of four students each (either selected by the students or by the teacher). The students should be instructed to do some research for homework over the weekend as regards convincing arguments for the Anthony Amendment and be ready to write a letter to President Wilson in support. To receive an “A” students must also include counterarguments against the anti-suffragettes in their letter.

Day Six

**Introductory “Hook”**  As soon as the bell rings, inform the students they have exactly 30 minutes to form into their assigned groups and start work on their petition letter to President Wilson in support of the Anthony Amendment. Make it very clear that the group should write from the perspective of the Progressive Era, not from the present day. They should write as if the Anthony Amendment has not yet been passed. Circulate around the room to offer assistance and guidance where warranted but don’t hover. Let the students know that part of their grade on this assignment is based on their level of participation within their own groups.

After 30 minutes, have each group read their letter aloud to the class. As the groups read, keep a running record on the blackboard of the arguments made by each in support of the 19th Amendment and women’s suffrage. At the end of the period, have students vote on what they believe were the most persuasive arguments and explain why.

**Conclusion**  Guide students through a concluding discussion about their perceptions of the victories of the suffragette movement? Be sure that students are clear about what kinds of tactics were use in the suffragettes quest for equality. Which ones did they feel were most helpful and which ones actually hurt rather than helped the cause? Make certain that the students understand that the movement for women’s votes began nearly a century before its triumphant end. Ask the students about the fact that the women didn’t have much popular support at first. Ask the students why they think that the issue
of women’s suffrage was so controversial in its day? Expand the discussion to ask whether we still think it’s improper or unladylike for a woman to participate in the political process? Ask their opinions of what has changed and what has not?

**Extension Discussion** This would also be an appropriate time to discuss the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in more depth, including the arguments for and against the proposed 27th Amendment. Alice Paul wrote the ERA in 1923. Paul and her supporters saw the ERA as a necessary step to guarantee equal justice and freedom from legal gender discrimination following the passage of the 19th Amendment. The ERA was introduced to Congress every year from 1923 to 1972, when it was finally passed as the proposed 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The next step was to receive ratification from 38 states. After the 1977 National Women’s Conference, Congress extended the ERA’s seven-year time limit for ratification for another three years, but by the amendment’s 1982 deadline, only 35 states had ratified it—three states short of the requirement.

Opponents of the ERA claimed that the amendment would deny a woman’s right to be supported by her husband, send women into combat, and increase abortion and gay and lesbian rights. Anti-ERA sentiments were also voiced by business interests, such as members of the insurance industry. As Gloria Steinem said, “The media bears a heavy responsibility for the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment, because not one major
media outlet ever did a report on what the Equal Rights Amendment would and wouldn't do, not one.”¹⁵⁰

As opposition to the ERA grew, some states retracted their prior ratification, and others, such as Illinois, changed laws in order to make ratification more difficult. When Indiana became the 35th and last state to ratify the ERA in 1977, pro-ERA groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW)—which organized a 100,000-person march in Washington, DC—pressed for an extension from Congress. But after President Ronald Reagan took office 1980, the Republican Party removed the ERA support from its platform.¹⁵¹

**Evaluation**  Student understanding will be determined through class discussions, Alice Paul Handout #1 Questions, Alice Paul Handout #2 Questions, primary source analysis worksheets, artwork related to the Alice Paul poem, and the petition of President Wilson activity.

In the final assessment at the end of the entire unit, students will use their knowledge of Alice Paul and the suffragettes to answer multiple choice and short essay questions designed to evaluate their understanding of the unit themes. They will also utilize the knowledge gained to present ideas for and against the suffrage and ERA movements in a press conference format.

Alice Paul Handout #1: Alice Paul and Women's Suffrage in the U.S.\textsuperscript{152}

Alice Paul was born in 1886. Alice's father was a successful businessman and, as the president of the Burlington County Trust Company in Moorestown, NJ, earned a comfortable living. As Quakers, Alice's parents raised her with a belief in gender equality, and the need to work for the betterment of society.

Alice's suffrage ideas were planted early by her mother, Tacie, who attended women suffrage meetings-- often with Alice in tow. It was at the family farm, Paul noted years later, that she was first introduced to the suffrage movement.

When a \textit{Newsweek} interviewer asked Paul why she dedicated the whole of her life to women's equality, she credited her farm upbringing by quoting an adage she learned from her mother, "When you put your hand to the plow, you can't put it down until you get to the end of the row."

The Quakers endorsed the concept of gender equality as a central tenet of their religion and a societal norm. As Paul noted years later, "When the Quakers were founded...one of their principles was and is equality of the sexes. So I never had any other idea...the principle was always there." Growing up among Quakers, who believed men and women were equal, meant Alice's childhood environment was something of an anomaly for the time period. This upbringing undoubtedly accounts for the many Quaker suffragists including Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott, both whom Paul admired and considered role-models.

Though Alice's upbringing was steeped in suffrage ideals, it was during her stay in England that she was transformed from a reserved Quaker girl into a militant suffragist. After working in the settlement movement in New York, Paul left for Birmingham, England, in 1907 to study social work. One day, she passed a crowd jeering a female speaker and stopped to observe the chaos. The woman, who had been speaking about women's suffrage, was jeered so loudly she couldn't be heard and was forced from the stage by an unruly crowd.

Alice introduced herself to the speaker, who turned out to be Christabel Pankhurst, daughter of England’s most radical suffragette, Emmeline Pankhurst. The Pankhurst women (mother and two daughters) were leaders of a militant faction of suffragettes whose motto was "Deeds not words." Believing that prayer, petitions, and patience was not enough to successfully enfranchise women, the Pankhursts engaged in direct and visible measures, such as heckling, window smashing, and rock throwing, to raise public

\textsuperscript{152}Alice Paul Institute, “Feminist, Suffragist and Political Strategist,” www.alicepaul.org/alicepaul.htm (with some edits). "Used with Permission of the Alice Paul Institute."
awareness about the suffrage issue. Their notoriety gained them front-page coverage on many London newspapers, where they were seen being carried away in handcuffs by the police.

Paul joined their movement, personally breaking more than forty-eight windows (according to one interview) and was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions. The suffragettes, including Alice, protested their confinement with hunger strikes, for which they were forcibly fed in a brutal fashion. During these dark days of imprisonment, Paul took strength from a quotation she often saw etched into the prison walls by her compatriots: "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." This sentiment, first expressed by Thomas Jefferson, and later adopted by Susan B. Anthony, now inspired a new generation of revolutionaries in their quest for liberty.

Paul noted the impact of the Pankhursts on the suffrage debate, rousing many in the country to their cause. Upon her return to America in 1910, she said: "The militant policy is bringing success. . . the agitation has brought England out of her lethargy, and women of England are now talking of the time when they will vote, instead of the time when their children would vote, as was the custom a year or two back." Paul believed that English suffragettes had found the path to victory that continued to elude American suffragists.

Paul returned to her home country in 1910 with the determination to reshape and re-energize the American campaign for women’s enfranchisement. While a student at the University of Pennsylvania, she joined the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA). She was quickly appointed as head of the Congressional Committee in charge of working for a federal suffrage amendment.

In 1912, Alice Paul and two friends, Lucy Burns and Crystal Eastman, headed to Washington, D.C. to organize. With little funding but in true Pankhurst style, Paul and Burns organized a publicity event to gain maximum national attention; an elaborate and massive parade by women to march up Pennsylvania Avenue and coincide with Woodrow Wilson's presidential inauguration. The parade began on March 3, 1913, with the beautiful lawyer, activist, and socialite Inez Milholland, leading the procession, dressed in Greek robes and astride a white horse. The scene turned ugly, however, when scores of male onlookers attacked the suffragists, first with insults and obscenities, and then with physical violence, while the police stood by and watched. The following day, Alice's group of suffragists made headlines across the nation and suffrage became a popular topic of discussion among politicians and the general public alike.

In 1916, Paul decided that the American suffragettes needed to be more radical. She and her followers formed the National Woman's Party (NWP). The NWP organized "Silent Sentinels" to stand outside the White House holding banners inscribed with incendiary phrases directed toward President Wilson. The president initially treated the picketers
with bemused condescension, tipping his hat to them as he passed by; however, his attitude changed when the United States entered World War I in 1917. Few believed that suffragists would dare picket a wartime president, let alone use the war in their written censures, calling him "Kaiser Wilson." Many saw the suffragists' wartime protests as unpatriotic, and the sentinels, including Alice Paul, were attacked by angry mobs. The picketers began to be arrested on the trumped up charge of "obstructing traffic," and were jailed when they refused to pay the imposed fine. Despite the danger of bodily harm and imprisonment, the suffragists continued their demonstrations for freedom.

The arrested suffragists were sent to Occoquan Workhouse, a prison in Virginia. Paul and her compatriots followed the English suffragette model and demanded to be treated as political prisoners and staged hunger strikes. Their demands were met with brutality as suffragists, including frail, older women, were beaten, pushed and thrown into cold, unsanitary, and rat-infested cells. Arrests continued and conditions at the prison deteriorated. For staging hunger strikes, Paul and several other suffragists were forcibly fed in a tortuous method. Prison officials removed Paul to a sanitarium in hopes of getting her declared insane.

Virginia Bovee, who had been an officer at the Workhouse, stated in an affidavit given after her discharge:

_The beans, hominy, rice, corn meal . . . and cereal have all had worms in them. Sometimes the worms float on top of the soup. Often they are found in the corn bread._

_The beans, hominy, rice, corn meal . . . and cereal have all had worms in them. Sometimes the worms float on top of the soup. Often they are found in the corn bread._

_November 15, 1917, was the Night of Terror at Occoquan:_

_Under orders from W. H. Whittaker, superintendent of the Occoquan Workhouse, as many as forty guards with clubs went on a rampage, brutalizing thirty-three jailed suffragists. They beat Lucy Burns, chained her hands to the cell bars above her head, and left her there for the night. They hurled Dora Lewis into a dark cell, smashed her head against an iron bed, and knocked her out cold. Her cellmate Alice Cosu, who believed Mrs. Lewis to be dead, suffered a heart attack. According to affidavits, other women were grabbed, dragged, beaten, choked, slammed, pinched, twisted, and kicked._

When news of the prison conditions and hunger strikes became known, the press, some politicians, and the public began demanding the women's release; sympathy for the prisoners brought many to support the cause of women's suffrage. Upon her release from prison, Paul hoped to ride this surge of goodwill into victory.

