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“To Procure a Miscarriage”:
Abortion in Southern Indiana, 1960-1973

On June 24, 2022 the Supreme Court voted to overturn Roe v. Wade, the decision that had legalized abortion in the United States. Unlike most who heard about it on the news, I received this information via a text from my sister that read “They overturned Roe v. Wade.” The text delivered a shock to my system that I’m sure women across the country were also feeling. Immediately, articles began popping up hoping to educate readers about how to obtain abortions despite the ruling. With titles like “How Some Providers Are Working Around Abortion Bans Since Roe v. Wade Was Overturned” appearing at the top of the page when you googled ‘Roe v. Wade overturned’ it was obvious that the Supreme Court had made a decision that divided the country.¹ Instagram was rife with infographics about donating to abortion funds, what to do if you needed an abortion, and which states would likely ban abortions. My home state of Indiana was almost always on that list, and for good reason. Introduced in August, Senate Bill 1 effectively banned all abortions except in the case of rape or incest. It was the first bill in the nation to ban abortion following the overturning of Roe. Public opinion was divided, and many were left wondering what to do in the wake of this new law.

As a student of history, I did what I knew best – I looked to the past. What I found provided an interesting and inspiring look into the women of Indiana’s past who diligently fought against oppressive laws that plagued their lives as well. Abortion before Roe v. Wade may have been a taboo topic, but Indiana women were still engaging in the practice despite a

¹Mary Kekatos, “How Some Providers are Working around abortion bans since Roe v. Wade was overturned”, ABC News, October 17, 2022, <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/providers-work-abortion-bans-roe-wade-overturned/story?id=91435808>

1905 law that made it illegal. Who were the women that helped provide abortions in Indiana? What groups engaged in providing abortions, and did they hide their involvement? How did women who lived in the small rural towns that make up most of Indiana access abortions?

The discussion of abortion in the United States during this time period largely focuses on the work that was being done in more liberal big cities, and ignores the importance of small town abortion networks. Looking at *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service* by Laura Kaplan, we can see an example of this. The women of Jane were trained by their peers to perform abortions, completely removing the middleman.² They counseled, performed services, and fought for rights all under one organization.³ *The Story of Jane* tells of the work these women did, focusing on personal stories of those who dedicated themselves to the organization. It shows us how abortions in Chicago, at least when performed by Jane, worked. It also posits itself in the larger conversation of women's bodily autonomy in a time when there were high regulations against it. What *The Story of Jane* doesn't discuss, however, is how different the experience of abortion was for rural women. Chicago was a long distance for many women, particularly in southern Indiana. Also given Chicago's size, anonymity was much easier. While Kaplan does mention that some members of the group were from small towns through the Midwest, she fails to discuss how their experiences as rural women contributed to the larger topic of providing abortions. What Kaplan does not recognize in her book is that the location of Jane allowed the organization to be more successful, as the bigger city provided more anonymity and opportunity.

² Laura Kaplan, *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service* (University of Chicago Press, 2019).

³ Kaplan, *The Story of Jane*.

When Abortion Was A Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867-1973 also fails to do this, but in a different way. While *The Story of Jane* focuses on Chicago, *When Abortion Was a Crime* is focused more generally on the entire United States. While Reagan does discuss anecdotal experiences of various doctors, she doesn't focus on underground services for abortion. The few times she mentions Indiana, it is to reference women leaving the state and going to Chicago for abortions, ignoring the work of women in the state who could have played an important role in these abortions.⁴ What both *The Story of Jane* and *When Abortion Was A Crime* fail to discuss is the important work of abortion networks that existed in small towns and rural communities. This isn't just an issue in these specific works either, but in almost all works about illegal abortion in the 1960's and 70's.

