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Margaret Sanger and the birth control movement in Japan, 1921–1955

Johnson, Malia Sedgewick, Ed.D.

University of Hawaii, 1987

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MARGARET SANGER AND THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT IN JAPAN, 1921-1955

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
IN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
DECEMBER 1987

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Dr. Rose Whelan Sedgewick, who taught me that a woman should reach for her dreams and to my children. At an early age, they recognized and understood the importance of my attraction and long-standing interest in China and Japan. I owe a special dedication to Junius for all of his support for my travel to various distant locations to do my research. He also encouraged me in the conceptualization of this work and stimulated me to finish a project that took longer than the original plan.

I owe a special thanks to my committee members who assisted me as individuals and as a group, Dr. Royal T. Fruehling, Dr. Ann Keppel, Dr. Ralph Stueber, Dr. Cyril Roseman and especially to Dr. Victor N. Kobayashi, Chairman, who truly paved the way for my trip to Tokyo.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Margaret Sanger and her fascinating counterpart in Japan, Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato. They were both emancipated women in an era when autonomy and independence were not easily achieved, maintained or nurtured.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this biographical study was to examine the influence of Margaret Sanger on the birth control movement in Japan from 1921-1955. As part of this study, Sanger's personal and professional relationship with Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato was highlighted. Both of these women were named in a 1984 Japanese survey identifying the most influential women in 20th Century Japan.[1]

Three major primary data sources were used. Archival materials were examined from the Margaret Sanger Papers in the Library of Congress and the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College. The Diet Library in Tokyo provided a copy of an important speech Sanger gave in Tokyo in the House of Councillors in 1954. Other primary sources included letters, speeches, diaries, newspaper articles, photographs and transcripts of oral history interviews with Sanger's two sons. A recently taped interview with Senator Kato in Tokyo provided further evidence of Sanger's important contributions to the birth control movement in Japan. Autobiographies by Sanger and Kato were consulted along with five biographies of Sanger.

The findings indicated that Margaret Sanger was truly one of the great nursing pioneers of the 20th Century for her work as an educational leader in the birth control movement in the United States and Japan. She served as an important international change agent who facilitated the transfer of birth control technology and innovative

[1]Based on personal correspondence between Yuriko Ashino, Information Officer, Family Planning Federation of Japan, Inc., and the writer, May 30, 1985.

educational ideas to Japan through her personal contact with Japanese opinion leaders such as Senator Kato. Sanger and Kato's relationship represents an example of international networking to achieve a larger objective--the education of women regarding birth control so that women could have more control over their future.

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PREFACE

From my experiences as a nursing educator for the past twenty-five years, I developed an interest in Margaret Sanger's work as an educational leader in the birth control movement. I was surprised to learn that Sanger had been trained as a nurse because there had been no mention of her work in the two nursing history courses that I had taken as a student. A two volume bibliography of nursing literature covering the period from 1859-1971 and numerous nursing history books that I reviewed did not acknowledge Sanger's contributions to the birth control movement.[1] This omission is particularly striking because of the important and well documented role that she played as a change agent who set into motion this important 20th Century socio-political movement in the United States.

In a recent interview, sociologist Esther Lucile Brown, author of the 1948 classic study, Nursing for the Future, stated that Margaret Sanger was the "one nurse who had the largest impact upon the welfare of society." Brown considered Sanger to be an equal of Florence Nightingale and yet remarked that "a large part of the nursing profession has never known she was a nurse."[2]

There has been extensive writing on Margaret Sanger's contributions to the birth control movement in the United States. Two

[1]Alice M. C. Thompson, ed., A Bibliography of Nursing Literature 1859-1960 (London: Staples Printers Limited, 1968) and A Bibliography of Nursing Literature 1961-1971 (London: Staples Printers Limited, 1974).

[2]Betty Bear, "The Influence of Esther Lucile Brown on Nursing Education: An Oral History," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1986), p. 76.

of her major biographers give special attention to her work in the United States but do not attach great significance to her work internationally. David Kennedy's dissertation, completed at Yale University, served as the basis for his book Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (1971). In Kennedy's introduction, he limits his study by excluding Sanger's influence on the birth control movement internationally. However, Kennedy concludes that Sanger "slipped quietly from her position of leadership" in the birth control move ·nt and "left the front" in the 1940's."[3] Kennedy stated that "the praise Margaret Sanger received often seemed out of proportion to her achievement."[4] His interpretation fails to note her many documented accomplishments and the important role she played in the international birth control movement until the late 1950's.[5]

Madeline Gray mentions Sanger's international work in her biography, Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control (1979), but does not highlight its importance in terms of her influence on birth control policies in China, India and Japan. Gray devotes too much attention to details of Margaret's personal life and passes lightly over her many accomplishments in the birth control movement.[6]

Sanger's international influence is also discounted by historian James Reed in his book The Birth Control Movement and American

[3]David M. Kennedy, Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 270-271.
[4]Ibid., p. 275.
[5]Emily Taft Douglas, Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future (Maryland: Garrett Park Press, 1975), p. 256.
[6]Madeline Gray, Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1979).

Society: From Private Vice to Public Virtue (1978) when he states that "nothing substantial" came of her tours to Japan and India in the 1920's and 1930's.[7]

My research at the Library of Congress, Smith College and the Diet Library in Tokyo support my hypothesis that Margaret Sanger had a far reaching influence internationally on key opinion leaders such as Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato of Japan and through this influence she had an effect on national birth control policies in Japan. This example of international networking spanned a forty year period from 1921-1966. Their relationship was a good example of Sanger's networking with an opinion leader to further her primary mission of educating women regarding birth control.

My research objectives were: (1) to investigate Margaret Sanger's influence on the birth control movement in Japan from 1921-1955 as an example of successful advocacy of social change, (2) to study the influence of change agent, Margaret Sanger on Japanese opinion leader, Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, and (3) to evaluate Margaret Sanger's role as a change agent affecting birth control policy in Japan.

I have used several primary sources such as letters, speeches, personal scrapbooks, diaries, interviews and newspaper articles that chronicle five of Sanger's most important visits to Japan. My research culminated with a personal interview with 88 year old Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato in Tokyo in July 1985.

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[7]James Reed, The Birth Control Movement and American Society: From Private Vice to Public Virtue (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 289.

As an overall assessment of Sanger's work, I have concluded that Margaret Sanger's mission was primarily as a change agent in educating the public about birth control. The first chapter provides a review of Margaret Sanger's life and her major accomplishments in the United States up to 1921 in support of the establishment of her role as a change agent. The second describes Margaret Sanger's 1920 meeting with Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto in New York City and the historical background that led to the development of her role as an opinion leader in Japan. The third chapter outlines the importance of Sanger's first visit to Japan in 1922 and the common mission between Sanger and Kato to promote birth control. The fourth chapter describes Sanger's and Ishimoto's activities in promoting birth control in pre-World War 11 Japan. Chapter Five highlights General MacArthur's role in preventing Margaret Sanger from visiting Japan immediately after World War II, identifies changes in post-war Japan that led to increased use of contraception and Sanger's role in Japan in the 1950's. Chapter Six summarizes Japan's accomplishments in population control and the contributions of change agent, Margaret Sanger and opinion leader, Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to this movement. In this concluding chapter, I will also analyze Sanger's work using Everett Rogers' model of innovation diffusion.[8]

The conclusions of my research were that Margaret Sanger should be recognized as an important leader for her work in the diffusion of birth control technology, information and values within the international community. Certainly, birth control is one of the major

[8]Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1983).

CHAPTER I

WOMAN REBEL: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF A CHANGE AGENT

Margaret Sanger was a very effective change agent in the United States who brought the issue of birth control to the public agenda for dialogue and action. She single-mindedly broke the barriers blocking the effective dissemination of birth control information and technology. As an early advocate for a public birth control policy, Sanger led a social movement that significantly increased women's control over the reproductive process. Margaret saw women as "the strength of the future."[1] In the 20th century, her work contributed to altering social values so that birth control technology could be utilized in countries such as the United States and Japan.

The Early Years: 1879-1911

Margaret Higgins was born into a large family where money was always scarce. She was the sixth of eleven living children born to Anne Purcell and Michael Hennessy Higgins in Corning, New York.[2] Margaret was sensitive about her age and never liked to admit her actual date of birth so her actual birthdate is not clear. Some researchers have used 1883 as her birthdate but the family Bible located at Smith College records the date as September 14, 1879.[3]

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[1]Transcript of interview with Nancy Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, May 29, 1977, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[2]David Kennedy, Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-2.
[3]Higgins Family Bible, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Margaret's mother, exhausted from eighteen pregnancies, died of tuberculosis and cancer at the age of forty-nine.[4] Years later, Margaret wrote that "when I was seventeen years old my mother died from overwork and the strain of too frequent child bearing."[5] Later, even her father admitted to Margaret that "your mother would have been alive today if we had known all this then."[6] Michael was referring to the knowledge and value of birth control. Anne Higgins' multiple pregnancies, poor health, and early death deeply influenced Margaret's views on large families. She associated large families with "poverty, toil, unemployment, drunkenness, cruelty, fighting, jails" while smaller families represented "cleanliness, leisure, light, space and sunshine."[7]

Margaret described her father, Michael Higgins, as a "philosopher, a rebel and an artist" who was a stonecutter by occupation and the dominant force in their family.[8] He encouraged his children to think for themselves and to do "something here and now to make the lives of other human beings more decent."[9] She credits him with teaching her "the value of freedom of speech and personal liberty." In family discussions, he encouraged Margaret to question the status quo.[10] Michael hosted many controversial public figures in their home and in

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[4]Madeline Gray, Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1979), p. 13.

[5]Margaret Sanger, The Case for Birth Control: A Supplemental Brief and The Statement of Facts (New York: Modern Art Printing Co., 1917), p. 5.

[6]Margaret Sanger, Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1938; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 115.

[7]Ibid., p. 28.

[8]Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1931), p. 6.

[9]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 23.

[10]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 6-9.

the Corning community. As a Socialist, he irritated many of his Catholic neighbors because of his support of social reformers such as Henry George who promoted the public ownership of land and agnostic Robert G. Ingersoll who attacked traditional Christian beliefs.[11] Ingersoll had been one of the early opponents of the Comstock Act of 1873 that banned "obscene" information on topics such as birth control from the public mail. Ingersoll sponsored a political campaign in 1876 to repeal the Comstock Act. He obtained 70,000 signatures but the campaign failed to overturn the federal statute.[12] Because of their father's support for controversial public figures, the Higgins' children were teased and called "children of the devil."[13]

Margaret was strongly influenced by her father's struggle "for free libraries, free education, free books in the public schools and freedom of the mind from dogma . . . ."[14] Michael Higgins was very critical of religious dogma even though he had been raised as a traditional Irish Catholic. Because of his outspoken criticism of Catholicism, many members of the faith refused to do business with him. This economic boycott created additional financial problems for the struggling Higgins family.[15] These experiences introduced Margaret to the Catholic Church's power to censor those who held divergent viewpoints. Throughout her life, she was in conflict with the Catholic

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[11]Ibid., pp. 7-10.
[12]Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, Women of America. A History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), p. 263.
[13]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 21.
[14]Ibid., p. 17.
[15]Gray, p. 14.

Church because of her efforts to promote birth control, even in such a distant place as Japan.

Margaret Sanger demonstrated her independence as early as the eighth grade when she was embarrassed by a teacher after she wore a new pair of gloves to school. Margaret returned home to announce emphatically to her family that she would not return to the Corning public schools. Two older sisters finally intervened to help Margaret financially so that she could enroll in a private boarding school at Claverack, New York. Sanger looked upon this three-year experience as one of great opportunity.[16] At Claverack College, she was encouraged to develop her public speaking skills and personal philosophy regarding injustice in society. Margaret became an enthusiastic supporter of suffrage and woman's emancipation. She even delivered a speech on "Women's Rights" in Chapel services.[17] At the end of the 19th century in America, such topics were considered radical because women were still not allowed to vote. The expected career aspirations for young ladies were marriage and motherhood.[18]

Before graduating from Claverack, Margaret was called home to nurse her mother, Anne, who was dying of "consumption."[19] Margaret resented the intense child care responsibilities forced on her by her mother's illness and subsequent death. She viewed her mother's death

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[16]Sanger, An Autobiography, pp. 33-35.
[17]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 23.
[18]Virginia Coigney, Margaret Sanger: Rebel With A Cause (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1969), p. 29.
[19]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 28.

as premature and blamed her father because her mother suffered from so many pregnancies.[20]

Margaret left home to teach a first grade class of poor immigrant children. She did not pursue this career for long because she really wanted to go to medical school at Cornell University. But after several serious discussions with her father over finances, Margaret finally decided to enter nursing school at New York's White Plains Hospital.[21] Dr. Grant Sanger, her son, believed that this was a turning point in her life and that "mother would never have done this work (birth control) as a doctor of medicine."[22]

Women were considered especially suited for a career in nursing because of their "supposedly inherent traits of self-sacrifice, nurturance and submissiveness."[23] In making this decision to enter nursing, Margaret joined the majority of professional women who were channelled into nursing or teaching careers. In the early 1900's, it was very difficult for women in the United States to enter the professions of law, medicine or the ministry. Nursing and teaching were viewed as more appropriate "extensions of the proper female role."[24]

Biographers differ in their assessment of the length of Margaret's training in nursing. Their estimates range from a few months as a

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[20]David Kennedy, Birth Control in America, p. 2.
[21]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 32.
[22]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[23]Nancy Tomes, "The Silent Battle: Nurse Registration in New York State, 1903-1920," in Nursing History: New Perspectives, New Possibilities, edited by Ellen C. Lagemann (New York: Teachers College, Columbia, 1983), p. 124.
[24]Barbara J. Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 105.

nurse probationer to three years of nurses training at two different hospitals. Madeline Gray believes that Margaret began her nurses' training in 1902 at the age of twenty and was enrolled for only a few months as a nurse probationer before she dropped out to marry architect and aspiring artist, William Sanger.[25] David Kennedy reports that Margaret started nursing training in 1899 at the age of fifteen and spent three years at White Plains, transferring in her final year to the Manhattan Eye and Ear Hospital. Margaret kept her marriage to William Sanger in 1902 a secret so that she could finish her training program.[26]

In her autobiography, Margaret Sanger states that she was admitted as a probationer to the nursing school at White Plains Hospital and assigned to Manahattan Eye and Ear Hospital for the last part of her training program.[27] She implies that she married William Sanger after her training was completed.[28]

Margaret entered a nursing profession in transition. Nursing schools were growing rapidly because hospitals viewed student nurses as important sources of cheap labor that could be tapped in exchange for room, board and training. The number of nursing schools increased from 225 schools in 1893 to 432 by 1900. Even hospitals with fewer than twenty-five beds established nursing training programs.[29] During this time period, few nurses were registered and college degrees in

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[25]Gray, p. 26.
[26]David Kennedy, Birth Control in America, pp. 6-7.
[27]Sanger, An Autobiography, pp. 45-56.
[28]Ibid., pp. 57-58.
[29]Bonnie Bullough and Vern Bullough, The Emergence of Modern Nursing (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. 124.

nursing were not offered. The New York Nurses' Registration Bill was passed in 1903 but did not go into effect until two years after Margaret left nursing school.[30] In all probability, Margaret Sanger was a trained nurse, but not a registered nurse.

As a student nurse, Margaret was on call to assist in home deliveries. She wrote that new mothers often asked, "Miss Higgins, what should I do not to have another baby right away?" Margaret did not know how to answer this question. She once referred a desperate women to a doctor for counseling, but the doctor responded by criticizing the patient, "She ought to be ashamed of herself to talk to a young girl about things like that."[31]

Following her nurses training, Margaret gave birth to three children in 1903, 1908 and 1910. During this period, she suffered two serious attacks of tuberculosis which required lengthy periods away from her family in a sanitarium.[32] She probably contracted this disease while nursing her dying mother, Anne.

During this period, the Sangers moved to Hastings-on-Hudson so that Bill could design and build their dream home. However, the suburban life the Sangers maintained was not to her liking. Margaret wrote that she was feeling a "world hunger" and that she and Bill had "drifted into a swamp." They sold their "dream home" and returned to the more stimulating life of New York City in 1911.[33]

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[30]Tomes, "The Silent Battle : Nurse Registration in New York State, 1903-1920," p. 114.
[31]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 55.
[32]Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[33]Ibid., p. 66.

The Rebellious Years: 1911-1921

When the Sanger family returned to New York City, Margaret went to work as a nurse for Lillian Wald's Visiting Nurse Service in the Lower East Side tenements.[34]

> The Visiting Nurses Association was a group of public nurses sent out by the Henry Street Settlement House to take care of poverty-stricken women. They went into the homes of women too ill to look after themselves, rubbed their backs, changed their beds, cooked simple meals, and quieted the children. But their main task was to see their patients through the ordeal of childbirth in tenements . . . .[35]

In her new professional role, Margaret worked with a social reformer, Lillian Wald, who served as a role model for women who wanted to break away from the traditional view of women as homemakers and mothers.[36] Wald organized health and welfare services for immigrants in New York City. She was also very active in anti-war activities.[37]

Margaret's nursing duties in the tenements exposed her to families living in extremely over-crowded conditions, sometimes with as many as seven or eight to a room. Women were often pregnant within a year of their last child. Often, in desperation, they resorted to

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[34]Beatrice Siegel, Lillian Wald of Henry Street (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983), p. 77.
[35]Gray, p. 53.
[36]Siegel, p. 27.
[37]The Encyclopedia Americana, 1984 International Edition, 28, s.v. "Lillian D. Wald."

self-induced abortions to terminate unwanted pregnancies. Margaret found the conditions that they lived in "almost beyond belief."[38]

When the Sanger family moved to New York City, Greenwich Village was "America's Bohemia" with feminists such as Crystal Eastman, Henrietta Rodman and Ida Raugh discussing their "oppression" and what they could do about it in their personal lives. The "radical" community of Greenwich Village encouraged social and political discussion on many issues. Birth control information and technology were seen as an essential part of the liberation of women.[39] Many of the Villagers were active in public demonstrations for birth control. Crystal Eastman's husband, Max, had a strong influence as editor of the revolutionary magazine, The Masses. In his editorials, he argued that birth control was as "essential to woman's emancipation as suffrage was."[40] But this enlightened viewpoint was not always supported by women suffragettes. Eastman viewed women's rights as a far broader issue than the right to vote. It involved a total change in values and attitudes about the social roles of men and women.[41] These social and political views received considerable support in the Village because of a shared vision of an egalitarian society in which men and women had equal opportunity.[42]

Bill Sanger "had long been interested in radical politics."[43] Upon his return to live in New York, he became very prominent in the

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[38]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 46-48.
[39]June Sochen, The New Woman: Feminism in Greenwich Village, 1910-1920 (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972), pp. 3-6.
[40]Ibid., p. 63.
[41]Ibid., p. 4.
[42]Ibid., p. 6.
[43]Gray, p. 37.

Socialist Party. He even ran for alderman on the Socialist ticket.[44] With her husband's blessing and support, Margaret became very active politically and finally joined the Socialist Party in 1912. Reflecting on these years, she wrote of her radicalism and why she joined the party.

> Intellectuals were then flocking to enlist under the flag of humanitarianism, and as soon as anybody evinced human sympathies he was deemed a Socialist. My own personal feelings drew me towards the individualist, anarchist philosophy, and I read Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Fourier, but it seemed to me necessary to approach the ideal by way of Socialism; as long as the earning of food, clothing, and shelter was on a competitive basis, man could never develop any true independence.
>
> Therefore, I joined the Socialist Party, Local Number Five, itself something of a rebel in the ranks, which, against the wishes of the central authority, had been responsible for bringing Bill Haywood East after his release from prison. The members--Italian, Jewish, Russian, German, Spanish, a pretty good mixture--used the rooms over a neighborhood shop as a meeting place and there they were to be found every evening reading and discussing politics.
>
> Somebody had donated a sum of money to be spent to interest women in Socialism. As proof that we were not necessarily like the masculine, aggressive, bulldog, window-smashing suffragettes in England, I, an American and a mother of children, was selected to recruit new members among the clubs of working women. The Scandinavians, who had a housemaids' union, were the most satisfactory; they already leaned towards liberalism.[45]

Their contacts within New York City's Greenwich Village enabled Bill and Margaret to move among a politically active group of friends that included Emma Goldman, John Reed, Eugene O'Neill, Mabel Dodge,

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[44]Ibid.

[45]Sanger, An Autobiography, pp. 75-76.

Walter Lippmann and Bill Haywood.[46] This group supported labor strikes and other radical causes. Margaret developed her skills in public speaking and writing because of her affiliation with the Socialist Party. She also developed a more sophisticated political world view and wrote a series of articles entitled "What Every Girl Should Know" that were published in the Socialist newspaper, The Call.[47] Margaret's articles were censored by the United States Post Office under the Comstock Act of 1873 because she used the words "syphilis" and "gonorrhea."[48]

Margaret's political activism during this period shaped the philosophical foundations of her work in the birth control movement. She was strongly influenced by three major groups who also supported birth control: the Anarchists, the International Workers of the World and the Socialist Party. Anarchist Emma Goldman and labor leader Bill Haywood became her mentors.[49] Margaret's interest and ideas about birth control were strongly influenced by Emma Goldman.[50] Goldman believed that "voluntary parenthood" was essential to the liberation of women. Emma and Margaret shared a common background of nursing the poor in New York City. Both of them were concerned about the

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[46]Emily Taft Douglas, Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 25.
[47]Gray, pp. 41-42.
[48]Alex Baskin, "Margaret Sanger, The Woman Rebel and the Rise of the Birth Control Movement in the United States," in Alex Baskin, ed. Woman Rebel (New York: Archives of Social History, 1976) p. viii.
[49]Alexander Campbell Sanger, "Margaret Sanger: The Early Years, 1910-1917" (Senior thesis, Princeton University, 1969), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, pp. 26-34.
[50]Richard Drinnon, Rebel in Paradise (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 170.

plight of women in the tenements. And like Margaret, Emma had also been confronted with desperate requests from women for birth control information.[51]

In 1900, Emma Goldman went to an International Neo-Malthusian Conference in Paris to study contraceptive techniques. She did not promote specific birth control methods publicly in the United States because of the risk of imprisonment. However, Emma did lecture frequently on "voluntary parenthood."[52] She wrote that women desire "fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice, not by compulsion, as marriage imposes."[53]

Richard Drinnon argues that the influence of Emma Goldman on Margaret Sanger was "indisputable." However, Margaret did not acknowledge Emma's influence.[54] Madeline Gray speculates that this omission probably occurred because Margaret realized that she needed the support of wealthy people for the birth control movement and thus concealed her earlier association with Goldman, whom they probably viewed with suspicion.[55]

Sanger influenced others in her Greenwich Village circle such as Mabel Dodge. In her memoirs, the wealthy heiress writes of Margaret Sanger's influence on the New York circle of "free-thinkers."

> It was she who introduced to us all the idea of Birth Control, and it, along with other related ideas about Sex,

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[51]Ibid., p. 166.

[52]Baskin, "Margaret Sanger, "The Woman Rebel and the Rise of the Birth Control Movement in the United States," p. vi.

[53]Emma Goldman, "Love and Marriage," The Woman Rebel, (March, 1914), in Alan Baskin, ed., Woman Rebel, p. 3.

[54]Drinnon, p. 170.

[55]Gray, pp. 289-290.

> became her passion. It was as if she had been more or less arbitrarily chosen by the powers that be to voice a new gospel of not only sex knowledge in regard to contraception, but sex knowledge about copulation and its intrinsic importance.[56]

According to Margaret Sanger's own testimony, the critical experience that changed her life was her professional work in the tenements of Manhattan's Lower East Side. Margaret was often called there to assist with childbirth or with the tragic aftermath of self-induced abortions. Margaret accepted many maternity cases involving poor women. Pregnancy was an "almost chronic condition amongst them."[57] Many women sought out "cheap abortions" under hazardous conditions. They asked her how they could avoid this and told Margaret that "it's the rich that know the tricks." Thus, lacking scientific knowledge on how to prevent pregnancy, poor women resorted to "drinking various herb teas, taking drops of turpentine on sugar, steaming over a chamber of boiling coffee or of turpentine water, rolling down stairs, and finally inserting slippery-elm sticks, or knitting needles or shoe hooks into the uterus."[58] Possible complications of such abortions quoted in a medical text of this period were "haemorrage, retention of the placenta, sepsis, tetanus or perforation of the uterus."[59]

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[56]Mabel Dodge Luhan, Movers and Shakers: Vol. III of Intimate Memoirs (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), p. 69.
[57]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 47.
[58]Ibid., p. 49,
[59]Margaret Sanger, The New Motherhood, with introductions by Harold Cox and Havelock Ellis (London: Jonathan Cape, 1922; reprint ed., New York: Maxwell Reprint Co., 1970), p. 150.

In 1912, an emergency call provided a critical turning point in Margaret's life.[60] She went to the bedside of Sadie Sachs who had just performed a self-induced abortion. After being nursed back to health, Mrs. Sachs desperately pleaded with Margaret and the doctor for help in preventing future pregnancies. Mrs. Sachs wanted to know the "secret" of birth control. The physician in attendance suggested that her husband "sleep on the roof."[61] Three months later, Margaret was again called to Mrs. Sachs' home after another self-induced abortion. She died in Margaret's arms.

> As I stood at the window and looked out, the miseries and problems of that sleeping city arose before me in a clear vision like a panorama: crowed houses, too many children; babies dying in infancy; mothers overworked; baby nurseries; children neglected and hungry--mothers so nervously wrought they could not give the little things the comfort nor care they needed; mothers half sick most of their lives--always ailing, never failing; women made into drudges; children working in cellars; children aged six and seven pushed into the labor market to help earn a living; another baby on the way; still another. . . A mother's death--children scattered into institutions; the father, desperate, drunken; he slinks away to become an outcast in a society which has trapped him.[62]

Margaret Sanger began her social crusade by recognizing the need for accurate information that would give women access to the "secret" of birth control. Margaret focused her attention on this mission so that

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[60]Joan M. Gaulard, "Woman Rebel: A Rhetorical Analysis of Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America, 1912-1938," (Ph.D. Dissertation Prospectus, Indiana University, November 1977), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[61]Sanger, An Autobiography, pp. 90-91.

[62]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 55.

women would not have to resort to illegal abortions to control family size. Sanger defined birth control as the "conscious control of the birth rate by means that prevent the conception of human life."[63] She believed that birth control "must prevent the occurrence of the pregnancy ahead of time but it must not destroy or prevent a phenomenon that has already occurred."[64] The relationship between unwanted pregnancies and self-induced abortions became quite clear to Margaret. She was also aware of the interrelationships between high infant and maternal mortality rates, increased population and poverty.[65]

To enable her to do something about these problems, Margaret also announced another important decision to her family. After the death of Sadie Sachs, Margaret decided that:

> I would never go back again to nurse women's ailing bodies while their miseries were as vast as the stars. I was now finished with superficial cures, with doctors and nurses and social workers who were brought face to face with this overwhelming truth of women's needs and yet turned to pass on the other side. They must be made to see these facts. I resolved that women should have knowledge of contraception. They have every right to know about their own bodies. I would strike out--I would scream from the housetops. I would tell the world what was going on in the lives of these poor women. I would be heard. No matter what it should cost. I would be heard.[66]

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[63]Ibid., p. 84.

[64]Speech by Margaret Sanger, Public Welfare Committee in the House of Councillors, Japanese Diet, April 15, 1954, Tokyo, Japan.

[65]American Nurses Association, Nursing Hall of Fame (Kansas City, 1982), p. 15.

[66]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 56.

Sadie Sachs' tragic death and that of Sanger's own mother became important symbols for Margaret as she began her life-long mission of preaching birth control. She would spend several years searching for information and technology that would help women prevent conception. The primary methods of birth control used in the United States during the late 19th Century were coitus interruptus, abortion and abstinence. Some women viewed sexual relations as an unpleasant duty that they owed their husbands. Other women rejected marriage altogether in order to avoid such acts of "bestiality."[67]

In the early part of the 20th Century, condoms, douches and pessaries were available to some middle and upper class Americans. However, many poor people did not have access to these birth control materials. Many women had to resort to illegal abortions.[68] Margaret Sanger recognized that accurate information and appropriate birth control devices were essential to empower poor women with the means to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Even physicians were prevented from mailing written instructions or birth control information without fear of imprisonment under the Comstock Act.[69] Medical experts were placed at legal risk if they even discussed contraceptive methods with their patients.[70] Members of the medical profession religiously obeyed the statutes that prevented them from giving out birth control

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[67]Harris, pp. 102-103.
[68]Sochen, p. 62.
[69]Speech by Margaret Sanger, Public Welfare Committeee in the House of Councillors, Japanese Diet, April 15. 1954.
[70]John Paull Harper, "Be Fruitful and Multiply: Origins of Legal Restrictions on Planned Parenthood in Nineteenth Century America," In Berkin and Norton, Women in America. A History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), p. 265.

information, especially to poor women.[71] Sanger believed that this practice encouraged illegal abortions because "family limitation will always be practiced - either by birth control or by abortion."[72]

Sanger summarized her views on the status of the birth control movement in 1917 stating that "the laws against imparting this knowledge force these women into the hands of the filthiest midwives and the quack abortionists - unless they bear unwanted children - with the consequences that the deaths from abortions are almost wholly among the working-class women."[73]

Historically, public opinion about birth control had been influenced by several prominent clergymen and physicians such as Dr. Thaddeus A. Reamy. Through Dr. Reamy's influence in Ohio, a state law was passed in 1862 to prevent the sale or promotion of any method that would prevent conception or produce abortion.[74] This Act served as a model for state and federal efforts to suppress birth control information during the decades that followed.