In 1917, in response to public outcry about the prison abuse of suffragists, President Wilson reversed his position and announced his support for a suffrage amendment,

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calling it a "war measure." In 1919, both the House and Senate passed the 19th Amendment and the battle for state ratification commenced. Three-fourths of the states were needed to ratify the amendment.

The battle for ratification came down to the state of Tennessee in the summer of 1920; if a majority of the state legislature voted for the amendment, it would become law. The deciding vote was cast twenty-four year-old Harry Burn, the youngest member of the Tennessee assembly. Originally intending to vote “no,” Burn changed his vote after receiving a telegram from his mother asking him to support women’s suffrage. On August 18, 1920, Tennessee ratified the 19th Amendment and American women gained the right to vote after a seventy-two year battle. August 26th is now celebrated as Women's Equality Day in the United States.

**In Your Own Words**

1. Describe Alice Paul’s upbringing and how it influenced her thoughts on equality of the sexes?

2. How did the Pankhurst’s live their motto “Deeds Not Words?” How were their attempts to gain suffrage different than those that had come before them?

3. How did the philosophies of Thomas Jefferson impact Alice Paul?

4. What do you think about the actions of the suffragettes on the day of President Wilson’s inauguration? Was this a patriotic or a disloyal protest? Do you think that violence by the suffragettes would have gained more attention? Explain your answer.

5. Do you think it is important that the Constitution protects people’s ability to express unpopular political positions? Why should this matter?

6. Did Alice Paul build on the work of prior suffragettes? How long did it take for the suffragette cause to claim victory?

7. What happened on the night of November 15, 1917? Do you think that these sorts of personal sacrifices are necessary for the evolution of the political process?

8. Why did President Wilson call his support for the suffrage amendment “a war measure?” Why do you think the President changed his mind about suffrage?
9. Who was Harry Burns and what part did he play in the suffrage amendment? If you were he, would you have made the same decision?

10. Are there any contemporary causes that you would be willing to make personal sacrifices for? How far would you go for the causes in which you believe?
Alice Paul Handout #2: Woman Suffrage (to be used in conjunction with the Timeline and State Suffrage Map)

Access [http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrageoverview/a/timeline.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrageoverview/a/timeline.htm)\(^{154}\) for the timeline and print a class set of copies.

Access [http://www.constitutioncenter.org/timeline/html/cw08_12159.html](http://www.constitutioncenter.org/timeline/html/cw08_12159.html)\(^{155}\) for an American suffrage map prior to 1920 and print a class set of copies

**Questions: According to the Timeline and the Map....**

1. Where and when was the first woman’s suffrage meeting held in the United States?
2. Of what two types of rights was Soujourner Truth concerned with?
3. Where and when were American women first permitted to vote?
4. Who encouraged women to vote using the 14\(^{th}\) Amendment as justification and what happened when they did?
5. As of 1909, what four states permitted women to vote? What region of the country was this? Why do you think they were first?
6. In what year did California grant women the right to vote?
7. Did women have an impact on the 1916 presidential election? Explain.
8. Who was the first female elected to Congress? What state was she from?
9. Was the Anthony (or 19\(^{th}\) Amendment) passed by a large margin?
10. What happened to the Equal Rights Amendment?


Alice Paul Cartoons 1 & 2
Alice Paul Handout #3

NAME: ________________________________

Primary Source Analysis Worksheet156
Suffragists and Their Tactics

I. Type of Source (check one of the following)
A. Document
   ___ Newspaper    ___ Telegram    ___ Diary
   ___ Autobiography ___ Report      ___ Oral History
   ___ Letter      ___ Map          ___ Advertisement
   ___ Govt. Document ___ Book       ___ Other? ______

B. Graphic
   ___ Photograph  ___ Broadside    ___ Artistic Presentation
   ___ Cartoon    ___ Poster        ___ Sheet Music
   ___ Painting   ___ Print         ___ Other? ______

II. When was this source created? ____________________________________________

How do you know? __________________________________________________________

III. Who wrote/created this source? ___________________________________________

How do you know? __________________________________________________________

Did the creator of this source have first-hand knowledge of the events?____________

IV. In the space below, write a 2-3 sentence description of the source. Here are some
questions to help you.
Document: Is it printed, typed or handwritten?
If handwritten, can you read it?
Are there any notations in the margins?
Any special marks or seals?
Any other interesting characteristics?
Graphics: What people/objects/activities appear in the graphic?
What symbols/words/phrases appear in the graphic?

How are all of the above arranged in the graphic?

V. Who (do you think) is the audience for this source? __________________________

Why do you think that? ______________________________________________________

VI. Do you think the purpose of this source was to inform? To persuade? To entertain?

A combination of these? ______________________________________________________

Why do you think that? ______________________________________________________
VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE SPIRIT OF 1776 TO-DAY
"NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION."
Reject the Susan B. Anthony Amendment

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ACTION!

Would Southern Men Approve of This?

VOTES FOR WOMEN MEANS JURY DUTY FOR WOMEN

Suffragist leaders are careful never to mention to their audiences in the East or in the South the subject of jury duty for women. When questioned about it, one of them replied: "Oh, that can be arranged very pleasantly." Let us see how it is arranged in the States where women vote.

For many weeks of the spring of 1917 a big I. W. W. murder trial was in progress in Seattle. Six of the jurors were women. Mrs. Sarah J. Timmer was jury No. 11. She had received word before she entered the box that "her children had contracted the measles." Calling the jury in, Judge Donald said to Mrs. Timmer: "Mrs. Timmer, I have been informed that you are worried about your children. I'm powerless to let you go home, but both sides agree that I may communicate to you any word your family physician desires to convey. Don't let your attention be attracted by anything but the trial. We'll keep you advised and you will have no cause to worry. Remember, no news is good news."

(Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 8, 1917.)

No news is good news.

A month later the Seattle Post-Intelligencer said: "The confinement imposed on juries in murder trials is beginning to tell on most of the members of the Tiller jury, especially the women jurors, the majority of whom have families. During the last month numerous stipulations have been arranged between attorneys for both sides, allowing children of the jurors to see their parents for a few minutes in the presence of witnesses. The defense attorneys estimate that it will be nearly two weeks yet before they are through submitting evidence."

WOMEN OF WEALTH MANAGE TO ESCAPE JURY DUTY

One of them told an eastern friend how she did it. She said: "I was determined I would not serve on that jury, so I got a doctor to give me something which would make me violently sick for a little while; then I called another doctor, who finding me very sick, gave me a certificate that I was not able to serve on the jury."

Wake up and fight Suffrage in order to protect Southern Women from having jury duty forced upon them.
AS A WAR MEASURE---
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Since the war began, Woman Suffrage has been sweeping over the civilized world.

Women are voters in England, Canada, Norway, Finland and Denmark. All constitutional liabilities have been removed from them in Holland and government bills to give municipal woman suffrage are under way in France and Italy.

The women of the United States have no less patriotism than the women of England, Russia or Canada. They ask the men of the country to recognize this. Give votes to the women as part of the nation's defense.

Men have denied votes to women because they said that women are not called to serve the state and are therefore not entitled to vote.

This war has proved that woman must serve the state equally with men.

The government is calling on women to help in factories, in the production and conservation of food, to make munitions, and hardest of all to give their sons to the war.

Women are responding to the call. They are EAGER to SERVE. Either in war or in peace they WISH to serve their country.

Men of Connecticut don't wait for the end of the war before you admit the justice and necessity of woman suffrage. For the sake of the strength it will add to the nation help to bring it about now.

CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
35 Pratt Street, Hartford.
WHO SHARES THE COST OF WAR?

Who face death in order to give life to men?  
**WOMEN.**

Who love and work to rear the sons who then are killed in battle?  
**WOMEN.**

Who plant fields and harvest crops when all the able-bodied men are called to war?  
**WOMEN.**

Who keep shops and schools and work in factories while men are in the trenches?  
**WOMEN.**

Who nurse the wounded, feed the sick, support the helpless, brave all danger?  
**WOMEN.**

Who see their homes destroyed by shell and fire, their little ones made destitute, their daughters outraged?  
**WOMEN.**

Who are sent adrift, alone, no food, no hope, no shelter for the unborn child?  
**WOMEN.**

Who must suffer agony for every soldier killed?  
**WOMEN.**

Who are called upon to make sacrifices to pay the terrible tax of war?  
**WOMEN.**

Who dares say that war is not their business? In the name of Justice and Civilization give women a voice in Government and in the councils that make or prevent war.

**VOTE for the WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT IN NOVEMBER**

PENNSYLVANIA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
Headquarters: 201-6 Arcade Building, Harrisburg
Alice Paul Handout #4: Poem Project

Alice Paul

I watched a river of women,
Rippling purple, white, and golden,
Stream toward the National Capitol.
Along its border,
Like a purple flower floating,
Moved a young woman, worn, wraithlike,
With eyes alight, keenly observing the marchers.
Out there on the curb, she looked so little, so lonely;
Few appeared even to see her;
No one saluted her.
Yet commander was she of the column, its leader;
She was the spring whence arose that irresistible river of women
Streaming steadily toward the National Capitol.

Poem courtesy of the historic National Woman’s Party, Sewall-Blemon House and Museum

Alice Paul Handout #5: Wilson Petition¹⁵⁸

ACTIVITY

In this activity, students will pretend that they are members of a women’s suffrage group from the year 1919. Their task is to complete a petition President Wilson in support of the 19th Amendment.

1. Form the class into small groups of approximately four students. Inform each section that they should pretend that the year is 1919. They are to act as if they are members of a women’s suffrage group who are eager to win President Wilson’s support for their cause.

