"...prior to quickening..."

"...suffer imprisonment..."

"...right to privacy..."

CHOICE HISTORIES: FRAMING ABORTION

AN ARTISTS BOOK BY REPOHISTORY

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RepoHistory is a multi-ethnic collective of artists, performers, writers and teachers, founded in New York City in 1989. The group takes its name from the concept of "repossessing history"; that is, to retrieve, reclaim and represent absent or forgotten historical narratives. RepoHistory raises alternative versions of history to the landmarks, textbooks, statues and holidays that comprise "official History."

COVER: **1.** 16th century illustration of the female reproductive organs, from Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex* (1990). "The left ureter has been cut and the bladder pushed to the right from it's natural position so that we might look into the window of the womb and see the child." Originally from Jacob Rueff, *Habammenbuch (1583),* which appeared in English as the widely plagiarized and popular *The Expert Midwife* (1637). **2.** In early U.S. history, the states' legal systems were based on English common law, under which abortion before *quickening,* or movement of the fetus, was not considered a crime. Criminalization of abortion began in the 19th century, and eventually all 50 states passed laws regulating the procedure, punishable in some cases by *imprisonment.* In 1971, the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision, based on the right to *privacy,* took precedence over state laws, and again permitted abortion during the period now known as the first trimester.

BACK COVER: **1.** In regards to women of diverse ethnicities and social classes, it is not enough to discuss abortion and issues of choice in the U.S. without confronting broader social constructs and public policies which effect these women daily. Similarly the positive/negative image of a woman's hand, within the context of a black and white 'book' can only partially represent the complexities of race, ethnicity and class as lived experience within a given culture.
2. Illustration depicting the "DelEm" in which the entwined snakes of the caduceus, the symbol of the medical profession, have metamorphized into the tubes of the "DelEm". The "DelEm" equipment is used in one of the alternative abortion practices investigated in this exhibition.

A NOTE ABOUT REPOhistory AS COLLECTIVE PRACTICE

Precedents are scarce for the process of collaboration which has culminated in the project CHOICE HISTORIES: FRAMING ABORTION. Much of the art that was termed collaborative during the 1980s is better described as cooperative, consisting of an art gallery densely packed with individual work and a title providing some degree of thematic unity. By contrast CHOICE HISTORIES more closely resembles certain jazz ensembles in that participants first merged or set aside their individual styles in order to provide an overall structure. Later, individuals reemerge within the installation like soloists in a performance. While some of the 40 participants have muted roles, others are more explicit. All in all, CHOICE HISTORIES reflects REPOhistory's collective sensibilities.

Our other major project, The Lower Manhattan Sign Project, consists of 36 sites in and around Wall Street that "repossess" what might be called gaps in the historical narrative of Manhattan and New Amsterdam. Members of REPOhistory created 40 graphic metal street signs that will be installed on lampposts throughout the downtown area starting June 27th and remain in place until January of 1993. While less ambitious than CHOICE in the form of its collaboration, the Sign Project also provides a model for future work in it's approach to collective research and editing, and the multiple strategies devised to gain city permits for a public project of this scope.

REPOhistory is itself an attempt to bring together assorted artists, performers, educators, and writers in an working ensemble. One of our mutual concerns is to explore the possibilities of collaborative practice while articulating and hopefully challenging the division between theory and activist-art practices, and the "business as usual" art world of the past twelve years. Using the representation of history as a locus has given us a great deal of latitude in this endeavor. It has also let us position ourselves within an arena of intense cultural debate and personal commitment. REPOhistory is enthusiastic about the direction of these projects and what they may signify for the practice of socially engaged art in the years ahead.

Greg Sholette June 1, 1992

ON CHOICE HISTORIES

She yields to the pleasures but shrinks from the pains and responsibilities of maternity....Let not the husband of such a wife flatter himself that he possesses her affection. Nor can she in turn ever merit the affection of a virtuous husband. She sinks into old age like a withered tree, stripped of its foliage; with the stain of blood upon her soul, she dies without the hand of affection to smooth her pillow.

1871 Report of the American Medical Association Committee on Criminal Abortion.

It is they who are doing violence to our beloved nation by their systematic undermining of the basic unit of our society, the family. They do violence by their so-called sex education which is encouraging sexual promiscuity in our children and leading to more abortions. They do violence to us by driving wedges, barriers, and suspicion between teenagers and parents. They do violence to marriage by helping to remove the right of the husband to protect the life of the child he has fathered in his wife's womb.

Dr. J.C. Wilke, Memorandum from the National Right to Life Committee, 21 February 1978, responding to accusations of firebombing and harassment of abortion clinics.

It doesn't help matters any when prime-time TV has Murphy Brown — a character who supposedly epitomizes today's intelligent, highly-paid , professional woman — mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone, and calling it just another "lifestyle choice".

Vice-President Dan Quayle, on the "poverty of values" as a cause of the L.A. riots. *New York Newsday,* May 20, 1992 ,

While the rationales which historically surround the movements to limit or deny women's access to abortion have shifted over time, the anxiety expressed by the men who lead these movements has stayed remarkably the same. They appear to find no one more threatening than a woman deciding for herself whether or not to bear a child. Yet, as we all know, abortion is no newer a phenomenon than unplanned pregnancy. In every culture, at every time, women have found ways to end those pregnancies. What does change are the social, economic, and cultural forces which bring this otherwise private event into public debate. How have the cultural institutions of law and medicine responded to the pressures of modern society, and to the changing role of women within it, by policing sexuality and reproduction?

When REPOhistory was invited by Connie Butler to participate in "A New World Order," George Bush's hollow victory in Iraq was just being celebrated across the country. So in addition to the issues of history and identity being raised by the upcoming quincentennial we wanted to explicitly address the political climate in which we are working. What exactly does our President's vision of "order" mean to those of us living and working in New York City in 1991-92? Clearly, one of the most divisive, maddening, and personally threatening agenda items of the Reagan-Bush years has been the campaign to turn back reproductive freedom. It is also an issue which signifies much more than itself. As Rosalind Pollack Petchesky states in the preface to the 1990 edition of her indispensable study, *Abortion and Women's Choice: The State, Sexuality and Reproductive Freedom,* "abortion is the fulcrum of a much broader ideological struggle in which the very meanings of the family, the state, motherhood, and young women's sexuality are contested." Operation Rescue admits as much; they have "a biblical vision of society" they tell us, and abortion is simply the issue around which they have chosen to organize. And yet, in the midst of this conflict, what is often overlooked is its history. Our current debate centers too closely on the validity of the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision securing a woman's constitutional right to safe and legal abortion, and is too often framed in terms set by the anti-choice movement: the "rights of the fetus" vs. the rights of the woman.

In fact, as the AMA quote above illustrates, the debate over abortion in this country long precedes *Roe v. Wade*. In the United States until the mid-19th century, abortion in the early stages of pregnancy, or until "quickening", which was understood as the first perceptible movement of the fetus, was simply not a legal issue. In the few states where the question was addressed by the law, abortion before quickening, with the woman's consent, was recognized as legal. The procedure was quite common and was administered surgically as well as by potions strong enough to kill the embryo, but hopefully not the woman. Estimates from the period between 1840 and 1880 on the rate of induced abortions to live births run as high as one in four to one in three. It is important to note that while women did die from abortions, many more died in childbirth. In any case, the period saw a steep rise in abortion, its commercialization and its visibility. Advertisements proliferated, offering "female monthly pills" or "French renovating pills" as "a blessing to mothers." James C. Mohr, in *Abortion in America, The Origins & Evolution of National Policy, 1800-1900*, gives many reasons for the upsurge not least of which is that, as in any developing country, a large part of the campaign for economic betterment in 19th century America was a move to limit fertility. The economy was shifting from a rural base to an industrial one in which a large number of children meant more mouths to feed rather than more hands to help.

The founding of the American Medical Association in 1847 marked the consolidation of a new cadre of health care provider—the licensed physician. "Regular" doctors now competed with homeopaths, chiropractors, herbologists, and above all midwives, over a market which consisted in large part of abortion and birthing services. In 1859 the AMA passed a resolution condemning abortion and urging states to make it illegal. In a national campaign led by Boston gynecologist H.R. Storer, the AMA successfully wedded their own agenda of de-legitimizing other healthcare providers to the Protestant elite's anxiety over their declining birth rate compared to that of Catholic immigrants, and to the growing conflict over women's role in society. By 1890, after thirty years of rhetoric about "murderous charlatans", "race suicide" and the "true woman's natural destiny", the AMA's state-by-state campaign to criminalize abortion was successful, and abortion was illegal in most of the country.

While the AMA was the vanguard of the 19th century crusade, it is noteworthy that the major Protestant denominations felt that pregnancy was the domain and abortion the decision of the individual. Although the physicians sought a radical shift in public opinion, private behavior was largely unchanged. In 1936 a study of medical histories estimated over 500,000 abortions were performed annually.