Sanger's vigorous public promotion of birth control led her to a political confrontation with Anthony Comstock and his Society for the Suppression of Vice. Comstock boasted that he had participated in the arrest of over 3,600 people who had violated federal and state anti-obscenity statutes.[75] Comstock campaigned for four decades to save America from the "evil" he saw. Section 211 of the Criminal Code of the

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[71]Sanger, The Case for Birth Control, p. 6.
[72]Sanger, The New Motherhood, p. 153.
[73]Sanger, The Case for Birth Control, p. 6.
[74]Berkin and Norton, Women of America, A History, p. 257.
[75]Anthony Comstock, Traps for The Young, ed., Robert Bremmer (Funk and Wagnalls, 1883; reprint ed., Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), p. xi.

United States (1873) was part of the so-called Comstock law. This federal statute banned all devices and information pertaining to "preventing conception."[76] It too served as a model for similar state laws.[77] This network of federal and state laws were used to block the dissemination of birth control information and technology in America for over sixty years.[78]

Emma Goldman came into conflict with Anthony Comstock over birth control at a public labor meeting in 1910.[79] Many of the anarchists, socialists, feminists and labor leaders of this period supported birth control for the masses. They were even willing to risk a confrontation with Comstock.[80] However, some of the suffragettes did not want to join in this conflict until women's right to vote had been attained.[81] Women were not united on birth control because of differences between them on issues such as women's sexuality and child-bearing responsibilities. Linda Gordon has explored this topic extensively in her book Woman's Body, Woman's Right.[82]

Undaunted in her search for the "secrets" of birth control, Margaret Sanger's first educational journey abroad was a three-month

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[76]David Kennedy, Birth Control in America, p. 23.

[77]Carol Flora Brooks, "The Early History of the Anti-Contraceptive Laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut," American Quarterly, 18, No. I (Spring, 1966), 4-6.

[78]Dorothy Wardell, "Margaret Sanger: Birth Control's Successful Revolutionary," American Journal of Public Health, 70, No. 7 (July, 1980), 738.

[79]Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech, Anthony Comstock: Roundsman of the Lord (New York: The Literary Guiild of America, 1927), p. 254.

[80]Sochen, p. 61.

[81]Douglas, p. 36.

[82]Linda Gordon, Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976).

visit to England, Scotland, and France in 1913. She left for Europe with her husband and three children, not realizing that this would be the last time they would be together as a family.

Margaret visited Scotland and wrote a series of articles on Glasgow for the socialist newspaper, The Call. She was disappointed because this city had been heralded by labor groups in the United States as a model socialist society. However, Margaret found that many large families lived in poverty while selected families with one or two children were permitted to live in the "model" apartments or tenements that were held out as examples of "socialist progress" for the working class. She became convinced after this visit that contraceptive knowledge was a basic human right.[83]

Margaret also investigated the use of vaginal suppositories advocated for family limitation purposes in France.[84] Bill Haywood paved the way for her to make important contacts and gain additional information from the French who maintained small families. They considered knowledge of contraception "almost a national right."[85] French women used suppositories based on treasured formulas handed down from generation to generation. Diaphragms were also used. They had been introduced originally into France from Holland.[86] Later, Sanger would use birth control information obtained in France when

[83]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 63-65.
[84]Ibid., p. 62.
[85]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 72-73.
[86]Gray, pp. 63-63.

writing and publishing her controversial pamphlet Family Limitation. This publication was eventually translated into forty-five languages.[87]

On this visit to France, Margaret obtained sample diaphragms which she smuggled into the United States despite the legal restrictions against their importation in 1913.[88] In later years, she successfully smuggled diaphragms into America on a large scale for her Clinical Research Bureau. During Prohibition, Vito Sillechia, who delivered coal to her apartment, was also smuggling rum into New York City. He told Margaret that "I got the connections in the States, Mis' Sanger. You make the connections in Holland and I run them for you in liquor bottles. It cost you a little something extra, but I manage if you like."[89] Margaret accepted his offer and later won Sillechia over as another convert for birth control.

On her way home from France, Margaret formulated her ideas regarding a new monthly magazine for women, the Woman Rebel.[90] This publication began in March 1914 and is given credit for providing the "spark which ignited the birth control movement in America and in many nations around the world."[91] Sanger wrote that she "worked day and night at making it as red and flaming as possible."[92] Her larger purpose in publishing the Woman Rebel was to call attention to the laws preventing dissemination of information about birth control. The

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[87]"Brief Outline of Margaret Sanger's Work in the Birth Control Movement," n.d., p. 2, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[88]Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, "The Research Frontier. . . Pills for Population Control?," Saturday Review, 43, (February, 1960), 50.
[89]Gray, pp. 200-201.
[90]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 106.
[91]Alex Baskin, "Margaret Sanger, The Woman Rebel and the Rise of the Birth Control Movement in the United States," p. xxii.
[92]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 80.

subscription list to the Woman Rebel grew to over 5,000.[93] Sanger was careful not to include explicit information about birth control in its pages so that she would not violate Section 211 of the federal criminal code.[94]

However, this conservative approach was not successful. In 1914, Margaret left the United States for a year of exile to avoid prosecution because the March issue of her magazine included an article on preventing conception and was judged in violation of Section 211. Before leaving for England, she arranged for the publication and distribution of her pamphlet, Family Limitation.[95] This pamphlet contained specific technical information on contraceptive devices such as condoms, pessaries, sponges and vaginal suppositories.[96]

In Margaret's absence, her husband, William Sanger, was entrapped when one of Comstock's agents requested a copy of Family Limitation. Mr. Sanger gave the agent a copy and was later arrested under Section 211. He was convicted and sentenced to thirty days in jail. The prosecutor pressured William to reveal where his wife was hiding. He refused and served out his sentence.[97]

During her flight from prosecution, Margaret established long-term relationships with an important network of influential people in England that included Havelock Ellis, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw,

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[93]"Brief Outline of Margaret Sanger's Work in the Birth Control Movement," p. 2.
[94]Ibid., p. 3.
[95]Gray, pp. 80-81.
[96]Joan Jensen, "The Evolution of Margaret Sanger's Family Limitation Pamphlet, 1914-1921," Signs, 6, No. 3 (Spring, 1981), 561-567.
[97]Gray, pp. 100-101.

Dr. Charles Drysdale and Bessie Drysdale.[98] Several of these people were members of the Neo-Malthusian League. They believed that instruction in contraceptive methods should be available to those who wanted it and those who needed it, especially the poor. They believed in "the right of limiting births according to circumstance by artificial preventive methods."[99]

Under Havelock Ellis' tutelage, Margaret began to seriously research population problems and birth control techniques from a global perspective.[100] Havelock Ellis legitimized the subject of sex as an important area of academic study with his seven volume work on "The Psychology of Sex." Reflecting on her relationship with Ellis, Margaret wrote that "to know him has been a bounteous privilege: to claim him my friend, the greatest honor of my life."[101] Ellis "insisted that she concentrate on one issue, birth control and leave the denunciations of capitalism, churches, and matrimony aside."[102]

In England, proponents of the Malthusian Doctrine such as Alice Vickery and her son, Charles Drysdale, stimulated a widespread interest in the theory and necessity of population control. Dr. Drysdale was especially interested in Margaret's efforts to challenge the Comstock laws, although he saw this effort as one that Americans needed to pursue themselves.[103] At first, the Neo-Malthusians wanted to "educate

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[98]Ibid, p. 101.
[99]Rosanna Ledbetter, A History of The Malthusian League, 1877-1927 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), p. 193.
[100]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[101]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 102-103.
[102] David Kennedy, Birth Control in America, p. 30.
[103]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 89-99.

the educators" regarding birth control. Eventually, they began to focus their attention on instructing members of the working class. However the Neo-Malthusians were still deficient in actively promoting practical birth control methods.[104] Margaret Sanger differed with this "ivory-tower" theoretical approach because she believed in offering practical birth control information that would lessen the daily burden of working class women.[105]

Havelock Ellis encouraged Margaret to visit Holland because he felt it "was the most advanced country in the world in regard to birth control."[106] Holland had been operating birth control clinics since 1885 and set up the first birth control clinic in the world.[107] Dr. Aletta Jacobs, a director of one of Holland's major birth control clinics, was not receptive to Margaret initially because she was a "mere nurse." Margaret was finally shown how to insert diaphragms correctly by another clinic physician, Dr. Jacob Rutgers. He also trained government midwives to promote contraception among the poor.[108] Nurses were in charge of fifty-two of these clinics and their main focus was to provide instruction for women in the industrial and agricultural districts.[109] It would take thirty years for a similar pattern to become operational in the United States.[110]

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[104]Ibid., p. 100.
[105]Ledbetter, p. 191.
[106]Gray, p. 101.
[107]Margaret Sanger, Woman and the New Race with a Preface by Havelock Ellis (New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1920), p. 205.
[108]Gray, p. 102.
[109]Sanger, The Case for Birth Control, p. 10.
[110]Dorothy Green and Mary Elizabeth Murdock, eds. "The Margaret Sanger Centennial Conference: November 13-14, 1979," (Northampton, Mass.: The Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, 1982), p. 50.

Margaret wrote that "the results of my visit to Holland were to change the whole course of the birth control movement, not only in America, but in England and Europe as well."[111] She was strongly motivated by her experiences in Holland to study physiology and anatomy. She recognized the importance of establishing free clinics in the United States similar to those in Holland that would provide women with birth control information and technology. Margaret also recognized the importance of involving physicians.[112] In Holland, physicians were supportive from the very beginning.[113]

> This trip to Holland revolutionized my ideas regarding the future of the movement. No longer could I look upon birth control knowledge as primarily a free speech fight. I realized now that it involved much more than talk, much more than books or pamphlets, no matter how widely or freely one might wish to spread pamphlets containing this information. That was not enough. I saw that personal instruction must depend upon physiological and anatomical knowledge. Only persons equipped with such knowledge could instruct properly and safely.[114]

Margaret Sanger returned to the United States in the Fall of 1915 determined to win public support to overturn the network of Comstock laws. William Sanger had completed his jail sentence and their nemesis,

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[111]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 116.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Margaret Sanger, untitled speech, n.d., Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[114]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 116.

Anthony Comstock had died.[115] The 1914 indictment against Margaret Sanger was finally dismissed in 1916.[116]

Subsequently, Margaret embarked on a lecture tour to nineteen cities across the United States. This tour stimulated the formation of over 250 groups organized as Birth Control Educational Centers or Birth Control Leagues. There was continual legal harassment but support continued to grow. Over 100,000 leaflets and educational pamphlets on birth control were distributed to the public on her tour. In her speeches, Margaret described the clinics in Holland and the need for such clinics in the United States. She stressed the importance of involving physicians in the operation of these clinics. Thus, she used this lecture tour as part of an educational campaign to win support for her work and to inform the public of the critical need to change the Comstock laws.[117]

After the lecture tour, Margaret announced that she would open the first birth control clinic in the United States in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York.[118] She realized that this would place her in direct violation of New York State Law, Section 1142. Her birth control clinic opened on October 16, 1916 and was operational for five days before it was closed by the police. Margaret and her sister, Ethel Byrne, a trained nurse, were arrested for "maintaining a public nuisance." Ethel was sentenced to thirty days in jail. She started a

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[115]Lawrence Lader, The Margaret Sanger Story and the Fight for Birth Control (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955), p. 86.
[116]Douglas, Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future, pp. 92-93.
[117]"Brief Outline of Margaret Sanger's Work in the Birth Control Movement," pp. 4-5.
[118]Douglas, p. 105.

hunger strike and served only eleven days before being pardoned by Governor Whitman of New York. Margaret was offered immunity if she would agree not to violate this law again. She refused this offer and served 30 days in New York City's Queens County Penitentiary for operating a birth control clinic.[119]

Two years later, a New York Supreme Court decision clarified the role of licensed physicians in disseminating contraceptive information. Judge Frederick E. Crane ruled that physicians could give contraceptive advice "for the cure and prevention of disease."[120] Margaret interpreted the Crane decision as mandating physician-staffed birth control clinics.[121] Physicians were finally brought into the birth control movement through the organization of the American Birth Control League, founded by Margaret Sanger in 1921. This organization later was renamed the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942.[122]

Margaret's prison experience allowed her to reflect on the progress of her work. Her efforts to open birth control clinics focused on the strategy of involving physicians in the birth control movement. At this point, Margaret decided to establish credibility with a more influential and affluent group of people in order to give the birth control

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[119]Anne Kennedy, "The Birth Control Movement in the United States," Birth Control Review, 6, No. 11 (November, 1922), 222.

[120]Douglas, p. 135.

[121]James Reed, "Sanger, Margaret," in Notable American Women, The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary, 1980 ed.

[122]Abraham Stone, M.D. and Norman E. Himes, Ph. D., Introduction by Robert L. Dickinson, M.D. Planned Parenthood: A Practical Guide to Birth Control Methods (New York: The Viking Press, 1951; revision of Practical Birth-Control Methods, Norman E. Hines, 1938), p. 20.

movement respectability.[123] She envisioned wealthy men and women using their power, money and influence to help poor women obtain information about contraception.[124] Sanger won the support of many prominent men and women who formed the Committee of One Hundred. In 1917, "they signed a statement of their belief in voluntary motherhood as essential to individual and national welfare."[125]

Margaret focused on educating doctors regarding the benefits of birth control, organizing public support and mobilizing various organizations to repeal anti-birth control legislation. She spent many years fighting for the repeal of the restrictive laws that prevented dissemination of birth control information through the public mail on the grounds that it was pornography. Initially, her efforts were not successful. But in 1936, physicians were given the right to distribute and receive birth control information and technology through the United States Post Office.[126] By 1971, contraceptives were finally removed from the United States "obscenity" statutes.[127]

By 1922, Margaret Sanger had become a very controversial and important public figure. She had clearly established herself as the leader of the birth control movement in the United States and "had won worldwide recognition as the foremost leader in the birth control movement."[128] She continued to write articles, pamphlets, and books on

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[123]Green and Murdock, "The Margaret Sanger Centennial Conference," pp. 52-53.
[124]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 191.
[125]Anne Kennedy, "The Birth Control Movement in the United States," p. 222.
[126]Gray, p. 365.
[127]Wardell, p. 742.
[128]David Kennedy, Birth Control in America, p. 90.

the importance of public access to information on sexuality, venereal disease and contraception. She initiated the publication of the Birth Control Review in 1917. But her crowning achievement had been the opening of the first birth control clinic in the United States in Brownsville, New York in 1916. This effort paved the way for the development of a network of birth control clinics that were later established in the United States.[129]

Between 1913 and 1922, Margaret Sanger focused much of her attention on promoting birth control in the United States. However, her two European visits in 1913 and 1914 provided Margaret with an opportunity for research and reflection. She also developed an important political network that eventually led to a greater involvement in the international birth control movement, especially in Japan.

Margaret Sanger's public involvement in the social and political issues of the birth control movement came at a very high personal cost. Four weeks after returning from her second European trip, Margaret's six year old daughter, Peggy, died of pneumonia in 1915.[130] In 1921, her marriage to William Sanger ended in divorce after years of conflict.[131]

In spite of these family problems, Margaret Sanger was open to a unique invitation from the Japanese magazine, Kaizo, to visit Japan and spread her "gospel" of birth control. She was interested in Japan because of her concern with the relationship between overpopulation

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[129]Ledbetter, p. 192.
[130]Gray, pp. 110-111.
[131]Ibid., p. 170.

and war. Her mentor, Havelock Ellis, had also been interested in this topic and saw population pressures as one of the causes of World War I.[132] In 1920, Sanger wrote about her views regarding the interrelationship between overpopulation and the threat of war.

> In every nation of militaristic tendencies we find the reactionaries demanding a higher and still higher birth rate. Their plea is, first, that great armies are needed to defend the country from its possible enemies; second, that a huge population is required to assure the country its proper place among the powers of the world. At bottom, tne two pleas are the same. . . .
>
> The "need of expansion" is only another name for overpopulation. One supreme example is sufficient to drive home this truth. That the Great War, from the horror of which we are just beginning to emerge, had its source in overpopulation is too evident to be denied by any serious student of current history.[133]

Margaret recognized that the invitation to visit Japan was an opportunity for expanding the birth control movement internationally. She was already a controversial figure because of her encounters with political authorities when she toured the United States to speak out on birth control and tried to establish the first birth control clinic in the United States. Several of her publications, including Woman and the New Race and articles from Birth Control Review had already been translated into foreign languages, even in such far-off places as Japan.[134]

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[132]Houston Peterson, Havelock Ellis: Philosopher of Love (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), p. 337.

[133]Sanger, Woman and the New Race, pp. 151-152.

[134]Anne Kennedy, "The Birth Control Movement in the United States," pp. 222-223.

She developed close contacts with opinion leaders, especially in other countries. She was a model of an international change agent for birth control in several countries such as India and Japan. Working through opinion leaders won Sanger additional credibility and proved quite successful as a strategy in terms of her time and effort. Visits to opinion leaders in these countries were then used to "prime the pump of planned change."[135]

[135]Everett M. Rogers, Communication Strategies for Family Planning (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 82.

CHAPTER II

A FORTUITOUS MEETING WITH THE BARONESS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF AN OPINION LEADER

The Meeting: 1920

Early in 1919, Baron Keikichi Ishimoto came to America from Japan. In New York City, he made contact with the "radical" political group that included Margaret Sanger and Agnes Smedley. At the same time, Sanger turned over the management of the Birth Control Review magazine to Smedley. Margaret had suffered a "near mental collapse from the strain of the last two years."[1] In order to recuperate, she decided to take some time off to travel.

Agnes Smedley was a politically active journalist who wrote articles for the Socialist Party's newspaper, The Call, as well as the Birth Control Review. Smedley was arrested for disseminating birth control information and Sanger helped raise her bail. Agnes also supported the revolutionary movements in China and India.[2] Eventually, she left for Europe to avoid persecution by American authorities for her support of "subversive" political movements.[3]

In June 1919, Smedley wrote an article reporting that the Japanese militarists saw increased population as a "healthy sign of

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[1]Joan M. Jensen, "The Evolution of Margaret Sanger's Family Limitation Pamphlet, 1914-1921," Signs, 6, No. 3 (Spring, 1981), 552-553.

[2]Agnes Smedley, Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution with an Introduction by Jan and Steve MacKinnon. Afterword by Florence Howe (New York: The Feminist Press, 1976), pp. xi-xii.

[3]"Agnes Smedley, American Radical," interview with Steve MacKinnon, KUT Radio Station, October 1986, Austin, Texas.

development" essential to their goal of making Japan a "world power." Smedley argued that they were interested in "political expediency" rather than the human costs of such a commitment. Both the militarists and industrialists considered a large population, providing a source of cheap labor, as critical to Japan's future military and industrial development.[4] Baron Ishimoto responded to this article.

> Of course I have found very much interest in it, (the article) but I wish you will also acknowledge that nearly all the intelligent young people in Japan are in favor of Birth Control, though the government does not like it.
>
> I think it is my duty to inform Americans that there is a great gap between the ideas of young Japanese and old ones who have prominent positions now. Only the young Japanese can understand the true meaning of democracy, hate militarism, and believe in Birth Control. So I don't doubt the remarkable change of Japan, especially in spirit, in a few years.
>
> As for me, I am very much in favor of Birth Control, and already have sent a few copies of The Birth Control Review to my friends in Japan, including a man in the Home Affairs Bureau. And I intend to recommend this doctrine throughout the country after my return one year later. I believe Japan can neither do any service to human progress, nor improve her own country, without Birth Control.[5]

In a 1920 Birth Control Review article, Smedley voiced concern over the high infant mortality rates and harsh labor conditions in Japan. She believed that the women of Japan must recognize "that they have no duty to breed large number of under-nourished children, but it is their privilege to bear only the number of children they wish, and to rear them in comfort and educate them for higher service than

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[4]Agnes Smedley, "Babies and Imperialism in Japan," Birth Control Review, 3, No. 6 (June, 1919), 6-7.

[5]"Young Japan for Birth Control," Birth Control Review, 3, No. 7 (July, 1919), 9.

industrial servitude."[6] These were not the views of the Japanese political leaders who were vigorously promoting military and industrial expansion. Agnes Smedley was recognized eventually by Japanese feminists "as a person who had spent her lifetime fighting oppression, as an adventurous woman, as a feminist, and as a foreigner who sympathized with the struggles of oppressed peoples in Asia."[7] Because of Agnes Smedley's concern for international women's issues, she provided an important link between the Baron and Baroness Ishimoto and Margaret Sanger's birth control movement in America.

Baroness Ishimoto gave her own response to her husband's concern regarding world problems such as birth control and his efforts to interest her in womens' need to be informed and self-sufficient. Baron Ishimoto convinced his wife that extensive travel would provide both of them with an education regarding significant world events.

> In the same year (1918), my husband decided to go abroad and study more about capitalism and labour issues and how they were developing in the West. Ishimoto was fired by the wave of new thinking. He had decided it was hopeless to try and improve the life of Japanese workers as a solitary individual. What was needed, he believed, was fundamental change in the structure of society. And he resolved to learn from Western revolutionaries how to go about such a task.
>
> Ishimoto sailed for America in February 1919. When I had finished weaning our second son, five months later, I sailed after him. My progressive thinking husband wanted his wife [to] also be educated about the world's social problems. Until then, with two young babies, I had been fully occupied with housework and nursing. But I was

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[6]Agnes Smedley, "The Awakening of Japan," Birth Control Review, 4, No. 2 (February, 1920), 8.

[7]Susan J. Pharr, Political Women in Japan: The Search for a Place in Political Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 120.

> trying to keep up with world events at the same time. I was starting to see myself as an individual and began to take an interest in my own growth. Despite my shallow understanding of social problems, the currents of Russian thought had penetrated even my sheltered world. Lenin's dictate that "a person who does not work has no right to food", filled me with anxiety. What would happen if Japanese society was to operate on that principle? Women too would need some sort of job skill. And what was I, with a protected upbringing, maids and marriage to a baron, qualified for? I decided I had to acquire a means of economic independence. It was very hard to leave my two babies for a whole year, but something inside me said it was my duty to do so. By learning about the real world, one day, I could be an even better mother to my children.[8]

After the Baroness arrived in the United States, Agnes Smedley arranged for Margaret Sanger to meet her in New York City. The Baroness considered this meeting as one of great importance and wrote about it later in her autobiography.

> On 17 January 1920, Mrs. Sanger gave a tea party for me to meet her and a few friends. Perhaps this was a cultural preconception on my part, but before meeting Mrs. Sanger I had imagined a fighter, a reformist, to be someone very big, brusque and mannish, with short cropped hair and a gruff voice. I marvelled, therefore, to find her a small, delicate person, charming and thoroughly feminine. She had bright sparkling eyes and a halo of rich shining hair. She radiated energy and conviction. Mrs. Sanger herself had come from a family of eleven children and too little money

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[8]Shidzue Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness: Pioneering the Family Planning Movement in Japan (Tokyo: Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc., 1984), pp. 35-36. [The spelling of Shidzue Kato's name follows that used in Shidzue Kato's 1984 autobiography and her personal autograph that she signed in this researcher's copy in 1985. Other spellings of her name include Kato Shidzue, Shizue (Ishimoto) Kato, Kato Shizue and Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto.]

> to feed them. Her mother had died young, worn out from bearing and raising such a large family. This personal background, plus a career as an itinerant maternity nurse in the poor areas of New York, had taught Mrs. Sanger the relationship between too many children, poverty and ill health. She launched a campaign to have doctors teach their patients ways to avoid pregnancy, but the pressures against her were enormous. The Puritan religion of the day held that children were gifts from God and that to interfere with God's works was blasphemy. And in the legal world, the Comstock Law made it a crime to talk about anything related to sex. Mrs. Sanger had been arrested and jailed many times over, but she still held to her beliefs. She was utterly convinced of the righteousness of her cause: if poor mothers and their numerous poor children were to be saved from lives of misery, the message of birth control had to be spread. If women were not allowed knowledge to control their own bodies, they would never be free. Listening to this account of her struggles, memories of the overcrowded miners' huts in Miike came flooding back: the pitiful lives of the women, giving birth to one child after another: the poor children with no one to care for them, left hungry and crying . . . My life mission was determined at that moment. Mrs. Sanger's fight for birth control had to be fought in Japan as well. And I had to do it.[9]

The Early Years: 1897-1914

In 1897, eighteen years after Margaret Sanger's birth, Shidzue was born into a wealthy Tokyo samurai family descended from the feudal Hirota and Tsurumi clans.[10] Her wealthy beginnings put Shidzue's early life in direct contrast to the poverty of Margaret

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[9]Ibid., pp. 39-41.

[10]Helen Hopper. "Kato Shidzue, Socialist Party MP, and Occupation Reforms Affecting Women, 1945-1948: A Case Study of the Formal VS Informal Political Influence of Japanese Women." In The Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform, edited by Thomas W. Berkman (Virginia: MacArthur Memorial Foundation, 1980), p. 376.

Sanger's childhood. Shidzue's father, Dr. Ritaro Hirota, was a successful engineer who had been strongly influenced by Western thought during his engineering studies at Tokyo's Imperial University. He developed a good command of the English language because most of the current scientific information was available in English.[11]

During this period, traveling abroad to the West was encouraged in Japan because the world was seen as a "vast school room."[12] Engineering was considered a very important field of study because of Japan's need to industrialize rapidly in order to compete with other nations in the international marketplace. Shidzue's father was honored by the Emperor for buying modern weapons from England that contributed to Japan's military success in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).[13] When Dr. Hirota returned from his travels in the United States and England, he brought many gifts for his six children. These presents of dolls, Western clothes and a piano were his children's first memorable contact with the West. These gifts were prized possessions in Shidzue's household.[14]

However, Dr. Hirota wanted his personal household organized around traditional values.[15] Feudalism was still an important source of guidance in family life although the Meiji Period (1867-1912) emphasized modernization. Since 1868, Emperor Mutsuhito had

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[11]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 11.

[12]Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan: Past and Present, 3rd. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 123.

[13]International Planned Parenthood Federation, Proceedings of the Second Conference, Western Pacific Region, "Population 70": Family Planning and Social Change, Tokyo, Japan, October, 1970, p. 1.

[14]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 12.

[15]Ibid., p. 14.

advocated an educational system that made Japan's literacy rate one of the highest in the world.[16] Education was considered essential if Japan was to reach its goal of rapid modernization.[17] But, during the second decade of the 20th Century, a young girl in Japan was still educated to be a "good wife and wise mother."[18]

Shidzue's mother worked very hard to instill the values of refinement, unselfishness and sacrifice in her daughters. Her mother had been educated in a progressive Canadian mission school in Tokyo but still retained the traditional values of the samurai class that followed the "old moral code."[19] The fundamental rule of family life was "men first, women follow."[20] Shidzue grew up in a household of discipline and protection. Her mother encouraged Shidzue to cultivate endurance, a value that would be important later in her life.[21]

Shidzue attended school with children from other prominent aristocratic Japanese families at the prestigious Peeresses' School.[22] This school for women provided Shidzue with her only major formal schooling because it was assumed by her family she would marry. It was believed that "too much education spoils a woman's precious virtues--obedience and naive sweetness."[23] The curriculum offered

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[16]Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life with an Introduction and Afterword by Barbara Molony (Farrar and Rinehart, 1935; reprint ed., California: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 65-66.

[17]Joyce Lebra, Joy Paulson, and Elizabeth Powers, Women in Changing Japan (Boulder: Westview Press, 1976), p. 15.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, pp. 11-12.

[20]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 15.

[21]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 11.

[22]Ibid., p. 41.

[23]Ibid., p. 80.

most Japanese females at this time was structured to prepare a "good wife and wise mother" in order to protect the traditional Japanese family system. Young girls were trained to manage a household, respect male authority figures and willingly place their aspirations second to their primary focus on the welfare of family and nation.[24]

After Shidzue's graduation in 1912, her mother stressed that it was now time to learn the more important womanly skills such as flower arranging and performing the tea ceremony.[25] Women were not yet included in many of the modernization trends of this era but remained caught in the web of a feudal past. In her autobiography, Facing Two Ways (1935), Baroness Ishimoto wrote that she was taught by her mother "to crush her desires and ambitions and be ready to submerge her individuality in her husband's personality and his family's united temper."[26] Fortunately, her mother failed to achieve this objective.

To some degree, her mother's failure was due to the important role played by Shidzue's uncle, Yusuke Tsurumi. He had a major influence on Shidzue throughout her life.

> Tsurumi was an exponent of liberalism and international cooperation. He assisted his father-in-law, Shimpei Goto, with the Political Ethicization Movement of the mid-1920's and published the journal, The New Liberalism from 1928-1935. An eloquent speaker, he made extensive

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[24]Margy Maria Nagy, "'How Shall We Live?': Social Change, The Family Institution and Feminism in Prewar Japan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1981), p. 95.