The only source that does mention these women is Mary Ann Wynkoop's *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University*. In her chapter on the women's movement, Wynkoop briefly touches on the abortion services in Bloomington, and discusses how they were a part of the larger women's movement.⁵ It's important to note however that this source focuses specifically on Indiana University and Bloomington, making the scope of the book much smaller. In most abortion research, the focus is on larger cities and not the rural small towns that make up a large portion of the United States. The women of Indiana fit in this demographic, showing that it wasn't just large cities that dominated the abortion conversation, but also small towns and underground networks. While Indiana may not have been a hub of abortion practices, it is indicative of the smaller nodes that supported the larger abortion movement. The existing work on abortion during this time period shows us that the work of women in smaller towns was

⁴ Leslie Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867-1973*. (University of California Press, Berkley, 1997)

⁵ Mary Ann Wynkoop, "The Women's Movement: An Idea Whose Time Had Come" in *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University* (Indiana University Press, 2002)

largely overlooked, despite the fact that that was the reality for many women in the United States.

Indiana in the 1950's was not a favorable state for accessing an abortion. Southern Indiana was largely comprised of small, rural towns. According to census data from 1950, the state itself had 3.93 million residents, and Indianapolis had a population of 427,173. Bloomington had a population of only 28,163.⁶ Lower population numbers meant less anonymity and less access to resources. The rural nature of the state made bringing people together difficult, as towns were farther apart. Commuting to other towns to access an abortion would have been time consuming and cost prohibitive. Spreading information was also harder as promoting locally would reach smaller numbers, who would then have to spread the information themselves. Additionally, Indiana at the time was dominated by conservative politics. John Glen, Robert Horton, Alexandra Gressitt, Wilma Gibbs, and Stephen McShane wrote in 1995, "Indiana during the 1950's was dominated not simply by the Republican party but also by an ideological conservatism that generated as much internal conflict as it did discord between the state and the federal government."⁷ Combining rural towns with strict conservative laws meant that abortion access would have been very low. Women in these rural towns would have had little to no support in accessing abortion healthcare, even if they desperately needed it.

The 1960's brought small changes to the state, and cracked open the door for abortion access. Populations throughout Indiana were rising, and the state was changing. In 1961, the state elected a democratic governor, who Glen et al describe as "Indiana's first 'modern'

⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, Indiana Number of Inhabitants Survey, 1960, using www2.census.gov, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1960/population-volume-1/vol-01-16-c.pdf>

⁷ John Glen, et al. "Indiana Archives: Indiana since 1945," *Indiana Magazine of History* 91, no. 3 (September 1995): 327, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27791855?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents

governor...”⁸ Women were enrolling in college and entering the workforce in new numbers, pushing for their rights across the state. Nationally, there was a rising tide of change with the civil rights movement and the beginnings of second wave feminism. Indiana women saw protests against the Vietnam War in the news, and could recognize the growing change through the US. It is important to note, however, that there was still a strong conservative mindset in Indiana and in Bloomington. In “The Other Side of Campus: Indiana University’s Student Right and the Rise of National Conservatism”, author Jason Lantzer explains that amid the rising changes, there was still a thriving conservative population at Indiana University Bloomington. As Lantzer says, “IU was ‘not a Berkley’ in the heart of the conservative Midwest. The ‘greenbaggers’ were the fringe, and they knew it.”⁹ *Dissent in the Heartland* also talks about the strict situation for women in Bloomington, who still dealt with things like women’s hours during the 1960’s.¹⁰ What this shows us is that women in Bloomington were dealing with a unique situation, in which they lived under strict rules about where they could be, when, and what they were able to do. These women, who chose to fight for their rights as students and women, are the ones who make up the bulk of my research.

To begin discussing abortion in 1960’s Indiana, we must first discuss the law that made abortion illegal. In 1905 the Indiana General Assembly passed, in its Sixty-Fourth regular session, four section of the law that made abortion illegal in Indiana. The laws outlawed instruments of abortion, forbid doctors from performing abortions, forbid women from seeking out abortions, and forbid advertisements about abortion.¹¹ The separate parts of the law provided

⁸ Glen, et al. “Indiana since 1945”

⁹ Jason S. Lantzer, “The Other Side of Campus: Indiana University’s Student Right and the Rise of National Conservatism,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 101, no. 2 (June 2005), 156