While the legal action of the 19th century took place on a state by state basis over some thirty years, the sole Federal contribution was the Comstock Act of 1872. Prior to *Roe* it appeared that legalization would evolve at the state level. During the 1960's about a third of the states revised abortion laws along more flexible lines set out in the new penal code of the American Law Institute in 1959. The 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision placed abortion law in the hands of the Federal Judiciary. Future decisions were to be made in Federal courts and apply uniformly throughout the country. The number of Reagan-Bush appointees to the Federal bench presages a grim future for civil rights generally and abortion rights in particular. The 1973 Court sought to avoid defining "a theory of life". That issue persists as a central field of conflict in the debate. "Quickening" has been replaced by "viability"—the ability of the fetus to survive outside the womb, increasingly a question of medical technique. While the present day medical community is largely unopposed to abortion performed early in pregnancy, the legacy of public moralization of the issue remains. What is medically feasible has come to support the rationales that would legally conscript pregnant women to bring their pregnancies to term.

Perhaps the best assessment of the relationship of this history to the current struggle over reproductive rights was found in the Amicus Brief submitted by 281 historians in support of Reproductive Health Services in the 1989 Supreme Court case, *William Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*:

> the complex historic grounds for restricting abortion are now either socially irrelevant or recognized as constitutionally illegitimate....But any sophisticated understanding of American history must recognize that such motivations do not disappear simply because they are no longer culturally or constitutionally legitimate. In this context, we must therefore question

whether protection of unborn life has become a surrogate for other social objectives that are no longer tolerated.

Which brings us rather abruptly to 1991 and to an art collective in New York City thinking about a collaborative installation on the history of abortion. We wanted to do much more than present a linear legal history. But how? How to organize it? Was a collaboration possible or should we curate a group show with specific guidelines? And who were *we* to address the issue? After all, questions of reproductive rights affect different communities in vastly different ways: while affluent white women have historically been dissuaded from limiting the number of children they bear, a long record exists of poor women and women of color being subjected to forced sterilization. While REPOhistory is a diverse group, we made a commitment very early in this project to include as many more artists of color as possible. We also decided that the material should be addressed thematically as well as chronologically. And we debated repeatedly whether abortion was too narrow a topic, finally settling on the notion that if we all began at the same place, namely abortion, and researched the subject thoroughly, that broader issues of sexuality and gender construction, of race and class difference, and of reproductive rights generally, would necessarily arise.

We broke into working groups based on four broad areas of interest: law and morality; race and class; the history of medicine; and issues of sexuality. We agreed to share information in order to compile a linear chronology. Each group, then, has collaboratively created a tableau or vignette which raises a particular set of questions, and which also — in varying degrees —accommodates individual work. Our source material has included personal accounts, mythologies, and imaginative works in addition to historical information. We are concerned with subjective and internal responses to both real and fictional accounts of the history of abortion.

The group working on questions of law and morality has undertaken an analysis of the legal history of abortion and its relationship to concurrent religious and ethical debates. More than any other working group, they decided to work purely collaboratively without accommodating individual pieces. They present a space which evokes a church or perhaps a town meeting hall. It is a pedagogical space in which one is invited to sit and read excerpts of central legal and religious texts, juxtaposed with images ranging from pro-choice demonstrations to vandalized abortion clinics, to 19th century advertisements for abortifacients. They have also included testimonials from women who underwent illegal abortions and from women who have defended clinics against Operation Rescue sieges. Just to the side of the benches, facing the viewers, sits a "woman-chair": a gray plastic chair from an institutional waiting room, perhaps a clinic, perhaps a courthouse, with the reproductive organs of the female body carefully delineated on it. The tableau asks the viewer not only to examine the language which has historically defined the abortion debate; it also asks quite pointedly that one literally consider one's own position.

The sexuality group has chosen as its central metaphor a labyrinth of veils which instead of mystifying, demystifies sexual politics as they relate to abortion practices and the intersection of gender, power, and sexuality. The veils serve as both a structural and metaphorical device. While on the one hand they echo the existing mystification of sexuality in popular imagination, on the other hand the specific individual works which hang on or behind the veils deliberately subvert that mystery. Betti-Sue Hertz in her exploration of Native American practices recalls the forgotten methods of a marginalized people, while Todd Ayoung explores the ramifications of sterilization policy in Puerto Rico. Megan Pugh examines the 19th century bourgeois tradition of "tightlacing" or corsetry. She gives us a visceral reading of both control and subversion — some women deliberately tight-laced around unwanted pregnancies and then visited midwives specializing in stillbirths. Sarah Vogwill has focused on the intersection of representations of both female independence and feminine sexuality as they collide with the construction of the homosexual. She traces the movement from Christian edicts against homosexuality to psychology's construction of the homosexual as deviant. She analyzes the American emphasis on the family as the integral unit of society and its vehement condemnation of any sexual behavior which deviates from that norm. Other pieces examine contraception and pleasure. The group arrived at the format collectively, and worked individually to examine particular issues.

The working group on the history of medicine asks quite literally, "What lies beyond the clinic's walls?" Without romanticizing a past in which women died from unsanitary surgery under gruesome conditions, the tableau points out that contemporary medical practice ignores or prohibits large areas of knowledge. As we peer over one of the clinic's crumbling walls we encounter documentation prepared by Carin Kuoni on historical Native and African American practices. As we look over the other, we face Betty Beaumont's examination of contemporary medical technologies which remain inaccessible, such as the French abortifacient pill RU 486 which, though proven safe and effective, remains markedly absent from the American market. Within the clinic walls we can examine Janet Koenig's tracing of medical representations of pregnancy and of self-help manuals from the 19th century to the present, along with an array of antique gynecological tools prepared by Darin Wacs; and we can peer through a microscope at a videotaped demonstration of menstrual extraction, a self-help abortion technique. The tape segment has been excerpted and prepared by Flash Light from a video called *No Going Back*, distributed by the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Clinics in California. As we face the bleak possibility of criminalized abortion, and the grim reality that for many women a safe, affordable abortion is already inaccessible, Janet Koenig's observation that the issues over time stay remarkably the same, seems particularly apt.

Questions of race and class are explored in a kitchen setting. This tableau was chosen by the working group to invoke both kitchen table abortions and the economic and social conditions under which women's reproductive lives have been constructed. The long central table represents the space where the family is fed, the table around which difficult decisions are made, the master's kitchen and the servant's quarters. Drawers pull out which contain individual narratives: Greg Sholette's on eugenics; Leela Ramotar's on a colonial experience that culminates in the image of black women rolling white babies and older white women through city streets; Robin Schweder's on labor, class, and the figure of the "breeder woman"; and Regina Corritore's on the history of sterilization in Puerto Rico — from 16th century native Taino women sterilizing themselves to avoid bearing the children of Spanish explorers to this century's mass sterilization campaign. Other drawers contain narratives on Native American women and women in prison. But the table can also be "read" as a metaphor for the female body and thus at the "head" of the table sits a video monitor, which imbues the tableau with voice, and agency. *Choice Voices*, an original videotape produced by Lisa Maya Knauer in collaboration with group members, collages poetry, autobiography and documentary interviews. As Kara Lynch said, the issues for this group are extremely complex; they are much larger than simply racism, sexism or class prejudice. Although the group explored the interconnections, they felt that to force a synthesis would not have been productive. They have raised rather than answered questions: who has access to health care? What social and political needs are met through public health and welfare policy? What are the roots of the struggle between women of color and and a women's movement which does not represent them? Who exercises choice?

All of us involved in Choice Histories: Framing Abortion were daunted and exhilarated at the onset of our project, particularly by its collaboratively aspect. All of us have, sometime during the last 10 months, been frustrated and angered by the process. Imagine making art with thirty-two other people! Collaboration, I was told over and over by disgruntled members, means "settling"; it means that a signature style gets diluted, if not erased and every idea is subjected to scrutiny. It also means that information gets shared and germs of ideas are enriched by other ideas. It means that doubts and anxieties about content, not to mention preconceptions, are aired, worked out, demystified and contextualized. Especially with a subject as complex and difficult as abortion, we could only learn from each other.

Tess Timoney
Project Coordinator

I would like to thank Larry Beddall for the many hours of fact checking, ghostwriting, carpentry and moral support that he contribued to *Choice Histories*.

PRO-LIFE/PRO-SPEECH/PRO-CHOICE

The following was written one year ago at the height of the Persian Gulf War and the apparent beginning of the demise of the National Endowment for the Arts, as an attempt to intellectualize an emotional response to the Rust v. Sullivan case and its potential ramifications for art and artists and the future of choice and speech in the United States. Despite the reawakening of feminist energy in reaction to the incredible Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings, the sad fact is that we are increasingly in danger of losing the right of reproductive freedom in the United States even as we work to elect more women into government than ever in history. The climate and policies that fueled the War and the NEA controversy still exist and more than coincidence links the two agendas. This introduction attempts to briefly contextualize the REPOhistory project and reiterate why cultural activism of this kind is necessary and relevant. Now more than ever.

When pro-choice advocates adopted the slogan "Our bodies are a battleground," it not only provided a generation of women with a pithy slogan, but a vivid metaphor around which to focus our rage. And rage it is. We are not yet very far along in 1991, optimism for a new decade already squelched by war in the Persian Gulf, and I for one feel amok in an onslaught of media images of women so distressing that "battleground" is an apt description of the territory that we are forcibly reminded we must fight uphill to reclaim. The war wives and mothers—war husbands being somehow absent from the media glaze—are pathetically paraded in front of us as bastions of blindly patriotic support for a senseless war in which our government is paying husbands, sons, and some wives and sisters, to fight and potentially die. It is no secret that the Orwellian retrenchment of family and loss of stride in reproductive rights advocacy go hand in hand with post-war patriotism and national spiritual reparation. As if fighting to maintain Roe v. Wade were not enough! As our Commander in Chief suggests to his minions in the desert, it seems we better "hunker down" for the years ahead.