2. Each group will brainstorm for 10 minutes and then, as a group with one person transcribing, write for 30 minutes on a petition to President Wilson, listing at least four arguments why he should support the Anthony Amendment.

3. To receive the top possible grade, students must also list and deconstruct at least four counterarguments made by the "antis" (anti-suffragettes) who oppose the amendment.

4. Each group will then read their petition to the class, each student ideally presenting one pro-suffragette argument and one anti-suffragette argument.

5. The teacher will compile a top 5 list of the most influential arguments for both sides on the board.

Appendix A

Case Study #1 – Alice Paul addresses the following California State Social Science Standards for 10th, 11th, and 12th Grades:

10.5.1.: Analyze the arguments for entering into war presented by leaders from all sides of the Great War and the role of political and economic rivalries, ethnic and ideological conflicts, domestic discontent and disorder, and propaganda and nationalism in mobilizing the civilian population in support of "total war."

11.2.4: Analyze the effect of urban political machines and responses to them by immigrants and middle-class reformers.

11.2.9: Understand the effect of political programs and activities of the Progressives (e.g., federal regulation of railroad transport, Children's Bureau, the Sixteenth Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson).

11.4.5: Analyze the political, economic, and social ramifications of World War I on the home front.

11.5.4: Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.

11.10.7: Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

12.2.4: Understand the obligations of civic-mindedness, including voting, being informed on civic issues, volunteering and performing public service, and serving in the military or alternative service.

12.3.2: Explain how civil society makes it possible for people, individually or in association with others, to bring their influence to bear on government in ways other than voting and elections.

12.6.4: Describe the means that citizens use to participate in the political process (e.g., voting, campaigning, lobbying, filing a legal challenge, demonstrating, petitioning, picketing, running for political office).
12.10: Students formulate questions about and defend their analyses of tensions within our constitutional democracy and the importance of maintaining a balance between the following concepts: majority rule and individual rights; liberty and equality; state and national authority in a federal system; civil disobedience and the rule of law; freedom of the press and the right to a fair trial; the relationship of religion and government.
This lesson is organized as a four day unit based on a 55 minute class session. This lesson continues the previous week’s examination of feminism in the progressive era. The content of this week’s lesson will focus on how a group of determined women, as exemplified by Margaret Sanger, forced the American legal system to concede that contraception should be a personal choice of each individual woman.

This lesson plan will require a class set of each of the following:

1. a short story “The New Margaret Sanger Doll”,
2. a five-page packet with a timeline and primary sources from the era with attendant questions and
3. the film Margaret Sanger: A Public Nuisance.

No specific prior knowledge is required for this unit. It would be helpful if students had previous experience working with primary sources, but it is not absolutely necessary.

**Day Seven**

**Introductory "Hook"** Ask the students how many of them are considering having children someday? Do they have any idea of how many they would like? Inform the class that in 2001 the United States government commissioned a study showing how
much the average family spends per child from birth until age 17. Take guesses from the
class about the study’s conclusions. Tell the class that this study found that the cost of
raising each child was somewhere between $150,000-$250,000!159 This would be
between $8,800-$14,700 per child per year!

Ask the class if they are surprised by these numbers. Ask that if knowing these
economic facts of child-rearing might deter them from wanting children? Ask the class
their opinion of the whether women should have the right to have children or not. Let
them know that less than 100 years ago, the legal choice of whether to have children or
not, and of how many, didn’t exist for American women. Tell them that less than 100
years ago it was still illegal to distribute information about family planning. Make it
clear to the class that the subject is not abortion. Differentiate the idea of abortion from
that of contraception. Emphasize an awareness that there remain serious religious and
moral objections to abortion, but that is not the topic of the discussion. The class will
only be learning about the legality of contraception, or what we call birth control today.

**Transition** Ask the class how could it be possible in America that information
about birth control would be restricted – if the class requires a prompt, mention
references to the First Amendment. What about freedom of speech? What does the class
think about the idea that it be illegal to pass along existing scientific knowledge?
Continue the First Amendment discussion until interest flags. Then proceed to the story
of Anthony Comstock vs. Margaret Sanger.

159 United States Department of Agriculture, “Average Cost of Raising a Child,”
**Lesson Content** Remind the class to take diligent notes during the lecture, as they will be using this information later in the unit and in the final assessment next week.

Margaret Sanger was born in 1879. The sixth of eleven children Margaret grew up in a busy household. While her mother took care of the large family, her father worked as a sculptor, chiseling headstones for local cemeteries. Her father was a "freethinker" who was active in the cause of labor reform and social equality. His efforts were usually greeted with bitter scorn from the townspeople, and as a result, Margaret and her siblings grew up being called "children of the devil." ¹⁶⁰

While in high school, she developed a strong interest in women's rights and began studying the great female leaders in history. While researching women such as Helen of Troy, Ruth, and Cleopatra for a project, Margaret became greatly inspired and wrote an essay on women's equality, which she read aloud to her class.

While she was fifteen years old and attending boarding school in a neighboring town, she was called home to take care of her mother, who was dying from a terrible disease called tuberculosis. One of the reasons her mother was so sick was that she had been severely weakened by having so many children – eleven live births and seven miscarriages. Within a few months of Margaret's return home, she died.

Margaret decided to become a nurse and married an architect. She had three children. When she returned to nursing, she worked as a visiting nurse in some of the worst slums in New York City. She most often was called upon to help deliver babies or

nurse desperately weak mothers back to health. Some of these mothers suffered from bearing too many children. Others nearly bled to death because of unsafe abortions, operations that were performed on them to end their pregnancies. With each visit, the women, many of whom had ten children or more, desperately begged Sanger: "Tell me something to keep from having another baby. We cannot afford another yet". But by law, Sanger was forbidden from teaching this knowledge. Sanger had found her cause and was ready to take on the world to fight for it.

Margaret became convinced that the overall improvement of women's lives and society in general rested on controlling population growth. She was ready to take direct action, even if it meant breaking the laws she considered unconstitutional and unfair. She decided to take a three-pronged approach to promoting birth control in the United States — education, organization, and legislation. First, she would educate the public on birth control. Then she would form a birth control organization that would help raise awareness and money for the cause. And finally she would seek to overturn the Comstock Laws, which restricted the sending of birth control information through the mail. She would also lobby, or pressure, Congress for federal legislation allowing doctors to prescribe birth control devices.

At the time, it was illegal even for married couples to use most forms of birth control, except in the case of medical emergency. While most wealthy women could afford reliable — and illegal — forms of birth control or safe abortions, poor women could only continue to have children or risk death due to unsafe, illegal abortions. Sanger

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had seen enough women, including her own mother, die due to lack of birth control information and access, and she was determined to bring both to the poor women of the world.

As the first step in that process, Sanger started her own magazine, the *Woman Rebel*. Working with friends who volunteered their services and funding it through subscriptions paid in advance, she produced and mailed the first issue of the *Woman Rebel* in March 1914 from her small New York City apartment. The motto of the magazine was “No Gods, No Masters.”

There was plenty of opposition. Under the Comstock Law, several issues of the *Woman Rebel* were banned by the United States Postal Service, which had sole authority to refuse the mailing of any material it termed "obscene." Anthony Comstock was a social reformer who had managed to include information on birth control under the obscenity clause of his self-titled 1873 law. Sanger faced huge opposition from the Catholic Church and from women’s groups who felt it was indecent to discuss anything which involved sex or reproduction.

When the postal authorities realized they were not going to stop her efforts, the government stepped in and charged her with nine counts of breaking obscenity laws, which carried a maximum sentence of forty-five years in prison. As a result, Sanger was forced to flee to London for two years, leaving behind her children and husband.

In 1915, after repeated attempts through her attorneys in the United States, Sanger was finally able to get the charges against her dropped. She returned to New York, reclaimed her children, and resumed her birth control fight. Ready to mount the second
and third phases of her plan-organization and legislation-Sanger founded the National Birth Control League and began lecturing across the country and gathering supporters and funds to aid her efforts.

Sanger chose the Brownsville section of Brooklyn as the sight of the first birth control clinic in the United States because she knew it was the poor and middle class women who most needed birth control information. The clinic opened on October 16, 1916, and hundreds of women lined up for blocks to get inside.

The clinic proved extremely popular but, as expected, within a few weeks the police conducted a raid and shut it down. The nurses were arrested as hundreds of women poured into the streets of Brooklyn to protest. She was given the choice of paying a fine or serving jail time. Determined to gather publicity for her cause, she choose the jail time and served thirty days in a workhouse.

She then started The Birth Control Review in 1921, and during the first five years of publication she received more than one million letters from mothers throughout the nation. On a regular basis, the letters detailed personal horror stories of poverty, dying children, and mothers, sisters, and friends bleeding to death. Women described how they could never get an education or a decent job because they were continually pregnant. Many told of not being able to afford one child yet having ten or more simply because they were not allowed to legally plan the size of their families. Most of the women were poor and could not afford to deliver their babies at hospitals. All the women, no matter what their story, age, or income level, requested birth control information and pleaded for answers to their medical questions.
In response to the national outcry for birth control, Sanger felt that if federal legislators could read these letters they would understand the need for birth control on the part of the general population. With that in mind, Sanger assembled the best 500 letters into a book titled *Mothers in Bondage*[^162], which she published in 1928. The book proved to be highly influential, and Sanger used it to rally her cause through the next decade.

She founded a lobbyist group in Washington, D.C, called the National Committee and set up the Clinical Research Bureau of the American Birth Control League to invent cheaper and more effective means of birth control. She organized the first national and international birth control conferences in the world and wrote extensively on the subject, publishing eleven books and pamphlets.

Finally in 1936, after many years in the halls of Congress, the Supreme Court issued a decision, *United States vs. One Package of Japanese Pessaries*[^163], permitting the mailing of birth control information and striking down the Comstock Law. Sanger did more than make birth control a reality in the United States. She demonstrated that dedication to a cause could be rewarded in one's lifetime and that there were several ways, from writing a magazine to lobbying Congress, that people in America could effect change.