[25]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 80.

[26]Ibid., p. 78.

lecture tours in Japan and in North America in the 1920's and 1930's.[27]

Shidzue valued the influence of her Uncle Yusuke who told her many stories of such famous historical people as Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale and Abraham Lincoln. Uncle Yusuke lived with her family for seven years and prophetically challenged his young niece to "be ambitious, grow to be an important woman of Japan . . . but always with sweet womanliness."[28]

This idyllic life lasted until Shidzue was seventeen. She was then informed that her family wanted her to marry Baron Keikichi Ishimoto, an Imperial University engineering student.[29] Under Meiji Law, families still transacted marriage arrangements.[30] Shidzue was disheartened but she respected her families wishes and was favorably influenced by her conversations with Uncle Yusuke who told her that Baron Ishimoto was considered to be one of the most progressive engineers in Japan. He was a Christian Humanist who was interested in social reforms for the common laborer. He was "very liberal in his ideals."[31] Shidzue bowed to her family's wishes and became Baroness Ishimoto on December 23, 1914.[32] The family title was awarded to the Ishimoto's when Keikichi's father, Lieutenant General Shinroku Ishimoto, served in the Mikado's army during the Russo-Japanese War

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[27]Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 1983 ed., s.v. "Tsurumi Yusuke."
[28]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, pp. 91-94.
[29]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 20.
[30]Lebra et al., Women in Changing Japan, p. 14.
[31]Ann Nakano, "Shidzue (Ishimoto) Kato: Woman Warrior," PHP, August 1984, Tokyo, Japan, p. 70.
[32]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 128.

of 1905. Later, he was promoted to Minister of War in Prince Saionji's cabinet.[33]

The Transformation: 1915-1922

Baroness Ishimoto might have remained a dutiful wife serving her husband and mother-in-law in the traditional Japanese manner until the young Baron moved to pursue his engineering career in Western Japan's Miike Coal Mining Fields, far from the comforts of Tokyo.[34] Baroness Ishimoto, a new bride of seventeen, described herself as "still very much a hot-house flower" who had never dealt with the hard realities faced by the poorer members of Japanese society.[35] In the mines, her husband worked the same long twelve to fourteen hour days as the miners did and Shidzue faced "ugliness and squalor" for the first time in her life.[36] Death was a common occurrence in this community because of frequent mining accidents, malnutrition and disease among the miner's families. These experiences provided a turning point in the life of the young Baroness.[37]

Shidzue decided to go down into the mines so that she would understand the conditions under which her husband and the workers eaked out a meager existence. She saw men and women crawling half-naked in a dark wet environment.[38] Babies were often carried into the mines on their mother's backs. Some pregnant women even gave birth

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[33]Ibid., pp. 103-104.
[34]Ibid., p. 145.
[35]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 27.
[36]Ibid.
[37]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 160.
[38]Ibid., pp. 158-159.

underground and "would come up to the surface with the baby still attached by the umbilical cord." To save money, the midwife would be called to the woman's home. The new mother would return to the mines after several days off without pay.[39] A grandmother or neighbor would care for the children until they too started working to augment their family's inadequate income.[40] Many children were born into these families, continuing the cycle of poverty.[41]

Japanese women were forced into the labor market because of the demands of rapid industrialization and their family's poverty.[42] These women were often exploited because they were paid subsistence wages. Their poor health was often caused by the working conditions in the cities and rural areas.[43] Some of the greatest tragedies occurred when pregnant women worked night shifts and then handled family responsibilities during the day. Adequate rest was impossible for them to obtain.[44]

Baroness Ishimoto saw this cycle of poverty and asked herself why the company managers should live so comfortably when the workers toiled so hard and received so little.[45] Shidzue credited the Miike Coal Mine experience with revolutionizing her life.[46] In an 1985 interview, she stated that the meeting with Margaret Sanger in 1920

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[39]Kato, My Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 32.
[40]NHK, interview with Shidzue Kato (English translation), Tokyo, 1984.
[41]Ibid.
[42]Nagy, pp. 46-47.
[43]Ibid., p. 119.
[44]Ibid., p. 154.
[45]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 33.
[46]Ibid.

and the Miike mining experience were the two events that changed her social consciousness and inspired her social activism in later years.[47] These were pivotal events for Baroness Ishimoto just as the death of a young mother in a New York tenement had been for Margaret Sanger. After meeting Margaret Sanger, Shidzue Ishimoto viewed birth control as a partial answer to the misery that she had observed in the three years she lived among the miners.[48]

The birth of her son, Arata, occurred just before the family moved back to Tokyo in 1917. Baron Ishimoto's failing health was the main reason for their return to Tokyo but his disillusionment and recognition that he could do little to help alleviate the miners' plight was another that had far greater consequences for his family in the future.[49]

During this period of her life, Baroness Ishimoto was busy with additional child care responsibilities after the birth of her second son in Tokyo. Her husband was frustrated with his chemical laboratory position with the Mitsui Company. He was very concerned about the miners' poverty and the poor working conditions in the mines. Influenced by the ideas of the Russian Revolution, he wanted to travel abroad to America, Mexico and Europe to learn more about the labor movement in these countries.[50] Books, magazines and newspapers provided Japanese intellectuals with current information about the social problems facing the Russian peasants after World War 1. Similar problems were also present among Japanese laborers during this period because of inequities between their wages and the spiraling cost of

[47]Personal interview with Shidzue Kato, July 26, 1985.
[48]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 40.
[49]Ibid., pp. 33-34.
[50]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, pp. 170-171.

food.[51] In 1918, an estimated 700,000 people were involved in rice riots over the high cost of rice, a major food staple in the Japanese diet.[52]

Influenced by Marxist socialism, Baron Ishimoto developed a strategy to transform his wife. He wanted the Baroness to be emotionally and financially independent.[53] When the Baron left for America, he expected his wife to follow if she agreed to expand her horizons, educate herself about the world and prepare "to swim abreast the world's new tide."[54] Leaving her two young children in Japan, Baroness Ishimoto and her father set sail for California. In her writing, Shidzue reflected back on her first impressions of America, especially New York City.

> In 1919, it was still very unusual for Japanese to travel overseas, particularly for a woman. Only one person in tens of thousands ever got the opportunity, not least because the cost of travel was so very high. The preparation of my overseas wardrobe was a mammoth task and in the end it was decided that my father should accompany me, seeing it was my first voyage. Eventually, six months after my husband had left Japan, I too was standing on American soil. I was overwhelmed by the bigness of every thing--the tall people, huge cars, wide streets--until finally my husband asked me to stop exclaiming out loud. There is nothing in America, he said, that is not big!
>
> New York was to be where I would live for the next one year. When we arrived there, in September, my husband took me to his lodgings. This was no fine hotel or apartment, as I might have expected, but a shabby little boarding house in the heart of the the city slums. The woman who opened the door was so eerie looking that she reminded me of a witch from one of my childhood fairy tales. And that night, I discovered for the first time what it meant to be marched over by bed bugs. There was no need for my husband to be living in such dirty, cheap quarters.

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[51]Ibid., p. 169.

[52]Nagy, p. 7.

[53]Hopper, p. 376.

[54]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 172.

> We had plenty of money in the bank. But this was his notion of how we, as friends of the workers, ought to live. Since coming to the States he had travelled several times to Mexico and there spoken with a number of American socialists who had crossed the border to agitate in Mexico. He had met and talked with even more radical men. And he had resolved that we, too, must live as revolutionaries.[55]

Keikichi informed Shidzue that he was leaving for Washington, D.C. to work as an interpreter for members of the Japanese delegation attending an important Labor Conference.[56] Baron Ishimoto was sympathetic to the demands of the Japanese laborers. However, he was warned by his employer, Mitsui Mining Company, that he needed to become more supportive of the concerns of management if he expected promotion within their company. Baron Ishimoto told his wife that he planned to resign from Mitsui and "...fight for the laborers." He wanted to visit Russia but was denied permission because of his father's military role in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905. Shidzue saw this forced change in the Baron's plans as having a great impact on her husband. She wrote:

> On the road of life one makes crossings which cannot be retraced. If one takes the north path instead of the south, one's future is completely different from what it would have been if one had taken the south instead of the north. My husband had tried desperately to enter Russia, offering to sacrifice social position--even his wife and his children. His failure at that time was to him a tragedy. Had he succeeded in his heroic attempt to see his Utopia, however, I might never have seen him again. The iron bars of jail would be waiting for him in Japan if he wished to return home. Sympathizers with communism are severely persecuted in Japan.
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> But a hero can seldom be a hero all his life. My hero, who tried hard to be constant in his conviction, never enthralled me again by such a brave attempt. I still regret

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[55]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, pp. 36-37.

[56]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, pp. 175-179.

the misfortune which checked his battle for suffering humanity.[57]

Many of the delegates to the Washington Labor Conference found their way to the office of the Birth Control Review and asked for materials on birth control that they could take back to Japan. Agnes Smedley wrote about these encounters and her views on the abuse Japanese women and children faced in industry because of 12 hour work days even after other nations had committed themselves to a 48 hour work week. She believed that "Japan could not better serve the rival imperialistic ambitions of white nations than to permit the continued ruthless economic and physical exploitation of the women and children, as well as the men of Japan."[58]

Away from the difficulties experienced by her husband at the Labor Conference, Baroness Ishimoto engaged in intensive study at the Ballard School of the Y.W.C.A. in New York City. She took courses in shorthand, typing, stenography and English. Shidzue earned excellent grades in all of her courses. An article written about her experiences in the Ballard School compared her "pioneering spirit" with that of Clara Barton and Florence Nightingale.[59] While in school, Shidzue wrote to a friend that "I believe that my purpose is to work for the independence of all Japanese women. Every woman whether she belongs to the upper or to the lower class, married or single, should not be dependent upon

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[57]Ibid., pp. 192-193.

[58]Agnes Smedley, "The Awakening of Japan," p. 7.

[59]Louis A. Leslie, "The Baroness Learns Shorthand," The Gregg Writer, 35, No. 6 (February, 1933), 272-273. Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

the man, economically or intellectually."[60] These views were exceptional for a Japanese woman from a samurai family.

Graduating from the Ballard School represented an important achievement for Baroness Ishimoto. Now, she had the satisfaction of knowing she could support herself.[61] Shidzue had grown from a "hot house flower" to an independent young woman who had mastered the English language.

After her graduation, the Baroness joined her husband in Europe and visited the same places that Margaret Sanger had visited six years previously to learn about contraceptive methods. During her travels, she observed the unintended consequences of World War 1 and recognized that overpopulation was a universal problem.

> In Europe, even though we had decided to spend our time in relaxation and sightseeing, my world education continued. Everywhere post-war unrest and poverty were apparent. In London we saw long rows of unemployed, scenes of people with their morals destroyed. What had victory brought these people? I could see no sign of contentment or exaltation where it most mattered. Similarly in Paris, the physical aftermath of war tugged at my heartstrings, while Italy! . . . Italy with its teeming population, scarce natural resources and the enormous gulf between rich and poor. Italy was a living laboratory for social problems. The overwhelming impression was of people and more people. Wherever you looked there were babies' clothes hanging on lines outside overcrowded houses. I started to realise that the problem of unwanted pregnancies was not Japan's alone: this was a phenomenon of international dimensions.[62]

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[60]Ibid., p. 272.

[61]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 41.

[62]Ibid., pp. 45-46.

In a 1921 communication to Margaret Sanger published in the Birth Control Review, Shidzue expressed her view about the real cause of the Great War.

> In the last fifty years, more than one hundred million people were added to Germany, Austria, Russia and the Central European countries. Everyone who visits Europe will soon understand if Columbus had not discovered America, the War of 1914 would have occurred two hundred years ago, namely, in the seventeenth century, because of the increase of population without a place to emigrate. The population question is the corner-stone of Japanese problems, national and international.[63]

Baroness Ishimoto returned to Japan a very different woman from the one who left. She concluded that "travel is the best university in the world."[64] When they arrived home, Baroness Ishimoto was hailed by the press as the "leader of the birth control movement in Japan."[65] Newspaper headlines announced that Baroness Ishimoto had joined "forces with [the] subversive American birth control movement. Vows to spread movement throughout Japan also."[66]

Fifty years later, Senator Shidzue Kato reflected on her return to Japan in 1920.

> It was rather unusual for a woman belonging to the so-called upper class in Japan to speak out her intention of devoting her life to a social movement. So when I arrived back in Yokohama, I was surrounded by newspapermen and birth control was given undreamt of publicity and I, an ordinary housewife, suddenly became famous.[67]

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[63]Birth Control Review, 5, No. 7 (July, 1921), 4.

[64]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 201.

[65]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 46.

[66]Ibid.

[67]International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Population 70," p. 2.

The topic of population limitation was not a new idea. Japan had a history of limiting births because of poor economic conditions beginning in the 1600's. Historically, the methods that had been used were abortion, infanticide and abandonment of unwanted children.[68] High stillbirth and infant mortality rates further curtailed population growth.[69] After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, abortion and infanticide were prohibited in order to encourage population growth for an expanding military and labor market.[70] Consequently, the population increased from 26 million in 1846 to over 59 million by 1922.[71] Large families were valued as a way of carrying on the family name.[72]

In March 1922, Baroness Ishimoto was interviewed about birth control for the Japan Advertiser. The Baroness advocated the establishment of birth control clinics in Japan similar to those in England and Holland as a means to help the working class.[73] Shidzue argued that the "emancipation of women in Japan means the freeing of them from so much hard work, giving them a better education, like the men receive, and making the families smaller so that the standard of living can be raised."[74]

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[68]F.X, Suhardjo Wignjodorsono, M.D., "Family Planning in Japan," Paper for P.H. 741, University of Hawaii, 1981, p. 2.
[69]Margaret Sanger, "Japan Wants Birth Control," The Nation, 175, No, 24 (December 13, 1952), 554.
[70]Kodansha Encyclopedia, 1983 ed., s.v. "Family Planning."
[71]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 221.
[72]Dorothy Robins-Mowry, The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), p. 73.
[73]"Margaret Sanger in Japan," Birth Control Review, 6, No. 6 (June, 1922), 104, citing Japan Advertiser, March 5, 1922.
[74]Ibid.

At this point in her life, Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto was just beginning to function in a leadership role. Her trips to the United States and other countries alerted her to the severe problems of overpopulation after World War I. Her 1920 meeting with Margaret Sanger in New York City challenged her to adopt birth control as her life's work. Upon her return to Japan, Baroness Ishimoto was beginning to develop in her opinion leadership role defined by Everett Rogers as the "degree to which an individual is able to informally influence other individual's attitudes or overt behavior in a desired way with relative frequency."[75] This leadership is "earned and maintained by the individual's technical competence, social accessibility and conformity to the system's norms."[76]

During this period, Shidzue Ishimoto was still obtaining information about birth control. She had mastered the English language and was moving towards economic independence. She gradually took on an identity of her own as a result of her husband's original plan for her to be self-sufficient. Gradually, Shidzue began to write and speak out about birth control. She had access to other people from a higher socioeconomic class as the wife of Baron Ishimoto. She served as an important link between Margaret Sanger and potential adopters of birth control in Japan.

Baroness Ishimoto encouraged Sanger's initial visit to Japan and foresaw its importance as a stimulus to the birth control movement there. She was eventually called "Japan's Margaret Sanger" because of

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[75]Everett M. Rogers, Communication Strategies for Family Planning (New York: The Free Press, 1973), pp. 81-82.
[76]Ibid., p. 82.

her close adherence to Sanger's philosophy.[77] She was strongly influenced by Sanger to consider birth control as a mechanism to liberate women, an approach that had not been emphasized in Japan before.[78] Both women functioned as part of an international communication network promoting birth control.

In the second and third decades of the 20th Century, various political groups in Japan were polarized on the birth control issue. The militarists wanted Japan's population to grow so that Japan would have more power as a nation. Those who opposed this view saw birth control as a way to reduce the possibility of war because of decreased pressure from population growth if the masses adopted birth control.[79] The time was ripe for further political dialogue on the controversial issue of birth control by the acknowledged leader of this international movement. The stage was now set for Margaret Sanger's first visit to Japan in March 1922.

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[77]Review of Facing Two Ways, The Story of My Life in Literary Digest (August 24, 1935), Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.
[78]Personal interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[79]"Birth Control in Japan," Birth Control Review, 5, No. 8 (August, 1921), 10.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMON MISSION: SANGER'S VISIT TO JAPAN IN 1922

The Kaizo Invitation

Because of her Japanese contacts with influential opinion leaders such as Baron and Baroness Ishimoto, Margaret Sanger received an international invitation in 1921 from the liberal Kaizo (Reconstruction) Publishing Company to give a series of lectures on population control in Japan.[1] The Kaizo magazine, published between 1919 and 1955, by the Kaizosha publishing firm was founded by liberal newspaper editor, Sanehiko Yamamoto (1885-1952).[2] The magazine provided a forum for Marxist and socialist discussions and served as a vehicle for disseminating new ideas such as those of Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein. This publication was an important source of information and heavily influenced public opinion during the height of popularity of the "Taisho Democracy."[3] In her writings, Sanger referred to the "Kaizo Group" as representative of liberal progressive intellectuals who opposed the ruling military clique advocating a larger population.[4]

By 1921, Kaizo had already published four of Sanger's articles.[5] A reporter for a Japanese newspaper in New York City had contact with

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[1]Shidzue Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness: Pioneering the Family Planning Movement in Japan (Tokyo: Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc., 1984), p. 50.
[2]Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 1983 ed., s.v. "Yamamoto Sanehiko."
[3]Ibid., s.v. "Kaizo."
[4]Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1931), p. 239.
[5]Ibid., p. 238.

Kaizo and mailed current newspaper articles on birth control to Japan.[6] Kaizo had scheduled three other very important Western thinkers for the other lectures: Albert Einstein was asked to speak on "Relativity," Bertrand Russell on "The Consequences of the Treaty of Versailles" and H. G. Wells on "World Disarmament."[7] H. G. Wells, a close personal friend of Margaret Sanger, did not come to Japan because of the "uproar" in important Japanese political circles created by her visit in 1922.[8]

The invitation to Sanger represented an especially great honor because she was the only woman included in such prestigious company. The original connection between Margaret Sanger and the Kaizo magazine was a Japanese sculptor living in New York City.[9] To expedite acceptance of Kaizo's invitation, Baron and Baroness Ishimoto offered their home for Margaret Sanger's visit to Tokyo.[10] Well-known in upper class circles in Japan for their support of liberal causes, they were supportive in encouraging Sanger to make the visit to Japan in 1922.[11] In an interview in 1985, Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato stated that

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[6]Margaret Sanger, Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1938; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 296.

[7]Lawrence Lader, The Margaret Sanger Story and the Fight for Birth Control (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955), p. 164.

[8]Margaret Sanger, "Japan Wants Birth Control," The Nation, December 13, 1952, p. 553.

[9]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Helen M. Hopper, "Kato, Shidzue, Socialist Party MP, and Occupation Reforms Affecting Women, 1945-1948: A Case Study of the Formal vs. Informal Political Influence of Japanese Women" in The Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform, ed. Thomas W. Berkman (Norfolk: MacArthur Memorial Foundation, 1980), p. 276.

Margaret Sanger's first visit to Japan had been her most important in terms of her influence on the birth control movement.[12]

Other leaders in Taisho Japan supporting population regulation through birth control were: Tokyo sociologist, Professor Iso Abe, labor leader Mr. Bunji Suzuki and Dr. Kato, head of the Department of Medical Affairs, who had visited America previously to learn more about birth control.[13] Some of the leaders in Japan had an important following in other countries as well. According to Mr. Maruyama, the English editor of Hawaii's leading Japanese newspaper, The Daily Nippu Jiju, articles about birth control such as Baroness Ishimoto's 1921 Birth Control Review article, "A Japanese View of Birth Control" were translated into Japanese and republished in Maruyama's paper in Hawaii. Professor Iso Abe had also introduced Neo-Malthusian ideas in this same publication but had not included a description of specific methods of birth control. In a letter sent to the Executive Secretary of the Birth Control Review, Mr. Maruyama requested specific information on recommended birth control methods so that he could be of help to those who needed this information.[14]

In 1922, Japan's population of 60 million lived in an area approximately the size of California. Its population represented about half the population of the United States.[15] This large increase was due in part to the modernization efforts made during the Meiji

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[12]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[13]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 239.
[14]S. Maruyama to Anne Kennedy, November 17, 1921, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[15]Notes entitled "Before Leaving for Japan, Philadelphia, Jan. 30--22," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Restoration.[16] Thus, this invitation became an important opportunity for Margaret Sanger to encourage birth control ideas in a country which represented the "Yellow Peril" to Westerners who feared Japan's "exploding population and warrior tradition."[17] On the West Coast, Americans were very concerned regarding the Japanese influx and measures were passed in 1908 in the United States to put a "virtual end to Japanese immigration."[18] Americans also feared Japan's attempt to "orientalize" the American culture and unfairly compete with Western products.[19] Another fear was that Americans would reduce their birth rate at a time when "Orientals were multiplying so appallingly fast that the downfall of Western civilization might soon be looked for!"[20]

Sanger saw Japan's expanding population as a threat to world peace.[21] Her book Woman and the New Race, published in 1920, was considered suspect by Japanese authorities because of the "revolutionary" views expressed in it, although Grant Sanger, Margaret's son, in an interview over fifty years after its publication, stated that this was her "best book."[22] Sanger wrote that "birth control is the

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[16]Speech by Margaret Sanger, Public Welfare Committee in the House of Councillors, Japanese Diet, Tokyo, Japan, April 15, 1954.
[17]E. B. Reuter, review of Japan's Economic Position by John E. Orchard, Birth Control Review, 15, No. 6 (June, 1931), 176-177.
[18]Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan: The Story of a Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946; reprint edition, 1974), p. 175.
[19]Ibid., p. 176.
[20]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 295.
[21]Lader, p. 165.
[22]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

means by which women attain basic freedom."[23] Sanger stated that women in many countries have desired family limitation and are interested in voluntary motherhood.[24] She viewed war as one of the major responses to overpopulation and wrote that those nations with militaristic ambitions often promoted higher birth rates and claimed the "moral right to expand."[25] Sanger saw women as having the power to thwart these militaristic goals and "by controlling birth, lift motherhood to the plane of a voluntary, intelligent function, and remake the world."[26]

She wrote that women could not attain freedom if a woman "does not own and control her body." Women needed to make a conscious choice regarding motherhood rather than depend on mere chance.[27] She envisioned birth control as offering women the option of selecting "intelligent motherhood" and stated that birth control was a woman's problem and "the quicker she accepts it as hers and hers alone, the quicker will society respect motherhood."[28] Sanger felt that birth control could be the "pivotal factor" preventing the problem of hunger created by expanding populations throughout the world.[29]

Her acceptance of the Kaizo invitation to visit Japan led her into a confrontation with the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco in March

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[23]Margaret Sanger, Woman and the New Race (New York: Brentano's, 1920), p. 5.
[24]Ibid., p. 10.
[25]Ibid., p. 151.
[26]Ibid., p. 1.
[27]Ibid., p. 94.
[28]Ibid., p. 100.
[29]Margaret Sanger, The Pivot of Civilization (New York: Brentano's, 1922), pp. 126-127.

1922 just before she and her twelve year old son, Grant, were to set sail for Japan on the Taiyo Maru.[30] The Consul General did not know what to do regarding Sanger's visa because there was much newspaper publicity about her activities so he deferred to his government's wishes.[31] Sanger wrote in her autobiography (1931), that "past experience had taught me that where there is an autocratic and arbitrary screen placed between birth control and the people there is a keen interest and desire for the knowledge behind it."[32] Sanger was refused a visa to visit Japan but was finally able to arrange for a visa to visit China which allowed her to book passage on the Taiyo Maru which was also going to Japan.[33] A Japanese citizen attending the Washington Peace Conference suggested this strategy to Margaret.[34] Thus, Sanger persisted in her effort to travel to Japan because "once I believed in doing a thing, nothing could prevent my doing it."[35] She was very surprised that there was opposition to her visit because her previous contacts with liberal Japanese thinkers in the United States, such as Baron and Baroness Ishimoto, led her to assume otherwise.[36]

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[30]Sanger Diary 1922, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[31]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[32]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 240.
[33]Margaret Sanger, untitled speech, Carnegie Hall, November 1922, Library of Congress.
[34]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 317.
[35]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 3-4.
[36]Sanger, "Margaret Sanger in Japan," Birth Control Review, 6, No. 6 (June 1922), pp. 101-102.

Important Connections

For fourteen days, Margaret, her son Grant, and current suitor, J. Noah Slee, were very fortunate to be passengers along with more than one hundred and fifty members of the Japanese delegation returning from the November 1921 Washington Naval Disarmament Conference.[37] Sanger left out any major mention of J. Noah Slee's presence on this trip in her two autobiographies and diary entries. She married Slee, a millionaire, in 1922 after her Asian tour and finally became financially secure. Their marriage was kept a "secret" for almost eighteen months. Sanger continued to use her name from her first marriage professionally throughout her life.

Slee was the founder of the Three-in-One Oil Company and although he was described as an "arch-conservative" by one of Sanger's biographers, he was very supportive of the birth control movement through his organizational abilities and financial support. He did not usually seek out "social innovations" but after he met Margaret, "the great adventure of his life," he became very supportive of her cause.[38] In 1925, he even smuggled diaphragms into the United States from Germany via Canada with his Three-in-One products bound for New Jersey. Eventually, he financed an American Company, Holland-Rantos, organized by Margaret's supporters, to produce the Mensigna cap, a type of pessary.[39] Slee's presence on the trip to Japan was a continuation of his efforts to court Sanger. Thus, this trip to Japan

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[37]Emily Taft Douglas, Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future (Garrett Park: Garrett Park Press, 1975), p. 165.
[38]Ibid.
[39]Ibid., p. 183.

provided an opportunity for Margaret Sanger to meet several personal and professional objectives.

The Japanese sent a very important diplomatic representation to the Washington Disarmament Conference. They sent the older experienced men to participate, the middle-aged men to be of assistance to them and the younger men to learn the art of diplomacy.[40] Years later, Grant Sanger remarked that "as the years went by, from 1922 until the war, every time a new Japanese foreign minister or major ambassador came into being I spotted them because they'd all been aboard the vessel."[41] Admiral Baron Kato was one of these delegates and later became Prime Minister of Japan.[42] Another important delegate was Masano Hanihara who eventually served as Ambassador to the United States. He was well-versed in the English language and told Margaret that the Japanese people "were not likely to accept the idea of birth control as a social philosophy, though they were bound to accept the economic aspects, and all the young would be interested as individuals."[43]

Initially, the United States invited representatives from Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Limitation of naval armament was the major topic on the agenda so that competitive building of warships would stop and therefore decrease the possibility of a military build-up similar to

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[40]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[41]Ibid.
[42]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 51.
[43]Sanger, An Autobiography, p. 318.

that occurring before World War II.[44] The stated outcome of the conference was to lead nations to common understandings in order to "promote enduring friendship among our peoples." The meetings were held in Washington, D.C. from November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922. The Pacific and Far East were considered a key part of the agenda in the deliberations.[45]

The goal of the Washington Conference was to decrease shipbuilding and the number of existing ships in order to increase the chances for world peace. The Japanese were finally able to keep the newly built ship, Mutsu, from being scrapped by agreeing to other concessions and thus "save face" at home. The Mutsu represented a "popular personification and symbol of Japanese naval aspirations." It had been built with voluntary contributions from Japanese laborers, many of whom contributed to it out of wages equivalent to a quarter a day.[46] Japan wanted to keep pace with other world powers and her people made major economic sacrifices to support continued shipbuilding so that she would have a competitive navy. The plan suggested by Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States, was to place an immediate moratorium on shipbuilding and to limit the Japanese navy to a ratio of three-fifths that of Britain and America.[47] Japan wanted a

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[44]Hugh Latimer, Naval Disarmament: A Brief Record From The Washington Conference To Date (London: Chatham House, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Monograph No. 3., January 1930), pp. 4-5.

[45]"Conference On The Limitation of Armament, 1921-1922," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 4.

[46]Mark Sullivan, The Great Adventure at Washington: The Story of The Conference (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1922), pp. 127-129.

[47]Ibid., pp. 112-119.

much better ratio than that proposed by the Americans so that her navy would be more competitive with other major world powers.

H. G. Wells, covering the Washington Conference for the New York World, saw Japan functioning as an aggressive imperialistic power. He viewed one of her major problems as overpopulation. Wells asked, "Has any country a right to slop its population over and beyond its boundaries or to claim trade and food because of its heedless self-congestion?" He challenged Japan to "modernize" and "that the troubles arising from excessive fecundity within a country justify not an aggressive imperialism on the part of that country, but a sufficient amount of birth control within its proper boundaries."[48]

After the Washington Conference, the Japanese delegates on board the Taiyo Maru were very unhappy "because their Navy was limited and their military force was limited and all this limitation applied to Japan only. Now defense was being limited and this dangerous woman [Sanger] is being sent to limit population."[49] The delegates finally asked Margaret Sanger to give them several short lectures on the trip and these talks were translated into Japanese giving her a "first experience with oriental translation."[50] After hearing Sanger's ideas, the delegates decided that she was not a "dangerous woman" after all and that her message was not so revolutionary. Consequently, they cabled Japanese authorities to let her into Japan. This was considered a positive strategy

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[48]H. G. Wells, Washington and the Riddle of Peace (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), pp. 110-111.