¹⁰ Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, 137-139

¹¹ Indiana General Assembly, *Laws of the State of Indiana*, Sixty Fourth General Session, January 5, 1905

strict rules about what could and could not be done, making women who received abortions and anyone who performed them criminals. Section 56, entitled ‘Issue by the Justice of Peace – Articles’ is the first section to mention abortion, stating that justices of peace had the right to procure a warrant and search any place or person for “instruments, articles or medicines for procuring abortion, or for the prevention of conceptions, or for self-pollution.”¹² Out of the three, abortion is the most regulated. There are three entire sections that state the nature of crimes related to abortion and the punishments associated with them. The first of these laws is section 367, entitled ‘To Procure a Miscarriage.’ It states:

Whoever prescribes or administers to any pregnant woman, or to any woman whom he supposes to be pregnant, any drug, medicine or substance whatever, with intent thereby to procure the miscarriage of such woman, or, with like intent, uses or suggests, directs or advises the use of any instrument or means whatever, unless such miscarriage is necessary to preserve her life, shall, on conviction, if the woman miscarries, or dies in consequence thereof, be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars, and be imprisoned in the state prison not less than three years nor more than fourteen years.¹³

The law from above when compared to the Indiana law from 2022 shows that both Indiana lawmakers in 1905 and 2022 understood that abortions could be necessary in cases where the mother’s life is at risk.¹⁴ However, where the 2022 law allows for abortion in cases of rape or incest, the 1905 law did not. Naturally, the 1905 laws didn’t just make it illegal to perform an abortion, they also made it illegal to have an abortion. Section 368 states:

Every woman who shall solicit of any person any medicine, drug, or substance or thing whatever, and shall take the same, or shall submit to any operation or other means whatever, with intent thereby to procure a miscarriage, except when done by a physician for the purpose of saving the life of mother or child, shall, on conviction, be fined no less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, and be imprisoned in the county jail not less than thirty days nor more than one year;¹⁵

¹² Indiana General Assembly, *Laws*, Sec. 56

¹³ Indiana General Assembly, *Laws*, Sec. 367

¹⁴ Senate Enrolled Act No.1, 122nd Indiana General Assembly, 2022 Special Session

¹⁵ Indiana General Assembly, *Laws*, Sec. 368

Women of Indiana were left with limited options when it came to finding and receiving abortions as a result of this law. Its strict rules outlined exactly what punishments they would face as a result of the procedure, leaving women feeling trapped within its confines. If it was found out that women had received an abortion, they faced serious charges. The third law pertaining to abortion relates to the advertising of drugs or instruments for producing a miscarriage. The law, found in section 465, states:

Whoever prints or publishes any advertisement of any secret drug or nostrum purporting to be for the exclusive use of females, or which cautions females against their use when in a condition of pregnancy, or in any way publishes any account or description of any drug, medicine, instrument or apparatus for preventing conception or for procuring abortion or miscarriage, or sells or gives away, or keeps for sale or gratuitous distribution any newspaper, circular, pamphlet or book containing such advertisement, account or description, or any secret drug or nostrum purporting to be exclusively for the use of females, or for preventing conception or procuring miscarriage or abortion, shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, to which may be added imprisonment in the county jail not less than ten days nor more than six months.¹⁶

Here, the law states that anyone who advertises or provides information about abortions is also subject to prosecution. This is where the women of Bloomington come in.

Through dedicated (and technically illegal) work, abortion rights groups in Bloomington went behind the law to help others find and access necessary abortion information and supported them in receiving proper abortion healthcare.

One prominent Indiana group dedicated to providing abortions was the Bloomington Women's Liberation Movement (BWLM), who were active during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This organization was important for female students in Bloomington, as it provided a space within the community for female students to come

¹⁶ Indiana General Assembly, *Laws*, Sec. 465

and meet, as well as provided readings and information for its members.¹⁷ The BWLM served as an educational and social place for young women in Bloomington, Indiana to grow together and develop as part of the new feminist movement. As Wynkoop tells us throughout her work, the women of Indiana University and Bloomington were beginning to organize and fight for their rights as students and citizens beginning at the end of the 1960s.¹⁸ The BLWM played a role in this movement as a student organization.