[^162]: Margaret Sanger, *Mothers in Bondage* (Cleveland: Ohio State University Press, original 1928, reprinted 1999)

[^163]: *United States vs. One Package of Japanese Pessaries*, 13 F. Supp.334 (E.D.N.Y. 1936), aff’d 86 F 2nd 737 (2nd Cir. 1936)
**Day Eight**

**Introductory “Hook”** Margaret Sanger said “No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.” She also said “War, famine, poverty and oppression of the workers will continue while woman makes life cheap. They will cease only when she limits her reproductivity and human life is no longer a thing to be wasted.”

Ask your class what they think of these quotes. Do they agree or disagree? Ask them what connections or comparisons can they make between Margaret Sanger and a Barbie Doll? Distribute the short story “The New Margaret Sanger Doll” – Margaret Sanger Handout #1. As students are reading the story, divide the class in two. One half will be instructed to explain the ironies in the story: What makes the idea of a Margaret Sanger Barbie so unlikely? Why is it funny? What kind of effect is the author going for? The other half should examine the story for historical accuracy: What accomplishments are listed for the Margaret Sanger Barbie? Are they accurate and complete? All students should be prepared to explain the last line of the story: What does the author mean by “How proud Margaret Sanger would have been?”

Next we have a timeline and primary sources exercise: distribute to each student a packet of five pages entitled Margaret Sanger Handout #2. They will find a timeline of

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165 Margaret Sanger, *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography*, p. 278
the birth control movement as well as a stanza from one of Margaret Sanger’s books, a copy of one of her most famous speeches, and a set of questions. Inform the class that using all of these resources together, and working on their own, the assignment is to answer the questions. Tell them they must use complete sentences and support each answer using at least one source. This assignment can be done either in class or as homework, depending on available time.

**Day Nine**

**Introductory “Hook”** Place this quote on the board: “As a pioneer fighting for a cause, I believe in free speech. As a propagandist, I see immense advantages in being gagged. It silences me, but makes millions of others talk and think about a cause in which I live.”167 Begin a class discussion about the meaning of this quote. Ask the students how could being gagged help someone gain publicity for their cause?

Tell the class that in this session, they will focus on how Margaret Sanger was able to use the media and popular culture to advance her cause. Show the class the movie, *Margaret Sanger: A Public Nuisance*168, and inform the students that they will need to take notes for a one page essay due tomorrow. They can either write on just one or a combination of several of the following topics:

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168 Available at http://www.wmm.com/filmcatalog/pages/c147.shtml, cost for K-12 schools is $89.00 plus $10.00 shipping. *Margaret Sanger: A Public Nuisance* highlights Sanger's pioneering strategies of using media and popular culture to advance the cause of birth control. It tells the story of her arrest and trial, using actuality films, vaudeville, courtroom sketches and re-enactments, video effects and Sanger's own words. This witty and inventive documentary looks at how Sanger effectively changed public discussion of birth control from issues of morality to issues of women's health and economic well-being. Executive producers of the program are Barbara Abrash, Esther Katz and Laurence Hegarty.
1. How did Mrs. Sanger manipulate the media for her cause? What protections within our Constitution allowed her to promote her cause? Are these still important today?

2. How was Mrs. Sanger, an “ordinary person” able to make a huge difference in society? Was she alone in her quest? Explain her dedication to this cause and the means she employed to achieve her goals.

3. What techniques did the filmmakers use to dramatize the life of Mrs. Sanger?

4. Where does the title of the film come from? Is it meant to be sincere or ironic? Explain.

**Day Ten**

**Introductory “Hook”** Begin a discussion with your class along the following lines: Did the controversy over birth control end abruptly in 1936 when the federal Comstock laws were overturned? Is there no longer any debate about whether birth control should be widely available? What do you think? Perhaps more importantly for your present circumstances, what do your parents think? If you were the parent of a teenager, would you want contraceptives to be available to your child?
Inform the students that it’s to be a debate day!

Hold a class debate on the following questions:

1. "Should public schools make contraceptives available to students?"

2. If so, should students seeking contraceptives be required to obtain their parents' consent?"

The class should be divided into three groups: one that opposes making contraceptives available to students, one that favors making contraceptives available but only with parents' consent, and one that favors making contraceptives available with or without parents' consent.

Each student should imagine that he or she is the parent of a school-age child and should join whichever of the three groups’ best expresses the position that he or she, as a parent, would take on the issue. Once the three groups have assembled, they should discuss among themselves the best arguments in favor of their position. Example: for the opposition group there might be religious and moral objections, for the parent’s consent group there would be the rights of parents to be informed about their child since they remain legal minors, and for the no consent group there might be arguments about the autonomy of the child and their right to privacy. Then the class should debate the two questions with the teacher as moderator. Close by emphasizing that these arguments are similar to the ones faced by the movement to legalize birth control in the United States.
**Conclusion**  This unit on feminism and birth control in the progressive era should help students understand that major societal change takes time and persistence by an organized and committed citizenry. They should also comprehend that many of these same issues continue to concern and affect people today. By learning about the life of Margaret Sanger, students will continue to focus on the lesson theme that ordinary individuals can make a huge difference in their societies through peaceful protest.

**Evaluation**  Student understanding will be determined through class discussions, Margaret Sanger Handout #2 Questions, the film essay, and the class debate. In the final assessment at the end of the entire unit, students will use their knowledge of Margaret Sanger and the birth control movement to answer multiple choice and short essay questions. They will also utilize the knowledge gained to present ideas for and against the birth control movement in a press conference format.
Margaret Sanger Handout #1

Print out class copies of “The New Margaret Sanger Doll” by Cathy James, 2002. This story can be found at http://www.brashcyber.com/mona-2002.html.

This short story (a page and a half in length) captures the irony of a small girl and her mother playing “Barbies” with a “Margaret Sanger Doll” while exploring many of the tenets of female empowerment and the birth control movement. It is both humorous and poignant.

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Margaret Sanger Handout #2

Timeline of the Movement for Birth Control

1825 - British neo-Malthusian, Richard Carlile published the first book in the English language devoted exclusively to contraceptive theory and knowledge entitled *Every Woman's Book: or, What is Love?*

1832 – The first American, Dr. Charles Knowlton, writes on the subject of birth control in his book, *The Fruits of Philosophy or The Private Companion of Young Married People*. The immediate result of the book’s publication was the doctor’s imprisonment by the state of Massachusetts for a term of three months hard labor

1873 – Anthony Comstock is successful in passing his Comstock Law which makes distribution of information about birth control illegal in the United States

1906 – Emma Goldman begins to lecture in America about the need for birth control information

1914 – Margaret Sanger begins publication of the *Woman Rebel* magazine

1916 - Margaret Sanger opens the first U.S. birth-control clinic in Brooklyn, N.Y. The clinic is shut down 10 days later and Sanger is arrested

1921 - Margaret Sanger founds the American Birth Control League

1923 – Margaret Sanger opens another birth control clinic, the Clinical Research Bureau

1936 - The federal law prohibiting the dissemination of contraceptive information through the mail is modified and birth control information is no longer classified as obscene
1942 - Margaret Sanger’s American Birth Control League is renamed the Planned Parenthood Federation of America

1960 - The Food and Drug Administration approves birth control pills
The Writings of Margaret Sanger:

Women’s Error and Her Debt

“The most far-reaching social development of modern times is the revolt of women against sex servitude. The most important force in the remaking of the world is a free motherhood. Besides this force, the elaborate international programmes of modern statesmen are weak and superficial. Diplomats may formulate leagues of nations and nations may pledge their utmost strength to maintain them, statesmen may dream of reconstructing the world out of alliances, hegemonies and spheres of influence, but woman, continuing to produce explosive populations, will convert these pledges into the proverbial scraps of paper; or she may, by controlling birth, life motherhood to the plane of a voluntary, intelligent function, and remake the world. When the world is thus remade, it will exceed the dream of statesmen, reformer, and revolutionist.”

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: My subject is "The Children's Era." The Children's Era! This makes me think of Ellen Key's book -- The Century of the Child. Ellen Key hoped that this twentieth century was to be the century of the child. The twentieth century, she said, would see this old world of ours converted into a beautiful garden of children. Well, we have already lived through a quarter of this twentieth century. What steps have we taken toward making it the century of the child? So far, very, very few.

Before you can cultivate a garden, you must know something about gardening. You have got to give your seeds a proper soil in which to grow. You have got to give them sunlight and fresh air. You have got to give them space and the opportunity (if they are to lift their flowers to the sun), to strike their roots deep into that soil. So, if we want to make this world a garden for children, we must first of all learn the lesson of the gardener.

So far we have not been gardeners. We have only been a sort of silly reception committee, a reception committee at the Grand Central Station of life. Trainload after trainload of children are coming in, day and night -- nameless refugees arriving out of the Nowhere into the Here. Trainload after trainload -- many unwelcome, unwanted, unprepared for, unknown, without baggage, without passports, most of them without pedigrees. These unlimited hordes of refugees arrive in such numbers that the reception committee is thrown into a panic -- a panic of activity. The reception committee arouses itself heroically, establishes emergency measures: milk stations, maternity centers, settlement houses, playgrounds, orphanages, welfare leagues, and every conceivable kind of charitable effort.

There is only one way out. We have got to fight for the health and happiness of the Unborn Child. And to do that in a practical, tangible way, we have got to free women from enforced, enslaved maternity. There can be no hope for the future of civilization, no certainty of racial salvation, until every woman can decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother, and when and how many children she cares to bring into the world. That is the first step.

I would like to suggest Civil Service examinations for parenthood! Prospective parents after such an examination would be given a parenthood license, proving that they are physically and mentally fit to be the fathers and mothers of the next generation.

If there is going to be any Civil Service examination, let it be conducted by the Unborn Child, the Child-to-be.

Just try for a moment to picture the possibilities of such an examination. When you want a cook or housemaid, you go to an employment bureau. You have to answer questions. You have to exchange references. You have to persuade the talented cook that you conduct a proper well-run household. Children ought to have at least the same privilege as cooks.