> Thou shalt have soaring unemployment to amuse thy capitalists. Thou shalt preserve fetuses, for it is more interesting to kill them at age 18, the age of conscription. Thou shalt have great need of them, for thou shalt pursue political imperialism. Thou shalt be a strict moralist, for God knows what "our" women would do if they were free.
>
> (Excerpted from Guerilla Girls poster, 1991)

In an effort to contextualize REPOhistory's particular brand of activism I would, at the risk of giving them further airtime, bring right wing groups such as the American Family Association into the discussion because there are instructive parallels between the national anti-choice campaign they are waging against women, and the ground war they are championing against artists and freedom of expression through attacks on the National Endowment for the Arts.

The debate around both reproductive and creative freedom has been clouded by a daunting amount of extremist rhetoric and false alternatives. What is lost is that one is an issue of free speech and one of choice—two fundamental rights protected by our constitution. In an article titled "Abortion Rhetoric and the Politics of Suffering," Claudia Blackwell describes the syntactical confusion as follows:

> Assertion of abortion as a women's right is both absolute and fundamental - the pro-choice analogue of the anti-choice formula 'Abortion is murder.' And like 'Abortion is murder,' 'Abortion is a woman's right' tends to quash debate. It is, at the deepest level, unanswerable.
>
> (Blackwell, *American Atheist*, January 1990, p. 28.)

The problem, of course, is that redirecting choice back into the hands of those whose right it is, in this case women, requires a loss of control which is fundamentally terrifying and unthinkable to those who would wield it. It is no coincidence that the artwork and the artists who have recently come under fire are political: apparently they are asking the wrong questions and challenging the wrong people at the wrong time. The political ramifications of the fact that choice and speech are philosophically linked is

not lost on our own Justice Department which, over the past year, engaged in a chilling legal conflation of the two. In February of 1991, the Justice Department, directed by a Bush-appointed Attorney General, decided to appeal two California cases that struck down the anti-obscenity oath which was, at that time required by all recipients of NEA monies. There is speculation in legal circles that the appeal still pending in the case of the "NEA Four" will have the effect of upholding such oaths in other areas entirely unrelated to the arts such as fetal tissue and other scientific research:

> Constitutional law experts acquainted with the dispute, suggested that the certification principle embodied in the arts endowment's disputed practices might be applied to federal funding of family planning clinics that are forbidden to discuss abortion with their clients. A case challenging the constitutionality of such federal health legislation [Rust vs. Sullivan] is pending before the U.S. Supreme Court.
>
> (Allan Parachini, "NEA Modifies Obscenity Guidelines, *The Los Angeles Times*, F3, Wednesday, February 13, 1991.)

The parallels between free speech and free information have been lurking in the background of both the abortion and NEA debates for a while. It is clear that the Right makes little distinction between the two: so-called "obscene" art is equated with a woman's decision to control the fate of her own body. This is where the particular power of projects such as the REPOhistory collaboration lies: it is art about choice. In a more institutionalized situation there would undoubtedly be hostile complaints not about politics but rather asking why this conceptual installation is art. There is much talk about what art will be in the 90s. With or without the ubiquitous art market, there are artists who are exploring ways of politically activating that take them outside the formal realm of their usual production. There is precedence in the last few decades for this kind of cultural agitation: the Art Workers Coalition of the sixties which protested exclusionary and racist practices in the art world; feminist art of the early 70s; as well as the rather slicked-up, savvy eighties phenomena of Group Material, General Idea, the Guerilla Girls and Gran Fury who are perhaps most appropriate to reference here because of their origins in ACT UP and their fight against homophobia and marginality. The REPOhistory project was initiated within the context of an exhibition about the interrogation of history, loosely based on the quincentennial. It was transformed by the urgent realization that we must watchfully recalibrate the history currently being written in our own time by the Supreme Court. We are witness to the rewriting of our fundamental rights—choice and speech linked in the Rust v. Sullivan decision in a way that has implications for all citizens, artists among them. The "Gag Rule" is a justification for censorship. Publicly funded speech is in jeopardy. We must all speak out while we still can.

Connie Butler

Guest Curator,
A New World Order

Sin Dolor Sin Dolor
1988
Reagan Administration proposes new regulations to Title X of the Public Health Service Act which no longer require the provision of a "broad range of acceptable and effective...family planning methods"(contraceptive methods).
May 1991
The Supreme Court upheld 1988 Department of Health and Human Services regulation prohibiting physicians in clinics funded with Title X monies from telling pregnant women that abortion is an option.
1992
Legislation is passed in New Jersey, and proposed in Pennsylvania, to cut off monies to women on welfare if they have a second child.
Rosa Rogriguez paid a heavy price
ANY WHICH WAY YOU LOSE !
THE NEW WORLD ORDER = REPRO

In the 7th Century, Saint Gregory, Pope of the Roman Catholic Church proclaimed that if the slightest pleasure befouls the intercourse of married people, a sin has been committed.

In 1159 Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, teaches that lust, the result of original sin, transmits itself from generation to generation through intercourse.

In 1854 Pope Pius IX defines the dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception.

3000 BC

The Royal Archives of China hold the earliest written record of an abortion technique.

1850 BC

Egyptian papyri list three contraceptive methods: gummy substances for the cervix and vagina, honey and sodium carbonate and a crocodile pessary (a vaginal suppository).

1550 BC

An Egyptian papyrus suggests using a contraceptive tampon of lint, honey, and acacia leaves.

400 BC

Hippocrates (460-377 BC) is the first to record a method resembling an intrauterine device—a hollow lead tube filled with fat inserted into the uterus to prevent conception. His oath proscribes giving a woman "an instrument to produce abortion."

4TH CENTURY BC

Plato recommends abortion for every woman over 40. Aristotle distinguishes between the "unformed" and "formed" fetus based on the formation of organs at 40 days for males and 90 days for females.

200 BC

Abortion is common in Rome.

1ST CENTURY AD

Early Christians adopt Aristotle's model: "ensoulment" takes place at 40 days for males and 90 days for females.

200 AD

Soranos, a Greek physician in Rome, advocates "rational" contraceptive methods: oil, honey resin, balsam tree juice, fresh acidic pomegranate pulp and woolen tampons. He is thought to be the first to suggest a fertile period, during which to abstain from sexual activity; he believed this coincided with menstruation.

375-427

Talmudic law cites three classes of Jewish women who should use contraceptives: young girls, pregnant women, and lactating women. Methods include: contraceptive sponge, coitus interruptus, and the performing of twisting and violent movements following intercourse.

418

St. Augustine writes *Marriage and Concupiscence*. Procreation is theologically established as the good which justifies the marital act. This document inspires subsequent canon law with its condemnation of contraception and abortion in a passage known as "Aliquando."

600 CA.

St. Gregory, Pope from 590 to 604, decrees that if pleasure "befouls" the intercourse of married people, a sin has been committed.

675 CA.

Irish Canons: The penance for one who has intercourse with a woman: seven years on bread and water. The penance for one who has intercourse with a neighbor woman: fourteen years or nine. The penance for destruction of the embryo of a child in the mother's womb: three and one half years.

12TH CENTURY

Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine* (11th century Damascus) is translated into Latin from Arabic. A standard text for the subsequent 500 years, it includes a chapter entitled "Regimen for Abortion and Extraction of the Dead Fetus." Another, "The Prevention of Pregnancy," is a contraceptive primer.

1140

In Bologna, the Camaldolese monk Gratian compiles *Harmony of Discordant Canon* or Decretrum. This document remains part of the basic law of the Catholic Church until the enactment of the *Code of Canon Law* in 1917. It establishes Augustine's "Aliquando" as the Church's most important teaching on contraception and abortion.

13TH CENTURY

Pope Innocent III writes of a monk who has caused his mistress to abort, that he has not violated his vows if the fetus was not "vivified" or animated.

St. Thomas Aquinas writes in *On The Sentences,* "To impel man to the act whereby the deficiency of the species is aided, He [God] put delight in copulation."

1315

John of Naples, the theologian, teaches that therapeutic abortion is allowed if the fetus is not yet ensouled. For, "although he [the physician] impedes the ensoulment of the future fetus, he will not be the cause of death of any man."

1492

Columbus arrives on the island of Guanahaní in the Caribbean, which he promptly renames San Salvador. He also "discovers" Bohío, renamed Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and Dominican Republic). On his return to Spain, he brings 6 Taino captives, thus inaugurating the transatlantic slave trade.

1493

Columbus returns to Hispaniola to find the 39 Spaniards he has left behind have been killed. Spanish historian Oviedo writes: "The natives could not endure the excesses, for they [the Spaniards] took their women and used them as they wished and committed other violences and offenses..." This is the first indigenous revolt recorded in the Americas. Columbus returns from his Second Voyage with several hundred Taino slaves, most of whom perish on the voyage or shortly after arrival in Spain.

Michele de Cuñeo, a companion on Columbus' Second Voyage, writes, "While I was in the boat, I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the aforesaid Lord Admiral [Columbus] gave to me, and with whom, having brought her into my cabin, and she being naked as is their custom, I conceived the desire to take my pleasure. I wanted to put my desire to execution, but she was unwilling for me to do so, and treated me with her nails in such wise that I would have preferred never to have begun. But seeing this ... I took a rope-end and thrashed her well, following which she produced such screaming and wailing as would cause you not to believe your ears. Finally we reached an agreement such that, I can tell you, she seemed to have been raised in a veritable school of harlots."