[49]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

[50]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

to deflect anti-Japanese sentiments that had been expressed in the Hearst newspapers in California.[51]

Sanger wrote in her diary that even on shipboard most of the Americans and Japanese kept to themselves and that the attitude of the Americans was "antagonistic." She enjoyed her brief stopover in Honolulu because she experienced a positive attitude towards the Japanese unlike the negative attitudes prevalent in California. She felt that "Honolulu gives one hope and faith in the possibility of internationalism." After visiting Hawaii, "one enters the Orient with a gladder heart, with a firmer faith that the international spirit does exist . . . ." [52] Her Honolulu visit gave her an opportunity to give a public speech and stimulated the formation of a Birth Control League in Hawaii.[53]

Arrival in Japan

When she arrived in Japan, Japanese officials would not allow her an entry visa because of their opposition to "dangerous thoughts" which sought to exclude from Japan all ideas that did not agree with ancient Japanese traditions.[54] A bill had been introduced in the Diet called the "Dangerous Thought Bill" by a group called the "Thought Controllers."[55] On shipboard, Sanger was asked by Japanese authorities to show her

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[51]Ibid.

[52]Margaret Sanger Diary, February 27, 1922, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[53]Margaret Sanger, My Fight For Birth Control, p. 241.

[54]Ibid., p. 252.

[55]Ibid., p. 251.

passport, questioned regarding the purpose of her visit and how she knew such people as the editor of Kaizo, and Baroness Ishimoto. There was a rumor that she had been sent as an agent of the United States government "to deplete the population of Japan and to prepare the way for an American invasion!"[56] She was also "besieged with reporters." The reporters expressed their concerns regarding their government's position but said that "the people want me [Sanger] to come here and desire to hear about birth control." They rushed to meet Sanger rather than Disarmament Conference delegate, Admiral Baron Kato. The Japan Times reported that "Mrs Sanger and the Cause of Birth Control were what the press of Japan was interested in--the Peace Conference was an old story."[57] Several representatives of women's magazines were there to greet her and six women representing the New Women's Movement in Japan.[58] Sanger wrote that the "new women" are the "instruments to carry out the real dreams of an emancipated womanhood in Japan."[59]

In the middle of this second decade of the 20th Century in the Taisho period, mass communication in Japan was expanding to include news regarding women's affairs. One of the newspapers, Yomiuri shinbun began a daily women's supplement so that Japanese women would "keep abreast of developments at home and abroad."[60] The newspapers made three major changes that increased their readability

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[56]Ibid., p. 252.

[57]"Margaret Sanger in Japan," Birth Control Review, 6, No. 5 (May, 1922), 77, citing Japan Times, March 11, 1922.

[58]"Margaret Sanger Diary 1922, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Margit Maria Nagy, "'How Shall We Live?': Social Change, The Family Institution and Feminism in Prewar Japan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1981), p. 102.

and use as a communication channel for educating women regarding current events.[61] The language used in the newspapers became the spoken language rather than the literary form, educational aspects of articles selected for publication were emphasized and newspaper headlines included more information so that busy women could assimilate the basic ideas even if they did not read the whole article. Articles appealed specifically to the "new woman," who was much better educated than her predecessors. Even the doctrine of the "good wife and wise mother" was questioned in some articles because of published accounts of feminists' activities and opinions in the West.[62] Women's magazines made a major contribution to the informal education of their readers by publishing articles dealing with significant issues such as "Women Want Equality," "Japanese Housewives Must Awaken" and "Women Must Be Modern."[63]

Although there was a liberal trend in the newspapers concerning women's issues, a "reactionary group" in Japan influenced the police, to support the "Dangerous Thoughts Bill" which made "it a crime for foreigners to bring to Japan a foreign thought!"[64] However, one of the Japanese delegates to the Washington Conference, Mr. Masano Hanihara, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, finally influenced the police to allow Sanger's visit to Japan because he felt that her ideas would be acceptable to the Japanese people and "that in his opinion, the subject of

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[61]Ibid., p. 104.

[62]Ibid., pp. 107-108.

[63]"Young Japan for Birth Control," Birth Control Review, 3, No. 7 (July, 1919), 9.

[64]Margaret Sanger, "Margaret Sanger in Japan," Birth Control Review, 6, No. 6 (June, 1922), 103.

birth control, as he had heard it expounded, was in no way offensive to public morals."[65] Agreeing to a compromise, Sanger signed an affidavit saying she would not speak publicly on birth control during her ten day stay.[66]

According to Dr. Grant Sanger, the Chief of the Imperial Police was very favorably impressed that Margaret Sanger had produced two sons. Thus, her twelve year old son Grant became "part of her entry into Japan."[67] The Chief had been warned about Sanger previously because an important member of Japan's police bureau had been in New York City when Mrs. Sanger was prohibited from giving a speech in Town Hall [November 1921] because of a police raid. He didn't want something like that to occur in Japan and so he decided that she could not give any public speeches.[68] According to a reporter, a "reactionary" member of the House of Peers applied pressure on the Chief of Police to prevent Mrs. Sanger from giving public lectures, especially about practical methods of birth control.[69]

Sanger's message of birth control rather than emigration or aggression contrasted with the Japanese governmental policy encouraging the production of strong soldiers and industrial workers.[70]

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[65]Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 242.

[66]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

[67]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977.

[68]Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life with an Introduction and Afterword by Barbara Molony (Farrar and Rinehart, 1935; reprint ed., California: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 227.

[69]Notes by Special Correspondent on Taiyo Maru, March 1922, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[70]Unsigned notes in Sanger's handwriting, "Before Leaving for Japan, Philadelphia, Jan. 30-22," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Sanger noted in 1922 that "Japan was the pivot of the international problem" and she predicted that she will have "war in 25 years or birth control today."[71] Any recommendations that would limit births were considered contrary to governmental policy. Expansion was advocated and Japan proceeded to use military force to expand into the Asian mainland.[72] The Japanese were very aware of Sanger's disagreement with these policies because her book "Woman and the New Race" (1920) outlining her "radical" ideas had already been translated into the Japanese language.[73]

Supporters of Japan's family system looked on birth control as a "menace". They "regarded children as the greatest blessing of the home, whether they could be fed or not."[74] Military leaders stressed the importance of a large population as representative of a strong nation.[75] A population of 100,000,000 was advocated by these leaders to meet their goal of making Japan a world power. "More people, more territory!" was their slogan.[76] In opposition to this viewpoint, a younger liberal contingent in Japan was concerned about Japan's overpopulation problems. Its members were often well-traveled and

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[71]Ibid.

[72]International Planned Parenthood Federation, Proceedings of the Second Conference, Western Pacific Region, International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Population 70": Family Planning and Social Change (Tokyo, Japan. 1970), p. 2.

[73]Margaret Sanger, "Margaret Sanger in Japan," Birth Control Review, (June, 1922), p. 102.

[74]Ishimoto, Shizuye, "Birth Control in Japan," Birth Control Review, 16, No. 10 (December, 1932), 297-298.

[75]Speech by Shidzue Kato, "Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Planned Parenthood," Tokyo, Japan, 1955.

[76]"Birth Control in Japan," Birth Control Review, 5, No. 8 (August, 1921), 9.

had attended Western universities. They viewed the threat of war as a real possibility because of their government's support of a policy requiring more land to support Japan's expanding population.[77]

Measures to limit births were not new to Japan. Historically, before the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese used infanticide, abortion and abandonment to control births.[78] These practices were prohibited by official edict in 1767 but infanticide was still used widely and was referred to as mabiki, the process used to uproot plants and "thin them out." The Japanese also used a form of condom made out of tortoise shell or horn called the kabuto-gata. Before 1867, Dutch traders introduced rubber condoms into Japan. By 1909, they were being manufactured in Japan.[79]

Starvation caused by severe famines further reduced Japan's population in the 1780's.[80] Epidemics of smallpox, typhoid, cholera and influenza provided additional "natural" checks on population growth.[81] Baroness Ishimoto wrote that Japan had one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world which involved a further reduction in her population.[82] But, the population still increased even with these "natural" deterrents.

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[77]Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 239.
[78]F. X. Suhardjo Wignjodarsono, "Family Planning in Japan," (PH 741 Term Paper, University of Hawaii, April 1981), p. 2.
[79]Y. Scott Matsumoto, Akira Koizumi and Tadahiro Nohara, "Condom Use in Japan," Studies in Family Planning, 3, No. 10 (October, 1972), 251.
[80]Jon Livingston, Joe Moore and Felicia Oldfather, eds. The Japan Reader: Imperial Japan, 1800-1945 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), pp. 24-25.
[81]Ibid.
[82]Baroness S. K. Ishimoto, "A Japanese View of Birth Control," Birth Control Review, 5, No. 9 (September, 1921), p. 17.

The population increase began shortly after Commodore Perry's visit to Japan in 1854, and continued to rise as part of the effect of health reforms of the Meiji Restoration in 1867.[83] The necessity of gains in agricultural production to support population expansion became of extreme importance in Japan. Importation of basic food supplies became essential. Between 1913 and 1918, three to four million koku (1 koku=5 bushels) of rice were imported to Japan from foreign countries each year.[84] The population increase in 1920 was especially critical in Japan because large amounts of the country's land could not be cultivated because of geographical barriers. The density of population in 1920 was 380 people per square mile of land making Japan one of the most populated countries in the world.[85] The historical period of the 1920's was an important time for one of the world's foremost propagandists of birth control to present her message in one of the most powerful nations in Asia, Japan.

One of Sanger's favorite quotations was the following from Victor Hugo: "There is no force in the world so great as that of an idea whose hour has struck."[86] The time seemed appropriate for her to deliver her message in Japan although various events seemed to block her from accomplishing this. On her 1922 visit to Japan, Margaret Sanger was detained on the Taiyo Maru for seventeen hours in Yokohama.[87] Forty

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[83]Margaret Sanger, "Japan Wants Birth Control," The Nation, December 13, 1952, pp. 553-554.
[84]Baron Keikichi Ishimoto, "The Population Problem in Japan," Birth Control Review 7, No. I (August, 1921), 10.
[85]Sanger, "Japan Wants Birth Control," p. 554.
[86]Transcript of interview with Dr. Grant Sanger by Jacqueline Van Voris, March 28, 1977.
[87]NHK interview of Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, Winter, 1984, Tokyo, Japan.

copies of "Family Limitation," describing various birth control measures, were confiscated.[88] Controversy continued in the press regarding whether she would be allowed to land or not. Sanger was pleased that the opposition of the government had "aroused the Japanese press and public to a discussion of birth control." She remarked that "experience had taught me that once people begin to discuss birth control seriously the battle is half won."[89] She was also informed that her name translated to "Sangai-san" which meant "destructive to production."[90]

Finally, an agreement was reached that Margaret Sanger would be admitted to Japan if she agreed not to give any public lectures on birth control.[91] However, she presented 13 public lectures and gave an estimated 500 interviews.[92] She gave many presentations in private homes with Baroness Ishimoto guarding the door in case the police arrived. In these presentations, Sanger gave some attention to the Neo-Malthusian doctrine. She was allowed to speak candidly in her meetings with physicians in Tokyo and Kyoto because birth control was considered a "medical matter."[93] Reporters were cautioned by Mr. Yuchi, Tokyo's Chief of Police, that they could not discuss actual birth control methods in articles they printed about Margaret Sanger's visit.[94]

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[88]Sanger Diary 1922, Sophia Smith Collection. Smith College.
[89]Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 243.
[90]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 226.
[91]Ibid., p. 228.
[92]Margaret Sanger, untitled speech (1952), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[93]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[94]Notes of Special Correspondent on Taiyo Maru, March 10, 1922, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

In one of her speeches, Sanger stated that "war is no longer the way to settle international disputes" and that both hunger and propagation must be controlled in order for peace to be attained. She stressed the importance of free motherhood to make women more than "breeding machines" so that there would be "international brotherhood and international emancipation based upon free, conscious maternity."[95]

Her largest public meeting was held at the Tokyo Y.M.C.A. where she gave a lecture on "War and Population."[96] She was mandated to limit her remarks to the subject previously agreed upon. She focused on the problems in Germany that led to World War I. She predicted that Germany had yet to experience the aftermath of this war and that Japan needed to be cognizant of the problems preceding the Great War.[97] She reiterated:

> ...but none of us can foretell the terrific decadent consequences which Germany is yet to feel. Her most fit manhood was slaughtered in the war, her mothers and children left at home in a condition of physical starvation which must effect the generations of the future. When I was in Germany in 1920 and saw for myself more than 10,000 little starving infants, the results of the blockade and war, I felt it would be far kinder for Germany's future and for the future peace of the world to allow these little victims to pass away rather than to keep them alive to perpetuate disease and misery. . . . The conclusions to be drawn from Germany are that a nation will not find the solution of its

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[95]Margaret Sanger, "Principles of Birth Control," Draft for Japanese Magazine Mezane, June 20, 1949. Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[96]Untitled speech (1952), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[97]Margaret Sanger, "War and Population," speech given in the Tokyo Y.M.C.A., March 14, 1922, reprinted in Birth Control Review, 6, No. 6 (June, 1922), 107.

problems in war: that war is no longer the way to settle international disputes.[98]

Japanese newspapers and magazines published hundreds of articles on Sanger's ideas and activities.[99] Over eighty percent of the magazines carried articles on birth control because of Sanger's visit.[100] This widespread publicity stimulated public interest in birth control in the cities and in the rural areas.[101] Years later, Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato stated that she told Margaret then that she should have expressed her gratitude to the Japanese government for creating so much controversy over her visit that it generated all the publicity about birth control.[102] Japan's high literacy rate also helped the Japanese people awaken to the "meaning of birth control."[103] The use of the print media to promote the innovation, birth control, supports Everett Rogers' generalization that "mass media channels are more important at the knowledge stage" in the decision making process in regard to innovations.[104]

Sanger was very pleased that the Imperial Medical College passed a resolution that birth control should be taught in their college from a medical perspective.[105] The American Medical Association did not

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[98]Ibid.
[99]Lader, p. 196.
[100]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 55.
[101]International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Population 70," p. 2.
[102]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[103]Margaret Sanger, untitled speech (1952), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[104]Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1983), p. 201.
[105]Untitled speech (1952), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

endorse birth control in the United States until fifteen years later in 1937.[106]

Sanger also used this visit as an opportunity to investigate the plight of women in houses of prostitution in the unlicensed quarter of Yoshiwara where girls were advertized as if on a restaurant menu with prices posted for an hour or night. The licensed quarter was much more elaborate and a new girl might have "eight or nine visitors" in one night.[107] Sanger became aware why some girls preferred prostitution when she visited the factories and observed the poor working conditions. Ten-year old girls often endured thirteen hour shifts in the silk-spinning mills. Sanger wrote that "modern Japanese industrialism has been able to take advantage of an ancient habit of thought which places little value on the girl child."[108]

Of Margaret Sanger's visit in 1922, Baroness Ishimoto wrote that "no woman, foreign or native, has ever been so well received in Japan."[109] Although, Sanger's first visit to Japan was limited to ten days, the extensive publicity surrounding this visit actively promoted the birth control message. At this time, the Japanese governmental policy advocated an increase in population although the country's population had almost doubled during the seventy years of modernization.[110] Shidzue felt that the Japanese had three choices: let

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[106]Virginia Coigney, Margaret Sanger: Rebel With A Cause (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 184.
[107]Sanger Diary 1922, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[108] Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, pp. 249-251.
[109]Kato, A Fight for Woman's Happiness, p. 55.
[110]Ibid., p. 53.

living standards fall, encourage excess population to migrate to other countries, or support birth control.[111]

Kato wrote that "not since Commodore Perry had forced Japan to open its doors to foreign commerce in 1852, had an American created such a sensation."[112] Sanger served as a catalyst for the birth control movement in Japan. Initially, birth control had been promoted by labor leaders and Japanese socialists to protect the health of the laborers.[113] However, Sanger viewed the issue from a global perspective. She saw Japan's alternatives as "expansion, emigration, aggression [and] imperialism enforced by armaments and militarism" or the adoption of a "drastic national policy of birth control." She saw such limitation on population as promoting peace and an improvement in the quality of life for the Japanese people.[114] She did not forsee emigration and expansion as legitimate options for Japan's surplus population.[115]

Summarizing her experiences after her first trip to Asia, Sanger wrote:

> In all the Orient I was able to discuss birth control as a social measure for the betterment of mankind with an assurance of respectful attention. No matter how greatly my theory was opposed, there was none of the ranting bitterness I found so frequently in my own country--no priests denouncing me as an advocate of unbridled sex lust, no celibate clergy assailing me as the arch-apostle of

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[111]Ibid.

[112]Shidzue Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 52.

[113]Susumu Harashima, "The History and Present Position of Family Planning in Japan," Teaching Family Planning: Report of an International Macy Conference. 2nd revision (New York: Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation, 1973), p. 77.

[114]Margaret Sanger, Carnegie Hall Speech, October 30, 1922, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[115]Ibid.

> immorality. Decency and consideration were shown to me instead of bigotry, abuse and hypocrisy.[116]

Sanger promoted her educational message in Japan through opinion leaders such as Kato. This was in sharp contrast to her earlier experiences working with radical anarchists in New York City in the 1912-1915 period.[117] By the time of her visit to Japan in 1922, she had started a shift to relate publicly to important opinion leaders in several countries.[118] After Sanger left Japan, Baroness Ishimoto continued to work for the birth control cause and kept Margaret Sanger informed about activities in Japan so that she would be apprised of any changes in the current status of the birth control movement there.

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[116]Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control, p. 254.

[117]Alexander Campbell Sanger, "Margaret Sanger: The Early Years, 1910-1917" (Senior thesis, Princeton University, 1969), pp. 132-133, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[118]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 16, 1985.

CHAPTER IV

SANGER'S AND ISHIMOTO'S INFLUENCE IN JAPAN: PRE-WORLD WAR II

Networking

Reflecting on Margaret Sanger's visit to Japan in 1922, Baroness Ishimoto stated that Margaret Sanger "appeared like a comet but she left such a vivid and long-enduring impression on the Japanese mind that there is no possible reckoning of the true value of her visit."[1] In 1925, Professor Iso Abe wrote that "It is not [an] exaggeration at all if I say that her name [Margaret Sanger] is better known in Japan than that of any other American or English woman.[2] One of the early outcomes of Sanger's visit was to stimulate interest among potential early adopters to learn more about the subject of birth control so that practical methods could be promoted among the Japanese people to help them limit their families during this period of post-war economic difficulty. Thus, after Sanger's visit, advocates of this example of planned change, birth control, began to take the necessary steps to win its public acceptance in Japanese society by networking with other interested birth control supporters. The largest obstacle remained the political climate in Japan that supported military expansion and population growth.

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[1]Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life with an Introduction and Afterword by Barbara Molony (Farrar and Rinehart, 1925; reprint ed., California: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 229.

[2]Iso Abe, "The Birth Control Movement in Japan," Birth Control Review, (August, 1925), p. 102.

After Sanger's visit, several people promoting birth control in Japan formed a small research group to gather additional information. Professor Iso Abe, labor leader Bunji Suzuki, Dr. Tokijiro Kaji, Kikue Yamakawa and Baroness and Baron Ishimoto were the early members of this study group.[3] The founding principle of their group reflected an acknowledgement of eugenics.

> The noble spirit of humanism has served to check wasteful contact between the nations and the progress of science has decreased the ravages of diseases by revealing their causes. Hence the tendency to an immense increase in the human birth rate is to be observed. Should this increasing birth rate continue, the shortage of the necessary materials for human existence would in time be appalling, even if advancing knowledge of science promoted public welfare. Today, our population is growing by about 700,000 new Japanese every year (a recent average is 940,000). This will cause not only severe competition within the nation, but it will become the source of international entanglement. Its distressing aspect is apparent in individual lives. Uncontrollable pregnancies rob the mother of health and raises individual mortality (we had 170 infant deaths per thousand in 1917), overburdens the family economy and prevents a decent education of children. The consequences also are late marriage, increase in the number of illegitimate children, infanticide, abortion and other social immoralities and tragedies. It is absolutely necessary to avoid any pregnancy when either parent has a disease which should not be transmitted to the offspring. But the right practice of birth control principles should not be an act of immorality; it should be in harmony with social morality.[4]

[3]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 230.
[4]Ibid., pp. 230-231.

Members of this research group translated Margaret Sanger's controversial pamphlet, "Family Limitation." They also published other birth control information such as Small Family, "The Problem of Japanese Population and Birth Control" and "Birth Control and Biological Aspects." A small experimental research clinic was established in the People's Hospital by Dr. Tokijiro Kaji. Provision of information about birth control increased the public's awareness and provided a response of many letters of "encouragement or of threat."[5]

Major channels of informal education functioning during this period were the print sources, public lectures and study groups. Women were often reached through these methods because they did not have formal educational opportunities after secondary school. Through informal contacts, women often networked with others who shared a common interest, such as birth control.[6] For example, many women were brought together by a great tragedy, The Tokyo Earthquake of 1923. The high level of organization that resulted set the stage so that a "really comprehensive women's movement came into being for the first time."[7] Baroness Ishimoto remarked that:

> The women of Tokyo learned to cooperate instinctively on a large scale, it appeared. Within a few days after the calamity, they had formed a federation of women's societies to meet the larger demands that would be made upon them after the immediate emergency had been met. The earthquake occurred on the first of September. This organization grew so rapidly that by the end of November at

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[5]Ibid., p. 231.

[6]Margit Maria Nagy, "'How Shall We Live?': Social Change, The Family Institution and Feminism in Prewar Japan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1981), pp. 101-110.

[7]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 254.

> least forty-two groups of women had affiliated with it. Social, educational, industrial, political and labor sections, formed within the federation, were setting about the most varied kinds of work.[8]

The Tokyo Federation of Women's Associations was the central organization created from several of the women's groups handling relief work. Members of this organization were very concerned with a wide range of topics such as women's suffrage, prostitution and unemployment.[9] Unlike the experience in the United States, many women active in the birth control movement in Japan were also actively involved in the women's suffrage movement.[10] The main achievements of women's organizations came from their efforts to work together effectively to find solutions to societal problems. However, fourteen years later, Margaret Sanger remarked that the gains made by Japanese women after the earthquake fell to

> . . . reactionary forces of government that set up a strong, bureaucratic, militaristic government, and women since have not been allowed the natural freedom of evolutionary progress. While there is a certain equality of education in the lower grades, women are not granted degrees in their colleges and universities, and of all women who have been allowed to attend medical universities, only a bare sixteen have been granted medical degrees, through "special dispensation."[11]

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[8]Ibid.

[9]Nagy, pp. 165-166.

[10]Joyce Lebra, Joy Paulson, and Elizabeth Powers, eds., Women in Changing Japan (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976), p. 235.

[11]Margaret Sanger, "News From Margaret Sanger, On Board, S. S. President Hoover," September 6, 1937, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Newspapers and women's magazines continued to serve as the major mass media channels for birth control information in Japan in the 1920's and 1930's. These sources promoted the idea of birth control by stimulating public interest and awareness. Thirteen years after Sanger's visit, Ella Embree's anthropological field notes included a report that at least one woman in the remote village of Suye Mura recognized Margaret Sanger's name and was familiar with the concept of birth control through reading women's magazines and newspapers.[12] The major form of contraception that Suye Mura villagers identified were condoms but they were not used extensively in this village in the early 1930's.[13]

Strategies

Recognizing that birth control needed to reach the working class, Baroness Ishimoto agreed to give a series of lectures on birth control to the miners at the Ashio Copper Mines in 1923. In her public lectures, she followed the example of her mentor, Margaret Sanger. Shidzue presented her first lecture to the men because women did not ordinarily attend such lectures. However, the next night many of the miners brought their wives to hear her presentation. This was a new experience for some of the wives because women were prohibited from attending such meetings and organizing political organizations before 1922. Sanger predicted that the change in the law would facilitate

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[12]Ella Lury Embree Wiswell, telephone interview by author, Honolulu, Hawaii, August 13, 1986.

[13]Robert J. Smith and Ella Lury Wiswell, The Women of Suye Mura (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 88-89.

dissemination of birth control ideas because it represented a recognition of women's rights.[14]

Baroness Ishimoto stated that her first public lecture experience was "a significant turning point in my life's work."[15] In her lectures, she was able to express her feelings of empathy for the miners. These emotions were prodded by her memories of the Miike Mining experience. In her speech to the miners, Baroness Ishimoto spoke on voluntary motherhood and the "necessity of birth control as a means of abolishing dangerous abortions, infanticide and a vicious cycle of poverty." She pointed out the relationship of population increase to labor problems. Shidzue stressed the idea of "planned population for the betterment of the human race."[16] Her first experience as a public speaker was a success and provided her with an opportunity to become friends with labor leader Kanju Kato who had first approached her with the invitation to speak to the miners. Eventually, he became her second husband just prior to the end of World War II.[17]

In a letter to Margaret Sanger about these events, Shidzue expressed her thoughts regarding the invitation from the Japanese Miner's Association. She saw it as an opportunity to speak to "the most progressive laborers in Japan." She reported to Sanger that both meetings at the Ashio Copper Mines were well attended by between 1200 and 1300 miners and their wives. Baroness Ishimoto stated that

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[14]"Margaret Sanger's Impressions," Birth Control Review, 6, No. 8 (September, 1922), 176.
[15]Shidzue Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness: Pioneering the Family Planning Movement in Japan (Tokyo: Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc., 1984), pp. 60-61.
[16]Ibid., p. 60.
[17]Ibid., pp. 87-88.

"I gave the address on the subject Birth Control and even though I was interrupted several times by the authority of the policemen, I succeeded in delivering the thought which I wanted to propagate." She received extensive publicity about her speech and was labeled the "Japanese Sanger." She also inquired about a previous letter requesting pessaries that she sent ten months earlier.[18] Shidzue referred to a company that was selling condoms in Japan as Sanger and Co. and commented "that this is a wise way to advertise without telling the purpose."[19] In an earlier letter, to another birth control supporter, Shidzue requested American pessaries so that she could use them as a prototype until similar ones could be manufactured in Japan.[20]

In addition to public speaking, one of the most interesting strategies that Shidzue found to disseminate information about birth control was through her Minerva Yarn Shop in Tokyo, established in 1921. The initial impetus for her venture into business was because of severe family financial problems that arose after Baron Ishimoto's resignation from the Mitsui Mining Company. Gradually, Shidzue's husband had became more conservative in political matters. He supported the "Manchurian incident" in 1931. Japanese intellectuals considered Japan's expansion into Manchuria as an example of military imperialism and it increased the rift between the liberals of the 1920's and the conservative forces that were gaining political power in Japan

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[18]Shidzue Ishimoto to Margaret Sanger, April 5, 1923, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Baroness Keikichi Ishimoto to Anne Kennedy, American Birth Control League, July 18, 1922, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

in the 1930's.[21] Because of his commitment to the new state of "Manchukuo," Baron Ishimoto did not follow through with adequate financial support for his wife and two young sons. He even began to value the idea of a traditional Japanese wife and wanted Shidzue to return to his image of a "good wife and wise mother." Eventually, Baron Ishimoto left his family and moved to the new state of Manchukuo [Manchuria] to "aid the Fatherland's mission."[22]

The Japanese government became less tolerant of birth control activities after 1934 because of their expansionist policy and the perceived need for more soldiers and workers to support the new territorial acquisitions. Liberal activists in several arenas found their work was quickly suppressed. The militaristic government encouraged a "Bear Children, Swell the Population Policy."[23] Thus, dissemination of birth control information became increasingly difficult and there was actual censorship of information about practical birth control methods. Earlier, Professor Iso Abe reported that "to talk on the practical side of birth control in a public meeting is considered by the government as injurious to the laws of decency."[24]

It was highly unusual for a woman of Baroness Ishimoto's social standing to become involved in such a business venture as the Minerva

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[21]Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan: Past and Present, rev. 3d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 170-171.

[22]Helen Hopper,"Kato Shidzue, Socialist Party MP, and Occupational Reforms Affecting Women, 1945-1948: A Case Study of the Formal vs Informal Political Influence of Japanese Women," In The Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform, edited by Thomas W. Berkman (Virginia: MacArthur Memorial Foundation, 1980), p. 377.

[23]Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 1983 ed., s.v. "Family Planning."

[24]Iso Abe, "The Birth Control Movement of Japan," Birth Control Review, (August, 1925), p. 102.

Yarn Shop "because to be involved in mercantile activities was a lowly and disreputable occupation."[25] Putting tradition aside, Baroness Ishimoto travelled and taught women knitting. She also discussed the principles of birth control with interested women and stated in her autobiography, "So my birth control propaganda and the knitting business were strongly interwoven."[26]

In her knitting shop, Baroness Ishimoto attracted many women of the leisure class and used these contacts to spread the message of birth control to wealthy women interested in such innovations. She was concerned about the accuracy of some of the information that was given to other women requesting assistance in these matters. Shidzue recognized her own need for appropriate information regarding birth control so that she would be an effective leader trained to answer practical questions concerning birth control methods.[27] She was disappointed in the birth control clinics that had been established in Japan and considered them inadequate.[28] She felt that many recommendations given women informally were actually dangerous.[29] Baroness Ishimoto informed Margaret Sanger that an abortive drug with the name and alleged endorsement of Sanger was being marketed in Japan. An angry Sanger sent a letter to The Birth Control League of Tokyo asking that they use their influence to follow-up on this because

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[25]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 48.
[26]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 210.
[27]Ibid., p. 73.
[28]Shizuye Ishimoto, "Birth Control in Japan," Birth Control Review, 11, No. 10 (December, 1932), 298.
[29]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 73.