Sometimes in idle moments I like to think it would be a very good scheme to have a bureau of the Child-to-be. At such a bureau of the unborn, the wise child might be able to find out a few things about its father -- and its mother. Just think for a moment of this bureau where prospective parents might apply for a baby. Think of the questions they would be asked by the agent of the unborn or by the baby itself.

First: "Mr. Father, a baby is an expensive luxury. Can you really afford one?"

"Have you paid for your last baby yet?"

"How many children have you already? Six? You must have your hands full. Can you take care of so many?"

"Do you look upon children as a reward -- or a penalty?"

"Can you provide a happy home for one! A sunny nursery? Proper food?"

"What's that you say? Ten children already? Two dark rooms in the slums?"

"No, thank you! I don't care to be born at all if I cannot be well-born. Good-bye!"

And if we could organize a society for the prevention of cruelty to unborn children, we would make it a law that children should be brought into the world only when they were welcome, invited, and wanted; that they would arrive with a clean bill of health and heritage; that they would possess healthy, happy, well-mated, and mature parents.

And there would be certain conditions of circumstances which would preclude parenthood. These conditions, the presence of which would make parenthood a crime, are the following:

1. Transmissible disease
2. Temporary disease
3. Space out between births
4. Twenty-three years as a minimum age for parents
5. Economic circumstances adequate
6. Spiritual harmony between parents.

In conclusion, let me repeat: We are not trying to establish a dictatorship over parents. We want to free women from enslavement and unwilling motherhood. We are fighting for the emancipation for the mothers of the world, of the children of the world, and the children to be. We want to create a real Century of the Child -- usher in a Children's Era. We can do this by handling the terrific gift of life in bodies fit and perfect as can be fashioned. Help us to make this Conference, which as aroused so much interest, the turning point toward this era. Only so can you help in the creation of the future.
Questions:

1. What were the largest obstacles that the birth control movement faced from 1825 - 1936? Were these similar or different than the obstacles faced by women’s suffrage? How were these resolved?

2. What was the significance of the fact that Margaret Sanger’s book *Woman and the New Race* was published in 1920? What was happening in the birth control movement at the time? What world events was she describing and of what dangers did she warn? Explain what she means in the last sentence of the quote provided – how will a world of voluntary motherhood “exceed the dream of…[the] revolutionist?”

3. What tactics did Margaret Sanger use to gain support for her cause? What types of personal sacrifices did she make for her cause? What strategies worked best for her? Did she accomplish her goals alone or as part of a larger group? How long did it take her to achieve her goals?

4. What is the difference in perspective between the two primary sources? For whom does she claim the benefit of birth control in each?
5. What changes had occurred in the birth control movement in the period between the publication of *Woman and the New Race* and the speech *The Children’s Era*?

6. Summarize the ideas in her speech *The Children’s Era*? Are they consistent with her earlier writings? Do you agree with all of her 6 proposed requirements for parenthood? Why or why not?
Appendix A

Case Study #2 – Margaret Sanger addresses the following California State Social Science Standards for 10th, 11th, and 12th Grades:

10.3.2: Examine how scientific and technological changes and new forms of energy brought about massive social, economic, and cultural change (e.g., the inventions and discoveries of James Watt, Eli Whitney, Henry Bessemer, Louis Pasteur, Thomas Edison).

10.3.5: Understand the connections among natural resources, entrepreneurship, labor, and capital in an industrial economy.

11.2.9: Understand the effect of political programs and activities of the Progressives (e.g., federal regulation of railroad transport, Children's Bureau, the Sixteenth Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson).

11.5.4: Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.


10.10.7: Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

11.11.3: Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

12.3.2: Explain how civil society makes it possible for people, individually or in association with others, to bring their influence to bear on government in ways other than voting and elections.

12.5.2: Analyze judicial activism and judicial restraint and the effects of each policy over the decades (e.g., the Warren and Rehnquist courts).

12.6.4: Describe the means that citizens use to participate in the political process (e.g., voting, campaigning, lobbying, filing a legal challenge, demonstrating, petitioning, picketing, running for political office).
12.8.1: Discuss the meaning and importance of a free and responsible press.

12.10: Students formulate questions about and defend their analyses of tensions within our constitutional democracy and the importance of maintaining a balance between the following concepts: majority rule and individual rights; liberty and equality; state and national authority in a federal system; civil disobedience and the rule of law; freedom of the press and the right to a fair trial; the relationship of religion and government.
Designing Women: Architects of the Modern Feminist Agenda
Case Study 3: Emma Goldman – The Most Dangerous Woman in America?

This lesson is organized as a five day unit that continues the previous week’s examination of feminism in the progressive era. The lesson will use the life of Emma Goldman to explore political controversies of the period such as women’s rights, freedom of speech, and anti-militarism. This case study will expose students to life of a politically radical woman who spent her life challenging the status quo and provoked debate on issues which have yet to be resolved in American society.

This lesson plan will require a class set of

1. an introductory text on Emma Goldman,
2. a poem about Emma Goldman,
3. an article and pages from Mother Earth magazine,
4. copies of Emma Goldman’s “rap sheet”
5. cartoons about Emma Goldman from the period,
6. photographs of Emma Goldman and her comrades from the period,
7. chronologies of Emma Goldman’s life,
8. a copy of a lecture CD by Howard Zinn, Emma Goldman: A Dangerous Woman,
9. two or three class periods of time in the computer lab,
10. instructions for the mock trial project,

\footnote{Available at http://www.alternativeradio.org/programs/ZINH010.shtml, cost is $15.00}
11. instructions for the press conference project, and

12. test questions and scantron answer sheets.

No specific prior knowledge is required for the unit on Emma Goldman. It would be helpful if students had previous experience working with primary sources, but it is not absolutely necessary.

**Days Eleven – Thirteen**

**Introductory "Hook"** in 1919, J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigations called Emma Goldman, “the most dangerous woman in America!” To repeat (say it slowly), “The most dangerous woman in America”! What must one do to be awarded such a dubious distinction? Did she blow up buildings, kidnap small children, distribute drugs and vice across the nation? Was she a female Al Capone? A member of the mafia? OR was she perhaps a Russian immigrant who insisted on her right to speak radical, unpopular thoughts, no matter the cost?

**Transition** Tell the class that they are going to start a three day project today in which THEY are going to teach YOU (the teacher) about Emma Goldman. Inform them that after looking at a myriad of primary and secondary sources, it’s going to be their responsibility to tell you, in a three page essay the following:

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Why was Emma Goldman considered the most dangerous woman in America?

Their opinion about why Goldman received this label must specifically mention at least three of the following topics in their essay: anarchy, freedom of speech, women’s rights, birth control, anti-militarism, freedom of the press, and/or immigration.

Was Hoover right? Why or Why not?

Tell the class that they will have access to many types of research depending on their preferences. The students will have access to all of these resources, both primary and secondary, as well as some time in the computer lab to do independent research if they wish. As part of the essay assignment, students should also prepare a bibliography listing all of the sources that were used in their essay and specifying whether they are primary or secondary.

**Lesson Content** Show the class that in each section of the classroom, they will find a kind of resource. There should be enough copies that everyone will get a chance to look at every source presented and also enough time to allow for independent research.

Looking around the room, point out to students:

1. a copy of an introductory page about Emma Goldman – Emma Goldman Handout #1,
2. copies of a poem by Josephine Bell, *A Tribute* – Emma Goldman Handout #2,
copies of a speech on patriotism which Emma Goldman delivered, reprinted from *Mother Earth* magazine – Emma Goldman Handout #3,

copies of the front cover and table of contents from *Mother Earth* magazine – Emma Goldman Handout #4,

copies of Emma Goldman’s rap sheet, a history of her arrests and time in jail – Emma Goldman Handout #5,

three cartoons from 1912-1920 on the issue of anarchism and deportation – Emma Goldman Handout #6,

two photographs of Emma Goldman and one of her supporters – Emma Goldman Handout #7,

a chronology of Emma Goldman’s life – Emma Goldman Handout #8,

on the stereo there is the taped version of a lecture by Howard Zinn on Emma Goldman.

Students may use any or all of these sources for the essay. The class will have two class periods to conduct historical explorations in the classroom and one period in the computer lab to either conduct more independent research or to type up the essay.

Students will need to complete the essay and turn it in by class time on Day Fourteen. The essay will be graded on its persuasiveness, historical accuracy, and discerning use of at least two primary and two secondary sources. If students would like to use a primary or secondary source beyond what is given, they should be prepared to provide the website or book citation of that source.

**Day Fourteen**

*Introductory “Hook”* Begin a class discussion with some of the following prompts: Is it unpatriotic to disagree with the political party in power? Should unpopular
viewpoints be suppressed or censored? What if you don’t agree with the government’s foreign policy? For example, what if you don’t agree with the current War in Iraq? What if you make speeches about your belief that this war, or perhaps any war, is wrong? What if those speeches impact the war effort? Should that be a criminal act? And if so, should that be a basis for deportation from the country?

**Transition** In June 1917, Emma Goldman was charged with conspiracy to violate the draft act – since the United State entered WWI in April, she has been lecturing against military conscription.174 Largely in response to her speeches, President Wilson signed the Espionage Act on June 15th and she was arrested that same day by federal officials. After being found guilty of unlawfully opposing the draft, she spent two years in a Missouri prison. Immediately upon her release, federal officials decide to deport Ms. Goldman back to Russia, the country she had left 35 years earlier.

**Lesson Content** Inform the students that they will be re-creating the deportation proceedings of Emma Goldman. Ask for eleven volunteers to play specific roles. Distribute Emma Goldman Handout #9. Pick a judge, a state’s attorney, a defense attorney, an Emma Goldman, as well as the following six witnesses: Alexander Berkman, Henry Clay Frick, Margaret Sanger, J. Edgar Hoover, Leon Czolgosz, and President Woodrow Wilson. In addition, pick a baliff. Tell the class that there will be total participate in this mock trial. Anyone without a specific role will be a member of

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174 Military conscription for United States involvement in World War I was passed by Congress at the request of President Wilson and entitled the Selective Service Act. This Act gave the President the right to draft soldiers.
the jury. The two questions before the court and for the jury to decide: Is Emma Goldman a threat to the security of the United States? And if so, should she be deported back to her native Russia?

