

Designing the Home Pregnancy Test

In the late 1950s, Margaret Crane moved to New York City to attend Parsons Art School with the intention of becoming a fashion illustrator.¹ But as the industry moved away from drawings to photographed models, Crane was advised to become a graphic designer instead. After graduation, she mostly freelanced, temped, and worked at various part-time jobs in the city. In 1967, she accepted a freelancing position for Organon Pharmaceuticals, which at the time was based in West Orange, New Jersey. Even though the commute was long, she hoped it would give her an opportunity to do design work for a new line of cosmetics Organon was developing. She lived in a sixth floor walk-up tenement apartment with two roommates in the Yorkville neighborhood of Manhattan, which meant waking up at dawn to get to West Orange. Her commute involved a bus, the PATH train, and then two more buses, until she eventually reached the single-family house that Organon gave her as an office. She worked in the living room, and the only other employee within earshot was a secretary who worked in the dining room and made clear to Crane from her first day that she wasn't *Crane's* secretary. In the basement of the house was a large collection of rabbits, which Organon used to test and make their various products. Crane could occasionally hear their screeching from her makeshift office. The clear garbage bags of dead rabbits that regularly appeared outside ensured that the house next door was vacant for a long time.

Although Crane was under the impression that Organon hired her to design and draw

¹ On June 9, 2021, I interviewed Margaret Crane, or Meg as she prefers to be called, in her apartment. Her story in this chapter is from that conversation, and from a follow-up conversation we had over the phone on July 22, 2021.

products and their packages, from face creams to lipsticks, she found herself mostly doing busy work, like overseeing stock and making sure shipments were mailed correctly. It wasn't work she enjoyed or excelled in. Occasionally, she also helped with advertisements for various cosmetic products, which is why she was asked to visit the lab the day they were working on a stabilization test for a new lotion. As she walked in that morning, she saw ten test tubes hanging over a highly polished angled metal rack, so shiny it looked like a mirror. The sides of each transparent tube were covered in numerical codes, but their clear bottoms were reflected on the gleaming rack. She had befriended an older doctor who worked in the lab, and as she passed by his office she asked him about these mysterious tubes. Pregnancy tests, he responded. Doctors sent Organon urine from women who had come into their office for a pregnancy test. Their clinics shipped Organon the urine in bottles made by the company, and next Organon, using their careful identification system, added the urine to the test tubes with antibodies made for the pregnancy test. They then called back the doctors informing them if the test was negative or positive. While it took two hours to process each test, women usually had to wait several weeks before learning the results. Crane's friend carefully explained to her how the test worked, and it didn't seem that complicated. She immediately thought: Why can't women do this themselves?

This was the late 1960s, a revolutionary time in Crane's own words. As she told me over iced tea, in her cozy midtown Manhattan apartment, in the early 1960s she had accompanied a friend who needed an illegal abortion, and she was an early adopter of the birth control pill. Doctors weren't supposed to give unmarried women like Crane prescriptions for the pill, but a friend recommended a sympathetic doctor who overlooked this restriction and wrote her a prescription to help regulate her heavy and painful periods.

Slowly, people within and outside the medical establishment became more willing to challenge attitudes toward sex outside of marriage, contraception, sexuality, and masturbation. Why couldn't women also take a pregnancy test without the watchful eye of a patronizing doctor?

The evening after Crane first spotted the laboratory pregnancy tests during her long commute home, she thought about how the neat row of test tubes could be converted into a product women could use at home. Finding ways to design products using simple and clean lines was something she loved doing. She had a second job in the evenings at a print shop on Houston Street, and there she started digging around for some materials to design a prototype for a home pregnancy test. Her first design was made out of cardboard and roughly sketched. She didn't settle on the apparatus for the design until a few days later when her eye landed on a rectangular clear plastic container filled with paperclips on her desk. It had a lid that fit securely. She dumped out the paper clips, made a plastic shelf inside the box with two holes that fit a test tube and eyedropper, and out of a piece of shiny Mylar she made an angled mirror that would reflect the bottom of the test tube to show the results. On New Year's Eve 1967, she stayed late at work to finish her design. Using everyday materials, she had created the prototype for the first home pregnancy test.²

Crane's Design

The science to test for pregnancy in a lab was relatively new that year and had been discovered seven years prior in 1960 by two Swedish doctors. Crane's invention intended to bring this science into women's hands. It meant packaging the test, including a small

² In 2015, Crane sold the prototype to the Smithsonian Museum at auction, and it can now be viewed in their galleries. See Roger Catlin, "The Unknown Designer of the First Home Pregnancy Test Is Finally Getting Her Due," *Smithsonian Magazine*, September 21, 2015. <<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/unknown-designer-first-home-pregnancy-test-getting-her-due-180956684/>>.

amount of hormones [figure 1], for at-home use, but Crane was certain that with a good design this was possible.