1498

Explorer Amerigo Vespucci writes of the indigenous women of the Caribbean: "When they had the opportunity of copulating with Christians, urged by excessive lust, they defiled and prostituted themselves."

1501

As indigenous people die from Spanish brutality, disease and starvation, Spain decides to enslave and import Africans to the "New World," and the first laws regulating the African slave trade are passed.

1500s

Indigenous women throughout the Caribbean abort themselves rather than have their children suffer European rule.

1540

After England's break with the Catholic Church, abortion is not prosecuted under common law.

1545-1562

Catechism of the Council of Trent: "Whereas no human body, when the order of nature is followed, can be informed by the soul of man except after the prescribed interval of time."

1588

Pope Sixtus V in his "Bull Effraenatum" declares all abortion and all contraception by potions or poisons "which offer an impediment to the fetus" to be murder.

1591

Pope Gregory XIV, successor to Sixtus V, in "Cedes Apostolica", repeals all penalties of "Effraenatum" except those applying to abortions of an ensouled, 40-day old fetus.

1619

Dutch traders bring the first enslaved Africans in North America to the English colony at Jamestown, Virginia.

1648

Sir Edward Coke, *Statement of English Common Law*: "If a woman be quick with childe, and by a potion or otherwise killeth it in her wombe, or if a man beat her, wherby the childe dyethe in her body, and she is delivered of a dead childe, this is a great

UNMARRIED GIRLS **ABORT** SO AS NOT TO INTERRUPT THEIR CARE-FREE LOVE AFFAIRS, UNMARRIED GIRLS **ABORT** TO PROTECT THEIR LOVERS FROM BEING PROSECUTED, **ABORTS** TO CONTINUE SEXUAL ACTIVITY AS COITUS IS TABOO DURING PREGNANCY AND LACTATION **ABORTS** DUE TO ADULTERY, **ABORTS** AS INDICATED IN A DREAM OR OMEN, **ABORTS** BECAUSE SHE IS A WIFE OF A PRISONER OF WAR, **ABORTS** BECAUSE SHE IS A SLAVE TO WHITES, **ABORTS** BECAUSE SHE IS TOO POOR, **ABORTS** AS HER HUSBAND OR LOVER HAS DESERTED HER, **ABORTS** BECAUSE SHE REJECTS THE PARENTAL ROLE, **ABORTS** BECAUSE SHE IS ON A WEALTH QUEST, **ABORTS** BECAUSE SHE HAS BEEN ASSAULTED, THE GOVERNMENT FORCES HER TO **ABORT**, HER HUSBAND FORCES HER TO ABORT, HER HUSBAND'S OTHER WIVES FORCE HER TO **ABORT**, HER LOVER FORCES HER TO **ABORT**, SHE IS MOTIVATED BY MAGIC, SUPERNATURALS, GHOSTS, OR WITCHCRAFT TO **ABORT**.

FEMALE SLAVE RESISTANCE

1700-1807: Sustantial African Slave Trading.

1790-1807: Increased trading due to demand on the South West frontier.

1807: Congress passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa, effective 1 January, 1808.

1808-1865: Domestic Slave Trade. After the close of the African Slave Trade in 1808, the American slave population grew at a phenomenal rate and this rate of increase was maintained, despite a very high infant mortality rate among slave children.

What were the mechanisms for this high fertility rate?

> It has been estimated that the infant mortality rate among slave children exceeded that observed among the poorest population of the world today.
>
> Richard Steckel.

Was slave rearing so common and so widespread that;

1) it had a significant impact on the profitability of slavery?
2) it affected the rate of growth of the slave population.
3) the majority of slave women were subjected to systematic and repeated sexual abuse.

> Does the above fit into the context of nineteenth century American capitalism?
>
> Were not plantations a place of business, established and managed to make money for their owners?

> "Slave women, as mothers, established the unique aspect of North American slave society: the growth of the slave population."
>
> Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth

Did female slaves express opposition to their condition in daily life?

What form could this resistance have taken?

What form did it take?

Leela Ramotar
May, 1992

1648

misprison, and no murder; but if the childe be born alive and dyeth of the potion, battery or other cause, this is murder; for in law it is accounted a reasonable creature, in rerum natura, when it is born alive."

1658

The Catholic Church rejects the principle of baptizing aborted fetuses under 30 days of age.

1677

Anton van Leeuwenhoek, Dutch biologist and inventor of the microscope, discovers the spermatozoon.

1701

Pope Clement XI declares the Immaculate Conception a feast of universal obligation in the Catholic Church. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception teaches that Mary, though the product of human parents, was bestowed with sanctifying grace in her soul at the moment of conception, and was born without original sin. If Mary was ensouled from the moment of conception, then perhaps, it was thought, this was the case for everyone.

1769

Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*: English common law held that abortion before quickening was no crime at all. "Quickening" is understood as perceptible fetal movement, usually in the third month of pregnancy. No criminal proceedings, at common law, were ever brought against anyone in England for aborting a willing woman before quickening. Likewise, in the event that a woman was convicted of a capital offense, she was granted a reprieve only if she was found to be quick with child. It was not enough that she be merely pregnant.

1799

Culpeper's *The English Physician*, a popular medical manual, includes herbal abortifacients.

1800s

The Inuit women of Alaska occasionally abort in the 4th month of pregnancy, by manually kneading and compressing the uterus through the wall of the abdomen.

A recipe for "Contraceptive Fudge", to be used as a pessary, is exchanged by women worried about the reliability of commercial pessaries:

Cocoa Butter $^1/_4$ lb
Borax 5 dr.
Salicylic acid 1dr.
Quinine bisulphate 1 $^1/_2$ dr

1803

England adopts *The Miscarriage of Women Act*, criminalizing abortions during any stage of pregnancy by poisoning or other noxious substances. No mention is made of abortion by surgery or other methods.

1807

The U.S. Congress passes a law prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa, effective January 1, 1808. By this time, the slave trade is relatively unimportant to the continuance of slavery because slaves are "bred" on plantations. Slave women designated for child-bearing purposes are called "breeder women."

1812

The Massachusetts Supreme Court, in *Commonwealth v. Bangs*, rules that abortion with a woman's consent is legal prior to quickening. Between 1812 and 1879, courts in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Iowa, Alabama and Kentucky cite English common law in ruling that no one could be indicted for aborting a willing woman before quickening.

1821

Connecticut passes the first statute restricting abortion in the United States. It is now a crime to give a woman "quick with child" a poison intended to cause miscarriage.

1827

Illinois passes its first law criminalizing abortion, modelled on Connecticut's law.

New York is the first state to entrust the medical profession with the decision on abor-

REPO HISTORY

1828

tion. A abortion is legal only when two physicians deem it necessary to preserve the life of the mother.

1830

New York State Revised Statutes of 1829 take effect, making abortion after quickening illegal: "The willful killing of an unborn quick child, by any injury to the mother of such child . . . shall be deemed manslaughter in the first degree." *Pt. IV, ch. 1, tit. 2, 8;* "Every person who shall administer to any woman pregnant with a quick child, any medicine, drug or substance whatever, or shall use or employ any instrument or other means, with the intent thereby to destroy such child, unless the same shall have been necessary to preserve the life of such mother, or shall have been advised by two physicians to be necessary for such purpose, shall be deemed guilty of manslaughter in the second degree." *Pt. IV, ch. 1, tit. 2, 9*

1839

Iowa passes its first law restricting abortion.

1840

The beginning of an upsurge in the number of abortions performed in the U.S., which lasts through the 1880s. Abortion is increasingly common among married, white, middle class Protestant women, who use it as a method of family planning. It is estimated that as many as ¼ to ⅓ of all pregnancies end in abortion. Abortions are performed by midwives and "female physicians." Commercial abortionists advertise their services through handbills, newspaper ads and travelling salesmen.

1841

10 states now have laws criminalizing abortion after quickening.

1843

The diaphragm or "dutch cap" is invented.

1845

The New York State Legislature modifies the 1829 statutes, eliminating the language, "or shall have been advised by two physicians to be necessary," from the therapeutic exception. For the first time in the U.S., the State criminalizes the actions of a woman seeking an abortion: "Every woman who shall solicit of any person any medicine, drug ... or shall submit to any operation .. to procure a miscarriage, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor . . ."

Madame Restell (born Ann Lohman), a well-known commercial abortionist in New York, is arrested under New York's new laws, and spends a year in prison on Blackwell's Island. The term "Restellism" is coined by "regular" doctors to refer to the increase in abortions.

1847

Massachusetts prohibits advertising abortion or contraceptive services or information.

The founding of the American Medical Association marks a move by "regular" doctors to create a monopoly on health care by delegitimizing "irregular", often female, practicioners, including midwives and abortionists.

1848

New Hampshire and Virginia pass their first laws restricting abortion.

1849

The U.S. Supreme Court rules abortion before quickening is not an indictable offense.

New Jersey passes its first law restricting abortion.

A Georgia physician notes that abortion and miscarriage are more common among slaves than free white women. Planters complain of "The unnatural tendency of the African Female to destroy her offspring."

1853

Ferdinand Keber discovers that the male sperm actually enters the female ovum to produce insemination.