"I have spent many years in trying to educate the public to draw a sharp line between contraception and abortion. . . . "[30]

To achieve her goal of becoming more informed, Shidzue arranged a three month internship in the Margaret Sanger Clinical Research Bureau in New York City from 1932-1933.[31] She was placed under the supervision of a doctor and social worker. She was instructed regarding practical aspects of various birth control methods. Shidzue observed the education of the women in birth control methods and the importance of return check-ups to evaluate their level of understanding. Meticulous clinic records served as an important tool to evaluate the prescribed birth control methods and were an important part of Baroness Ishimoto's instruction.[32] She recognized that she was very fortunate to study in this center. The clinic functioned as a research, service and training facility for professionals from all over the world.[33] Physicians played an active role in this clinic, and it was founded as the "first doctor-staffed birth control clinic in the United States."[34] It served as a model for over three hundred American birth control clinics established by 1938.[35]

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[30]Margaret Sanger to The Birth Control League of Japan, June, 29, 1931, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[31]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 73.

[32]Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[33]Interview with Dr. Julia J. Tsuei, Emerita Professor of Public Health, University of Hawaii, August 9, 1984.

[34]James Reed, "Margaret Sanger," Notable American Women, The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary, eds. Barbara Sicherman, Carol H. Green, Ilene Kantov, Harriette Walker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 626.

[35]James Reed, The Birth Control Movement and American Society: From Private Vice to Public Virtue (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 117.

Through her contact with the Clinical Research Bureau, Shidzue also reconnected with "Margaret Sanger the Invincible" and gained additional information about strategies for implementing a birth control clinic program in Japan.[36] Shidzue became familiar with the the latest birth control methods, such as diaphragms, so that she could provide women with this information in the clinic she planned to establish in Tokyo. She felt fortunate because she obtained the formula for a contraceptive jelly from Margaret.[37] Eventually, she hoped to establish traveling birth control clinics that would teach birth control in the villages and factories and make "birth control a mass movement."[38]

She was also able to earn additional income by giving public lectures throughout the United States. Her uncle, Yusuke Tsurumi, was in New York City and encouraged her to accept an invitation for a paid lecture tour. Shidzue was asked to discuss general information about Japan and often faced hostile questions regarding Japan's role in Manchuria. In a press release advertising her lecture tour, William Feakins, Inc. stated that Baroness Ishimoto was prepared to lecture on "The Esthetic Life of the Japanese Women," "The Manchurian Question and the Birth Control Movement," and "The Social Position of Japanese Women."[39] Shidzue was encouraged by American historian, Mary Beard, to write her autobiography, Facing Two Ways. This book, published in the United States in 1935, sold well on the West coast.[40] It

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[36]Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 371.
[37]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, pp. 73-76.
[38]Ishimoto, "Birth Control in Japan," p. 298.
[39]"Japanese Baroness to Lecture Here," Press Release, William Feakins, New York, 1932, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.
[40]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 80.

was not published in Japan, until fifty years later in 1984, because of its anti-militaristic tone and its criticism of various aspects of Japanese society.[41]

Tokyo Birth Control Clinics

Shidzue had mixed feelings upon her return home. In a letter to Margaret Sanger, she expressed some of her concerns.

> Will you forgive my long silence since I returned home. It has been very hard for me to adjust myself again to this conservative and reactionary country after spending the most delightful months in democratic country mingling among the most progressive people. I had to encounter many difficult and unpleasant problems in promoting my work here. . . . However, the first birth control clinic supported by group of women was established in Tokyo since March 1st. Margaret Sanger's spirit is living in this clinic and Dr. Stone' technique is leading medical side of the work. It is just like 17 West 16 Street clinic, although it is started with small scale. The clinic is located in the densely populated quarter in Tokyo, placed in a doctor's office. . . . I have answered about one thousands letter of mothers personally since this work was announced, and started a fight against ignorance. It is another fighting against fake doctors and dealers who put advertisement in the paper without any scientific standard.[42]

Baroness Ishimoto was able to bring birth control equipment back to Tokyo from New York. In March 1934, she opened up the

[41]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

[42]Shidzue Ishimoto to Margaret Sanger, April 12, 1934, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

"scientifically operated birth control clinic of which I had dreamed."[43] She named it the Birth Control Consultation Centre and stated that this was the first clinic in Japan "which stands firmly on a scientific and non-commercial basis."[44] She was able to engage the services of a woman physician, Dr. Kaneyo Manimaya.[45] Shidzue reported that in the first two months of operation she had 754 inquiries by letter and 50 visitors.[46] In a letter to Florence Rose, Margaret Sanger's secretary, she describes the environment of her clinic.

> I hope you will imagine me in our new birth control clinic. I wear my white gown over my American suits, when I instruct mothers there. I sit on the silk Japanese cushion in the green mats room. There are low tables in the center and an alcove on the north side of the room. Always beautiful rolled picture is hanging on the wall according to the season and the other day, there was a picture of ancient court noble with music instrument and a few branches of cherry blossoms were arranged in the beautiful vase. We bow politely every time before we begin instruction. . . . We have no nurse at present to take care of the children so I am busy taking histories of patients, instructing, nursing, everything at once.
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> All the progressive movements are having [a] hard time, on account of the reactionary tendency here, and birth control movement is one of them. I often repeat paragraphs from Mrs. Sanger's book [on] how this wonderful pioneer woman had fought, then, it always gives me a new strength to march ahead.[47]

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[43]Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, Facing Two Ways, p. 373.

[44]Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, "Japan's Attitude," Birth Control Review, (June, 1935), p. 6.

[45]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

[46]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 74.

[47]Shidzue Ishimoto to Florence Rose, April 13, 1934, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

She corresponded with Margaret Sanger about many topics and received support and birth control supplies from her during this period. With the military faction in the government developing its power base, Baroness Ishimoto ran into difficulties with the government because of her "dangerous thoughts." The Japanese government continued to see emigration and expansionism as a solution to the population problem.[48] In an article published in the Birth Control Review many years earlier, Walter Buchler warned that 'The military authorities in Japan, however, are absolutely against any form of Birth Control although the population is currently over sixty-five million."[49] Five years later, Shidzue wrote that the government wanted a larger population and that abortion was prohibited but that birth control devices were advertized in women's magazines.[50]

However, women were given conflicting messages regarding contraception. An IUD, called the Ota Ring, was prohibited from use in Japan from 1936 until 1974, although it had been invented there in 1924.[51]. The rhythm method, discovered by a Japanese researcher, was not used widely in the 1930's because of the Japanese government's pronatalist policies.[52]

As part of her commitment to birth control, Shidzue returned to the United States for a second lecture tour in 1936-37. In an interview reported in a Glendale, California newspaper, reporter Katherine Sinks

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[48]Walter Buchler, Birth Control Review, 14, No. 3 (March, 1930), 81.
[49]Ibid.
[50]Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, "Japan's Attitude," p. 6.
[51]Samuel Coleman, Family Planning in Japanese Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 30.
[52]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

stated that "American women have nothing to offer Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, Japan's leading women liberal." She referred to Baroness Ishimoto as the "Margaret Sanger of Japan." In comparing these two women, she pointed out common qualities such as "they are alike, feminine, progressive, leaders in the same movement and both mothers of sons." In this interview, Baroness Ishimoto was quoted as referring to birth control as "the only means to alleviate poverty." Shidzue also spoke to the continuing struggle to win the right to vote for Japanese women. She mentioned that birth control was not against the law in Japan or against any religion there.[53]

One Package of Japanese Pessaries

Shidzue was very interested in Margaret Sanger's efforts to change the Comstock Laws in the United States. As early as 1931, she referred to Sanger's "unfailing activities in Washington to abolish the antiquated law which prohibits the mailing of information regarding the contraceptive knowledge, and which has been the stumbling block to the movement to release mothers from onerous unwelcome motherhood, and has been prominently reported in many of our local papers here."[54]

One of Sanger's major goals in the United States in the 1920's and 1930's was to change these repressive laws in the United States so that

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[53]Katherine V. Sinks, "Here We Are: And So It Is," News Press, Glendale, California, January 22, 1937, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[54]Shidzue Ishimoto to Margaret Sanger, March 8, 1931, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

information about birth control could be given to the public. Her strategy was to use a four step approach: agitation, education, organization and legislation. As she travelled, she used these steps as part of her national educational campaign to overturn the federal Comstock Law.[55]

In 1936, Sanger achieved her goal because of a judicial reinterpretation of the federal Comstock Law in the "United States versus One Package of Japanese Pessaries" case.[56] In a strategy to influence federal legislation, Margaret Sanger communicated with a physician, Dr. Sakae Koyama in Osaka, Japan in 1932.[57] She requested that a package of pessaries be mailed to Dr. Hannah Stone at the Clinical Research Bureau.[58] As she anticipated, these pessaries were confiscated by U. S. Customs and destroyed. Consequently, a legal suit was brought in the name of Dr. Hannah Stone.

In a ruling on the case, Judge Grover Moscowitz of the Federal District Court of New York ruled that Congress had not intended the Comstock Law to prevent physicians from importing materials that would be used to cure disease or prevent medical problems.[59] According to Dr. Hannah Stone, this landmark legal case decision "established contraception as a recognized part of medical practice and

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[55]"Brief Outline of Margaret Sanger's Work In The Birth Control Movement," n.d., p. 7, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[56]Madeline Gray, Margaret Sanger: A Biography of Birth Control (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1979), pp. 357-366.

[57]Margaret Sanger to Dr. Sakae Koyama, June 27, 1932, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Margaret Sanger, Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1938; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1971), pp. 427-428.

removes the last legal barriers to the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge."[60] David Kennedy covered this legal case extensively in his book, Birth Control in America.[61]

After the legal ruling, Sanger was anxious to test this legal decision so she requested that Dr. Koyama mail one package of pessaries to her and one to Dr. Stone.[62] Baroness Ishimoto viewed Dr, Koyama as an opportunist who wanted to market his pessaries. In 1936, she wrote to Florence Rose, Mrs. Sanger's secretary, stating that Dr. Koyama "is the man who has the letter he got from Mrs. Sanger photographed and always uses it in newspaper advertisements for the sale of his pessaries, which I do not approve of as it is a shameful exploitation of Mrs. Sanger's reputation."[63] In a 1985 interview, Shidzue Ishimoto Kato stated that Dr. Koyama was "not of our group."[64] However, this example demonstrates Sanger's use of influential people internationally in advocating a legal change that would pave the way for the eventual acceptance of an innovation such as birth control in the United States. Years later, Sanger remarked that it was a pessary mailed by a physician in Japan, [Dr. Koyama], which led to the Supreme Court's decision allowing physicians the legal right to prescribe contraceptives

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[60]Hannah M. Stone, "Birth Control Wins," Nation, 144, (January 16, 1937), pp. 70-71.

[61]David M. Kennedy, Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

[62]Margaret Sanger to Dr. Sakae Koyama, January 29, 1936, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[63]Shidzue Ishimoto to Florence Rose, March 20, 1936, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[64]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

and that this demonstrated "how our legislation was changed with support from a foreign country in 1936."[65]

An Important Dedication

In August 1937, Margaret Sanger arrived for an eight day stay in Japan. When interviewed on this visit, she stated "we have been meeting with great victories in the United States and we have come out now to do a little international work."[66] Baroness Ishimoto handled the arrangements for this visit and invited Margaret to participate in the dedication and celebration for her birth control clinic. Sanger described this clinic as the "first modern birth control clinic in Japan" and that it would be the "first clinic comparable to those in Western countries."[67] Several speeches were given at the dedication of the clinic. Baroness Ishimoto greeted Margaret Sanger.

> It is only fifteen years since Mrs. Sanger's first visit to Japan when she stirred us and caused such a sensation that we thought we must devote all our energies to carrying out her ideals in Japan but we were helpless in doing much for birth control in many cases.[68]

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[65]Speech by Margaret Sanger, Public Welfare Committee in the House of Councillors, Japanese Diet, Tokyo, Japan, April 15, 1954.

[66]"Mrs. Sanger Arrives With Left Arm in Sling," The Osaka Mainichi and The Tokyo Nichi Nichi, August 21, 1937, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.

[67]Margaret Sanger, "News from Margaret Sanger: On Board, S. S. President Hoover," September 6, 1937, Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau.

[68]Clinic Reception Remarks, August 1937, Tokyo, Japan, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Then, Margaret Sanger addressed the audience. She was very complimentary about her Japanese counterpart.

> On my visit in 1922, Japan was under martial law and no meetings were allowed. This time on my way to China and Manila, I fell and broke my arm and in view of the difficulty between China and Japan, I have decided to postpone my visit to China another year.
>
> Every country has its pioneers. England had its Mary Wollstonecraft, France its Madame Curie, America, its Susan B. Anthony. Many others [such as] Olive Schreiner and Ellen Key. . . . Every country has men who pioneer in their lives and women in others, and Japan should be proud, and I believe her children's children will pay homage to one of the greatest women today, to Baroness Ishimoto. Baroness Ishimoto is not only a pioneer in Japan, but also a Marco Polo of Japan, because through her lectures and speaking to thousands and thousands of people from East to West and North to South, [she] carries the message of Japan. I consider Baroness Ishimoto as really a bridge between Japan and the United States, bringing the message of what you are doing here and what we are doing there. We need many friends. Both of our countries need friends. We need friends, and Japan needs friends in America because the world is going through a chaotic, difficult time of uncertainty. Japan, in particular, is going through a difficult time. She is one of the most over--populated countries in the world, and it is my sincere belief that Japan like other countries will never solve her own problems, the problem of her internal relations and international relations, unless she can solve her population problem.[69]

Margaret challenged her audience that they had a "spiritual responsibility" to help Baroness Ishimoto because "birth control is not a national problem only, but an international one." She encouraged support for the idea of sending midwives to the home to promote birth control. Later, she reflected that one purpose of this visit was to

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[69]Ibid.

provide reinforcement to Baroness Ishimoto during difficult times in a "militaristic country."[70]

Four months after Sanger's visit, Baroness Ishimoto was arrested on December 15, 1937 for her "dangerous thoughts" and her clinic closed. Over 2000 Japanese citizens were arrested during this "police dragnet" because of their perceived opposition to government policies.[71] As one of two women arrested, Shidzue was kept in jail for ten days and her personal clinic records were confiscated. Her arrest made headline news in Western newspapers.[72] Later, Shidzue wrote that "The clinic would never operate again. And the birth control movement was to disappear until the end of World War II in 1945."[73] Shidzue wrote Margaret about these events and prophetically stated:

> Some seeds must be planted during autumn and left underground covered with icy earth during severe winter, but spring will surely come back and the fresh leaves will grow during the warm sunshine. I believe that the new life is being prepared during the decaying process of [this] passing period in our human history. I shall not [be] discouraged by this, but will look forward hand in hand with those who are internationally minded.[74]

Thus, the birth control movement was suppressed as the Japanese government took a strong pronatalist policy prior to World War II.[75]

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[70]Margaret Sanger, "News from Margaret Sanger: On Board, S. S. President Hoover."

[71]Helen Hopper, "Kato Shidzue, Socialist Party MP, and Occupational Reforms Affecting Women, 1945-1948," p. 378.

[72]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, p. 84.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Shidzue Ishimoto to Magaret Sanger, January 11, 1938, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[75]Juitsu Kitaoka, "Over--Population and Family Planning in Japan," Tokyo, Japan, The Science Council of Japan, Division of Economics and Commerce Economic Series, No. 14, January 1957, p. 44.

During the war, Shidzue was divorced from Baron Ishimoto and married labor leader, Kanju Kato. She produced a daughter at the age of forty-eight in 1944.[76]

[76]Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness, pp. 88-89.

CHAPTER V

POST--WAR IMPLEMENTATION OF BIRTH CONTROL IN JAPAN: SANGER'S TRIUMPHANT RETURN

After World War II, Margaret Sanger found herself once again in the center of a controversy over Japan. As early as October, 1945, she was concerned over the status of birth control and she wrote General MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, to update him on Japan's population problems. Margaret also referred to the past activities of Baroness Ishimoto in relation to the birth control movement. She compared the population pressures in Japan after World War II to those in the 1920's after World War I. In her letter, she pointed out various considerations to MacArthur.

> Yet in your historic conversation with Emperor Hirohito, General MacArthur, I note that the only reported reference to Japan's millions was how to feed them. Not how to control the human flood by the only humane and democratic process, voluntary birth control. Is it to be the American policy in Japan that the natural checks of famine and disaster continue to limit the population? Will we risk this threat of war again?
>
> It is my earnest suggestion that a population commission be set up to study Japan's real problem, that of population pressure. To head this commission, I would suggest the person who has understood this problem, and fought for its humane solution for many years, Shidzue Ishimoto.
>
> Isn't it true, General, that until America, with her present power, stands for the rights of parents everywhere in the world for voluntary and healthful reproduction, neither a large standing army or the atomic bomb can save us from another war.[1]

[1]Margaret Sanger to General MacArthur, October 25, 1945, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Four years later, Margaret Sanger received a letter from Tsunego Baba, the President of the Yomiuri Press, one of the largest Japanese daily newspapers. He invited her to come to Japan and voiced some of his concerns regarding post--war Japan.

> Owing to housing and food shortages coupled with alarming increase in population of over a million a year, the use of contraceptives has been authorized in Japan today. Unfortunately, due to lack of suitable training in this field, unwanted fears regarding birth control are prevailing among the Japanese people. We know very well that you are a busy woman and to ask you to come to Japan is difficult, but due to the circumstances, we shall appreciate very much if you will kindly accept our invitation.[2]

Earlier, Sanger communicated to Shidzue Ishimoto Kato of her interest in visiting Japan. Kato responded by inviting the editor of Yomiuri to sponsor Sanger's visit because of the publicity and financial support the newspaper could give to this cause. Shidzue stated that there would probably be "strong opposition by Catholics."[3] She also included her opinion regarding MacArthur's administration's reaction to Sanger's tour stating that "I learned that they are inclined to avoid to do anything to raise opposition from Catholics, but if the plan is to be initiated from the Japanese side, then the American authorities will not object."[4]

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[2]Tsunego Baba to Margaret Sanger, July 21, 1949, Margaret Sanger Papers, Library of Congress.
[3]Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Margaret Sanger, June 28, 1949, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[4]Ibid.

After World War II, the population pressures in Japan reached a critical state. A "baby boom" resulted after five million people were repatriated from outlying territories and returned home to Japan. Families were faced with great difficulty in finding appropriate housing, especially if women were pregnant or had children. Families were often turned away because of a lack of adequate housing. Senator Shidzue Ishimoto expressed her concerns very eloquently.[5]

> Well, at that time, there was no housing, food or clothes. Nothing! And with the return of our young soldiers from abroad, there was a "baby boom." There was no room. Any place that could be rented for a home was taken except for one room. But always rented under the condition that you don't have a child. Rent for couples only! If you are going to have a child, then go away. If woman becomes pregnant under such conditions, they would have to go to a clinic doctor to get an illegal abortion. That was very dangerous. There were many sad cases.[6]

Japan had suffered great losses in the war and represented a "defeated and occupied nation." Her population density in 1950 was 529 per square mile in Japan compared to 44 in the United States.[7] Her population increased from sixty-six million in 1922 to over eighty-five million in 1950.[8] In the minds of key supporters of contraception, Japan was ready for birth control. Several contacts were made to reconnect with the world proponent of the birth control movement, Margaret Sanger. Sanger was excited about the possibility of a trip to

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[5]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985. Refer to appendix A.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Madeline Gray, Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1979), p. 409.

[8]Ibid.

Japan and an opportunity to visit again with her friends, such as Shidzue Ishimoto Kato. She made preliminary arrangements to set forth for Japan in July, 1949. But, her visit was blocked by the personal intervention of General Douglas MacArthur. In notes for a 1952 speech in Japan, Sanger made an analogy between the Japanese military group that opposed her visit to Japan in 1922 and "another military man of my own country, General Douglas MacArthur, who refused to give me a visa to come to your country in 1949."[9]

Sanger was especially interested in meeting with her counterpart in Japan, Shidzue Ishimoto Kato. After the war, Shidzue Kato had been successful in running for a position in the Diet. She represented the Socialist Party and was elected as part of the transition that evolved when Japanese women won the right to vote for the first time. Shidzue was elected to the Japanese Diet in 1946, along with her husband, Kanju Kato.[10] Estimates were given that as many as 13 million women voted in this election.[11] In the New Constitution, MacArthur had recommended in October, 1945 that women be allowed to vote and run for public office. He also advised that they be allowed to organize in labor unions. In 1946, he called the women who won the election into his office and challenged them "to be the backbone of national life just as housewives and mothers you have been the backbone of domestic life."[12] Thus, rapid changes for women occurred as part of the

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[9]Margaret Sanger, "Notes for Talks in Japan, September, 1952," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[10]Emily Taft Douglas, Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 246.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ann Nakano, "Shizue (Ishimoto) Kato: Woman Warrior," PHP (August, 1984), p. 72.

Occupation. Many feminists were pleased because women had been attempting to obtain these changes in Japan since the second decade of the 20th century. Several other provisions in the new Constitution liberalized benefits for women.[13]

Five years after the war ended, reported abortions were estimated to have risen to an estimated 489,111 because of the pressures of widespread unemployment and housing shortages.[14] Abortions represented a direct contrast to the efforts of the Japanese government during World War II to increase family size by recommending that women "Give birth, increase the population, five children to a family."[15] Liberalization of various laws allowed for legal abortions and sterilizations. Reflecting a positive response to these options, reported abortions increased from 246,104 in 1949 to 805,524 in 1952.[16] Sterilization operations for women rose from approximately 6,000 in 1949 to over 44,000 by 1956.[17]

The need for instruction in birth control methods became clear. A prominent Japanese physician reported from his research that "a decrease in induced abortion therefore rests on widespread education among the people in the effective use of contraception."[18] Shidzue Kato believed that Margaret Sanger's visit would serve as a catalyst to

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[13]Sheila Matsumoto, "Women in Factories" in Women in Changing Japan, edited by Joyce Lebra, Joy Paulson, and Elizabeth Powers, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1970), p. 56.

[14]Yoshio Koya, "Pioneering in Family Planning," with a foreword by Dudley Kirk and an introductory review by Dorothy Nortman (Tokyo: Japan Medical Publishers, 1963), p. 63.

[15]Sheila Matsumoto, p. 56.

[16]Yoshio Koya, p. 63.

[17]Ibid., p. 110.

[18]Ibid., p. 84.

stimulate interest in birth control education over the abortion alternative.

Abortions were legalized in Japan in 1948 because of the health problems that arose for women suffering from the effects of illegal ones. Reluctantly supporting this legislation, Senator Shidzue Kato stated that abortions served as a "back door" for a woman who was pregnant with an unwanted child.[19] The National Eugenic Law (1939) had been replaced by the Eugenic Protection Law in 1948. This law was amended in 1949 and 1952. In 1939, it had been used to sanction abortions for "medical and eugenic reasons."[20] Now the law allowed induced abortion for "a mother whose health might be affected seriously by delivery or from the physical or economic viewpoint."[21] Designated doctors were trained and approved for abortions. Thus, Japan became the first country to legalize abortion.[22] The law allowed for sterilization if a serious genetic disease was present or if pregnancy or childbirth would endanger the woman's life.[23] Distribution of contraceptives was placed under the standards set by the Pharmaceutical Law and provision was made "for the establishment of government--supervised birth control clinics in each of the 675 government--operated health centers throughout the country."[24] In 1949, the Population Problem Council made a recommendation to the appropriate governmental body that

[19]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[20]Gray, p. 409.
[21]Yoshio Koya, p. 16.
[22]F. X. Suhardjo Wignjodarsono, "Family Planning in Japan," (PH 741 Term Paper, University of Hawaii, April, 1981), p. 4.
[23]Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan , 1983 ed., s.v. "Eugenic Protection Law."
[24]General Douglas MacArthur to Charles E. Scribner, February 24, 1950, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

restrictions on dissemination of information about family planning be removed.[25]

All of these measures, including birth control, helped reduce Japan's fertility rate by fifty per cent in ten years.[26] The national birth rate went from 33 per thousand in 1949 to 17.2 per thousand in 1957.[27] Unfortunately, according to some authorities, much of this progress was made because of the increase in induced abortions.[28] In one research study, many of the abortions were necessary because of failures of the rhythm method.[29] Thus, one researcher remarked that "induced abortion is one form of birth control."[30]

In this emergency, the Japanese government finally recognized the importance of birth control. This was a change from previous governmental policies that blocked the use of IUD's and the rhythm method, leaving condoms and abortions as the major forms of birth control. Diaphragms had been used briefly in the late 1930's before the government adopted a pronatalist policy.

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[25]Yoshio Koya, "Population Problems and Family Planning in Japan" Speech presented to employees of Ministry of Communication, Tokyo, Japan, May 5, 1956, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[26]International Planned Parenthood Federation, Proceedings of the Second Conference, Western Pacific Region, International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Population 70" Family Planning and Social Change, Proceedings of the Second Conference (Tokyo, Japan,1970), p. 3.
[27]Koya, p. 121.
[28]Ibid., p. 76.
[29]Ibid., p. 131.
[30]Minoru Noda, "Contraception in Japan: Problems of Motivation and Communication" in Research in Family Planning, edited by Clyde V. Kiser (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 555.

MacArthur's Refusal

Although the need for birth control education was great, Margaret Sanger was prevented from visiting Japan at this time. She received a letter on August 30, 1949, from Captain George H. Hendricks, a member of General MacArthur's staff, denying her request for a military permit because "we are sorry to inform you your travel into Japan cannot be given favorable consideration at the present time due to the fact that the country is presently engaged in discussions on the subject of birth control."[31]

Sanger sent a reply to Captain Hendricks asking that her denial be reconsidered, especially since "the Japanese are discussing birth control and the leaders are interested in my visit."[32] She presented several points that she wanted considered in her request.

> 1. The control of conception has become an official part of governmental policy, as evidenced by the laws passed by the Diet in June, by the work of the Health Ministry in providing for the instruction of physicians, educational films for the people, etc., and the statement of the Welfare Ministry that "an overwhelming majority of the Japanese people favor birth control as a solution for problems of health and overpopulation."
>
> 2. The invitation to me comes from Japanese leaders, both in the government and in the press, familiar with my other educational visits in their country. I was invited to Japan in 1921 and spent several weeks in helping to map

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[31]Captain George H. Hendricks to Margaret Sanger Slee, August 30, 1949, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[32]Margaret Sanger Slee to Captain George Hendricks, September 10, 1949, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

out an educational campaign relative to population control and planned parenthood.

3. The war and the reduction of Japan's territory combined with the rapid growth of population, have made the problem of limitation by approved means an especially acute one not only for the Japanese but for the occupying authorities also.

4. The alternative to modern progress in this field is the continuation of abortion and infanticide, hunger and poverty. Education in family planning is the solution.

5. The invitation I wish to accept came to me because I have had long experience in the educational work needed both in this country and abroad.

6. While birth control is not a controversial subject among the people of Japan--being accepted officially as I have already pointed out--the United States occupying authorities have created no difficulties about the propagation of an opposing point of view by Americans in Japan.[33]

Margaret Sanger received a reply in November, 1949 stating that the Occupation authorities in Tokyo were denying her permit. At the same time, the Occupation decided to delete references on birth control in a book by Edward A. Ackerman, consutant for the Occupation, dealing with the natural resources of Japan.[34] The press reported that this action occurred because of a protest from the Catholic Women's Club of

[33]Margret Sanger Slee to Captain George Hendricks, September 10, 1949, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[34]Emory Stevens Bucke to General Douglas MacArthur, March 6, 1950, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Tokyo.[35] In a remark to a representative of the Yomiuri newspaper, a dispatch quoted a military source as saying "In view of the Catholic Church groups, it was believed impossible for General MacArthur to allow her (Sanger) to lecture to Japanese audiences without appearing to subscribe to her views."[36] MacArthur was quoted as saying he believed that birth control was a matter for the Japanese people to decide and that the policy of the Occupation would be one of "hands off."[37]

In response to MacArthur's action, a memorandum from Planned Parenthood stated to its officers that the denomination to which MacArthur yielded represented only 17 per cent of the United States population and is "virtually non-existent in Japan."[38] Margaret Sanger was upset that pressure from a group representing 180,000 Catholics in Japan could block her invitation to address those interested in birth control out of a Japanese population of 80 million.[39] Years later, Shidzue Ishimoto Kato stated that she felt that MacArthur responded to Catholic pressure because of his own Presidential ambitions in the United States after the Occupation.[40]

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[35]Memorandum to Presidents and Executive Secretaries, Planned Parenthood Federation of America from Chares E. Scribner, Chairman of the Board, February 17, 1950.

[36]Memorandum from Charles E. Scribner, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, February 17, 1950, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

[37]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 25, 1985.