The group owned a house in Bloomington open to all members, where they could meet and discuss all sorts of topics. The house served as a library, social space, and meeting place.¹⁹ In BWLM leaflets, promotional flyers, and monthly member newsletters mentioned different activities and “support groups” that members could participate in.²⁰ These support groups ranged in topic based on who lead them and when they took place, with group issues like abortion rights or childcare.²¹ Members of the BWLM were encouraged to find a support group of interest and join, which opened up to new members often and grew with the movement. One article in a monthly newsletter mentioned a group that was “organizing a campaign to abolish abortion laws.”²² These abortion action groups were actively organizing to fight the 1905 law discussed earlier. Other groups active in abortion work were the various support groups that met through the week.²³ These meetings provided a space for small groups of women to meet and talk about any issues they saw fit. We know, however, that some of these groups were active in

¹⁷ Women’s Liberation Movement Papers, 1969-1977, Various Materials, Martha Vicinus Papers, Collection c12, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington

¹⁸ Wynkoop, “The Women’s Movement,” 137

¹⁹ Women’s Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

²⁰ Women’s Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

²¹ Women’s Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

²² Women’s Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

²³ Women’s Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

providing abortion thanks to two members of the BWLM, Ruth Brand and Nancy Mahaney. Brand and Mahaney, both mentioned several different times throughout the BWLM papers from 1969 discussed their own experiences with abortion work in Bloomington during an interview from 2013.

Brand, who moved to Bloomington in the 1960's, was drawn to the BWLM through the free childcare services it offered. Mahaney was a graduate student at Indiana University.²⁴ Both women became involved in abortion counseling services in Bloomington through support groups, though Brand became involved through their childcare services and Mahaney become involved through Vietnam War protests.²⁵ The two women both joined the support groups because they were a space for women to meet and share ideas. Neither joined with the intention of creating an abortion counseling service, and they didn't understand the significance of women only meetings at the time.²⁶ Through their time in the support groups, the women began to realize that they had all dealt with pregnancy scares, and some had even had abortions. Realizing this, the women decided they could help others like themselves. As Brand said, "... we decided we needed to find a way for people to have at least medically safe abortions in better circumstances."²⁷ They began to put up signs in bathrooms that read "Call the Pregnancy Counselors" so women could contact them. Mahaney explained that for a long period of time, her phone number (which was also the phone number of the BWLM house) was the number given out on these flyers to women seeking an abortion. She also explains how

²⁴ Nancy Brand and Ruth Mahaney, Aug 03 2013, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History Project, IU Libraries University Archives, Bloomington

²⁵ Brand and Mahaney, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

²⁶ Mahaney, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

²⁷ Brand, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

the group spread information by putting up stickers advertising the service in “every place there was a public bathroom.”²⁸ Given that Indiana law prohibited the advertisement of abortion services or instruments, the distribution of these flyers and stickers would have been a crime. They advertised how to access an abortion, which was explicitly illegal under the law defined in section 465.²⁹ By posting these flyers and sticker, the women of the BWLM knowingly committed a crime to help other women access the abortion services they needed. Eventually the support group came to call themselves the Midwest Abortion Counseling Service, and they began to make connections with other services and practitioners in the Midwest.³⁰

Local doctors, other groups like theirs, and the Jane collective are just a few of the people they connected with. Money and safety played a large role in where and how a woman received an abortion. Mahaney and Brand explain that “some of the people ... had more money than others and more ability to imagine themselves in a foreign country, [so] we did send some people to Mexico.”³¹ For women who couldn’t afford this, procedures in Bloomington could be incredibly traumatic. Brand described what the experience could be like for women in Bloomington who sought abortions as “terrifying”.³²

“To have to go and be by themselves usually, almost always, in the dark in a strip mall. And we wouldn’t be able to tell them which strip mall, because it always changed for the safety of the abortionist. They would be picked up by somebody, and we didn’t know for sure if it would be a man or a woman in a car. I don’t know if it’s the truth that it was always going to be a black car, but that’s the way I remember it. Ultimately that person was also going to be blindfolded, also for

²⁸ Mahaney, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

²⁹ Indiana General Assembly, *Laws*, Sec. 465

³⁰ Brand, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

³¹ Brand, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

³² Brand, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

the protection of the abortionist because... she couldn't testify, she couldn't... to maintain the secrecy."³³