For students who have specific roles, they have one class period to prepare all aspects of that role. The class should spend the day in the computer lab so each participant can research their role. Those students on the jury will conduct research into the duties and obligations of a jury member in the American legal system and submit a half page on the topic by the end of the class period. Instruct the class that tomorrow they will re-create the trial of *The Government of the United States vs. Emma Goldman*!

Inform the class that they will be graded for the mock trial according to effort, and that the class members who are jurors for the mock trial will have roles in the final assessment press conference activity.

**Day Fifteen**

As class begins, have the students immediately begin the mock trial. Let the judge know that he or she is responsible for order in the court and has the power to hold anyone in contempt if they are not cooperating. After all the witnesses have testified and been cross-examined, leave the question to the jury: Is Emma Goldman a threat to the security of the United States? Should she be deported back to her native Russia? Give them until 5 minutes before the end of class to deliberate before asking for a decision. If the jury cannot decide unanimously, declare a mistrial.
**Conclusion**  In the final few moments of class, start a concluding discussion to emphasize the main themes of the case study. Make sure that students are clear on those themes; peaceful protest, personal sacrifice, the importance of dissent in a democracy, and the benefits of organization and persistence to successful political activity. Ask students to ponder and comment on the following questions: How far will we as a society protect Freedom of Speech, even if we don’t agree with that speech? How important is Freedom of the Press? What are we willing to sacrifice for the sake of security and comfort? Are dissenting voices vital or destructive to democracy? What kind of lessons can we learn from the life of Emma Goldman?
Emma Goldman Handout #1

Emma Goldman was born in Kovno, Russia on 27th June, 1869. She was the daughter of observant Jewish parents who, when she turned 16 years old, wanted to arrange her marriage. She refused this arranged marriage and emigrated to the United States in 1885. She began work in a clothing factory in upstate New York before moving to New York City in 1889.

Influenced by the radical political writings of Johann Most, Goldman became an anarchist. The concept of anarchy calls for the absence of any form of political authority. Goldman soon met a fellow anarchist, Alexander Berkman, and became active in the trade union movement. During one industrial dispute, Berkman shot Henry Frick of the Carnegie Steel Company. Berkman was imprisoned for this crime. The next year Goldman was also jailed for exhorting the unemployed to steal food if they needed it.

In addition to work on the labor union movement, Goldman became involved in the campaign to allow women to vote and to have access to birth control information. An anarchist named Leon Czolgosz, who assassinated President William McKinley in 1901, claimed he had been influenced by the speeches of Goldman.

Together, Goldman and Berkman published the journal, Mother Earth, between 1906-1917. Goldman also wrote many other works, including Anarchism and Other Essays (1910) and The Social Significance of the Modern Drama (1914). Goldman was

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an active participant of the anti-war movement in World War I and was imprisoned for two years for obstructing conscription.

Fearing their political influence, the attorney general of the United States organized a plan to deport a large number of left-wing figures. On 7th November, 1919, over 10,000 suspected communists and anarchists were arrested in twenty-three different cities. The special prosecutor, J. Edgar Hoover, had singled out Goldman as he particularly disagreed with her views on birth control, free love and religion. In court Hoover argued that Goldman's speeches had inspired anarchists to commit acts of violence in the United States, like those of Leon Czolgosz against President McKinley. The jury agreed with Hoover. Goldman, Berkman, and 246 other people of unpopular political leanings, were deported to Russia.

Once she arrived in Russia, Goldman was disgusted by the Bolshevik dictatorship. She managed to obtain British citizenship through marriage to a Welshman. She immediately wrote about her experiences in Russia. Her books *My Disillusionment in Russia* (1923) and *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (1924) helped to turn a large number of socialists against the Bolshevik government. Eventually, Goldman moved to France and wrote her autobiography, *Living My Life*, published in 1931.

Emma Goldman died in Toronto, Canada in 1940.
Note: This poem is one of the eight items cited for violation of the Espionage act from the August issue of *The Masses*, causing the magazine to fold. It is a tribute to Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.]

**Published:** *The Masses*, August, 1917;

*Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are in prison,*

Although the night is tremblingly beautiful
And the sound of water climbs down the rocks
And the breath of the night air moves through
multitudes and multitudes of leaves
That love to waste themselves for the sake of
the summer.

*Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are in prison tonight,*

But they have made themselves elemental forces,
Like the water that climbs down the rocks:
Like the wind in the leaves:
Like the gentle night that holds us:
They are working on our destinies:
They are forging the love of the nations:

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Tonight they lie in prison.

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176Marxism Today, “Poems in Tribute to Emma Goldman,”
www.marxist.org/subject/women/poetry/tribute.
What is Patriotism? (March 1915 – in the magazine Mother Earth)

Speech given in San Francisco, California

- What is patriotism? Is it love of one's birthplace, the place of childhood's recollections and hopes, dreams and aspirations? Is it the place where, in childlike naïveté, we would watch the passing clouds, and wonder why we, too, could not float so swiftly? The place where we would count the milliard glittering stars, terror-stricken lest each one "an eye should be," piercing the very depths of our little souls?

- "Patriotism, sir, is the last resort of scoundrels," said Dr. Samuel Johnson. Leo Tolstoy, the greatest anti-patriot of our time, defines patriotism as the principle that will justify the training of wholesale murderers; a trade that requires better equipment in the exercise of man-killing than the making of such necessities as shoes, clothing, and houses; a trade that guarantees better returns and greater glory than that of the honest workingman.

- Conceit, arrogance and egotism are the essentials of patriotism. Let me illustrate. Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little spots, each one surrounded by an iron gate. Those who have had the fortune of being born on some particular spot consider themselves nobler, better, grander, more intelligent than those living beings inhabiting any other spot. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone living on that chosen spot to fight, kill and die in the attempt to impose his superiority upon all the others.

  The inhabitants of the other spots reason in like manner, of course, with the result that from early infancy the mind of the child is provided with blood-curdling stories about the Germans, the French, the Italians, Russians, etc. When the child has reached manhood he is thoroughly saturated with the belief that he is chosen by the Lord himself to defend his country against the attack or invasion of any foreigner. It is for that purpose that we are clamoring for a greater army and navy, more battleships and ammunition. An army and navy represent the people's toys.

- We Americans claim to be a peace-loving people. We hate bloodshed; we are opposed to violence. Yet we go into spasms of joy over the possibility of projecting dynamite bombs from flying machines upon helpless citizens. We are ready to hang, electrocute, or lynch anyone, who, from economic necessity, will risk his own life in the attempt upon that of some industrial magnate. Yet our

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177 Public Broadcasting Station, “The American Experience: Emma Goldman,”
hearts swell with pride at the thought that America is becoming the most powerful nation on earth, and that she will eventually plant her iron foot on the necks of all other nations.
Such is the logic of patriotism.

- Thinking men and women the world over are beginning to realize that patriotism is too narrow and limited a conception to meet the necessities of our time.

- The spirit of militarism has already permeated all walks of life. Indeed, I am convinced that militarism is a greater danger here than anywhere else, because of the many bribes capitalism holds out to those whom it wishes to destroy.

- When we have undermined the patriotic lie, we shall have cleared the path for the great structure where all shall be united into a universal brotherhood—a truly free society.
178 Public Broadcasting Station, “The American Experience: Emma Goldman,”
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Emma Goldman Handout #5\(^{179}\)

**Cause of Arrest: Incitement to Riot**  
August 30, 1893

With the nation in a deep economic depression, Emma Goldman is arrested and charged with inciting a riot during a New York City speech to unemployed workers on August 21.

Goldman is tried, found guilty, and sentenced to one year in the Blackwell's Island penitentiary -- on the island today known as Roosevelt Island, in New York's East River.

Her story of prison life is published in the *New York World* a day after her release on August 17, 1894.

**Cause of Arrest: Open-Air Speaking**  
September 7, 1897

Goldman is arrested in Providence, Rhode Island, when she attempts to speak in public, after the mayor has warned her not to deliver any more open-air speeches.

She has been traveling to speak on anarchism, women and marriage, Spanish political events, and Alexander Berkman's imprisonment for the murder of Henry Clay Frick.

After keeping Goldman in jail overnight, the Providence authorities order her to leave town or face a three-month prison term.

**Cause of Arrest: Inciting the Assassination of President McKinley**  
September 10, 1901

Goldman is arrested in Chicago under suspicion of having something to do with President William McKinley's assassination in Buffalo, New York, four days earlier. She had met assassin Leon Czolgosz at one of her lectures. The Chicago police interrogate Goldman and her bail is set at $20,000 (over $400,000 in today's dollars).

She will be released two weeks later, and the case will be dropped for lack of evidence.

**Cause of Arrest: Incendiary Articles and Incitement to Riot**  
October 30, 1906

Along with nine other people, Emma Goldman is arrested in New York City for articles published in her *Mother Earth* magazine, and for inciting to riot.

She pays the $1,000 bail for her release, and pleads not guilty to charges of criminal anarchy. On January 9, 1907, a grand jury dismisses the case.

\(^{179}\)Public Broadcasting Station, “The American Experience: Emma Goldman,”  
Cause of Arrest: Public Expression of "Incendiary Sentiments"
January 6, 1907

New York City's Anarchist Police Squad arrests Goldman during a public lecture on "False and True Conceptions of Anarchism." The case will later be dismissed.

Cause of Arrest: Attempting to Speak
December 13, 1908

Seattle authorities arrest Goldman after someone breaks in to a locked lecture hall to allow the room to be used for a meeting with Goldman. The police release her on the condition that she leave town.

Cause of Arrest: Planning to Speak
December 14, 1908

With her reputation preceding her, Goldman is arrested in Bellingham, Washington, before she can deliver a planned lecture. The next day, authorities send her away on a Canada-bound train.

Cause of Arrest: Conspiracy Against the Government
January 14, 1909

After two weeks of uneventful Goldman lectures in California, San Francisco police arrest Goldman with Ben Reitman and charge them with conspiring against the government. Supporters who protest the arrest are disbanded by police the next day, but Goldman remains locked up until January 18. On the 28th, authorities drop the charges against her.