[38]Memorandum from Chares E. Scribner, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, February 17, 1950.

[39]Gray, p. 411.

[40]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 25, 1985.

In a reply to Mr. Charles E. Scribner, Chairmen of the Board of Planned Parenthood, General MacArthur reiterated his objections to Sanger's visit because he considered this matter as something for the Japanese people to find a solution for themselves without interference from another country because it might be viewed as "genocide."[41] MacArthur also commented "...that Massachusetts only recently rejected a proposal to legalize birth control clinics, now firmly established in Japan by operation of law, leaves one to ponder whether there is not a more fertile field of activity at home than abroad for those who espouse this movement"[42] Various newspapers in the United States and Japan reported on this controversy but MacArthur's "No" stood. In 1951, after MacArthur left Japan, Sanger received another invitation to visit Japan from The Mainichi newspaper.[43]

An Important Visit

Four years after MaCArthur refused to allow her to visit Japan, Sanger accepted the Mainichi invitation and arranged to visit Japan in 1952. She made a triumphant return and was welcomed by fifty young women in ceremonial kimonos, bowing and smiling in a receiving line. "She was crowned with a golden wreath of chrysanthemums, while a hundred and forty news and camera men swarmed around her."[44]

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[41]General Douglas MacArthur to Charles E. Scribner, February 24, 1950, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[42]Ibid.
[43]Shidzue Ishimoto Kato to Margaret Sanger Slee, November 4, 1951, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[44]Douglas, p. 250.

Shidzue Kato even arranged for sound trucks to promote Sanger's visit.[45] Shidzue described the visit.

> A fleet of them [sound trucks] covered the working class districts, announcing, "Sanger is here. Sanger says no more abortions." Where there were crowds, "Sanger" mounted the platform to explain the superiority of birth control to the people. Shaken by defeat, Japan was looking for new solutions and hailed her [Sanger] as a prophet. Her message would free people not only from excess children, but from future wars. With Shidzue's skill and the coverage by the powerful Mainichi press, which sponsored her tour, in ten days the issue of birth control permeated Japan as it never had the United States.[46]

In a speech in Tokyo, Sanger referred to her return to Japan as similar to the "old Egyptian saying that anyone who has drunk the waters of the Nile will want to return and drink of them again."[47] In this speech, she referred to peace and that "You of the East and we of the West know that war is no answer to the great problems of our time."[48] She challenged her Japanese audience with her observation that "You have a tremendous opportunity to apply your ancient wisdom, your strength of mind and body to the problems of 20th century Japan and you may be a new force, guiding and strengthening the community of nations."[49] She made a strong plea again for birth control rather than abortion. On this visit, she cautioned against the use of abortion as a

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[45]Ibid., p. 251.
[46]Ibid.
[47]Margaret Sanger, Handwritten notes for speech, Tokyo, Japan, 1952, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[48]Ibid.
[49]Ibid.

method of spacing children.[50] In a newspaper interview, she stated that abortions were "injurious to the health of women."[51] She also expressed concern that Catholic Opposition in Japan was influencing decisions of non-Catholics.[52] During her visit, the Mainichi newspaper editorial reported the findings of a 1952 survey that demonstrated that 55 per cent of the people surveyed in a rural area did not know what birth control was. The conclusions of the editorial were that "To practice controlled birth, certain knowledge is essential. This shows that the problem belongs in the field of education."[53] On this visit, Sanger also expressed concern for the need for a safe contraceptive that was easy for women to use. Although her visit was brief, Sanger reconnected with the Japanese people and gave support to those leaders who were trying to promote contraception instead of abortion.

The Diet Speech

In April 1954, Margaret Sanger arrived in Tokyo once again. She was "received like a national heroine."[54] The highlight of this visit was an invitation to address a Committee meeting in the House of Councillors in the Japanese Diet. She became the first foreigner to receive this

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[50]Margaret Sanger, untitled speech, 1952, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[51]"Proper Family Planning Said Aim of Birth Control," Mainichi, November 1, 1952.
[52]Ibid.
[53]"Editorial," Mainichi, November 5, 1952, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
[54]Douglas, 343.

honor.[55] This invitation was orchestrated by her friend, Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato.[56] Kato also translated Sanger's speech into Japanese for the minutes of the Committee.[57]

In her speech, Margaret Sanger expressed great concern regarding Japan's high abortion rate. She gave some historical background in regard to her own work in the United States in response to illegal abortions. She expressed concern that the 500 birth control clinics in the United States did not reach women in the rural areas as she wished. She complimented Japan for her progress and interest in birth control. She also referred to current research that was being done to find an inexpensive and effective birth control method.[58]

Her final recognition came in 1965 when she was honored by the emperor and government of Japan with the Third Class Order of the Sacred Treasure from the Japanese Government.[59] The impetus for this award came through Senator Shidzue Kato who organized representatives from family planning organizations to request this honor for Sanger.[60] The award was accepted by Margaret's son, Dr. Stuart Sanger. It was given in recognition of his mother's contribution

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[55]Shidzue Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness: Pioneering the Family Planning Movement in Japan, (Tokyo: Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc., 1984), p. 101.
[56]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[57]Ibid.
[58]Speech by Margaret Sanger, Public Welfare Committeee in the House of Councillors, Japanese Diet, April 15, 1954, Tokyo, Japan. Refer to appendix B.
[59]Shidzue Kato, A Fight for Women's Happiness: Pioneering the Family Planning Movement in Japan (Tokyo: Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc., 1984), p. 101.
[60]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July, 26, 1985.

in promoting birth control in Japan.[61] Margaret Sanger was too ill to attend this ceremony but was said to have treasured this award and to have insisted on wearing it in the nursing home.[62] Thus, this recognition honored her for her international vision. It was awarded to her one year before her death in 1966.

[61]"Margaret Sanger Honored," Daily Citizen [Tucson, Arizona], June 8, 1965, p. 9.
[62]Gray, p. 441.

Chapter VI

Margaret Sanger, Social Change Agent: Summary and Reflections

Julian Huxley believed that birth control would "go down in history with the greatest advancements of the human intellect, along with the invention of the stone hammer, the mastery of fire, the discovery of electricity and the invention of the art of printing."[1] The development of birth control technology and the dissemination of this information has had a profound effect on the reproductive patterns of women internationally. It was mainly through scientific advancements and legislative change, leading to public access to this information, that dramatic changes in contraceptive adoption occurred in the United States and Japan. Various change agents, such as Margaret Sanger, took professional and personal risks so that birth control would be taken out of the realm of "pornography" and become an integral part of the health agenda for women. Her advocacy led to the adoption of an important social change in the United States and Japan.

Although Margaret Sanger's professional career spanned a period before the widespread adoption of Everett Rogers' model of innovation diffusion, her work can be analyzed retrospectively through this theoretical framework. Rogers' model identifies proposed changes that are considered desirable and in the self-interest of those affected and influenced by these changes. Human interaction in the form of interpersonal communication is essential in order for change to occur

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[1]Madeline Gray, Margaret Sanger: A Biography of the Champion of Birth Control (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1979), p. 382.

within the social system. He defines social change as a phenomenon producing structural and functional alterations within the basic social system.[2] Rogers identifies several steps in the change process: introduction of a new idea or innovation, development of a communication process by which new ideas or innovations diffuse or spread to members of a social system (diffusion) and the consequences or social system changes that follow the acceptance or rejection of a new idea or innovation.[3] Interactive communication between people is an essential link in the social change process.[4]

Diffusion is a special form of communication within a social system involving the spread of new ideas or innovations.[5] The diffusion process involves the following steps: an idea or innovation perceived as new, an individual or group knowledgeable about the new idea, another individual or group lacking the new idea or innovation and a communication channel that links the two individuals or groups.[6] Diffusion is essentially a social process in which information about a new idea or innovation is transmitted through interpersonal channels. This has been found to be especially true regarding dissemination of information on taboo topics such as birth control.[7] In his later research, Rogers defines communication as a "process in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual

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[2] Everett M. Rogers and Rubel J. Burdge, Social Change in Rural Societies, 2nd. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 10.
[3]Ibid., p. 10.
[4]Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 10.
[5]Ibid., p. 5.
[6]Everett M. Rogers and F. Floyd Shoemaker, Communication of Innovations, 2nd. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 24.
[7]Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd ed., p. 18.

understanding."[8] The client and change agent influence each other in the process of communicating. It is not a one-way process of information exchange as earlier communication models implied.[9]

Researchers have identified five stages clients go through in the innovation diffusion process: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption or rejection of the innovation.[10] The change agent utilizes the stages involved to influence people in target populations to adopt desirable innovations. The process of interest and awareness are often stimulated through mass media channels. The latter three stages are often promoted primarily through interpersonal contacts with potential adopters. This is especially true with the diffusion of family planning innovations.[11]

The concept of adopter categories is useful when considering larger societal groups. These categories were developed according to innovativeness, i.e., the rate of adoption of new ideas contrasted with other members of a similar social system.[12] There are five adopter categories: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and late-late adopters.[13] Each of the adopter groups can be identified by certain characteristics.

The innovators are usually the literate risk-takers in a social group and have a reputation for supporting unusual ideas. The early adopters are a critical group for the change agent to work with when

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[8]Ibid., p. 5.
[9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid., p. 25.
[11]Everett M. Rogers, Communication Strategies for Family Planning (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 107.
[12]Rogers and Burdge, p. 356.
[13]Ibid., p. 357.

implementing social change because the members of this group are usually community opinion leaders and consequently serve as role models in their communities. The opinion leaders are the "local missionaries" diffusing information regarding the innovation.[14] The early majority adopt innovations later than the early adopters and then the late majority follows. The late-late adopters often include people least able to accept and risk trying new ideas or innovations.

The last group of adopters are lowest on the innovativeness scale. However, the late-late adopter category is extremely important in this study because it is often the major group that public health and welfare organizations try to reach with their programs. This group requires a large commitment of time and effort on the part of community health workers promoting an innovation such as contraception. Thus, the group that is targeted for birth control information by public health programs is often the last group in a society to adopt contraceptive innovations. This creates an even greater division between the rich and the poor because it increases the information gap between them regarding important innovations e.g., the social and personal value of birth control technology.[15]

Bennis et al. point out that lasting change involves decisions made by people at a personal level that effect their "habits" and "values" rather than merely adopting innovations. Bennis et al. also consider the relationship between the change agent and client as a critical variable in this process.[16] The initial direction of change is determined by the

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[14]Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, 3rd ed., p. 249.
[15]Ibid., pp. 264-265.
[16]Bennis, p. 5.

change agent who focuses on clients in the target group to produce achievement of desired goals. The process of innovation is considered successful if the selected innovation is adopted rather than rejected.

Change agent, Margaret Sanger (1879-1966), devoted her life to educating the public regarding the acceptance of the value of birth control technology. She would fit Everett Rogers' definition of a change agent as "a professional who influences innovation decisions in a direction that he feels is desirable."[17] In her analysis of strategies to promote birth control, Sanger became committed to change the Comstock law so that the public would have access to birth control information. Sanger was willing to risk the threat of imprisonment to effect these changes. She was an individual who recognized the importance of networking to achieve larger objectives and she functioned as a rule breaker at various times in her life to promote the birth control cause. She recognized the need to work with the people who were "movers and shakers" in order to effect change. Her controversial position brought her into conflict with Catholic authorities and she was able to use the opposition to meet her own objectives because of the widespread media coverage of this conflict. She viewed birth control from an international perspective and this brought her into relationships with many influential people in other countries. Her friendship with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato was an important relationship to study because of the cultural differences between them and the relationship of distrust between Japan and the United States during this historical period.

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[17]Rogers, Communication Strategies for Family Planning, p. 82.

Sanger used several strategies in gaining acceptance of the value of birth control among the professional and public communities in the United States and Japan. She was able to use the publicity surrounding her activities in both countries to promote the cause of birth control by stimulating an interest and awareness in the public arena so that potential adopters would seek out appropriate services. She worked closely with opinion leaders to spread the "gospel" of birth control.

Change agent, Sanger, and opinion leader, Kato, shared several personal and professional qualities. Eventually, both sought additional information about birth control from sources in other countries that offered practical information about contraception. Both women saw legislative action as a partial answer to some of the blocks to dissemination of contraceptive information. However, only Kato actually served in a political office to achieve this objective. Networking was extremely important to both women. They valued the right of women to have control over their own reproductive destinies. Sanger and Kato were not defeated by obstacles that stood in their way but managed to outlast their opposition to achieve their goals. They were both willing to go to jail for their beliefs. Their friendship was both professional and personal. At Shidzue's request, Margaret Sanger took Shidzue's step-daughter to Arizona to live with her for a period of time after World War II.[18] Kato and Sanger communicated with each other by letters for over a forty year period on many topics from the latest birth control information to political events in both countries that were shaping history. They were both "educated" from their extensive travels and networking with important decision makers. Both women

[18]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

were influenced by their first husbands to enter into a radical political milieu. The changes that occurred with both women ended in the dissolution of their first marriages. They both lost one child and suffered painful memories of these events. They were drawn together through an "accident" of history and yet their networking led to significant changes for both. Sanger had an entry into Japan through her contacts with Kato. Sanger's influence there would have been very difficult to maintain during the period of division between their two countries if she had not had strong personal relationships within Japan. Both women were international in their vision and saw population control as an international issue for women.

Sanger and Kato were both concerned about the late adopters because they felt that the wealthy had access to birth control information and were thus often able to control their family size successfully. Sanger was especially sensitive to the problems of the poor because of her own personal background. Shidzue was sensitized to the problems of those less fortunate than herself through her experiences with Japanese laborers. Both women remained empathetic to the plight of poor women throughout their professional lives. In the early days of the movement, many women in the United States and Japan did not have access to birth control information and birth control technology. Sanger and Kato recognized the difficulties in reaching this group and focused on the dissemination of information through the media. In Japan, newspapers and magazines played a significant role in helping inform the public regarding birth control. This approach was successful because of Japan's high literacy rate.

In the first half of this century, Sanger and Kato devoted most of their professional activities to winning the right for women to have information on contraception so that women could make their own choices regarding reproduction. These ideas were not readily accepted in the United States or Japan. Eventually, contraception won much wider acceptance but abortion remained the "back door" for women in both countries. Sanger and Kato did not approve of abortion as the procedure of choice and they constantly campaigned for contraception. They saw birth control as preventing pregnancy, although the methods used to achieve this objective differed in the the two countries, especially after the introduction of the birth control pill in the United States. Sanger had brought the early researchers on the birth control pill together with appropriate financial backers. In Japan, the birth control pill has just begun to be approved as a birth control method. This occurred because there was a great deal of controversy about the drug, Thalidomide, in the 1950's and a link was made in the minds of some people with the problem of the severe side effects of Thalidomide and possible dangerous side effects of the birth control pill.[19] The other often understated reason for not approving the pill medically was the large profit for physicians performing abortions in Japan.[20]

This dissertation examined Margaret Sanger's influence on the birth control movement in Japan from 1921-1955 through her friendship and professional relationship with opinion leader, Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato. Their relationship was explored as an example of a communication network between a change agent and an opinion

[19]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.
[20]Ibid.

leader in the context of the promotion of a planned change, birth control. Examination was made of Sanger's interactive personal networking in her speeches, letters and personal contacts. Her relationship with Senator Shidzue Ishimoto was truly a two way relationship that involved sharing information on birth control to reach a common goal. Their personal and professional relationship spanned a major period in the history of the United States and Japan. This relationship was especially significant because of the cultural differences between them and the fact that their friendship was maintained during an historical period when the United States and Japan were involved in a economic, political and social conflict that led to a military confrontation during World War II. This confrontation also led to Hiroshima, followed by the American Occupation under General MacArthur.

Today, Japan is considered to be an example of birth control's success. "Japan's fertility ranks among the lowest in the world."[21] This country made the remarkable achievement of cutting its birth rate by fifty per cent between 1947 and 1957. This has been achieved with reliance on the rhythm method and condoms, with abortion as a fallback measure.[22] Margaret Sanger and Shidzue Kato were very concerned about the large number of abortions that were done in Japan after World War II.

As researcher, Samuel Coleman, commented "A country that is ultramodern in so many respects has a family planning technology that

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[21]Samuel Coleman, Family Planning in Japanese Society: Traditional Birth Control in a Modern Urban Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 207.
[22]Ibid.

was created in the 1930's.[23] However, Japan may be placed in a role of leadership because of their extensive use of condoms. Condoms are now being promoted in the United States as part of a "safe sex" campaign because of their role in preventing sexually transmitted diseases. Currently, Japan is a good example of a country that has experienced widespread dissemination of the value of birth control.

Margaret Sanger was aware of the pressing need for scientific information about birth control for all adopter groups. Her greatest influence was in the United States, China, India and Japan on opinion leaders such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Jawaharl Nehru and Shidzue Ishimoto Kato. Convincing them to commit themselves to the birth control movement was a key strategy in her work. She made important contacts with several world leaders during her travels abroad. Sanger also reached out to the medical community in each country because she knew that an informed network of physicians was very important to the success of the birth control movement. Her influence was still significant even after she became less active in the birth control movement because she had done her initial work with the opinion leaders and early adopters. Through opinion leaders, her basic ideas influenced other adopter groups.

Sanger's work in promoting birth control in China, India and Japan demonstrates her early recognition of the importance of population control in these key Asian countries. In 1983, these countries comprised 1.85 billion or 42% of the total world's population of 4.4

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[23]Ibid., p. 3.

billion.[24] Both she and Shidzue Ishimoto Kato should be recognized for the important role they played in Japan's eventual acceptance of birth control. This example of international networking had a great impact on Japanese society. Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato was an influential political figure who served over twenty-nine years in the Japanese Diet, beginning with her election in 1946. In 1985, Margaret Sanger was recognized by NHK, Japan's educational T.V. station, as one of the important individuals who influenced Japanese civilization in this century.[25] Yet, this accomplishment has not been recognized in the United States.

H. G. Wells argues that "when the history of our civilization is written, it will be a biological history and Margaret Sanger will be its heroine."[26]

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[24]"The Global Community: On the Way to Nine Billion," U. S. News And World Report (May 9, 1983), p. A 40.

[25]Interview with Shidzue Ishimoto Kato, July 26, 1985.

[26]"News from Margaret Sanger," London, November 1935, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

APPENDIX A

Interview with Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato

This interview by Malia S. Johnson was conducted in English in Senator Shidzue Kato's Tokyo home on July 26, 1985 and covered material from the historical period 1920-1985. Senator Kato had contact with Margaret Sanger from 1920-1965 and is known as the "Margaret Sanger of Japan." Remarkably alert at the time of this interview for her eighty-eight years, she was able to provide additional information on Margaret Sanger's influence on the birth control movement in Japan. This transcript was edited by Malia Johnson to remove redundant phrases.

INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR SHIDZUE ISHIMOTO KATO

TOKYO, JAPAN

JULY 26, 1985

K: Senator Shidzue Ishimoto Kato

J: Malia Sedgewick Johnson (Interviewer)

J: Was Agnes Smedley the person that first brought you and Margaret Sanger together?

K: Yes. Do you know who she is?

J: I have read some articles written by her. I know that she's done a lot of work in China.

K: She's a revolutionist.

J: A revolutionist?

K: I understand that she was a member of a revolutionary group in America. My first husband, Baron Ishimoto, was in the United States eight months ahead of me and associated with their group. This was a rather radical group in the early 1920's.

J: Was Emma Goldman a member of that group?

K: I don't really remember. There was a labor leader who was a member.

J: William Haywood?

K: Yes.

J: Your husband had become involved with this radical group?

K: Agnes Smedley was a member of this group and so my husband associated with her.

J: Was Margaret Sanger inviting people over to her house when you met Agnes Smedley?

K: I don't remember exactly but there were a number of times that I met Agnes Smedley. In those days, I didn't understand those things. I thought that she was so nice and kind. She asked me if I would be interested in meeting Margaret Sanger. I also met Viscount Kano. He was the Director of the Yokohama Bank and was stationed in New York. He was a very progressive gentleman. The first time I heard about birth control was when I was invited to his house.

J: He talked about birth control?

K: Yes, he talked about birth control. Then I met Agnes Smedley. She wanted to take me to meet Margaret Sanger. Mrs. Sanger prepared a small tea party for me. In those days, it was quite unusual to have a young Japanese visitor. Of course, not like today, few Japanese were traveling then. So I was invited to Margaret's home. Was it maybe on 14 Street in West New York? It was a wooden house, I remember.

J: And she had a tea specifically to meet you?

K: Yes. I have written in my book that I was prepared to meet a woman with an image of a strong manly looking fighter.

J: Several people have mentioned in their writings that her image was different from what they expected.

K: Of course, in those days, she was really a fighting woman because she wanted to promote the birth control movement. She wanted

to spread the idea of birth control to the public. Very few people knew about birth control. Margaret wanted to promote birth control so she tried to open a big meeting in Town Hall in New York City.

J: I remember reading about that meeting.

K: Yes. And every time she opened such a meeting, uniformed police were everywhere. So everybody had the impression that Margaret Sanger was a fighter against the authorities. So, that's why she must be a very manly and strong woman.

J: But she wasn't!

K: No. She was a delicate and cultured woman. She was a very charming lady.

J: She had a phenomenal memory. A medical doctor in Honolulu said that Margaret Sanger could remember the names of people that she had met briefly, many years ago.

K: She was a wonderful person. The impression she made on me was very great. When I heard about this family planning or birth control, immediately my imagination took me back to the Kyushu coal mines and the mothers. This experience and meeting her must come together.

J: Were those the two events that strongly influenced your life?

K: Yes. Miserable women having many babies representing poverty and difficulties of life. And then Margaret Sanger's birth control. These must come together. This will be the answer for these suffering mothers.

J: I think you even had a picture in your book where some of the women were almost naked in the mines. These were very bad

conditions. Did Baron Ishimoto, write about birth control in the Birth Control Review?

K: Yes, he did.

J: Then, he was also interested in the birth control movement.

K: Yes, he was. But I went alone with Agnes Smedley to this meeting with Margaret Sanger. After meeting Margaret, I asked her for information about birth control. Gradually, I learned how to use the birth control methods and about the movement she was carrying on.

J: I noticed from your letters that you would sometimes write and ask her to bring supplies to Japan. Did she get those supplies for you?

K: That's right.

J: Did your stepdaughter live with her?

K: Oh, that was after the war!

J: Yes, many years later.

K: I wanted to do something good for my stepdaughter, Sumiko. And the girls in those days didn't have a good chance to learn anything because of the war. When Margaret Sanger came to Japan in 1952, I asked her if she'd be good enough to take my stepdaughter back with her to learn about American life and to speak English. And so Margaret was good enough to take her to Tucson, Arizona for about one year. In 1955, we held an International Family Planning Conference in Tokyo. My stepdaughter, Sumiko was very good as Margaret Sanger's private secretary at the conference.

J: Did one of Margaret Sanger's sons initiate the process for the Award of the Third Class that she received from the Japanese Government?

K: No. It was our group, the Japan Family Planning Federation that initiated the Award in 1965. I am the President of this Federation now. A group of those people who knew Margaret Sanger all talked together. We agreed that this was the time for Margaret Sanger to be decorated by the Japanese government because she was a person who had given so much to Japan. We asked Dr. Ohmori to handle the negotiations with our government.

J: Is this the letter from Sumiko's husband, Dr. Ohmori?

K: Yes. He wanted to get some data from Mrs. Sanger's son on the awards she has already received from other countries.

J: Then, Mrs. Sanger's son, Stuart, was helping Dr. Ohmori with this process.

K: Yes.

J: But it was a group of family planning organizations that initiated it.

K: Yes.

J: My understanding is that this was an award that she treasured a great deal. One reference said she wore the award in the nursing home?

K: Is that so? Here is a photograph. When this decoration came, she was already not so active.

J: This is a year before her death?

K: I don't remember.

J: It was 1965 and she died in 1966.

K It was only one year?

J: Yes. 1965. And one of her sons accepted the award.

K: That was her elder son, Stuart Sanger. He was a medical doctor.

J: And he's the one that accepted the award.

K: Mr. Shimanouchi, who was the Japanese Consul General in Los Angeles, presented the award.

J: Stuart was not the son that came to Japan in 1922?

K: No. That was her second son, Grant.

J: Let me go back in history. The Kaizo group or the Kaizo Magazine invited Margaret Sanger to come to Japan in 1922. Was this invitation issued because of your influence or your husband's influence or both?

K: No. It was because Kaizo at that time was inviting world famous persons to come to Japan. They first asked the Englishman, Bertrand Russell.

J: Bertrand Russell? And did he come?

K: Yes, he did. And the next time Einstein. He came.

J: Were these at different times?

K: Year after year and the third person was Margaret Sanger.

J: One person did not come?

K: H. G. Wells did not come.

J: Who influenced them to ask Margaret Sanger?

K: Mr. and Mrs. Ishigakaki. Mr Ishigakaki was a Japanese sculptor living in New York City and he knew Margaret Sanger for a long time. Mr. and Mrs. Ishigakaki had a connection between Kaizo and Margaret and made this arrangement.

J: Did you also influence the Kaizo?

K: Yes, I offered them our home for her to stay as our guest.

J: In 1937, you established the first modern birth control clinic in Japan. Was that modeled after Margaret Sanger's Research Bureau? How long did that clinic operate?

K: It was open for just one year. I was arrested and the clinic was closed and all my reference cards were taken. Confiscated. But I had a very good record. I worked three months in Margaret Sanger's Research Bureau to prepare for my clinic in Tokyo. So I learned how to run a clinic. I stayed in New York three months from 1932 to 1933.

J: You went there to learn how to run a birth control clinic?

K: Yes. At the Research Bureau they have a record card and you have to write down all the details about the patients. I made the same kind of card.

J: Sort of a patient record that you used for your clinic.

K: Yes. It was a patient record for each person.

J: So, it was a model.

K: Yes, a model. You had to include very minute things on Margaret Sanger's form so I made the same kind of form for my clinic. It included whether patients who learned a birth control method were doing it successfully or not. The card will tell. So, I had to keep the cards very carefully.

J: Where they destroyed when the clinic was closed?

K: They were all confiscated.

J: You did not get them back.

K: No. Margaret Sanger's clinic was 98% successful. I made the same 98%.

J: Did you have Japanese doctors who helped?

K: Yes. There was a woman doctor. A woman medical doctor. Otherwise you couldn't open. Her name was Dr. Mamiya.

J: In 1937, one of the doctors in Japan [Dr. Koyama] sent some diaphragms to Dr. Hannah Stone and that helped in the United States Comstock legal case. Who thought of using Dr. Koyama?

K: This Dr. Koyama. I cannot say that he was a very authorized medical doctor. But, he was so interested in birth control and he thought there must be a special pessary to fit Japanese women. That was his idea. He made his own pessary out of rubber.

J: Are pessaries and diaphragms the same thing?

K: Yes. The same thing. Our pessary was like a diaphragm. Some were like a cup. Dr. Koyama decided that he wanted to send the pessary to Margaret Sanger and he wanted to show her how good it was.

J: So, he was originally trying to send it to Margaret Sanger.

K: Dr. Koyama did it all directly by himself. He was not in our group.

J: Dr. Koyama tried to ship the group of pessaries to Margaret Sanger but they didn't get into the United States. Margaret Sanger then wrote him a letter and suggested that he mail one package to her and one to Dr. Stone. This action formed the basis for the landmark court case in the United States.

K: The packages were caught by the the post office.

J: Yes.

K: The post office! How was it caught?

J: Well, it was probably connected with the post office and the Comstock Law.

K: Yes. That's right. Against Comstock.

J: From what you are saying, Dr Koyama had planned to send some pessaries anyway and he did send some that didn't get there. Then, Margaret Sanger sent him a letter that said try again. She suggested he send one package to her and one package to Dr. Stone.

K: I can't help you.

J: In Japan, they have done much of the research on the IUD and the rhythm method. I've been very surprised that the rhythm method and the condom are still predominantly used in Japan, while the birth control pill is not used much.

K: That was one of the questions you asked in your letter. I thought that I must get recent information about this situation. The birth control pill has not been authorized by the Japanese Health Ministry for a long time because they contain hormones.

J: Hormones?

K: Yes. In the pills, the hormone that is used is rather strong and there are side effects seen by the person using them. It is difficult to tell whether their side effects appeared recently or 5 years later. The Ministry does not want to authorize them until they are 100% safe because of what happened with thalidomide.

J: Thalidomide?

K: Thalidomide. They had it here. It was imported from Germany.

J: Did that happen in Japan too?

K: Yes. In Germany they discovered the bad effects. The government said to stop its use immediately. But our ministry did not do it immediately. It took six months. Many people did not

know of the danger and used thalidomide. So many poor children were born and the Ministry was very badly criticized for this. So they are frightened. They do not want to have such criticism again since this hormone is very strong and sometimes causes bad effects later. It was considered better not to authorize it as a government. It would be better to wait. That is the reason on the surface. But there is another reason. It is backward. I am ashamed to say that gynecologists are still handling abortions. It is a big source of money income so most of the gynecologists' associations stand against the pill. Thus, the Ministry cannot give their authorization.

J: Is this the Ministry of Health?