This secrecy was important to maintain, so that these abortionists wouldn't be caught. For the women who received the abortion, however, this way of procuring an abortion could have been incredibly traumatic. Given the number of women in Bloomington who received an abortion, this process was likely happening often. A Sex Education Handbook published by the BWLM claimed "conservative estimates place the number of illegal abortions for women in Bloomington (most of them IU students) at 2000 per year."³⁴ Despite the secrecy surrounding the practitioners, the women in the Midwest Abortion Counseling Service did work that was an open secret. Clinics operating in states where abortion was legal began to reach out to the women in the BWLM. Mahaney herself says, "We did not try to keep our identities a secret."³⁵ One of the BWLM newsletters included a phone number for a "problem pregnancy."³⁶ This number, one could infer, was the number of the BWLM house where they would then be connected to the Midwest Abortion Counseling Service. Brand, Mahaney, and the other women they worked with created a safe network for women in Bloomington to access abortions.³⁷

Eventually, the organization grew and began to connect with outside services. When a woman came to the BWLM, Mahaney would provide her a list of whom to contact based on her monetary resources. One organization the BWLM worked with was the Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion, a network of clergymen who helped

³³ Brand, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

³⁴ Women's Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

³⁵ Mahaney, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

³⁶ Women's Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

³⁷ Women's Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

women get abortions.³⁸ These clergy groups helped women receive abortions throughout Indiana, not just in Bloomington. The *Indianapolis Star* published a piece titled “Clergymen Direct Women to Qualified Practitioners” in June of 1970 that discussed how these clergymen worked, and why they did so. Rabbi Lewis Bogage, a leader of a temple in Denver, Colorado said “It is a clergyman’s duty to advise on any problem. Unwanted pregnancy is a problem - and we discuss it like any other.”³⁹ This connection would have been very important for the Midwest Abortion Counseling Service, as the clergy most likely had access to funding and resources they did not.

Another important connection for them was Jane, a collective group in Chicago that provided illegal abortions. Much as in Bloomington, Jane worked underground, and women were connected through those who knew the service. However, unlike in Bloomington, the women of Jane were actively performing the abortions. As women were introduced to the organization, they became counselors, and eventually a few moved on to becoming abortionists themselves.⁴⁰ Taught by someone else who knew the process, the women of Jane became an all encompassing abortion service run by women.⁴¹ Their connection with the women in Bloomington was important because Jane could provide the necessary abortion services, since the women in Bloomington did not have that knowledge. Ultimately, the help from the Clergymen and Jane played an important role in the fight to provide abortion services for women in Bloomington.

³⁸ Olga Curtis, “Clergymen Direct Women to Qualified Practitioners,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 3, 1970

³⁹ Curtis, “Clergymen Direct Women to Qualified Practitioners”

⁴⁰ Kaplan, *The Story of Jane*, 123-130

⁴¹ Kaplan, *The Story of Jane*, 123-130

Eventually, the Midwest Abortion Counseling Service fell apart when both Mahaney and Brand graduated and left Bloomington in the mid 1970s.⁴² However, the impact of their movement was important, and a valuable part of the women's movement of the time. Their service provided an important procedure to women from southern Indiana, who heard about them through various forms of advertising they had done. As discussed earlier, the flyers and stickers distributed by the BWLM were a valuable way to connect with women all across southern Indiana. By putting up the promotional material in bathrooms, they reached women in a space that was private, allowing the materials to go unnoticed. Abortion was also, for many, a shameful thing. By providing information in a very private space, women were saved from the shame of their information spreading. Bathrooms are also a traditionally gendered space, and bathroom graffiti has long been a way for women to spread gossip and information. By utilizing this space to share about their work, the BWLM was able to use a valuable women's space to spread their message.