Cause of Arrest: Speaking
early April, 1910

In the midst of a large, successful national lecture tour, Goldman and Reitman arrested by police in Cheyenne, Wyoming during an open-air meeting.
**Cause of Arrest: Distributing Birth Control Information**  
August 6, 1915

In Portland, Oregon on her annual lecture tour, Goldman is arrested with Ben Reitman for distributing information on birth control in defiance of the Comstock "Chastity" Laws. A friend posts the $500 bail; the next day, Goldman and Reitman pay a $100 fine and resume lectures in that city.

**Cause of Arrest: Conspiracy to Violate the Draft Act**  
June 15, 1917

The U.S. enters World War I in April 1917; since then, Goldman has been lecturing against military conscription and the war. The same day that President Woodrow Wilson signs the Espionage Act, which in part prohibits interfering with the draft, federal agents arrest Goldman and Alexander Berkman in New York City. They are later indicted for conspiring to violate the Draft Act.

Goldman pleads not guilty and is freed on $25,000 bail; rumors spread that her bail has been paid by the German enemy. In early July, she and Berkman are both found guilty and sentenced to serve two years in jail and pay a $10,000 fine. Goldman is incarcerated in a federal penitentiary in Jefferson City, Missouri. When her case is appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, Goldman is returned to New York City and again released on bail.

After losing her appeal in January 1918, Goldman is returned to Missouri to serve her two-year sentence.

**Cause of Arrest: Questionable Immigration Status**  
September 12, 1919

Federal officials review Goldman's immigration status and decide she can be deported legally. They serve Goldman with a warrant for her arrest and deportation while she is serving the final few weeks of her prison sentence in Missouri. After a bond of $15,000 is posted, Goldman returns to New York to organize her appeal.

In October, Goldman claims U.S. citizenship from her brief marriage to Jacob A. Kersner in 1887. But Labor Department officials order Goldman's deportation in late November, and in early December she and Berkman are held at Ellis Island in New York harbor, and on the 21st of that month they board a Russia-bound ship.
Cartoon commenting on the deportation of Goldman and other radicals, February 1920

Citation: “The sailing of the Buford,” The Liberator, February 1920
This cartoon, published in a radical newspaper, emphasized the contrast between American ideals of liberty and the actions of the United States government in deporting Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and 247 other foreign-born radicals in December 1919.

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180 Jewish Women’s Archives, “Jewish Women and Feminist Revolution,”
www.jwa.org/exhibits/jsp/article
Cartoon expressing American hostility to the anarchist movement, 1912

Citation: "A Menace." San Diego Union, May 18, 1912.

This cartoon, published a few days after Goldman was denied the right to speak in San Diego, illustrates the widespread public distrust of anarchism and the government's use of the weapon of deportation to rid itself of the anarchist "menace."
Limitations on free speech in the early 1900’s were often justified by the argument that the opinions of anarchists and other radicals were unpatriotic and anti-American. This cartoon illustrates Goldman’s view of the hypocrisy of those who used patriotism as an excuse to stifle the free expression of those who disagreed with them.
Emma Goldman, 1886
Courtesy of The Emma Goldman Papers & International Institute of Social History

Goldman speaking to a crowd of garment workers about birth control in Union Square, New York, May 20, 1916

Courtesy of “The Emma Goldman papers & International Institute of Social History
Ben Reitman, Goldman’s lover and manager (center), with Joe Edelsen and Ben Capes, Butte, Montana, June 24, 1912
1869 Emma Goldman born in Kovno, Lithuania.

1885 Goldman emigrates to the United States, settling in Rochester, N.Y.

1886 Haymarket bombing: At the height of the fight for the eight-hour workday, a bomb is thrown at police at a mass meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago, to protest the police shooting the previous day of strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works. Though the culprit is never identified, eight anarchist leaders are tried for murder and found guilty.

1887 Goldman marries Jacob Kersner, gaining U.S. citizenship; unhappy in the marriage and attracted increasingly to anarchism, Goldman divorces Kersner within the year. Execution of four of the Haymarket anarchists.

1889 Goldman moves to New York City.

1892 Homestead, Pa., steel strike leads to a bloody confrontation between strikers and Pinkerton detectives; Goldman's comrade Alexander Berkman attempts to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, superintendent of the Carnegie Steel Company, and is sentenced to twenty-two years in prison; Goldman suspected of helping to plan the attempt on Frick's life.

1893 Goldman prosecuted for a speech at a demonstration of the unemployed in Union Square, New York City; found guilty of aiding and abetting an unlawful assembly; sentenced to one year in prison on Blackwell's Island, where she apprentices as a nurse to the inmates.

1901 Assassination of President William McKinley by an anarchist. Goldman is unjustly implicated, arrested, held for questioning, and released. Goldman changes her name and, for a brief period, goes underground to avoid public harassment.

1903 Goldman helps found the Free Speech League in New York City in response to the first prosecution under a federal anti-anarchist law that barred anarchists from entering the country.

1905 Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) founded.

1906 *Mother Earth* magazine is founded by Emma Goldman and comrades; published until 1917.

1906 Goldman begins annual lecture tours to raise money for the magazine, speaking on a broad range of issues including modern European drama, women's equality and independence, sexuality and free love, child

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development and education, and religious fundamentalism. Alexander Berkman released from prison.

1909-1910
"Uprising of the Twenty Thousand," a general strike by women garment workers in New York City.

1911
Fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City kills 146 people, mostly young women, when exits that were kept locked to prevent union organizers from entering the premises prevented workers from escaping the fire, forcing many of them to jump to their deaths.

1915-1916
Goldman lectures frequently on birth control and is arrested several times; spends fifteen days in jail on one occasion for distributing birth control information.

1917
The United States declares war on Germany, entering World War I. Federal government imposes a draft. Goldman founds the No-Conscription League with Berkman, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, and Leonard Abbott to oppose the draft. Goldman and Berkman tried and convicted for conspiracy to obstruct the draft, sentenced to two years imprisonment. Espionage Act passed.

1918
Sedition Act passed.

1919-1920
"Red Scare": In the United States, the intolerance and suspicion of foreigners and radicals increases in the postwar years as the Bolsheviks consolidate their victory in Russia, producing fear of worldwide revolution; climaxes in the 1920 Palmer raids, when thousands of foreign-born radicals are rounded up, and many deported.

1920-1921
Goldman and Berkman in exile in Soviet Russia, where they confront the Bolsheviks' denial of free speech and expression and especially the suppression of anarchists.

1931
Goldman publishes her autobiography, *Living My Life*.

1940
Goldman dies in Toronto and is buried in Chicago near the Haymarket martyrs who first inspired her in 1887.
Mock Trial – Deportation Proceedings against Emma Goldman, September 1919

Players

Immigration Judge - The Judge in the case, during the trial, pay attention to the litigants and witnesses at all times. Once attorney ‘A’ has completed questioning a witness, ask attorney ‘B’ if he/she would like to question the witness. Once attorney ‘B’ is done, ask attorney ‘A’ if he/she would like to cross-examine the witness. Once attorney ‘A’ is finished cross-examining, ask attorney ‘B’ if he/she would like to re-cross-examine. Once attorney ‘B’ finishes, the witness is free to step down. Always make eye contact with whom you are speaking too. Be calm and forthright with your decisions.

Prosecuting Attorney - Representing the federal government, always stand when talking to the judge, even for brief periods. When questioning a witness, approach the witness stand and ask questions directly. With each witness, you will have the opportunity to cross-examine after the defense is done questioning the witness. When addressing the jury during your opening statement and closing argument, approach the jury and make eye contact. Be confident in your case at all times. Always show respect for the court and the judge.

Defense Attorney - The attorney for Ms. Goldman, always stand when talking to the judge, even for brief periods. When questioning a witness, approach the witness stand and ask questions directly. With each witness, you will have the opportunity to cross-examine after the prosecutor is done questioning the witness. When addressing the jury during your opening statement and closing argument, approach the jury and make eye contact. Be confident in your case at all times. Always show respect for the court and the judge.

Defendant Emma Goldman - You may have the hardest part. You will be testifying on your own behalf. When conferring with your attorney, do so quietly and seriously. Try to make eye contact with jury members as a sign of innocence. By looking and acting proper, your silence can go a long way in helping to persuade the jury in your favor.

183 Information adapted and modified from Judicial Courts of Maryland, “Mock Trial Instructions,” http://www.courts.state.md.us/mocktrial/instructions.doc.
Witnesses:
Alexander Berkman
Henry Clay Frick
Margaret Sanger
J. Edgar Hoover
Leon Czolgosz
President Woodrow Wilson

As a witness, pay attention for your name to be called by either the prosecutor or defense attorney. Once your name has been called, proceed to the witness stand, where you will be sworn in. Stay standing, raise your right hand, and agree to the swearing in by saying “I do.” Be seated in the witness box and answer questions from the attorneys. Once the judge tells you to step down, return to the gallery.

Bailiff - You have many jobs inside a courtroom. Your main duty is to stand quietly to the right of the witness box and keep a stern eye on the happenings in the courtroom. When a witness is called, administer the swearing in to the witness in front of the witness stand by saying, “Please remain standing and raise your right hand. You do solemnly declare and affirm under the penalty of perjury, that the testimony you shall give, shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.” Once the witness says, “I do” or “I will,” instruct the witness to be seated and then ask him/her to please state his/her name and address for the record.

Jury Foreperson – To be elected by the Jury - You are the head juror, and consequently, responsible for reading the verdict to the judge. In addition, during deliberations, you should try to keep the lines of communication open and continuing, make sure that no one is dominating the conversation, and decide on the best way to conduct a final vote. If the jury is heading towards a hung jury verdict, you should press both sides to make more convincing arguments. Once a decision has been made, contact the bailiff and inform him that the jury has reached a verdict. Write down the verdict on the verdict sheet and hold until the judge asks for it.