K: Yes. Because when they authorize a certain medicine, they raise questions to the organization that studies a certain thing each time. It takes time to give an answer and in that way many years have passed while other countries are already using the pill. The Japan Gynecologist Association is headed by Dr. Moriyama. Dr. Moriyama is a person who really has influence with all the gynecologists in this country. He has been dedicated and interested in the family planning movement in this country. He says "now this will be the time that we must think about the birth control pill in a more positive way" and he passed an official resolution of this kind in his association. And these resolutions were all sent in to the Ministry of Welfare. That means that the Ministry of Welfare will say the pill is safe if the gynecology organizations give their approval to the pill. Maybe in the very near future the pill will be officially approved.

J: Is the situation in Japan such that if the pill were used then women would have more control over birth control? Is there any objection from men on that basis?

K: I think that the pill is already being used in this country but not for the purpose of birth control but for the purpose of something else. They are sold only by doctor's prescription.

J: Do you feel that there is some feeling among Japanese men about women having more control over birth control.

K: To have a child or not, or to be pregnant or not, is absolutely under women's control. Nobody can put a voice for the women because this is a woman's decision. We are the women who will decide whether we have a child or not!

J: That is strong in Japan?

K: Very strong! One government political party always wants to get the vote from a certain religious group just before elections and this certain religious group is against birth control. Because they want to get their vote, they always try to introduce a bill to change the Eugenics Law. They fail every time because women have strong power. There is no man or government that can say anything about it. It is our right! It is our decision only!

J: How do you view the question of abortion?

K: We do not support abortion at all. But women cannot always get access to satisfactory birth control methods. If they become pregnant, then the door must be open for legal abortion. If the door is closed, they will get illegal abortions. And that is most dangerous!

J: Is that why there has been some support for abortion in Japan.

K: Our job is to reduce the number of abortions. We recommend that women use the pill, diaphragm, pessary or anything.

J: Ethel Weed seemed to play an important role in the communication between you and Margaret Sanger in 1945. After World War II, was there a rule against writing to Margaret Sanger directly?

K: Oh, no. It was free. No censorship. It was quite free.

J: Why did Ethel Weed serve as a liaison? A lot of letters from you and Margaret Sanger seemed to have gone through her. Why did you not communicate directly to Margaret Sanger?

K: After World War II, we invited Margaret Sanger to Japan. She prepared to come but General MacArthur said "No!" They would not issue her a visa.

J: Because of the Catholic opposition?

K: Yes. Catholic opposition and then at the same time, General MacArthur was preparing for your Presidential election after he finished with his big job of General Super Commander in Japan.

J: You think he wanted to be President of the United States.

K: Yes! He wanted to run for President of the United States after he returned home. So, he was rather careful about American public opinion. I heard that Catholics were sending telegrams to the General's office. He was preparing to run for President and was concerned about his popularity. He did not want to touch the issue of Margaret Sanger coming to Japan advocating birth control. He did not want to touch those issues in public. Colonel Sams was one of General MacArthur's chief economic advisors. Colonel Sams was quite influential with the Welfare Ministry of Japan. He

issued a statement concerning the population problem facing this country and discussed some solutions. One suggestion was to send immigrants to other countries. But unless some place invites immigrants, they can't go. Another suggestion was quick industrialization of this country because when a country is highly industrialized the birth rate declines. But it was impossible to industrialize that quickly! Dr. Oda, Mrs. Shikuda and I introduced our bill promoting family planning in this country. We submitted the bill to the House of Representatives while I was serving there. It was put before the Standing Welfare Committee. The Chairman said, "Now here is the Bill. Present it. Does anyone want to raise any questions? Please ask some questions?" I was ready to answer any question! But nobody uttered a voice. No questions whatever! The Chairman waited. But no questions were asked. Then he said, "There are no questions. Maybe I'll put it up for discussion next week?" It was very <u>good</u> of him to say that. The next time he brought it up, nobody asked any questions because Colonel Sams indicated that General MacArthur's office wanted a "hands off" policy toward the issue of birth control. So, all the Welfare Standing Committee members were afraid to bring up any questions! Nobody uttered a voice. The issue was brought up twice and there were no questions. So, it was dropped.

J: It was dropped?

K: So the next time, Dr. Taniguchi and other medical doctors' groups introduced the Eugenics Bill in the House of Councillors to legalize abortions. There are conditions where abortion will be excused. Anyone who wants to get an abortion can apply to a local office

with a reason. If the local counselor approves, then the abortion request is sent to the central counselor. If approved at this level, the woman will be assigned to an authorized medical gynecologist approved by the medical doctors' groups.

J: How did you feel about the Eugenics Bill?

K: Well, at that time, there was no house, food or clothes. Nothing! And with the return of our young soldiers from abroad, there was a "baby boom". There was no room. Any place that could be rented for a home was taken except for one room. But always rented under the condition that you don't have a child. Rent for couples only! If you are going to have a child, then go away. If women became pregnant under such conditions, they would have to go to a clinic doctor to get an illegal abortion. That was very dangerous. There were many, many sad cases. So, Dr. Taniguchi's reason was justified.

J: Both you and Margaret Sanger were really not supportive of abortion as a form of birth control. You both spent your lives saying you would rather see other methods used. About a year ago, in the United States, there was a television program called the 700 Club that attacked Margaret Sanger for advocating abortion. In my opinion, all the materials I've read document that she was against abortion as a method of birth control. That religious program misrepresented her work. They were trying to get at Planned Parenthood by attacking Margaret Sanger's personal life. They used quotations out of context to discredit her and Planned Parenthood Organizations. The program represents a fundamentalist Christian perspective.

K: President Reagan has stopped money from going to the International Planned Parenthood. It's not an organization for abortion.

J: Even in China, they are trying to promote birth control. They are not saying they want abortion. Do you know if Ethel Weed is still alive?

K: She died a long time ago in Kansas. I went to see her cousin. They had a bookstore that carried books on the Orient. When I visited the bookstore, the cousin said that Ethel was not doing well. I could not see her. She did very well in her job in Japan. She got a special award from General MacArthur.

J: In the 1950's, I found a letter that implied that Japan had been considered as a testing place for the birth control pill. Are you familiar with this question? Eventually, they took the pill to Puerto Rico for testing? Was Japan seriously considered as a testing site for the pill?

K: I've never heard of that.

J: This letter implies that there was a conference with Mr. Saita, Chief Information Liaison Minister of Public Health and Welfare. It looks like they might have considered Japan as a place to test the pill or a serum. This is the only place I found this information.

K: I don't know this Mr. Saita. This other person, Tatsuo Ozawa, mentioned in the letter, is still active in the government party and is a rather influential person. But I never heard of such a thing. I don't think such a test could be done in this country. Everything will appear in public.

J: It was not too popular in Puerto Rico.

K: In those days, nobody knew if the pill was absolutely safe or not. No one can say. I don't remember the year, but I read an article in the Ladies Home Journal about thirty-six women using the pill and some of the problems they had. Every case was so different. The doctors can't say that all women should use the pill. The pill is still in question.

J: In your opinion, which of Margaret Sanger's visits to Japan would be the most important in terms of influencing the birth control movement in Japan?

K: Of course, her first visit in 1922. It was very dramatic! It was very dramatic because her visit was refused. Returning on the same boat with her to Japan were Japanese delegates from a conference in Washington, D.C. Margaret was on the boat with the delegates for fourteen days. The delegates asked her to give them a short lecture on the trip. After they heard this lecture, they decided that this woman was not a "dangerous woman" after all. These delegates were all high class persons in the Japanese government.

J: Were they instrumental in seeing that she finally did get into Japan?

K: Of course. She wanted to get a visa but the Consul General in San Francisco did not know what to do because he learned from the newspaper reports that Margaret Sanger was making noise and trouble. The Consul General asked the Japanese government what to do about her visa. The Japanese delegates had finished the Washington armament conference and were very unhappy because the size of their naval and military force was limited.

This limitation applied only to Japan. Our defense was being limited and this "dangerous woman" was being sent to limit our population. When Margaret Sanger starts to do something, it becomes the right thing to do. She never drew back. So, Margaret and Grant got on the boat. She said that she was going to China. She got on the boat without a visa because she was already in trouble with the Japanese Consul General. There were plenty of news reports every day to Japan. "Margaret Sanger meets delegates." "Margaret Sanger gives lecture to delegates." So, she had already become very popular and widely known in Japan. The people wondered what she was going to do next? And what was birth control? Birth control was to limit the number of children in a poor Japanese family. It came together nicely. I said to her later that she should express her gratitude to the Japanese government. They gave such good publicity for her coming. She got very big publicity. When the boat arrived in Yokahama, all the passengers got out and Margaret and Grant remained in their cabin. I went to Yokahama and saw them. In the meantime, a Japanese delegate to the Washington conference got the police to see that she was not a "dangerous person". Then, the Japanese government brought an affidavit saying that she would be allowed to land in Japan for ten days but during her stay she should not say anything on birth control. Because this man talked to the Japanese police and to Japanese government, it was decided that if she signed this affidavit she would be allowed to land.

J: Did she speak on birth control?

K: Her main purpose for this trip was Kaizo's big meeting. The Kaizo was told that the Japanese government would not allow Margaret Sanger to say anything about birth control. When they had their big meeting, Margaret Sanger could come to the meeting but she could not talk on birth control. She could talk on something else like world peace.

J: Did she talk on something else?

K: She said, "I am not prepared to make a speech on world peace." But she appeared anyway. She did not speak on birth control but on peace.

J: But at the smaller meetings, didn't she talk about birth control?

K: Yes. She was invited to a medical doctors' meeting and in this meeting she could speak about the medical aspects of birth control because it was considered a medical matter. Of course, I attended the meeting. She spoke in English and it was translated into Japanese. Groups of foreign residents also invited her to speak. The Tokyo Women's Club had a meeting and invited Margaret Sanger.

J: So, the compromise she made was in the big meeting for the Kaizo group. She agreed not to talk about birth control officially.

K: Officially, Margaret could not talk about birth control in public. When she talked about birth control, I always went with her. I would close the door so the plain-clothes policemen could not get in.

J: Was there a lot of publicity about this particular trip?

K: Birth control limits the size of the family. A woman could make choices whether she should have one child or not. Japan was

publicly for big families. Everything was answered by Margaret Sanger's birth control message because poverty and big families were the big problems Japan was faced at that time. The birth rate was very high in those days.

J: What about Margaret's other visits in 1937 and 1952?

K: In 1954, she came to Tokyo for an international conference. I have this photograph of Lady Rama Rau, Margaret Sanger and myself in my scrapbook. I have another one of my mother, Margaret and myself before World War II. During her 1954 visit, Margaret was invited to speak as a witness to the Japanese Diet House of Councillor's Standing Committee for Social Security. She was the only foreigner to be invited to the Japanese Parliament (Diet) as a speaker.

J: Was her speech translated into Japanese?

K: I translated it into Japanese.

J: Would it be in the Diet Library?

K: In the Standing Committee minutes.

J: How did she happen to be invited?

K: Because the Socialist Party was very influential in those days. The Chairman of this Standing Committee, Mr. Kamijo, was a Socialist Party member. I asked him to do this.

J: Margaret visited Japan officially about five times. Did she have any additional social visits?

K: Maybe, some are not included. For instance, she went to India to see Gandhi.

J: She may have stopped off in Japan. Was her next visit to Japan in 1937?

K: In 1937, she appeared in public on the streets.

J: Just on the street giving lectures? The last year you saw her in Japan was in 1959? You also saw her in the nursing home in Arizona.

K: I think so. Yes.

J: Smith College has several photographs when she was sick in the nursing home.

K: Not sick. Just old and weak.

J: I think you visited her in 1965, one year before she died.

K: I met her granddaughter who said, "My grandmother doesn't remember anything. You will be disappointed." Margaret remembered everything. I greeted her in a Japanese kimono. She remembered everything clearly! She said, "As soon as I get well, I will come back to Tokyo again." She definitely remembered.

J: How would you describe the impact she had on the birth control movement in Japan?

K: In 1983, the NHK television network selected five persons who had a major influence on Japanese civilization. They ran all sorts of special programs. One person selected was an architect and one was Margaret Sanger. Her career and how she influenced the Japanese public was introduced on these programs. Now, everybody knows about birth control in this country. She was considered a very important person in this country. She was an authority to stop abortion. To stop abortion was her primary purpose. Her field was public health, perfect motherhood, and the child.

J: Was it a TV series?

K: Yes. It was a NHK TV series.

J: Did Margaret Sanger start the process of discussion of birth control in Japan?

K: Yes.

J: In the United States, there was a period in Margaret Sanger's life where she associated with a radical group of people.

K: At the beginning.

J: When she came to Japan, did she ever mix with the radical group?

K: No. She confined herself to birth control, perfect motherhood and the happy family. Naturally, we're influenced by the overpopulation problem. But to stop the large population problem was not included in her purpose because often the Japanese government used the word "birth control" as an answer to the overpopulation problem in this country. She didn't say this. Naturally, the result would be the same. Her primary purpose was not to control population.

J: Was it to protect motherhood and the happiness of women? Was that a political decision on her part to use that approach?

K: It was her own idea. She started as one person through her career as a visiting nurse in the slum quarters in New York City. When she saw what happened there, then she came to birth control.

J: When she was in Japan, did she try to influence powerful people? She didn't necessarily try to associate with the radical group.

K: No. She didn't especially associate with the radical group. Mr. Yamamoto who was connected with the radical group invited

Margaret to give a public speech in Kyoto. He said that Margaret Sanger was giving the birth control idea only to the working labor class. That was his own interpretation not Margaret Sanger's idea.

J: In the United States, she was with a radical group at first but gradually she moved away from this group. There is a movie called "Reds" about the period of Eugene O'Neill and Emma Goldman. They were considered radicals in the U.S. and they were associating with Margaret Sanger. It's an interesting movie. It doesn't mention Margaret but she knew these people.

K: There was one person Margaret Sanger couldn't persuade about birth control. Gandhi!

J: Margaret wrote about Gandhi in her autobiography. His ideas were quite different from hers. It sounds like a frustrating experience. Do you have any other materials that would help me understand Margaret Sanger's work? You have shared several of your photographs.

K: You have asked many questions. You even asked about the Japanese government attitudes about the pill.

J: Japan is so advanced in many areas of technology. It was a surprise for me to find out that the pill was not used very much. It did not seem to match.

K: That's right.

J: There is so much advancement in other areas.

K: I think that we will see the pill used in Japan in the very near future.

J: The U.S. has a long history of using the pill but now is trying to cut down its use because of the side effects.

K: You know Dr. Pincus? When he started his work, Margaret Sanger was so pleased. Now, we will have a pill for contraception. While she was alive, the pill was not used widely. Now, there is a new medicine to promote abortions quickly and easily. These medicines are used by medical doctors.

J: I've been surprised. I talked to a medical doctor in Honolulu recently that felt abortions were so safe that one should not argue against abortions and that it is a valid use of abortion. I would see birth control as preventing pregnancy so an abortion would not be needed.

K: Margaret Sanger was such a grand woman. Now her work becomes even more important than during the time she was alive. The United Nations has to think about promoting birth control. I don't know why they show those pictures of babies dying in Africa. They always show women having babies and famines.

J: Margaret Sanger changed your life?

K: The Japanese translation of my book, Facing Two Ways just came out in 1985. (Mrs. Kato's autobiography was originally published in the United States in 1935.)

J: It was not published before in Japan?

K: No. The two women who influenced me mentally and personally were Margaret Sanger and Mary Beard.

J: Is Mary Beard still alive?

K: She died.

J: When I visited Mrs. Watumull in Honolulu, she had a picture of Margaret Sanger on one side and Gandhi on the other.

K: Was Mr. Watumull American or Indian?

J: I'm not sure. They did several interviews in Hawaii in the 1970's with Mrs. Watumull. She lost her American citizenship for several years when she married her husband because he was from India. She is a very interesting person.

K: When you return to Honolulu, give her my best regards. I will never forget her.

J: Someone has done several interviews with her and they are in the University of Hawaii Library.

K: How old is she?

J: In her 80's.

K: I was born in 1897. I am 88 years old. That is a special year for the Japanese. They had a celebration for me.

J: Mrs Watumull is not in as good health as you. I appreciate your meeting with me. I need to read your latest book, A Fight for Women's Happiness. A lot of my questions have been answered. You have written about the the early times in your books. I have copies of quite a few letters from General MacArthur that give information about his refusal of Margaret Sanger's visit to Japan.

K: I'm an admirer of General MacArthur except for his stand on birth control.

J: He was very progressive about women's rights in Japan.

K: If you are finished with your questions, it is time to serve tea.

APPENDIX B

Margaret Sanger's 1954 Speech to the Japanese Diet--Tokyo, Japan

On April 15, 1954, Margaret Sanger became the first foreigner to speak before the Japanese Diet. She gave a presentation on "The Population Policy and Family Planning" to the Public Welfare Committee in the House of Councillors. The speech, in English, was translated into Japanese for the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee of Public Welfare. The Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College has a five page summary of the speech and the questions that were asked during the presentation. The original English version of the complete speech could not be located in the Margaret Sanger Papers at Smith College or the Library of Congress. A Japanese translation of this speech was obtained from the Diet Library in Tokyo.

Mitsu Tada translated the Japanese version of the Diet Speech into English in Austin, Texas in March, 1986. Malia Johnson, Assistant Professor, University of Texas School of Nursing, edited the English translation of Sanger's speech. Funds for completing this translation were provided by a Special Research Grant from The University of Texas. Funds for typing the translation were provided by the Mabel Wandelt Faculty Enrichment Fund of The University of Texas School of Nursing.

Margaret Sanger's 1954 Speech to the Japanese Diet

Translated from Committee Proceedings located in Japanese Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.

Section VIII, Proceedings No. 28, The Committee of Public Welfare, the House of Councillors, the 19th Session of the Diet. The meeting opened on Thursday, April 15, 1954, at 2:11 p.m.

Those in attendance were as follows:

Chairman: Mr. Aiichi Kamijo

Directors: Mr. Fijun Ohtani

Mr. Ichiro Tsuneoka

Mr. Isamu Yuyama

Members of the Committee:

Mr. Kazuo Takano

Ms. Haru Nishioka

Mrs. Fuku Yokoyama

Mr. Hisatada Hirose

Mr. Yoshio Domori

Mr. Fiji Arima

Diet Member (not a member of the committee):

Ms. Shizue Kato

Expert advisors from the standing committee of the executive office:

Mr. Koji Kusama

Mr. Masami Tada

Witness: Ms. Margaret Sanger

Mr. Minoru Muramatsu, Interpreter

The subject for discussion in today's meeting is an investigation of the social security system in relation to the population problem and conception control.

Chairman (Mr. Aiichi Kamijo):

The committee meeting of the Public Welfare Committee will now come to order. The subject for discussion is the matter of the population problem and conception control as a part of the investigations of the social security system.

In particular, we have asked Mrs. Sanger, who is a world authority, to attend today's meeting on the above mentioned matter. At this opportunity, let me introduce Mrs. Sanger. Mrs. Sanger has managed to attend this committee meeting though she is tired and busy due to the fact that she is attending this committee meeting just after her arrival in Japan. It is most meaningful that we can listen to her valuable advice on the actual circumstances of the population problem and conception control in each country in the world. I, as the representative of the committee, wish to thank her cordially.

After the defeat in World War II, Japan, as you know, had a population of more than 87 million in our four small islands and suffered from a population growth of about 1.2 million every year so that the population problem became a subject of most importance for national policy. Fortunately, the birth rate has recently been declining year by year. However, this fact is not thought to be due to conception control but due to the prevalence of artificial abortion. This is thought to be an unfavorable phenomenon from the standpoint of maternal health. On the other hand, conception control is mainly practiced among

the intellectual and propertied classes in Japan while it is not practiced as much among the working class, farmers and those people working in medium-sized commercial and industrial enterprises. All of these latter groups truly need conception control. This is the actual circumstance. We are very happy to listen to Mrs. Sanger's point of view at this committee meeting. Mrs. Sanger's speech will furnish much information on the resolution of the population problem in our country and will broadly contribute to an understanding of the need for conception control among the Japanese people and will be helpful in providing information on the practical and concrete methods of conception control. We are glad to make your acquaintance, Mrs. Sanger.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, it is a matter of extreme joy as well as great pleasure for me to be invited to today's meeting in which a very important subject will be discussed with all of you. The population problem and conception control are very important subjects to which I have devoted most of my life. Since I have arrived at adulthood, I have devoted myself entirely to the above mentioned subjects for a long period of time. The above mentioned movement in the United States was actually started in 1914, from a practical and educational standpoint. Birth control was considered a controversial subject in many countries. Under the present circumstances, however, it is not a particularly controversial subject in the United States. In 1914, the United States was not overpopulated and was not at a stage at which it had the possibility of overpopulation. However, the actual

circumstances then were such that artificial abortion was extremely prevalent in the United States. Needless to say, it was not legal. Due to this fact, the exact number of artificial abortions can only be estimated as two million or more artificial abortions that were probably carried out in the United States in those days.

Chairman: Mr. Aiichi Kamijo

May I interrupt your speech, Mrs. Sanger. Members of the committee, please, understand that due to the limitation of time Mrs. Sanger will first discuss the circumstances of the population problem and conception control in the world and then questions by members of the committee will be answered. By the way, please entrust me with this task to decide whether a speech by a person who is not a member of the committee is allowed or not. Do you have any objection?

Somebody says - No objection.

Chairman: Mr. Aiichi Kamijo.

I see. No objection. Please acknowledge that the interpreter in today's meeting is Dr. Muramatsu, who is a technical official from the Ministry of Health and Welfare and was asked to translate due to the fact that the subject is highly technical and scientific. Please continue your speech, Mrs. Sanger.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

I am very interested in the fact that Japan is interested in the work of Planned Parenthood. It is also my great interest that similar to the United States in 1914 that the above mentioned work brought a confrontation with a large number of artificial abortions which created a sensation of great interest in the above mentioned field. I am now looking at the present circumstances in Japan and I am happy to find that Japan has extremely fine and cogent eugenically related laws and regulations. In the United States, the eugenic laws and regulations were applied to immigrants entering our country from foreign countries. For example, laws and regulations were enforced which prevented persons with bad diseases, infectious diseases, mental disorders or other handicaps considered disadvantageous to our country, from entering the United States. This was a form of eugenic protection. On the other hand, Japan has a good legal policy which can be enforced internally from the standpoint of eugenic protection.

The United States, at the time of the starting of the above mentioned movement, met with extremely strong opposition. For example, Puritans and people in a similar category as the Puritans had moral ideas such that they rarely talked about natural instincts such as sex or birth control not only in public meetings but not even in private conversation. Such a topic of natural instinct was considered a matter of indecency. Opposition from the standpoint of the following reasons was prevalent in the United States in 1914. The laws and regulations of the federal government and each state in the United States specified that it was a crime for any person engaged in medicine to mail written

documents, literature, graphs or diagrams on birth control. It was an era where efforts were made to enlighten the general public on the understanding of the above mentioned movement for at least ten years. Historically speaking, the term "birth control" is widely used at present. However, I can say that this terminology was practically coined by me. This terminology is still used at present and the term "birth control" is thought to be good terminology. However, the definition of this terminology is relatively difficult in practical application. I have made the greatest effort to make people understand the prudent and true meaning of this terminology. I can say that the meaning of the term "birth control" is the conscious control of birth by means of preventing conception. In particular, the point to be noticed at this time is that it must prevent the occurrence of pregnancy ahead of time but it must not destroy or break a phenomenon that has already occurred. The other point is that the word "control" is not identical to the word "limitation" that means restriction in the true sense of the English language. That is, the number of children to be born is not limited to one or two but must be determined from the standpoint of how many children the parents can raise by taking into consideration both maternal health and the father's financial ability. We have used every effort in dealing with these points.

The above mentioned point is the most noticeable aspect of our movement and is the first point to be mentioned during the execution of our work. Second, I myself was engaged in the field of nursing in those days and I fully realized that the entire medical world had to have a correct understanding of the progress of this movement. However, it took a relatively long time for us to lead the whole medical world

sufficiently to support this program. For example, it took about seven years in Washington, D.C. to change the federal law to permit birth control. As a result of our working for birth control, our federal government eventually changed the laws and regulations. On that occasion, a Japanese physician who was working for a Tokyo hospital, made a great effort to help us in order to accomplish the above mentioned goal of the birth control movement. The efforts of the Japanese physician significantly helped us and he was a significant driving force who helped accomplish our goal. A contraceptive appliance, that is a pessary, was mailed to a physician in the United States and was brought by us to the Supreme Court. As a result, it led to the Supreme Court's decision that physicians in the United States could legally prescribe and teach people how to use the contraceptive appliance mentioned a little while ago. This shows how our legislation was changed with support from a foreign country in 1935.

The number of clinics which are directly related to birth control number over five hundred in the United States. At the present time, all of them are operated under sufficient guidance of medically related persons. However, a significantly controversial point still exists even in the United States at the present time. As you know, we are people who are living in a vast land. People who live in cities are given relatively easy opportunity to visit the clinics mentioned. Generally speaking, due to this, people who visit these clinics are mainly well-educated or highly cultured persons who earn a relatively large income. For this reason, much of the correct knowledge on birth control can be conveyed to the persons mentioned above. On the other hand, a large number of lower class people who earn a relatively small income live on farms remote

from towns and are agricultural people. They have some difficulties. They rarely visit the clinics mentioned a little while ago with the result that they cannot be given correct guidance. In addition, the fact is that people who live in remote areas actually need information on the above mentioned matters.

As discussed previously, the actual knowledge cannot be conveyed to all persons who need the actual knowledge such as I mentioned a little while ago. I don't know how to say this but the above mentioned fact may be called "negative selection" and at the meeting I listened to, it is a present tendency. The speech delivered by the Chairman also indicates that Japan has had a similar difficulty. However, I think that Japan has established an extremely good goal and has done an extremely good job. The work, related to Planned Parenthood, is executed through various facilities which are related to public health while they are at the same time deeply related to social welfare. An effort is intended to satisfy people who earn a low income and whose number is actually very large and urgently want the birth control. In relation to the present public health and welfare program, in order to overcome the above mentioned difficulty, the Ministry of Health and Welfare of Japan under the leadership of the Minister of Health and Welfare is very interested in the above mentioned effort.

In addition, it is known that Dr. Koya at the Institute of Public Health has done an excellent job in the above mentioned matter. According to Dr. Koya's talk on the above mentioned work, personnel are visiting an individual person in a farm village, mining-related location or fishing village in order to guide the people in the above mentioned matters. Dr. Koya has done extensive research on the subject

of how persons who live in the above mentioned places respond to and to what degree they are interested in birth control. I was told that the present population of Japan is about 87 million in 1954 and that the annual increase in population exceeds 1 million. This fact indicates a situation such that countermeasures need to be employed for limiting population growth. These measures need to be implemented as soon as possible in order to counterbalance population growth.

In addition to Japan, India is another country trying to resolve a similar controversial problem. India, which needs birth control the most, must continue an effort which suppresses population growth to a rational level as soon as possible. Let me talk about India a little bit. India is a country which has a population which differs widely from our population. Due to this, the population problem is extremely serious in India. Sixty-six percent of the total population are said not to take a full meal even once a day. India suffers from an extremely serious population problem. However, the whole country is very interested in the above mentioned problem due to the fact that India has been confronted with an extremely serious situation since her independence. For this reason, Prime Minister Nehru strongly emphasized that a program of birth control had to be included in India's Five Year Plan and he stated that the nation had to appropriate a relatively large amount of money in the budget in order to do a satisfactory job. As a result, the India government appropriated a certain amount of money in the budget, which is in India currency equivalent to about 1.3 million U.S. dollars. This is what I heard after our conference held in Bombay in 1953. The above mentioned budget was allotted to the fields of public health and social welfare in order to predominantly decrease the

population and population growth in slums or regions in which many extremely poor people are living. At present, the project stated above is actually being executed.

However, the above mentioned budget of India is never an extremely large amount of money when taking into consideration India's serious population problem and other problems. Several million dollars are needed and allotted yearly to the budget for irrigation, rejuvenation of land and food. All of these are immediate and urgent problems with five million babies born this year and six million or more babies projected for next year.

Water has been brought during the monsoon season and is used for irrigation and an effort has been made to rejuvenate the land. This must be increased. For example, any work or any effort cannot catch up with a population growth of ten to 15 million who will want to obtain food. The population growth is always ahead of resources. Even though an extremely large amount of money is spent in order to execute other projects, it cannot catch up to the population growth. Due to this, the country of India is attempting to make a great effort in order to build up a better and happy country from the standpoint of present knowledge, actual policy and religious practice.

However, the above mentioned purpose can probably not be accomplished rapidly. It may take 10 years before the results can slowly be obtained at last. However, it is very meaningful that the population problems mentioned just now can be slightly resolved. For example, the number of beggars who flood the streets will be decreased, the number of sick persons who are not under the care of anybody will steadily decrease and the number of persons who do not have houses of

their own to live in will be decreased. This truly miserable situation in which persons are born in ditches at the corner of a town and probably spend their entire life in the ditches and their children repeat the above mentioned cycle will be improved more or less. It must be concluded without reservation that any movement in this field can necessarily achieve great work.