1854

Pope Pius IX defines the dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception.

continence?

The driving force in sexual policy at the turn of the 20th century was venereal disease. The need to direct men away from prostitutes and towards their mates gave impetus to the sexual revolution. Specifically, a change in attitude about female sexual activity was required. This involved a tilt towards indulgence over continence, and made modern birth control more necessary.

indulgence!

Ann Lohman, alias **Madame Restell**, was 19th century New York's best-known and most successful abortionist until her entrapment and arrest by morals vigilante, Anthony Comstock, in 1878. On the eve of her trial, facing a long prison term at age 67, she committed suicide. Her career mirrors the rise and fall of abortion in the 19th century.

1856

Margaret Garner, a fugitive slave, kills her infant daughter and attempts suicide when captured. She is reported as saying about her child, "Now she would never know what a woman suffers as a slave."

1857

Alabama courts rule in favor of a female plaintiff, finding slander in a statement that she had aborted herself, without specifying whether it was before or after quickening. (*Smith v. Gaffard*)

1859

The American Medical Association passes a resolution condemning abortion and urging states to make it illegal. Abortion is a relatively safe procedure (more women die in childbirth), so they base their opposition on a combination of racial, moral and medical grounds.

1860

Connecticut for the first time condemns abortion before quickening.

1860s

U.S. doctors begin to perform clitoridectomies and ovariotomies or "female castration" to "cure" a variety of psychological problems including excessive masturbation. Medical records tell of women being castrated for psychological reasons as late as 1946.

1863-1869

The New York Times reports on ten abortion cases, which involved seven married women and three unmarried women. By the end of the Civil War, the medical community believes that the great majority of women having abortions in the U.S. are married.

1866

Edwin Hale, a spokesman for homeopathic medicine, publishes *A Systematic Treaty of Abortion*, in which he states that induced abortion is not only common (1 pregnancy in 5) but safe as well. He also states, "that in no instance should the life, or even the health of the mother be sacrificed to save that of an impregnated ovum, before the date of its 'viability'."

1867

Illinois includes surgery and means other than poison in its abortion act.

The Medical Society of the State of New York urges the State Legislature to recognize that abortion "from the first moment of conception" is murder, and to outlaw newspaper and other advertising for "female remedies" that suggest abortion.

Joseph Lister publishes his findings regarding the use of carbolic acid to exclude atmospheric germs during surgical procedures in *The Lancet*. This inaugurates the practice of antiseptic surgery.

1868

Horatio R. Storer, a leader in the AMA's campaign to criminalize all abortion and Franklin Fiske Heard, a Boston attorney, publish *Criminal Abortion: Its Nature, Its Evidence, and Its Law*. They assert a ratio of 1 abortion for every 4 live births in the U.S.

1869

Pope Pius IX eliminates the distinction between the "fetus inanimatus" and the "fetus animatus," thus forbidding all abortions from the first moment of conception.

1870

The New York Times begins an anti-abortion campaign.

1872

The New York State Court of Appeals rules in *Evans v. People* that " the child does 'quicken', that is, become endowed with life...[and] there is a period during the gestation when, although there may be embryo life in the fetus, there is no living child."

Anthony Comstock, a dry-goods salesman from Connecticut, founds the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. They target "obscene" materials (including birth control devices and information) and abortionists.

1873

Anthony Comstock persuades Congress to pass the Comstock Act for the Suppression of Trade in and Circulation of Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use. The law controls the mailing of art, literature, and other media deemed obscene, bans from the mail any drug, medicine, or article for abortion or contraceptive purpose; forbids their advertisement through the mails; and outlaws their manufacture or sale in the District of Columbia or federal territories. This is the first Federal anti-abortion legislation.

Comstock is made Special Agent for the Post Office Department. Empowered to open any package, letter, paper, or book going through the mails, he alone is judge of what is obscene or immoral.

1874

It is reported that women of the Shasta tribe use large quantities of the root of a parasitical fern which grows on the tip of their fir trees as an abortifacient.

1878

Anthony Comstock, posing as a man seeking an abortion for his wife, entraps Madame Restell, and she is arrested. The night before her trial, daunted by the prospect of a long prison term at age 66, and abandoned by her wealthy clientele, she commits suicide. Comstock later boasts that he can claim fifteen suicides to his credit.

Iowa makes abortion before quickening a crime.

1882

Nathan Allen, a New England doctor, warns readers of the New Englander magazine that a full 77% of recent births in all New England were Catholic, thus putting the Yankee stock at "risk". Fears about immigrants and the poor reproducing faster than the Protestant elite become the basis for the theory of "race suicide".

1883

Sir Francis Galton coins the term "eugenics" which advocates the improvement of the hereditary qualities of a race or breed by the control of human mating.

1890

Dr. Harry Sharp invents vasectomy. He performs 465 on inmates at Indiana State Reformatory between 1899 and 1907.

1896

A Kansas asylum castrates 57 inmates.

Connecticut passes a law allowing for the imprisonment of anyone who marries a "genetically unfit" person.

Rhode Island passes its first anti-abortion statute.

Abortion has been effectively criminalized in most of the United States after 30 years of state-by-state legislation.

1898

U.S. seizes Puerto Rico in the Spanish-American War.

1902

The Catholic Church's Holy Office rules against any procedure that would directly attack the fetus except in the case of ectopic pregnancy.

1904

Industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie establishes a center for the study of "hybridized" (mixed-race) peoples.

1905

In a presidential address, Theodore Roosevelt proclaims that birth control is "criminal against the race".

1909

Washington State makes sterilization compulsory for child rapists.

California and Connecticut pass laws providing for compulsory "asexualization" of any inmate of a state mental hospital afflicted with any illness "likely to be transmitted to the descendants." The laws further provide for the sterilization of recidivist criminals.

"Only individuals can make contracts and uphold the original contract. Women are the opposite to the civil law; they represent all that men must master to bring civil society into being."

—Hegel

"She uses her books in the same way as her watch, for example, which she carries so that people see that she has one, though it is not usually running or set by the sun."

—Kant dismissing a female scholar

"It's very healthy for a young girl to be deterred from promiscuity by fear of contacting a painful incurable disease, or cervical cancer, or sterility, the likelihood of giving birth to a dead, blind, or brain damaged baby (even ten years later when she may be happily married)."

— Phyllis Schafly
President
Eagle Forum

Fig. 33. The female organs of generation from Jacob Rueff, *Habammenbuch* (1583), which appeared in English as the widely plagiarized and popular *The Expert Midwife* (1637). Note that the left ureter has been cut and the bladder pushed to the right from its natural position so that we might look into the window of the womb and see the child.

"The reproductive organs of a woman are like the eyes of a mole, the womb is an imperfect version of what it would be were it projected outward.... the womb is forever as if still in the womb.

Galen

"A brilliant mole is a plague to the Endocrine, the children, the juntos, serpens, ... otiate, la tona ole a otrange relationo."

Jon Jaques Rousseau

"I don't think we should punish the criminal [a rapist] by killing his child."

— Dr. John Willke
Past President
National Right to Life Committee

1912

Under New York State's eugenics law, 42 people are sterilized between 1912 and 1920. 41 of them are women.

Margaret Sanger, the author of a column entitled "What Every Girl Should Know," in *The New York Call*, devotes an article to venereal disease. The Post Office declares the article unmailable under the Comstock Law.

1913

The Harrimans, a socially and politically prominent N.Y. state family, establishe the Eugenics Record Office.

The American Breeders Association is renamed the American Genetic Association. Its aim is to promote eugenics-influenced social policies and engage in legislative lobbying.

1915

Anthony Comstock dies of a chill caught while watching the trial of William Sanger, the estranged husband of Margaret Sanger. He was convicted for distributing her pamphlet "Family Limitations." As a postal inspector and Secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, Anthony Comstock destroyed more than 50 tons of what he considered obscene books, almost 4,000,000 pictures, and over 28,000 tons of plates for their printing.

It is reported that the Zunis, a Pueblo nation in New Mexico, use plants from the ragweed family as abortifacients — gaethiera acanthicarpa (hook), buttonweed. The entire plant is made into tea, which is drunk warm for obstructed menstruation. The tea is then rubbed over the abdomen while it is massaged.

Nebraska offers parole to inmates in exchange for sterilization.

1917

The Code of Canon Law provides for the baptism of all fetuses, and excommunication of all women and health workers who take part in abortion.

1920

3,233 sterilizations have been performed nationally, 79% in California.

1921

The American Birth Control League is founded by Margaret Sanger and others.

1923

A Wisconsin court, in *Foster v. State*, rules that "a two-month-old [fetus] is not a human being in the eyes of the law," and therefore abortion at that point is not an offense against a person, "because the law does not recognize a mere embryo as a person or human being."

1927

A majority of the U.S. Supreme Court votes to uphold a Virginia court's orders to sterilize Carrie Buck, who had been diagnosed as mentally retarded. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes writes in his decision, "three generations of imbeciles are enough."

1930

Pope Pius XI declares in "Casti Connubii" that "the life of each (mother and fetus) is equally sacred." He condemns abortion and contraception in general but states that the indirect death of the fetus is allowable when a woman is operated on for cancer of the uterus or an ectopic pregnancy. The operation is considered an innocent act whose effect is good, and the termination of pregnancy follows without direct intention.