Jurors - You are responsible for deciding if Ms. Goldman is innocent or guilty of the charge being brought before her in court today. During the trial, quietly listen to the attorneys and to the witnesses, factor in any evidence introduced, and jot down notes to help remember important aspects of the case. During deliberation, openly discuss the facts, the witnesses’ testimony, the arguments on both sides, the evidence, etc. This is a chance to confer and debate with one another. During a real case, jurors are given an indefinite amount of time to deliberate. Given time constraints in the classroom, however, the jury is given a time limit by the teacher. Before the time limit has passed, the jury must decide how they as a whole will decide the case.
Case Study #3 – Emma Goldman addresses the following California State Social Science Standards for 10th, 11th, and 12th Grades:

10.3.6: Analyze the emergence of capitalism as a dominant economic pattern and the responses to it, including Utopianism, Social Democracy, Socialism, and Communism.

10.5.1: Analyze the arguments for entering into war presented by leaders from all sides of the Great War and the role of political and economic rivalries, ethnic and ideological conflicts, domestic discontent and disorder, and propaganda and nationalism in mobilizing the civilian population in support of "total war."

10.6.3: Understand the widespread disillusionment with prewar institutions, authorities, and values that resulted in a void that was later filled by totalitarians.

10.6.4: Discuss the influence of World War I on literature, art, and intellectual life in the West (e.g., Pablo Picasso, the "lost generation" of Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway).

11.5.4: Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.

11.10.7: Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

12.2.1: Discuss the meaning and importance of each of the rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights and how each is secured (e.g., freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, petition, privacy).

12.3.2: Explain how civil society makes it possible for people, individually or in association with others, to bring their influence to bear on government in ways other than voting and elections.

12.5.1: Understand the changing interpretations of the Bill of Rights over time, including interpretations of the basic freedoms (religion, speech, press, petition, and assembly) articulated in the First Amendment and the due process and equal-protection-of-the-law clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

12.8.1: Discuss the meaning and importance of a free and responsible press.
12.10: Students formulate questions about and defend their analyses of tensions within our constitutional democracy and the importance of maintaining a balance between the following concepts: majority rule and individual rights; liberty and equality; state and national authority in a federal system; civil disobedience and the rule of law; freedom of the press and the right to a fair trial; the relationship of religion and government.
Designing Women: Architects of the Modern Feminist Agenda
Final Assessment

The final assessment will take approximately three class periods to complete. The final assessment will act as an indicator of student understanding over the prior three units of study. For the final assessment, it will be necessary that students have acquired content knowledge from the preceding units on Alice Paul, Margaret Sanger and Emma Goldman.

Days Sixteen – Eighteen Final Assessment

**Introductory “Hook”** Begin a class discussion along the following lines: Don’t you sometimes wish that we could go back in time and talk to some of these people we’ve been studying? It’s one thing to read their speeches and see their pictures, but wouldn’t it be great if we could ask them questions or find out what inspired them. Inform the class that they will have just that opportunity. The final assessment for the entire unit will consists of two parts. The first will be a press conference in which Alice Paul, Margaret Sanger and Emma Goldman will be happy to answer any and all of their most pressing questions about their lives, their causes, and their struggles. Also, the second part of the final assessment will be a more traditional short essay and multiple choice examination.
Everyone who was a juror for the Emma Goldman trial will now have a main role in the press conference, and everyone who had a role in the trial will become an audience member asking questions at the press conference. At this point, distribute Final Assessment Handout #1.

Explain to the class that each of the three progressive era women will be assisted by her own publicity team. Each woman will have her own historian, public relations agent, and investigative reporter. (Note: the three women do not need to be played by female students). Anyone who is not an actor, historian, public relations agent, or investigative report will be required to formulate at least two questions for each actor; one question should be sympathetic or neutral to the actor’s cause and the other should challenging or confrontational to the actor’s cause.

Set up the classroom as if it were an interview panel. Begin the press conference by having each public relations agents stand behind her or his actor to give a one minute biographical sketch of the historical figure. Then have the public relations agents stand or sit behind their actors. Throughout the press conference, if an actor gets stuck or forgets a piece of information, they can turn to the public relations agent for help. The teacher should act as moderator or host of the conference. They can also act to encourage questions and stir up controversy among the panelists. Grade based on effort, participation, as well as historical accuracy and empathy. This assessment should ideally act as a review for the more traditional assessment which will follow the next day.
**Extension Possibilities**  For fuller class participation and more challenge, you can add three more historical figures to the press conference: those could be Phyllis Schlafly opposite Alice Paul, Anthony Comstock opposite Margaret Sanger, and Henry Clay Frick opposite Emma Goldman. This would probably necessitate another day of computer lab research as students would be unfamiliar with the lives of these three historical figures.

**Final Exam**  Each student should receive a copy of the Final Assessment #2 – multiple choice and short essay questions and have the entire class period to complete. Distribute Final Assessment #2 and Scantron Scoring Sheets.


**Evaluation**  Student understanding of the Emma Goldman unit will be determined through class discussions, the Emma Goldman Essay Assignment, and the Deportation of Emma Goldman Mock Trial. In addition, student understanding of the entire unit, Designing Women: Architects of the Modern Feminist Agenda, will be determined through the creative process of the press conference activity in Final Assessment #1 and the more traditional assessment of the multiple choice and short essay questions in Final Assessment #2.
Final Assessment #1

Historical Press Conference

This exercise requires a team approach by four students for each of the following historical figures:

1) Alice Paul
2) Margaret Sanger
3) Emma Goldman

Each of these women will be represented by:

**Actor:** Plays the part of the historical figure being questioned by reporters and historians during the class presentation. Takes time to learn the ideas and personality of the historical figure. Helps others learn about the figure she represents. Thinks of appropriate props and costumes to help bring the historical figure to life.

**Historian:** Responsible for ensuring that all group members understand the ideas and beliefs of the historical figure. Looks in textbooks, encyclopedias, the internet, and other sources for additional information on the historical figure.

**Public Relations Agent:** Takes time to learn about the ideas and personality of the historical figure. Introduces historical figure at the start of the press conference. Assists Actor in answering any difficult questions during the press conference.

**Investigative Reporter:** Responsible for anticipating and preparing Actor for any questions that may be asked. Carefully investigates other Actor’s perspectives to discover which historical figures on the panel have ideas that support or oppose their Actor.

Each group is responsible for learning about and bringing to life the ideas and beliefs of the Actors during a press conference focusing on the following questions: **“What was the feminist agenda in the progressive era? What role did women have in shaping the events of the 20th Century? What is the status of their individual causes today?”**
Final Assessment #2

Architects of the Modern Feminist Agenda

Multiple Choice Questions:

Choose the speaker associated with the following quotes:

1. “The most important force in the remaking of the world is a free motherhood.”
   A) Alice Paul
   B) Margaret Sanger
   C) Emma Goldman
   D) Mother Theresa

2. “When you put your hand to the plow, you can’t put it down until you get to the end of the row.”
   A) Alice Paul
   B) Margaret Sanger
   C) Emma Goldman
   D) Charles “Turnip” Townshend

3. “We Americans claim to be a peace-loving people. We hate bloodshed; we are opposed to violence. Yet we go into spasms of joy over the possibility of projecting dynamite bombs from flying machines upon helpless citizens.”
   A) Alice Paul
   B) Margaret Sanger
   C) Emma Goldman
   D) George Bush

4. What was the status of women’s suffrage in America prior to the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920?
   A) No women were able to vote
   B) Woman in American territories were able to vote
   C) Many Western states allowed women to vote
   D) All women, except those under 18 years old, were able to vote

5. How did birth control become legal in the United States?
   A) Through judicial reinterpretation
   B) Through Congressional sanction
   C) Through a popular referendum
   D) Through a Presidential edict
6. What is anarchy?
   A) The belief that there should be more than two political parties
   B) The belief that the government should be run by religious institutions
   C) The belief that a king or queen should govern
   D) The belief that there should be no government at all

7. Whose motto was “Deeds Not Words?”
   A) J. Edgar Hoover
   B) The Pankhursts
   C) Alexander Berkman
   D) President Wilson

8. In what year did Margaret Sanger open the first birth control clinic in the United States?
   A) 1916
   B) 1918
   C) 1920
   D) 1944

9. Emma Goldman spoke for all of the following causes EXCEPT:
   A) Birth control
   B) Freedom of Speech
   C) Environmentalism
   D) Anti-militarism

10. Harry Burns, the youngest member of the Tennessee legislature, changed his vote on women’s suffrage because he received a note from whom?
    A) His girlfriend
    B) His mother
    C) His sister
    D) His wife

11. What was the name of the magazine Margaret Sanger started in 1914?
    A) The Birth Control Review
    B) Mother Earth
    C) Public Nuisance
    D) Woman Rebel
12. What was the outcome of Emma Goldman’s trial on charges of Conspiracy to Violate the Draft Act in 1917?
   A) She was convicted and served two years in prison
   B) She was acquitted
   C) She was convicted and served two years of community service
   D) She was immediately deported to Russia

13. The Equal Rights Amendment, introduced in 1923, sought to guarantee freedom from discrimination based on:
   A) Sexual orientation
   B) Gender
   C) Religion
   D) Race

14. In her speech, *The Children’s Era*, Margaret Sanger suggested that all of the following should be criteria of parenthood EXCEPT:
   A) A minimum age of 23
   B) Caucasian blood
   C) Freedom from disease
   D) The economic means to support a child

15. What influential magazine did Emma Goldman publish before it was shut down by the U.S. government in 1917?
   A) Rebel Woman
   B) Public Nuisance
   C) Living My Life
   D) Mother Earth

**Short Essay Questions:**

1. Describe the tactics and strategies used by each of the women we have studied to achieve their goals?

2. Explain the relation of the American press to each of the women we have studied? In each case, did the media help or hinder their causes?

3. In the beginning of the unit, I mentioned these three women in the same breath with the founding fathers (Washington, Jefferson, Franklin) of our country. Do you think that is a valid comparison? Could we legitimately consider that the feminist agenda in the progressive era to be a sort of second American Revolution – this one on behalf of American women? (This is your opportunity to show off - You may argue either way, but you must support your answer with facts)
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