I, myself, am interested in Japanese art especially through my study of Japanese paintings. I was interested to learn that the population of Japan was at a stationary level for about 100 years from 1700-1800. That is, the level was not less than 33 million and it did not significantly exceed 33 million. I also heard that the Japanese culture on arts exhibited significant progress during the era mentioned just now from the standpoint of the arts. At present, all of you are enjoying those great artists and are spending your daily life with beautiful memories of various things from that era. However, Japan has made significant progress with industrialization since the Meiji Restoration and yet at the same time, Japan suffered from a significant population increase.

When I visited Japan previously in 1922 [in the 11th year of Taisho] the population of Japan was about 60 million. However, the population of Japan is 87 million at the present time. The population growth has been very rapid during the above mentioned time period. As discussed by the Chairman, previously, Japan has increased in population and has undergone further decline in its territory which can produce food, as compared with the past, when Japan had to support a population of 60 million. Due to this, the population growth of Japan is

an extremely serious problem. Although the above mentioned problem is serious, it can be resolved.

In conclusion, I would like to say a word and make some concluding remarks. I am expecting questions and answers from you later. As discussed earlier, overpopulation is a problem which is not only confronting Japan but almost all countries of the world in some degree, though the degree of overpopulation differs between each country. Currently, the United States does not significantly suffer from the problem of overpopulation. However, the situation is thought to be such that the United States may be confronted with this in the near future. At the same time, such European countries as Germany, Italy and Great Britain are now confronting a serious problem which is similar to that of the other countries mentioned a little while ago. Two countries such as India and Japan are attempting to resolve the population growth in an extremely practical way and are actually executing a method which can directly resoive the population problem. I am thinking that the above mentioned point is most important at the present time.

Many of you may know the name of Edward Ackerman. When Edward Ackerman, a famous scholar, once visited Japan he did an investigation on natural resources for 2 years and then returned to the United States. The conclusion of his report can be summarized by the following statements. Japan has three choices for the future. The first is to decrease the birth rate by the self-conscious and constructive use of a natural and reasonable method, that is, the birth rate must be decreased by birth control in order to prepare for the future situation. The second choice for Japan is to rely permanently on other countries

such as the United States for food. The third choice is that food or the necessities of life provided for each individual are reduced, that is, each individual cannot always work on a full stomach and each individual will always live in an unsatisfactory condition.

Edward Ackerman concluded that the choice that was mentioned lastly in which the quota for each individual is cut is necessarily intolerable for intellectual vigorous and lively peoples. It can be thought that each individual will reasonably and vigorously adopt an extremely antisocial action such as carrying out a revolution in order for himself or herself to obtain more to survive. The second choice is also intolerable in which one country must rely on another country for food and such important necessities of life. This would be difficult for a proud and self-respecting people. For this reason, the choice left is the first choice of the harmony of the birth rate with the death rate. The population of Japan is predicted to reach 100 million in the very near future. The Japanese must independently plan a countermeasure for the above mentioned situation as soon as possible. That is, the most intelligent way left is the first choice.

I would like to speak a word or make a remark on the recent extremely rapid progress in the practical methods in the field of birth control. The present technical and practical methods exhibit many drawbacks such that they are not simple, inexpensive or safe. An extremely large number of people all over the world want a practical birth control method. Various practical methods are extremely difficult to use. However, many scholars have been conducting research on the practical methods in the United States for the last 7 years and have been making a great effort to develop a method for birth control which

is very simple, inexpensive and safe. For example, the human egg could become immune against pregnancy. As you know, cholera and smallpox can be prevented by a preventive injection. Why is there not the same preventive method applicable to an immunity against pregnancy? There is no reason why immunity against pregnancy cannot be accomplished. Needless to say, it takes a relatively long time in the medical world for a new invention or discovery to be considered safe. In particular, a new invention or discovery must be tested until it is found to be safe and it must be ascertained safe for mankind. It is generally expected that it probably takes only a year or more to develop a sure, definite, simple, inexpensive and safe method for birth control. The united efforts of people from Japan, Great Britain, the United States, India, Puerto Rico and other countries are attempting to resolve the above mentioned problem.

The purpose of my visit to Japan at this time includes that I should truly like to discuss the above mentioned subject with persons who are conducting research in the above mentioned fields. Unfortunately, I do not speak Japanese so that I cannot communicate directly with you. Finally, I offer all of you my heartfelt thanks for your listening to my speech and by taking precious time from your busy work. [Hand clapping from audience]

Chairman: Mr. Aiichi Kamijo

Do you have any questions?

Mrs. Fuku Yokoyama

May I ask you a question? Unfortunately, I could not meet you [Mrs. Sanger] during your last visit to Japan in 1952. However, I listened to Dr. Stone's talk about a drug which acts on a spermatozoon or ovum in order to forfeit the generative function. This drug was being developed as an oral medicine. I read a newspaper article in which during your visit to Japan at this time that you will recommend the above mentioned drug to the Ministry of Health and Welfare due to the fact the research on the above mentioned drug has been completed. I heard during your last visit that the above mentioned drug could exhibit its effect over a relatively long time after it had been taken internally and in addition, the term of validity of the above mentioned drug is short. I want to know the stage of the research on the above mentioned drug.

Witness: Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

My answer is not directly related to your question. As you mentioned earlier, I remember that Dr. Stone talked briefly about drugs which were still at the experimental stage at that time of her visit to Japan two years ago in 1952. For example, one method is an extremely simple method such as the employment of an oil which is not taken orally. There is a person named Dr. Clarence Gamble in India who is conducting intensive research on an ordinary oil which is not a medicine used for internal use but which is used locally like a tampon in its external appearance. In addition, the research on the extraction and injection of the above mentioned oil is in progress. At present,

however, as discussed earlier, they are still in the experimental stage. Extensive research is still necessary in the future.

Ms. Fuku Yokoyama

I heard that the Sanger Clinic of the United States exhibits significant progress in practical guidance. When we are attempting to instruct on practical methods, we have some difficulty in practical guidance. It would be a great thing if you could tell me the actual situation of the Sanger Clinic in detail.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

As you said, the practical method or procedure recently exhibits a significant increase in the percentage of success in the United States. The percentage of success is said to be about 98.9% The most important point of the operation of a practical clinic is such that physicians in charge must be persons who have been trained professionally in the field. Unfortunately, the education of the average physician and the curricula of medical schools in the United States in particular do not include courses on detailed conception control. Due to this, physicians who engage in the above mentioned field must be adequately trained under the sufficient supervision of Dr. Stone or others and then have experience working as professionals in the Sanger Clinic. The ability of a physician in charge is the first priority due to the following reason. In the clinic mentioned just now, it is very important that a physician work under the condition that not only he or she gives simple instructions of a method verbally but also he or she must grasp what a

women is actually seeking in order to establish an atmosphere such that the women understands everything completely and can do everything skillfully by herself. In a usual case, the physician must examine a woman who has visited a clinic for the first time two days after her first visit and must not leave her alone afterwards but follow her condition. This procedure has been very successful. The physician's ability is extremely important from the standpoint that he or she must "guide" a woman herself to be able to become skillful in a method and be able to do everything by herself.

Ms. Fuku Yokoyama

What are the technical problems and the most frequently used birth control methods? By the way, concerning the financial condition and income and expenditure of the Sanger Clinic, could you please tell us if it is supported by government support or public or private contributions?

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minora Muramatsu

First, I should like to say that the federal government has not related to our project. At least, we have not asked for any financial support at all. There are contributions from the usual foundations and the women who actually visit our clinic pay a certain amount of money for the instructions and materials both of which she has received while a physician in charge takes time off from a portion of his or her busy work. Educational information materials are usually free for all.

The practical methods of our clinic are usually to provide a pessary and jelly which is used to lubricate the pessary for women who visit our clinic. This provides a double protection of mechanical and scientific procedure. The percentage of success is extremely high due to the double protection. However, the above mentioned method is surely expensive and it cannot be paid for by an extremely poor person. The principle is such that an amount of money is charged which is adequate for an income of a woman who visits our clinic or adequate to the family income of the woman. Due to this, the guidance and birth control materials are provided free in the case of a woman who cannot pay for anything.

Ms. Fuku Yokoyama

We have trouble charging a fee in the case of practical guidance. The fee corresponding to income can be broadly interpreted. We would be very happy if you can provide any available references and documents on this matter. If you don't mind, please give us various printed reports available from the Sanger Clinic. As you discussed the matter earlier, the difficulty in the United States is exactly identical to the difficulty in Japan in the case of instruction. We have trouble in the guidance of how we can appeal to the poor classes and how we can appeal to people in the farm and mountain villages. How do you appeal to the public after you have had the same difficulty? Or alternatively, the Sanger Clinic, even as the nucleus, has never actually done such work due to the fact that overpopulation is not a serious problem in the United States. Could you please tell us how to appeal to the public? We

would appreciate your suggestions though the degree of overpopulation in the United States differs from the degree of overpopulation of Japan.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

Your present question is very valuable to us due to the following reason. The facts which you have just pointed out are a significant weak point in the birth control movement conducted by us in the United States. That is, our influence on people in the lowest social stratum is not satisfactory in practical cases. This is due to strong religious and political opposition. To be frank with you, the so called "McCarthyism" flames in the United States at the present time. I should like to make a remark on the extremely strong opposition from the above mentioned quarters. On the other hand, as you mentioned a little while ago, Japan has been making a great effort in which persons in charge of public health and welfare are attempting to execute a work of nondiscriminatory availability. Although, public institutions are extremely actively influencing the improvement of all sick persons or people in the lowest social stratum for miserable conditions and undernourishment, the public organizations of the United States have usually been opposed to birth control. I feel that Japan has made more progress from the above mentioned standpoint.

Mrs. Fuku Yokoyama

Thank you for your lengthy discussion and many suggestions. Since I do not understand English, I regret to say that I feel slightly annoyed that something cannot be done as hoped so that I cannot ask

any exact questions. Could you please provide me with assistance if I visit the United States some day in the future to make an on-site inspection. I am asking you for the above mentioned assistance at this lucky opportunity and I should like to ask for other assistance. The governmental fund is not given to us at all in Japan due to the fact that the national financial situation has been bad since World War II. Donations from foundations cannot be expected, unlike in the United States. The population problem of Japan is an extremely gangrenous evil and the past World War II is thought to be partially caused by the above mentioned evil. Please, understand the existing state of national affairs, Mrs. Sanger. Since Mrs. Sanger has specially visited Japan, I would like to ask Mrs. Sanger for any possible support and advice in all phases in order to accomplish the effective progress of birth control in Japan despite many difficulties. Now, I want to end the lengthy questioning after I ask Mrs. Sanger to give us support for all phases concerning the population problems in Japan. Thank you very much, Mrs. Sanger for your participation, even though you are tired.

Chairman: Mr. Aiichi Kamijo

I have a favor to ask all of the members of the committee. Members of the committee can have personal conversations with Mrs. Sanger later so that you can have an opportunity to talk to Mrs. Sanger at that time. Please, now ask only one question briefly for each person due to the time limit.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

I entirely agree with your opinion, Mrs. Fuku Yokoyama. Please, visit my country by all means if you have the opportunity in the future. Please make observations of the actual circumstances in the clinic. At the same time, I hope with my whole heart that I can probably bring news of a simple good, inexpensive and safe birth control drug to you in a few years.

I will now tell you a funny story though I will agree it may be beside the point. It has been known for a long time that the birth rate of North American Indians in low. As you know, American Indian people are always angry because of their ill treatment by the United States government with respect to bearing children. For this reason they are thought to have decided not to execute decreasing their birth rate under the control of the US government. Actually, their birth rate is extremely low. There are many tribes of North American Indians and the birth rate of all of the tribes is low. It was very interesting that we learned from the North American Indians about two years ago the reason why. The reason that the birth rate of the North American Indians is low is that the American Indians drink tea which is made from herbs which are grown in the desert. It was discovered that the drinking of the above mentioned tea could accomplish the purpose of conception control. This story is a simple, funny story. It is thought that people will go to a country in which tea is loved and then drink tea ravenously so that their birthrate can decline in the near future.

Mr. Kazuo Takao

I should like to ask you a simple question, Mrs. Sanger, through the interpreter. There are many methods of birth control in which an appliance or drug is used in both the US and Japan. However, there may be a big difference in the contraceptive effect of these methods between the United States and Japan. In the United States, the people live in Western-style houses. (The Japanese house is not built to preserve privacy.) In Japan, the house and rooms are of Japanese style even though the same birth control methods are employed. According to the interpretation by the interpreter a little while ago, the percentage of success with birth control methods in the US is said to be 98%. Is the percentage of success 98% applicable to a specific method or is it the overall statistical average of all methods? Suppose the 98% success rate is the overall average, what percent are successful among 100 birth control users? In addition, when 100 couples execute birth control, what percent are successful? Though the above mentioned statistics are available a little bit in Japan, please inform us of the above mentioned statistics in the US?

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

The 98% success rate mentioned a little while ago means that 98% success rate for women who visit our clinic and employ the joint use of a pessary with a jelly. That is, it means that 98% of the subjects are successful according to the above mentioned methods. Many of the women cannot use a pessary and jelly because of their physical condition. For example, a woman who suffers from a prolapsed uterus

cannot use a pessary even though she wants to use one. Due to this, some women are obliged to use another method such as a cap for the cervix or use a jelly only in which the percentage of success is slightly lower than the 98% success rate mentioned a little while ago. I have mentioned that our clinical experience with the success rate for the joint use of a pessary and jelly with normal women is 98%.

Concerning the evaluation by statistical percentage of success as to the second question, a certain foundation gave us financial support in the past so that we could collect statistics for our clinic on 10,000 patients. This project was done a relatively long time ago so that in a large number of cases physicians in charge were not well trained so that they had to be retrained over and above their own medical education in order to conduct the above mentioned work. For this reason, the percentage of success was less than 98%. Many clinics in the United States are sending their reports to our headquarters in New York City day and night. Please refer to the reports carefully in order to understand the percentage of success at present. We will gladly send the reports to you.

Mr. Ichiro Tsuneoka

I agree entirely with the birth control movement and I wish to express my deep indebtedness to Mrs. Sanger for her great efforts in the birth control movement. Due to the fact that I am living in Japan at a time when a large number of people are packed into a small territory at present. However, there is something I should like to ask you. Let us consider natural forces. For example, let us consider the contripetal force and the centrifugal force of the earth with the centripetal force

and centrifugal force of the sun at the center. That is the exact opposite forces are admirable in harmony with each other so that the earth and sun are correctly in their orbits without any tracks. Let us think of the providence of the universe. Or alternatively, let us think of the problem of a life such that we are born with two eyes and two ears without our wish or exerting ourselves. The natural activity and universal truth both of which can control or regulate our universe. This antipodal phenomena may exist in this universe by taking into consideration the facts mentioned a little while ago. Religious people in the world believe in God may offer opposition to the ideas of the birth control movement. Do you ever have any trouble with respect to the opposition of these ideas or do you not believe in divine Providence so that the birth control movement in which man must control something is much superior to divine Providence? Please answer these questions first. I should like to ask whether you have any trouble with strong counterattacks or strong criticism from men of religion?

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

We have had very strong opposition to the movement at the initial stage in the United States from the standpoint of religious opposition which you pointed out just now. It was an extremely unforgettably important problem to us. People in the field of religion are essentially thinking that God provides a life for man, that is, God provides food, clothing and shelter necessary for a life. Although, there are a lot of people who are not well fed, well clothed or well housed in the United States even at the present time, there is a lot of religious

opposition at present under circumstances mentioned just now. We are always fighting against this opposition. I think that God has given us intelligence and that God has given us the freedom of thought and thinking so that mankind is ranked higher than the usual animals and is ranked much higher than simple animals. Mankind is responsible to utilize this intelligence sufficiently which has been given to human beings by God. In other words, God who has given us intelligence as human beings is not cruel enough to admit a new life who cannot be taken care of responsibly. I cannot express my thoughts in words on this to my satisfaction. However, I have given a rough explanation of my views.

Mr. Ichiro Tsuneoka

I should like to ask a question. For example, there is a tribe named the Ainu race in Japan just like you talked about the North American Indians, who have somehow attempted to be preserved as a species and to be prosperous. However, the Ainu race is not proliferating. Their population decrease is not due in particular to high intelligence. It is strange that people do not proliferate even though they have attempted to proliferate. This phenomenon may be one of natural control.

In a certain country, the population is intended to increase. However, it is decreasing little by little. For example, France is decreasing. If people all over the world disregard any idea of holding their own ground as a small country but conduct a campaign for delivering all natural resources of the world to all mankind, it is rather a shortsighted policy that birth control is one of the methods human

beings can apply to a race who is still prospering. This is my question. How about this?

In addition to the fact mentioned a little while ago, birth control was very prevalent in strong and barren lands such as the old province of Tosa and the present prefecture of Kagoshima even in Japan, during the feudal age. However, when Japan became one economic unit or one national economic unit as a result of the destruction of feudalism, the old province of Tosa and the present prefecture of Kagoshima could support many people due to the fact that broad areas were then opened up for the Japanese people. I think that it may be the intelligence given by God that the whole world must work together and extend a helping hand to newborn babies. An idea which suppresses the growing ability of people who live in a small land is unfair unless those people are released into a larger place. What do you think of my opinion?

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minoru Muramatsu

I am doubtful whether I can appropriately answer the question or not. I think there are persons who can answer more appropriately. I should like to say that there is as you know an organization called the United Nations. The United Nations is making an effort to unite the world under the condition that countries which in principle have the same opinion gather together. However, the actual circumstances are such that all the countries in the world have not joined the United Nations. The philosophical or metaphysical idea which was discussed by you just now can be applicable to the case of thinking of ourselves and

our children under the circumstances which were mentioned a little while ago.

However, Mexico and Italy, for example are under extremely miserable conditions at present. The course of each country is difficult due to the existence of a religion, I venture to say that is a superstition. When I see these people directly, it is as if they were in the dark ages. I cannot respect such a country. Rather, I would like to respect people who are thinking clearly and are conscious of the happiness of human beings which can be accomplished by the application of modern knowledge, understanding and scientific methods which we have acquired at present. Above all, it is most important that we bring into the world new human beings whom we ourselves can take care of by taking into consideration our knowledge and responsibility to this world. We must avoid as much as possible placing a newborn child in a garden of other people for other people to take care of it. I think that the true parents must raise their own children as statisfactorally as possible by giving their affection.

Mr. Hisatada Hirose

First, I wish to thank Mrs. Sanger, as a world authority, for her encouragement and for her great impression with today's speech to which I have listened. I was deeply impressed in particular with several points in her speech. May I ask you to tell us more details regarding two points.

One, is that I think that the population problem of Japan is a most difficult subject for the future. However, Mrs. Sanger told us that the population problem of Japan is most serious but it is a problem to be

resolved. I was greatly encouraged with this point. As mentioned by Mrs. Sanger earlier, although the population of Japan was almost fixed in the Tokugawa era, it has gradually grown in the Meiji era but it could be supported by natural resources in some way before World War II. However, Japan has been extremely overpopulated since World War II. How should we deal with this population problem which is essentially a problem of each field of Japanese politics, economy and society? How do we resolve this problem which is deeply related to a political movement, and ideology of society and various social problems. Any person who is now engaging in Japanese politics and who is now engaging in social work or who is a physician should be very interested in this problem. Mrs. Sanger ventured to say that this problem is difficult but it can be resolved. I feel extremely encouraged by her speech. I am impressed with the fact that Mrs. Sanger, who has many experiences with the population problem, has clearly expressed her thoughts. I would be very happy if you could give us an extremely rough outline of the resolution of the population problem of Japan from your point of view, even though you cannot tell us every point here. What point should a politician always bear in mind? What should a social worker bear in mind? What should a physician or other who is related to public health bear in mind? Please give us a rough explanation.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minora Muramatsu

You told me that I am an expert in the field of population problems. However, I feel that I am well behind recent advances in the

field. Rather, I am a pioneer. That is, I mean that I am a pioneer in the sense that I was the first person who pushed the button in order to turn on an electric light. Scholars in this field vary extensively at present and must obtain comprehensive knowledge and cooperation from many physicians, social workers and other scholars specializing in population problems and from many experts who are specializing in biology and other fields.

First, I would like to say that above all, the most important and most serious thing is the quality of a newborn's life. As you know, there is a sterilization procedure in which a baby cannot be born and which is extremely cruel and violent at a glance. However, sterilization is a kind method after all in the long run from a broader perspective. It is an extremely important problem that persons who have an inferior inherited character cannot bear a child from the standpoint of the quality of the newborn population and from the standpoint of the quality of the population in the next generation. Recently, physicians and sociologists have become extremely interested in the problem which was discussed a little while ago.

Please, make all possible efforts to assist in the undertaking of public health and welfare, all of you who are working on the floor of this great national assembly at the expense of other undertakings. Please provide material and spiritual facilities in which able persons who are related to the undertakings mentioned a little while ago can sufficiently display their abilities. There are many poor people who need assistance from the field of social work. Many people can do excellent work according to your efforts People who are actively in the front lines can do better jobs. I hope that this day arrives as soon as

possible. For this reason, all of you who are working as representatives of a nation on the floor of a national assembly should make the greatest efforts as politicians and qualified persons for the country of Japan in order to arrange a material and moral condition under which actual persons in charge can fully work.

Mr. Hisatado Hirose

Mrs. Sanger's very suggestive speech a little while ago is extremely sensible. I have been working for social services for a long time and I have been thinking that we must somehow give sufficient financial assistance to the field of social work. I am very regretful that Japan is extremely poor in the field of social work. We, as politicians, are trying to make a great effort. I am deeply grateful to Mrs. Sanger for her extreme encouragement in the field of social work by her visit to Japan.

I should like to ask another questions even though Mrs. Sanger seems to be tired. Mrs. Sanger praised the Planned Parenthood organization of Japan a little while ago. I, myself, think that the plan in which parenthood is planned is truly good enough. Concerning this movement, Dr Koya, as a central figure, has been conducting research for several years. Please give us advice after reviewing this movement.

I think that the population problem in Japan is extremely serious and I am very anxious that family planning or "planned parenthood" is extremely slow. However, I am thinking that it is natural that Japan herself must implement a program of planning families to help alleviate the population problem in order to ask the world to accept Japanese immigrants. I am truly thinking of actively promoting a "planned

parenthood" program. Mrs. Sanger praised the Planned Parenthood movement in Japan. Please tell us your opinion as to which points we should support intensively.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minora Muramatsu

I am very grateful for your praise for my previous speech. The purpose of my visit at this time is to communicate with Japanese physicians and scholars and to discuss how to decrease the birth rate as soon as possible, if necessary. My visit was intended to examine the possibility of a decline in the birth rate. It is very urgent at present that this program must be completed in such a short period as two years though it had to be completed in ten years in the past. In any case, I will work with Japanese physicians and Japanese scientists in other fields. I am expecting to hear joyful news from you of significant progress during my next visit in the near future.

Diet Member (not a member of the committee): Mrs. Shizue Kato

Please allow me to speak as a nonmember of the committee. I am deeply grateful to the Chairman and other members of the committee for their invitation of Mrs. Sanger to speak to the committee on Public Welfare and for their enthusiastic questions. I am also deeply grateful to the Chairman for his assistance. In conclusion, I would like to ask Mrs. Sanger a question.

Mrs. Sanger is always saying that overpopulation is the cause for wars historically. It is said that nature has killed a lot of people by big earthquakes, floods and famines in order to resolve overpopulation by

one effort. Earthquakes, floods and famines are said to be useful to decrease the population. Concerning these points, the Japanese people were recently shocked by the hydrogen bomb experiment by the United States. What kind of public opinion did the people in the United States issue with respect to the horrible reality in which the hydrogen bomb was used to kill a lot of the population? I would like to ask this question of Mrs. Sanger.

Witness: Mrs. Margaret Sanger

Interpreter: Mr. Minora Muramatsu

Mrs. Kato is also one of the pioneers in the field and she is well known in countries all over the world in which birth control programs are executed. I have had many questions from the Japanese people as to why the American citizens did not protest against the use of the hydrogen bomb as an experiment.

On the other hand, for example, England issued a very righteous protest through Parliament. Why didn't the American citizens protest? Surely, England has the right to know what will happen in the future. In particular, England is an island country. Taking into consideration the fact that England is a country in danger in which the entire islands can be blown away by a momentary explosion. I think that England's protest is not simply because of the danger of a hydrogen bomb but she is thinking what she has to do to protect her survival.

There are many protests in the United States similar to the protest mentioned in England. However, these protests do not appear in newspaper headlines. As you know, the United States is a large country. For example, there have been protests by several people in

Arizona where I am living but this does not influence people in New York. It takes a long time before national public opinion of protest can influence the government of the United States. You, foreigners, do not understand this point. In reality, some Americans are righteously protesting like England is doing. A lot of people have the same opinion.

Chairman: Mr. Aiichi Kamijo

Although, you may have more questions, the investigation on this subject is over due to the time. Objections?

Somebody says - No objection.

Chairman - Mr. Aiichi Kamijo

I see. No objections. I am deeply grateful to Mrs. Sanger for her extremely useful presentation and her answers to the questions. I wish to express my deep indebtedness to Mrs. Sanger at the closing moments of the committee meeting. We are making efforts to establish counter measures against the population problem and to support birth control by referring to the valuable information given to us.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Mrs. Sanger and Dr. Muramatsu for his clear interpretation for such a long period of time. (Handclapping) Now, let's close today's meeting of the committee.

Adjournment: 4:41 p.m.

APPENDIX C

MARGARET HIGGINS SANGER: A BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY

1879 Born in Corning, New York, the sixth of eleven children.

1900 Began nurses' training in White Plains, New York.

1902 Married William Sanger, an artist and architect. They had three children in 1903, 1908 and 1910 before their divorce in 1920.

1912 Practiced nursing for Lillian Wald's Visiting Nurse Service on the Lower East Side of New York.

1913 Visited Europe in search of practical birth control methods.

1914 Published seven issues of The Woman Rebel resulting in a federal indictment for sending birth control information through the mails. Fled to England while friends released copies of her pamphlet, Family Limitation, containing all she knew about techniques of contraception.

1916 Opened first birth control clinic in Brooklyn; raided and closed almost immediately. Sanger jailed for 30 days.

1917 Founded and edited Birth Control Review.

1921 Established American Birth Control League.

1922 Accepted invitation of Kaizo Group to speak in Tokyo, Japan

1922 Second marriage to millionaire J. Noah Slee.

1923 Opened Clinical Research Bureau to dispense contraceptives, to study their effectiveness and to train professionals.

1929 Founded National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control.

1936	Helped instigate test case U.S. vs. One Package which established the right of physicians to import contraceptives.
1939	A.B.C.L. and C.R.B. merged into Birth Control Federation of America, later became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.
1948	Organized World Population Conference in Cheltenham, England.
1950	Denied visa to enter Japan by General Douglas MacArthur.
1952	Helped launch International Planned Parenthood Federation.
1954	First foreigner to address Japanese Diet.
1953	Brought together Katherine Dexter McCormick and Dr. Gregory Pincus; McCormick's financial backing helped Pincus develop the first oral contraceptives.
1965	Awarded Third Class Order of the Precious Crown by the Emperor and Government of Japan.
1966	Margaret Sanger died in Tucson, Arizona at the age of 87.

Source: Proceedings of The Margaret Sanger Centennial Conference, November 13 and 14, 1979 at Smith College (Northampton: Smith College, 1982), p. 67, Sophia Smith Collection.

APPENDIX D

SHIDZUE ISHIMOTO KATO: A BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY

1897 Born in Tokyo, Japan.

1914 Graduated from Peeresses' School in Tokyo.

1914 Married Baron Keikichi Ishimoto. They had two children in 1916 and 1919 before their divorce in 1944.

1915 Baron Ishimoto employed by the Mitsui Mining Company in the Kyushu district.

1919 First trip to the U.S. Enrolled in Ballard School in N.Y.C. to learn shorthand, typing, and English. Graduated in 1920.

1920 Met Margaret Sanger in New York City.

1920 Traveled to England, France, Switzerland and Italy. Visited New York. Returned to Japan as private secretary to Miss Anna Birdsall of the National YWCA of Japan.

1921 Campaigned for birth control and women's rights. Opened Minerva Yarn Shop in Tokyo.

1921 Traveled to North China, South Manchuria and Korea.

1922 Arranged for Margaret Sanger's first visit to Japan. Japan's Birth Control Study Group formed in Tokyo.

1924 Traveled to United States and met with American feminists.

1932 Founded Women's Birth Control League of Japan.

1932-33 Lecture Tour of U.S. Studied three months at Margaret Sanger's Research Bureau in New York City.

1934 Opened scientifically operated birth control clinic in Tokyo.

1935 Autobiography Facing Two Ways published in the U.S. It was not published in Japan until 1984.

1936 Lecture Tour in U.S.

1937 Arrested in Japan for "dangerous thoughts."

1944 Married Labor Leader Kanju Kato. Daughter born in 1945.

1946 Elected to House of Representatives. Candidate of Japan's Socialist Party.

1950 Elected to House of Councillors. Served twenty-four years.

1954 Established Japan Family Planning Association.

1955 Helped organize Fifth International Conference on Planned Parenthood in Tokyo.

1974 President of Family Planning Federation of Japan.

1975 Awarded First Class Order of the Sacred Treasure.

1984 Vice President of Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning, Inc.

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