1932

Among the Ojibwa (Chippewa) nation, it is reported that in old times the fetus of an induced abortion was buried either under the floor of the wigwam in which the mother lived or under the roots of the tree from which had been taken the roots for making the potion that caused the abortion.

1933

Sterilization laws passed in Hitler's Germany are based on the Model Eugenical Sterilization Law developed by the U.S. Eugenics Record Office. Over 200,000 sterilizations are performed by Nazi doctors.

1936

27 states have laws permitting the sterilization of inmates of state mental hospitals or prisons, who are deemed at risk of producing "socially unacceptable" offspring. In most cases, the authorities agree that "the female represents a greater danger to the community."

The U.S. Supreme Court permits the importation of contraceptives by a physician.

1937

Sterilization is legalized in Puerto Rico.

1939

The Birth Control Federation of America (BCFA) establishes the "Negro Project," a eugenicist-influenced campaign to promote birth control in the rural South to "keep the unfit from reproducing themselves."

Guy Burch, director of the American Eugenics Society, campaigns against the admission of Jewish refugee children because they are "non-Aryans".

The Nazis offer a "German Mother's Cross" to prolific racially pure mothers every August 12 (Hitler's mother's birthday). The Nazi term for eugenics is "Racial Hygiene".

Puerto Rico: Doctors are permitted to possess contraceptives.

President Franklin Roosevelt's Interdepartmental Committee on Puerto Rico states that the island's economic problems are a result of "overpopulation."

1940s

"Operation Bootstrap" calls for increased U.S. investment in Puerto Rico. Female sterilization — ostensibly to free women for employment — is part of the plan.

1942

The American Birth Control League becomes "Planned Parenthood."

1944

42,616 sterilizations have been performed nationally.
California: 17,012 persons.
Michigan: 2466 persons, 3 out of 4 were women.
North Dakota has sterilized 448 women and 223 men.
Wisconsin has sterilized 220 women and 28 men.
Oregon has sterilized 1,009 women and 645 men.
New Hampshire has sterilized 448 women and 223 men.
Virginia has sterilized 2,717 women and 1,958 men.

1947

Arkansas for the first time punishes abortion before quickening.
North Carolina has sterilized 1,494 women and 407 men, 58 of whom were castrated. The overwhelming majority are African-American.

1949

The New Jersey Supreme Court rules that a woman who had aborted at ten weeks, and who has refused to identify the abortionist on grounds of self-incrimination, must do so. New Jersey's abortion law only covers the abortionist. The woman is still subject to common law, which holds that the "crime of abortion is not committed unless the mother be quick with child."

1952

The Population Council is founded by business interests to promote "population control", primarily in the Third World.

1954

Hugh Moore, founder of the Dixie Cup Corp., sets up the Hugh Moore Fund to lobby U.S. businessmen to support population control policies.

1958

Dr. Alfred Kinsey reports that ⅓ to ¼ of all pregnancies are terminated in abortion.

The U.S. Post Office declares it will not ban the mailing of contraceptives if they are not destined for "unlawful purposes".

a woman makes
a choice
to not marry
to not have children
people call out
to her as she passes
"she's crazy"
"she's weird"
"she's a cunt"
"fucking whore"
"there's the bitch"
a woman made
a choice 1992
Photo 1988 Ellis Island
Psycopathic Pavilion
1907

....the very nature of reproduction is social

and individual at the same time; it operates at the core

of social life as well as within and upon womens individual bodies-

...the critical issue is not so much

the content of womens choices or even the "right to choose"

as it is the social and material conditions under which choices are made.

From " Abortion and Womens Choice"

By Rosalind Petchesky

The idyllic scenes of a cotton plantation thought to be in Louisiana, showed little of the harsh conditions of American black slaves. The abolitionist sought to overcome such ignorance with emotional pleas, like antislavery book published in Philadelphia. The leaping slave girl exclaimed: "—but I did not want to go, and I jump'd out of the window.—"

Alysha '92

1960

The birth control pill is introduced to the American mass market, after years of testing on poor women in Puerto Rico.

The government estimates that abortion represents the third largest sector of the United States' "illegal" economy, following gambling and narcotics.

1960s

In New York City, half of the maternity-related and puerperal deaths among Black and Puerto Rican women are due to botched abortions (only ¼ of such deaths among white women are due to botched abortions).

1962

Look magazine excerpts photos from the book *The First Nine Months of Life*, showing the fetus in utero. In every caption, the fetus is referred to as "the baby" or "he". There is no reference to the pregnant woman except for a photograph of the newborn baby lying with its mother.

Thalidomide, a tranquilizer routinely prescribed in Europe, results in the births of many deformed children. Infants are born with seal-like flippers instead of arms, or with shortened thighs and twisted legs. Others are missing ears or have paralyzed faces.

Sherri Finkbine of Phoenix, Arizona, mother of 4 children and hostess of the TV program "Romper Room", is denied an abortion after she had inadvertently taken Thalidomide. She is eventually forced to seek an abortion in Sweden.

1963-1964

During the rubella epidemic, 2,000,000 women of childbearing age contract the virus. Of those, 82,000 are in the critical first 3 months of pregnancy and an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 infants were born severely disabled.

1964

According to Planned Parenthood, while only 8,000 women qualify for legal abortions, there are 1,123,611 abortions performed in America.

A Mississippi law makes a woman who has a second out-of-wedlock child a felon and liable to 1-3 years in the state prison. But sterilization is an alternative punishment.

1965

A study finds that 34% of women in Puerto Rico between the ages of 20 and 49 have been sterilized. 92% of those sterilized are under the age of 35.

The American Civil Liberties Union is the first national organization to publicly support the right to legal abortion.

The Supreme Court, in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, strikes down a law against using contraceptives, ruling that it would hamper doctors in the practice of medicine and constitute a violation of marital privacy.

1966

Food for Freedom bill allows the use of food aid money to fund family planning in the Third World.

1967

A study finds that 53.6% of teaching hospitals made sterilization a requirement for getting an abortion.

The U.S. government allocates $35 million to the Agency for International Development (AID) for population control.

1968

President Johnson's Presidential Advisory Council on the Status of Women calls for the repeal of abortion laws.

1969

In Chicago, the "Jane" collective, a group of housewives, mothers and activists, begins helping women obtain safe, illegal abortions through a referral system.

NARAL, the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, is founded. It later becomes the National Abortion Rights Action League.

1970

New York State, Alaska and Hawaii revise their abortion laws, making them the most liberal to date. The laws come close to providing for abortion on request, although some restrictions are maintained on abortion late in pregnancy. New York becomes a haven for women from other states seeking safe, legal abortions.

The Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health, the first free-standing abortion facility in the U.S., is founded on East 73rd Street in New York City.

Congress passes Title X of the Public Health Service Act, whose purpose is to educate women about family planning at federally-funded clinics. Around $200 million a year is given to 4,500 clinics that provide services to 5 million low-income women, 1/3 of whom are adolescents. For many communities, it is the only source of primary health care.

North Carolina sterilizes twice as many African-Americans as whites.

1970s

Dr. Clovis Pierce, the sole obstetrician in Aiken, South Carolina, routinely sterilizes welfare recipients with two or more children, and refuses to deliver women unless they agree to sterilization. He receives more than $60,000 in Federal funds for the sterilizations he performs.

1971

With the approval of the Illinois Department of Child and Family Services, a 13 year old African-American girl, a ward of the State of Illinois, is operated on in Texas for a "mass in abdomen..." In 1973, she learns that the doctors had performed a hysterectomy and that she cannot bear children.

After learning that their abortionist is not a doctor, "Jane" members train themselves and begin performing abortions themselves.

The Nixon administration approves the use of Federal anti-poverty funds for sterilization.

1972

Governor Rockefeller vetoes legislation to revoke New York's newly liberalized bill, after it is passed by both houses of the state legislature.

The U.S. government funds nearly 200,000 female sterilizations.

The Supreme Court in *Eisenstadt v. Baird* declares as unconstitutional a Massachusetts law banning the distribution of contraceptives to unmarried persons. Justice Brennan writes in his minority opinion that "If the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the *individual*, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child."

1973

On January 22, the Supreme Court hands down its historic decision in *Roe v. Wade* affirming a woman's right to end a pregnancy as a "fundamental" right, on the basis of a constitutional right to privacy. This decision legalizes all first-trimester abortions but retains some restrictions on second and third-trimester abortions.

In *Doe v. Bolton*, the Supreme Court strikes down the requirements of approval by a committee of three physicians and for special accreditation for hospitals performing abortions.

Before abortion was legalized, women of color represented 64% of all deaths due to illegal abortions (Centers for Disease Control). After the legalization of abortion, 82% of women who died from illegal abortions between 1975 and 1979 were Latina or African American. Even with *Roe v. Wade* access to a safe abortion is restricted.

After the *Roe v. Wade* decision, 745,000 legal abortions are performed this year. The Alan Guttmacher Institute estimates that from 1970 to 1973, 1 million illegal abortions were performed each year.

On June 14th, Minnie (12 years) and Mary Alice Relf (14 years), who are alleged to be mentally retarded, receive tubal ligations one day after the Montgomery, Alabama

HER *OWN* PANCAKES *with the flavor of* PLANTATION DAYS

"The Southern white woman will declare that no negro women are virtuous, yet she places her innocent children in their care..."
– anonymous black woman, The Independent 1902

after the boss took over
Love had millions of babies
she didnt want–
and loved them anyway,
as the earth loves
even the fruits forced out of her
though she never forgives them
– J. GRAHN

a decoction of tansy, rue roots and seeds of cotton plants, pennyroyal, cedar gum, and camphor either in gum or spirits will induce miscarriage.