When she told her boss, the vice president of the company, about her idea he scoffed. First of all, why would Organon invent a device that would compete with their profitable laboratory pregnancy tests? Organon both manufactured these tests and processed the results for doctors' offices. It was a good business. And then he added: there was no chance women could manage the many-stepped process to accurately administer the test. It would be a disaster. Her idea was dismissed, and she assumed that would be the end of that chapter.

A few months later, on a cold wintery day that started off terribly, Crane's fate would change in two significant ways, as she vividly remembers. On her way to work, she slipped and landed straight on her bottom. The ground was wet and slushy, and a big wet circle formed on the back of her homemade dress. She might have considered turning back, but she was a freelance worker and needed this job to pay her rent.

Here, she paused when telling me the story: "I still have the pattern for that dress." She kept it to remember that day, but not because she would make history with her pregnancy test design. Rather, it was the day she met the man who would be her partner for the next forty-one years. But that morning she had no idea the meeting would happen when she arrived at work, her dress still uncomfortably wet. The secretary in the next room greeted her by saying, *I heard there's a big meeting today about the design for a home pregnancy test Organon wants to make.* Crane hadn't been told. In fact, she had no idea the company had even been discussing a home pregnancy test because her boss had ridiculed her proposal. She immediately went looking for the company's product manager, and he

confirmed that the meeting was indeed happening. Fortunately, she had kept a copy of her prototype on her desk. She arrived at the boardroom before the meeting even started, found a seat as close to the radiator as possible, hoping her dress would dry in time, and placed her prototype in front of her on the table.

Slowly, the room filled with twelve men, all in suits, all there to discuss the future of the home pregnancy test. Crane was the only woman present. Shortly before the meeting began, a sub-contracted ad man walked in with two account executives. The ad man's good looks and confidence caught Crane's attention. Later she would learn that his name was Ira Sturtevant, and he was there to write the advertising copy for the future home pregnancy test. By then, the different prototypes were all lined on the table. There was Crane's nonsense and efficient design, last in the line because she put it there herself. Another test was encased in a soft oval plastic container, another had a feminine pink tassel dangling from its cap, and yet another was delicately decorated with diamonds around its perimeter. All the tests, except for Crane's, were designed by men. (When telling me this story, she speculates that because companies forbade designers from discussing designs for new products with even their closest family members, these men wouldn't have even been able to consult with their wives about whether their home pregnancy test design might work for them.) As the meeting began, Sturtevant looked over the designs and picked up Crane's, announcing definitively, "This is the only one we can use." *No, no, that's the one Meg did for talking purposes*, the company vice president quickly responded, referring to Crane with the nickname she uses to this day. These are the real ones up here, he added, pointing to the ones the designers brought in. *But look*, Sturtevant pointed out, *all these other designs are missing an important component: what will women use to collect urine for the test?* A

surprised silence filled the room. No one had thought of this question. *A glass from the kitchen cupboard*, someone tentatively suggested, realizing as he spoke that this idea didn't sound savory. Only Crane's design had anticipated this step.

Here is how Crane's home pregnancy test worked: the entire package was small and could easily fit into a woman's hand. Later a newspaper would compare its dimensions to a package of king-sized cigarettes.³ The container for the test was made of a hard, clear plastic rectangular box, and women were instructed to collect their urine in its square-shaped cap. Then using an eyedropper, they extracted just a few milliliters of urine and added it to the test tube, which was already prepared with dried rabbit antibodies and sheep blood. [Figure 2] Tap water also had to be added. (In later models, small packets of distilled water would be included with the test.) Once the fluids were mixed together, the container had to be left undisturbed for two hours. It was critical that it sit somewhere with no vibrations or movement or the results would be difficult if not impossible to read. If a woman was pregnant, the substance in the bottom of the test tube formed into the shape of a reddish-brown doughnut that would be reflected in the mirror fitted at the bottom of the container. The doughnut could be thick or thin, but if it was there, it was fairly certain that the woman was pregnant. No doughnut meant no pregnancy. Broken red lines suggested that the test should be done again because the results were ambiguous. [Figure 3] This first home pregnancy test was certainly not simple compared to the ones available today. It was a twelve-step process that resembled something like a high school chemistry experiment, but was it any more difficult than following a cake recipe?