Additionally, this wouldn't be the end for the abortion rights fight in Indiana. The BWLM continued to run and support an abortion rights support group, who met often to discuss strategies for fighting the abortion law.⁴³ The fight wasn't just with the of the BLWM women either. All across Indiana, people were speaking out about abortion rights. In an opinion piece published by the *Indianapolis Star*, one woman wrote about why abortion should be legalized. Citing illegitimate children, teenage marriages, and injuries from illegal abortions, she cited many issues relevant to the abortion rights

⁴² Brand, Indiana University Bicentennial Oral History

⁴³ Women's Liberation Papers, 1969-1977

movement.⁴⁴ Another *Indianapolis Star* article from March of 1971 discussed different viewpoints on abortion from Indiana residents. Quoted in the article is Judy Stone, a woman from Bloomington who was a part of the Indiana Abortion Law Repeal Coalition.⁴⁵ She presented a petition with 8,000 Indiana students signatures urging lawmakers to pass a bill that would legalize abortion for the state of Indiana.⁴⁶ In 1972, an article discussing the views of high school students at Arlington Indiana cited several high schoolers who supported the legalization of abortion statewide.⁴⁷

It is obvious that statewide, the view of abortion wasn't negative. Nationally, views on abortion were also changing. Several states had legalized abortion in the years prior, and many more were making the move. But the real victory on abortion rights came in 1973, when the US Supreme Court ruled in *Roe vs. Wade* that it went against a individual's right to privacy for states to criminalize abortion. Following this, individual states began to reevaluate and rewrite their abortion laws. The state of Indiana did the same, although it was slow to act. Changing the Indiana abortion laws was a topic of debate all over the state, with some pointing out that lawmakers were trying to "restrict as much as possible."⁴⁸ The new law eventually stated that women could receive abortions only in the first three months of their pregnancies.⁴⁹

The fight for abortion rights didn't stop with the new law, as several news article from the time reported dissatisfaction with the law. Abortions were still hard to find, as

⁴⁴ Bev Babcock, "Reader Gives Three Reasons She Wants Abortion Laws Changed," *Indianapolis Star*, June 4, 1971

⁴⁵ Mary Anne Butters, "Abortion Law Opinion Clear Everywhere But In Capitol," *Indianapolis Star*, March 21, 1971

⁴⁶ Butters, "Abortion Law"

⁴⁷ Lisa Levitt, "Students At Arlington Give Views on Legalized Abortion," *Indianapolis Star*, November 11, 1972

⁴⁸ Michael P. Tarpey, "House Restricts Abortion Bill," *Indianapolis Star*, March 9, 1973

⁴⁹ Jane Brumleve, "State Abortion Law Guidelines Vague," *Indianapolis Star*, July 22, 1973

many hospitals still didn't provide the services. In Indianapolis, the biggest city in Indiana, only four hospitals performed abortions.⁵⁰ The service was still cost prohibitive, and considered shameful. The road to easily accessible abortion services was long and would require even more work. However, the work that the women of the BWLM performed was important to getting abortion rights to where they were in 1973. Thanks to their diligent advocacy, women in Bloomington and other small southern Indiana towns were able to access abortions where they previously might not have.

When we look back at the women of the 1960's and 70's, it's hard not to see the importance of abortion provider services. Women were working against the law to ensure that others who needed them could receive abortions. In Bloomington, the work of women like Nancy Brand and Ruth Mahaney proved vital, and they were able to help women who otherwise might have ended up in unsafe situations. Rural women represent an important part of the abortion conversation, even if their work often goes unnoticed. Abortions were happening everywhere, and abortion support groups were needed everywhere. Even though most scholarship focuses on the work being done by groups like Jane in big cities like Chicago, the work being done in small towns mattered just as much. Groups like the BWLM's Midwest Abortion Counseling Service provided support for a demographic group that would otherwise have gone unnoticed.

When we think about the status of abortion in Indiana now, and how recent changes threaten its safety and reliability, we can look to the women in Bloomington and around the state who have shown us that the law may enforce certain restrictions, but it can still be worked around. Abortions won't be stopped by a Supreme Court decision or a

⁵⁰ Brumleve, "State Abortion Laws"

senate bill. Underground systems have been the backbone of the abortion rights movement for several decades, and will continue to be so in a new era. To those who were shocked and saddened and hurt by the decision of the Supreme Court, and then subsequent actions of Indiana lawmakers, look to the women of the past and find hope in their work.

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