Years ago, Aunt Jemima refused to tell a soul how she mixed her batter. In those days only her old master and his guests could enjoy her pancakes. Aunt Jemima legend

"...50% of all unwanted births appear to be contributed by white middle-class families." 1968

Margret Garner, a fugitive slave killed her own daughter and attempted suicide when she was captured. She rejoiced that the girl was dead – "now she would never know what a woman suffers as a slave" – and pleaded to be tried for murder. "I will go singing to the gallows rather than be returned to slavery!"

AP Photo

Thrown Away

Nurse Judith Goulborne of the Bronx Municipal Hospital Center cuddles a newborn yesterday, a day after he was found barely breathing in an apartment building garbage chute. Staff has dubbed him "Baby Jake."

quick–easy!

★ *Aunt Jemima Pancake Flour in the red package; Aunt Jemima for Buckwheats in the yellow*

1- Quinine.

2- Pills.

3- Soak feet in cold water.

4- Wait.

5- They did this in Paris, Nicole said.

6- The leaves Guérze women use.

7- Wait.

8- The leaves arrive.

9- Abortion is legal in Czechoslavakia, I read.

10- Trip to Czech doctor in Kankan. I lie about the date.

11- The light outside is beautiful, the women are selling mangoes.

12- He agrees.

13- Sally heard me hemmorhaging, I was making morning coffee.

14- He left the placenta.

© 1992

1973

Community Action Agency has asked their illiterate mother to sign release forms. She puts an "X" on a document whose content has not been explained to her. In March, their older sister, Katy, was fitted for an intra-uterine device (IUD) by the same agency without parental permission.

By the time "Jane" disbands in the wake of *Roe v. Wade*, they have performed over 11,000 abortions.

More than 3,400 Native Americans are sterilized by the U.S. Indian Health Services. Some nations are brought close to the end of their existence.

A lawsuit is brought against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) on behalf of the Relf sisters. Due to publicity given the case and the outrage of civil liberties activists, in 1974 federal guidelines are established to curb sterilization abuse. However, they are ineffective and remain unknown or are ignored by health providers.

Leaders from 18 religious groupings, including Catholics, Jews and Protestants, found the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights to safeguard the option of legal abortion.

1974

In response to reports of rising sterilization rates in New York City hospitals which serve primarily Hispanic and African-American communities, activists organize the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA).

The dogma of Pope Pius IX is reaffirmed by the Catholic Church in the "Declaration of Procured Abortion," which states: "The First Right of the Human Person is his life. Never, under any pretext may a woman resort to abortion. Nor can one exempt women from what nature demands of them."

1975

In New York, 33% of the female Puerto Rican prison population has been sterilized.

1976

Congress passes the Hyde Amendment, which prohibits the use of of federal funds for abortions for Medicaid-eligible women except in cases when a woman's life would be threated by a full-term pregnancy. Only 13 states continue to use their own funds to pay for abortions for low-income women. Over 90% of the cost of sterilization surgery is covered by the Federal government.

The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Planned Parenthood v. Danforth* that a woman not be required to have her husband's consent for an abortion.

42% of all Native American women of childbearing age have been sterilized.

1977

The Supreme Court in *Polker v. Doe* rules that city-owned hospitals don't have to provide non-therapeutic abortions.

All the pureblood women of the Kaw tribe have been sterilized. A researcher writes, "At the end of this generation the tribe will cease to exist."

The Supreme Court in *Maher v. Roe* upholds the denial of Medicaid funding in non-therapeutic abortions.

The first victim of the Hyde Amendment is Rosie Jimenez, a 27-year old Chicana woman from Texas who dies from an illegal abortion after Texas stopped government-funded abortions.

1978

American Cyanamid, a major U.S. cosmetics manufacturer, institutes a fetal protection policy, requiring its female employees to prove sterility in order to keep their "hazardous" jobs. Many women choose surgical sterilization.

1979

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Bellotti v. Baird* upholds a Massachussetts law ruling that the state cannot require teenagers to get parental consent for an abortion unless the law includes that, as an alternative, permission can be obtained from a judge.

New York City activists found the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Steri-

lazation Abuse (CARASA) in an attempt to shift from a narrow focus on abortion to a broader vision of reproductive rights.

1980

The U.S. Supreme Court in *Harris v. McRae* upholds the Hyde Amendment, which bans the use of Medicaid funds for abortions for poor women.

Five female employees of American Cyanamid who chose sterilization to keep their jobs successfully sue the company for gender discrimination.

Title X, the Federal program to reduce unwanted pregnancies among teens and low-income women, is cut by ⅔.

In *Grodin v. Grodin*, a Michigan court holds that a child can sue his mother for taking tetracycline during her pregnancy, allegedly resulting in the discoloration of the child's teeth. The court states that the appropriate standard for liability is that of the "reasonable" pregnant woman.

1980s

Researchers note a decline in the white birth rate. Studies on the demographics of abortion show that 70% of the women who have abortions in the U.S. are white, 20% are African-American and 10% are other women of color.

1981

A survey of a low-income community in Brooklyn finds that women in 66.7% of Puerto Rican households have been sterilized.

1982

Comparative sterilization rates: white women 15%; black women 24%; Puerto Rican women 35%; Native American women 42%.

Lincoln Hospital, a city hospital serving the primarily Puerto Rican community in the South Bronx, announces it is hiring Dr. Antonio Silva, who headed the sterilization program in Puerto Rico.

1983

The Supreme Court, in *City of Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*, strikes down a law requiring women seeking abortions to wait at least 24 hours after receiving counselling that includes the statement that, "the unborn child is a human life from the moment of conception."

1984

In *Commonwealth v. Cass*, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts holds that a fetus is a person for purposes of the Massachusetts Vehicular Homicide Statute and thus a potential homicide victim.

Dr. Bernard Nathanson, a doctor who had opened one of the first legal abortion clinics in New York City, but who is now an anti-abortion activist, produces *The Silent Scream*, a video purporting to show the pain to a fetus during an abortion.

The Reagan Administration begins a policy of denying support to any non-governmental international family planning agency that provides abortion information or services, even if those groups provide the services with their own money. Funds for International Planned Parenthood and the U.N. Family Planning Agency are sharply cut. Illegal abortion is Latin America's leading cause of pregnancy-related death.

New York City's Bellevue Hospital performs 137 sterilizations.

On December 25, anti-abortionists calling themselves the Gideon Project, set off explosions that damage three abortion clinics in Pensacola, Florida.

1985

The U.S. AID allocates $250 million for population control. 47% of all abortion providers are harrassed by anti-abortion protestors.

1986

An international study finds that the U.S. ranks 18th in the world in infant mortality rates.

The Supreme Court, in *Thornburgh v. the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Pennsylvania*, issues its most forceful defense of abortion rights. The

LETTER RACK CIRCA 1992
(AFTER HARNETT)

Between 1924 and 1971 8,300 persons were coercively sterilized in Virginia state hospitals and "training schools". This is an example of how doctors at Lynchburg state hospital interviewed patients before sterilizing them. Almost no one left Lynchburg without the operation. In 1985 the ACLU sued Virginia forcing them to offer free counselling to any patient who sought it out.

Dr ---: You know what this operation is for?
Mrs W: Yes sir.
Dr ----: What's her IQ?
A. 66%
Dr ------: It is your opinion that she is affected with a form of mental disability that is hereditary and recurrent.
Q. Did you have a good record at-where was it---- ?
A. I don't think I ever gave them any trouble....But the girls tell me that if you are not sterilized you have to stay here always.
Q. You don't object to the operation. Do you?
A. Well, it's no use to.
Q. Why do you say that?
A. Because I'm going to be operated on anyway.
Mr ----: Your statement that there was no use object[ ] is not a good reason. our reason for sterilizing you would be to keep [ ] [ ] bringing into the world more feeble-minded or epileptic chil[ ], not to punish you or anything like that.
A. Yes sir.

MS ----: [ ] you the Artist?
MR ----: Yes.
Q. What exactly you doing here?
A. [ ] not sure what you mean.
Q. What are we looking at?
A. Well, this is what some eugenicists termed the STIGMA OF DEGENERACY. They believed that things like criminal behavior, sexual precocity, juvenile delinquency, even a tendency to wind up poor could be inherited, and that the physical features of a persons face and body would give away their inferior pedigree. Certain aspects of the ear show this supposed stigma, and that is what's shown here.

Q. Yes, but its still [ ] clear what [ ] are saying.
A. Starting in the late 1800's more than half of the country passed eugenics laws of one sort or another alowing for forced sterilizations of people seen as genetically unfit. By 1944 there were as many as 42,616 of these operations most of them on women, many of these black or hispanic, all of them poor and socially marginalized. Today Medicaid will pay 90% for a sterilization procedure, but only 50% for an abortion. The point is certain populations - poor whites, African Americans, Native Americans, people of Caribbean and Latin American descent - have been and continue to be forced or manipulated into be coming sterilized. They have had their CHOICE taken away.
A. And you have chosen to show them to us... ?
Q. Right, because if no one did that they would [ ] invisible.
A. Yes, but so would you and your art.