Still, there were objections. Organon executives complained that Crane's design

³ United Press International, "A do-it-yourself pregnancy test bared," *The Province* (Vancouver, BC), Oct. 12, 1977, p. 2.

used materials that were too expensive for mass production. The plastic container—the most ingenious component of the test because it was transparent, allowed light in so the results could be viewed easily, and stabilized the contraption—was supposedly too costly to manufacture for these purposes. So Crane took three days off work (at no pay since she was an hourly worker) with the mission to find a plastics manufacturer who could make the box at an affordable price. She called and visited plastic companies in the Bronx, Newark, and Long Island, until finally a Pennsylvania company told her they could make the box at a third of the price estimated by the Organon executives. With that last hurdle out of the way, the home pregnancy test was patented with Crane’s design. Because corporations can’t patent inventions themselves, Crane agreed to sell her rights to the design for \$1 in 1969, although she wryly noted to me, “I never did get that \$1, nor did they ever send me the paperwork for the patent as promised.” [Figure 4] Besides the salary paid by Organon during the months she worked designing the product and its packaging, she never made a profit off her invention.

However, Sturtevant — that handsome ad man, who picked up her design and insisted it was the one— well she fell in love with him at first sight. When she went home that evening, she told her roommate that she had met the man who would be the love of her life, and after her pregnancy test design was accepted by Organon she had reason to work with him day after day. At the beginning, their meetings were strictly business. They discussed the details of the design for the test, which Organon had named Predictor; Crane interviewed women to ask what color she should use for the swirly P she designed for the test’s logo. She wanted both the design and color to be soothing and to have a clean, clinical look, especially for anxious women who might be feeling early symptoms of nausea. After

several weeks of working together, one evening, after a day's work, Sturtevant suggested they have a drink together at the Barclay Hotel in midtown Manhattan. A few months later he moved in with her. Soon after that, they opened their own ad agency. Sturtevant was the copy chief; Crane the designer.

Predictor in Canada

While Sturtevant and Crane would remain a couple until Sturtevant's death in 2008, the story of the home pregnancy test in the US didn't have as much immediate success. Organon filed two patents in Crane's name on January 22, 1969, and then started mass production of the home pregnancy test. However, there was staunch opposition in the US. News articles suggested that a home pregnancy test was unreliable, and if available, some women might get a false positive result and rush to get an unnecessary abortion, while others might get a false negative and not seek prompt medical attention.⁴ The argument made by medical practitioners, pharmaceutical companies, and the media was that only doctors and laboratories should be able to administer this test and convey such important news. So Organon turned to a more willing market: Canada.

Why Canada? One possible explanation is that Organon saw Canada as a test case for the United States. In 1969, Canada legalized abortion in cases where the pregnancy was deemed to physically or emotionally cause harm to the woman, and in metropolitan areas, many doctors interpreted the new law liberally. A home pregnancy test would give women an easier way to learn whether they were pregnant, and furthermore, women could already take a pregnancy test through pharmacies without a doctor's prescription, which was still illegal to do in the US. Therefore, marketing a home pregnancy test in Canada first could

⁴ David Zinman, "U.S. Opposing Sales of Pregnancy Test," *Newsday* (Suffolk Edition), May 18, 1971, p.11, and Cathy Yarbrough, "Pregnancy Checks are 50 Pct. Accurate," *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), July 14, 1972, p. 34.

allow Organon to assess the demand for such a product.

There was another side to the story as well: Denver Chemical Manufacturing Co., another pharmaceutical company, was also seriously looking into marketing a home pregnancy test through their Canadian subsidiary, Denver Laboratories. Confidelle, as their product came to be called, was set to be sold in stores by late 1970. While there's little evidence that Organon saw the release of Confidelle as a motivation to offer a competing product, the Canadian pregnancy test's only full-page ad in *Chatelaine*, the most widely circulated Canadian women's magazine, emphasized to readers that its pregnancy test was the first for Canada and the first for the world—and it was Canadian made [Figure 5]. Organon, however, would soon overtake Denver Laboratories with its home pregnancy test. Not only were they willing to take out more advertisements, they could afford to undercut Confidelle and offer their test for a lower price.

Confidelle arrived in Canadian drugstores in early December 1970. (Predictor would follow by summer 1971.) For a suggested price of \$5.50 (Canadian), women could discreetly purchase this test and find out at home whether they were pregnant. For comparison, a Maidenform bra, advertised on the same page as an article announcing the test's arrival, cost \$6.50.⁵ The laboratory test cost \$7, presumably because of the number of people involved in its processing. Still, not everyone warmly received the home pregnancy test in Canada.

Just a month after the home pregnancy test's release, *The Province*, a British Columbia newspaper, reported on the test's popularity on the Canadian east coast.⁶ Pharmacies regularly sold out of the test, the journalist noted. Yet Bob Porte, a local British

⁵ Betty Palik, "New home pregnancy test could be a Canadian export," *The Gazette* (Montreal, QC), Dec. 18, 1970, p. 22.

⁶ Unauthored, "Do-it-yourself pregnancy test," *The Province* (Vancouver, BC), Jan. 4 1971, p. 8.