Court rules that the requirement that women be given specific "informed consent" information intended to discourage abortions is unconstitutional.

The Children's Defense Fund finds that twice as many African-American children die before their first birthday as white children.

In *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the Supreme Court upholds a Georgia anti-sodomy law, saying that the right to privacy does not give homosexuals a fundamental right to engage in sodomy because it is not related to family, marriage or procreation.

1987

Operation Rescue is launched at the annual Pro-Life Action Network gathering.

1987–88

The Reagan Administration proposes new regulations to Title X, which not only prohibit the funding of family-planning clinics that offer abortion counselling, referral and services, but also no longer require the provision of a "broad range of acceptable and effective family-planning methods."

1988

A survey by the Alan Guttmacher Institute finds that 3.7 million women nationwide go to Title X funded clinics. The women are likely to be young, poor and from communities of color.

50% of all urban U.S. counties and 93% of all rural counties have no identified services for the provision of an abortion.

Researchers in Hartford, Connecticut, find that 50% of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age have been sterilized.

Dr. Otis R. Bowen, Secretary of Health and Human Services, orders a ban on Federal financing of research involving fetal tissue. The ban is endorsed by opponents of abortion rights because of their fear that fetal tissue research will encourage women to have abortions. Scientists believe the tissue will be helpful in AIDS research and in treating Parkinson's Disease, diabetes and other ailments.

In Indiana, 17-year old Becky Bell dies from a botched illegal abortion due to Indiana's law requiring parental consent for a legal abortion. Her parents state that she felt she couldn't "bear to hurt" them by telling them she was pregnant or go before a judge she believed would be unsympathetic.

1989

The Supreme Court, in *William Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, upholds a Missouri law that bars the use of public hospitals or clinics for abortions. The decision indicates that a majority of the Court no longer considers abortion to be a "fundamental" constitutional right.

The U.S. Court of Appeals upholds a "fetal protection policy" at Johnson Controls Company, excluding all fertile women from "hazardous" work.

A Tennessee judge rules that frozen embryos have a right to life.

On April 9, 600,000 pro-choice activists march in Washington, DC.

A pregnant Florida woman, about to be jailed for violation of a Driving While Under the Influence probation, requests time to get an abortion. Although the prosecutor has agreed, the judge turns down her request, arguing that abortion is "murder." Once in jail, the woman is able to obtain an abortion.

1990

The Supreme Court, in *Hodgson v. Minnesota* upholds a Minnesota law requiring a minor to have both parents notified 48 hours prior to an abortion or obtain a court order sanctioning it.

The husband of a comatose pregnant woman on Long Island agrees to an abortion to improve his wife's chances of survival. An anti-abortionist declares himself guardian of the fetus and goes to court to prevent the abortion. He loses; the abortion is performed and the woman begins to recover.

1990

The Federal Drug Administration approves the production and distribution of Norplant, a long-term birth control device implanted under the skin. It remains effective for up to 5 years.

1991

Darlene Johnson, an unmarried mother, pregnant with her fifth child, is convicted in Fresno, California of child abuse. Judge Howard Broadman tells her she can be sentenced to probation instead of prison if she agrees to use Norplant. She agrees but quickly changes her mind. Judge Broadman refuses to rescind his order, saying that Ms. Johnson had lost her right to reproduce by abusing her children. Her attorneys and the ACLU obtain a stay of the order while they appeal.

The Supreme Court, in *Rust v. Sullivan*, upholds the 1988 Department of Health and Human Services regulation prohibiting physicians in clinics funded with Title X monies from telling pregnant women that abortion is an option. This is referred to as the "Gag Rule."

A bill is introduced in the Kansas state legislature which suggests that women on welfare be paid $500 to have Norplant inserted, as a one-time "incentive", plus $50 per month as long as they use the method.

"Operation Rescue" supporters flock to Lawrence, Kansas and besiege abortion clinics, disrupting abortion services for two weeks.

The "Freedom of Choice Act" is introduced in the U.S. Congress. Co-sponsored by 128 Representatives and 29 Senators, the Act would restore the full principles and the constitutional protection of *Roe v. Wade*, by prohibiting any state legislature from interfering with a woman's right to choose.

Roussel-Uclaf, a French pharmaceutical company, decides not to test RU486, a successful and low-risk abortifacient pill widely used in France, in the U.S., citing an unfriendly political climate. One-third of all abortions in France are performed using RU486. Studies suggest that RU486 might prove beneficial to breast cancer patients and in treating endometriosis, the third-leading cause of female infertility.

1992

Legislation is passed in New Jersey and proposed in Pennsylvania, to deny additional child support monies to women on welfare if they have a second out-of-wedlock child.

Judge Broadman's order that Darlene Johnson use Norplant as a condition of probation is declared moot when she is found to have used cocaine and sentenced to 5 years in prison.

In April, the Reproductive Freedom Project of the ACLU reports that over 167 women have been arrested on criminal charges because of their behavior during pregnancy or because they became pregnant while addicted to drugs. In every case, the prosecutors took statutes designed for another purpose and applied them to pregnant women: delivery of drugs to a minor, child abuse, endangering the welfare of a minor. Although drug use is evenly spread across race and class lines, at least 70% of the women prosecuted were women of color. In every case where defense attorneys challenged the prosecution (rather than accepting a plea-bargain) the charges were dropped.

On April 5, over a million people march in Washington, DC in support of women's right to choose.

"Operation Rescue" targets Buffalo, New York, attempting to repeat their Kansas success. Due to the concerted efforts of local pro-choice activists, and the failure of local clergy to back them, their efforts fizzle and they beat a hasty retreat.

In May, the New York State legislature proposes a law requiring parental consent for teenagers seeking abortions.

Otis R. Bowen, former Secretary of Health and Human Services, says he now believes

(NATURE) (NATION) (NURTURE)

IN 1919 HE ADVOCATED: "CULTIVATION AND CONTROL"
IN THE NAME OF "TRUE FAMILY LIFE AND PURE PATRIOTISM"

THE TREE OF SEX
(UNCULTIVATED-SUPPRESSED-NEGLECTED)

MIND

Fig. F.

THE TREE OF SEX
(CULTIVATED AND CARED FOR)

MIND

Fig. G.

***COLONIZATION OF FANTASY*: "ILL-REGULATED PASSION IS NO MORE"**

for our mothers

Memorandum of Agreement on Non-destructive Abortion

This is to certify that _____, hereafter referred to as Clinic, agrees to remove an embryo from the womb of _____, hereafter referred to as Mother, and freeze it until it is wanted.

Page 1

Flesh Light
©1989

Human embryos are routinely frozen in fertility clinics. As long as freezing an embryo remains a choice it is empowering. Women who choose to freeze their embryos now do so because it expands their reproductive options.

But the existence of frozen embryos has become part of the abortion dialogue. In the Junior Davis v. Mary Sue Davis case a Tennessee judge ruled that a frozen embryo had a "right to life." The decision was overturned by the Court of Appeals of Tennessee which ruled that control of the embryos is to be held jointly by the Davises.

Claiming the right to freeze embryos, or keep them frozen, is symbolic of Pro-Choice making a new technology empowering and expanding our reproductive choices.

1992

that the ban on fetal tissue research was a mistake and urges the Administration and Congress to end it.

At a daylong hearing on the party's platform, pro-choice Republicans are granted 12 minutes to challenge the party's anti-abortion stance.

The U.S. Supreme Court is deciding on *Bray v. Alexandria Women's Health Clinic*, which threatens women's access to reproductive health care. Operation Rescue is challenging a Federal injunction that allows for lawful demonstrations but prohibits clinic blockades in the Washington, DC area. The Bush Justice Department files a brief in support of Operation Rescue. It is to be decided by the end of June.

A California judge blocks enforcement of that state's 1987 parental consent, saying it violates the privacy clause of the state's constitution. 35 states now have parental consent laws, although they are only enforced in 18 states.

As of this writing, the U.S. Supreme Court is deciding on *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, which restricts access to abortion through physician-only counselling, a 24-hour waiting period, and parental consent for minors under 18. The Bush Administration has asked the Court to reconsider *Roe v. Wade*. The ruling could overturn *Roe v. Wade* both as legal doctrine and as a practical matter, through increased regulatory obstacles. The case is to be decided by July 3, 1992. Other cases which could potentially overturn *Roe v. Wade* are in various stages of appeal. They include laws in Guam, Utah and Louisiana which either outlaw or severely restrict abortion, and impose criminal penalties on both the doctors who perform abortions and the women who obtain them.

WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO MAKE LIFE AND DEATH DESIONS

When Black and Latina women resort to abortions in such large numbers, the stories they tell are not so much about their desire to be free of their pregnancy, but rather about the miserable social conditions which dissuade them from bringing new lives into the world. - **Angela Davis**

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2. Jayne Bray et al., Petitioners, v. Alexandria Women's Health Clinic, et al. Respondents Brief of 29 Organizations Committed to Women's Health and Women's Equality as Amici Curiae in Support of Respondents. May 13, 1991

3. Richard Thornburgh et al., Appellants v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists et al., Appellees; Eugene F. Diamond et al., Appellants v. Allen G. Charles et al., Appellees. Brief for the National Abortion Rights Action League, etc. in Support of Appellees. August 29, 1985

Junior Lewis Davis v. Mary Sue Davis. Court of Appeals of Tennessee. Eastern Section. 1990. Tenn. LEXIS 642

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