Columbian pharmacist interviewed for the article, said he wouldn't be selling them in his pharmacy. He told the reporter that he didn't think women could be trusted to accurately obtain results. His pharmacy would only continue offering the (more expensive) laboratory test. Almost a year later, an article in *The Calgary Herald* describes the home pregnancy test as part of a "craze" for other home medical tests, like an at-home Pap Smear (the test is mailed away for results), a "do-it-yourself Child Selection Kit" that promised it could help you choose the sex of your child, and a test called "Pre-Na-Tell" that supposedly predicted the sex of the fetus during pregnancy.⁷ The article dismisses these tests, including the home pregnancy test, as passing fads that couldn't be trusted. Despite these criticisms, the home pregnancy did decently well on the Canadian market, especially in its bigger cities, and kept selling, albeit slowly. American women who lived close to the Canadian border often crossed it to procure their own test. One pharmacy in Windsor, Ontario reported that fifty percent of home pregnancy tests were purchased by American women.⁸ In Europe and the UK, similar pregnancy tests were also marketed successfully. Still, the hemagglutination inhibition test, as it came to be called because of the science behind it, never achieved the level of popularity of later home pregnancy tests. Doctors often undermined them, insisting they were not as accurate as pregnancy tests in the lab, and it was true that at the slightest vibration— a drawer opening and closing underneath or a child running past it— might mess up the results and require a second test.

Time is on Your Side at Last

⁷ Ruth Winter, "You can be your own physician in do-it-yourself-kit boom," *Calgary Herald* (Calgary, Alberta), Nov. 22, 1971, p. 33.

⁸ Cindy Skalsky, "Pregnancy Tests are Selling Slowly," *Detroit Free Press*, March 9, 1971, p. 21. The article opens with a woman admitting to a customs officer that the purpose of her trip was to buy a home pregnancy test. Rather than confiscate it— because they were not approved for sale in the US— he asked about its cost and reliability.

In the United States, a different narrative unfolded. Even before the home pregnancy test emerged as a reality, laboratory pregnancy tests were far more regulated in the US than in Europe and Canada. By the 1960s, women outside of the US could go to a pharmacy to have a pregnancy test locally administered. In the US, however, the pregnancy test was deemed a medical procedure, and only women with a referral from their doctor could take the laboratory test. The results were always processed in a lab, similar to the one Crane visited in Organon. Some feminist and leftist organizations encouraged women to learn how to use the laboratory tests, not marketed for home use, as a way to offer pregnancy tests outside of a doctor's office.⁹ In 1973, one small drug store in New Jersey tried to offer the test—the first known American pharmacy that advertised to women that they could process these pregnancy test kits without a doctor's prescription— but eventually, they were shut down and deemed illegal because of a 1953 law that mandated that only people with special licenses could handle bodily fluids.¹⁰ Of course, a physician and laboratory-controlled pregnancy test also ensured that only some women could access it.

Still, the FDA and state health boards weren't always able to keep up with new tests that came on the market. In December 1972, the FDA recalled thousands of home pregnancy tests, descriptively labeled do-it-yourself pregnancy detection kits by *The New York Times*, which covered the recall.¹¹ The tests had been sold and even advertised in women's magazines for a year before the FDA caught on. The agency announced that the tests were being pulled because they were "inaccurate, unreliable and prone to give false results." This version of the home pregnancy test didn't share Crane's design, and its

⁹ Off Our Backs, "You don't need a rabbit to know which way: Do it yourself pregnancy test," *Liberation News Service*, November 10, 1971, p. 6.

¹⁰ Unauthored, "Pharmacy Offers Test Service for Pregnancy, May be Illegal," *Asbury Park Press* (Asbury Park, NJ), April 15, 1973, p. 27.

¹¹ Unauthored, "Pregnancy Test is Disputed," *New York Times*, April 29, 1973, p. 80.

science was more questionable.¹² It was marketed under the name Ova II, and a representative of the company that sold it disputed the FDA's statements, insisting that it was ninety-three percent reliable. Later an independent clinical trial disproved this, showing that Ova II, which supposedly measured the level of estrogen in urine to determine pregnancy, was as accurate as flipping a coin. Ultimately, the FDA didn't take issue with the science underlying the test but argued that it was a drug, and therefore should be subject to the agency's approval before any woman was allowed to use it.¹³ In July 1975, Faraday, Ova II's manufacturer, took the FDA to court and won their case, but not because the judge thought women had a right to test for pregnancy at home.¹⁴ Instead, he argued that it didn't matter whether the test was accurate or not, instead he believed that "the entire process from conception to delivery or other termination involves observable events and changes in the body that have been known for as long as the human race has propagated itself." In other words, he didn't think a pregnancy test could tell women anything they wouldn't already know soon enough. After all, he explained, anyone taking the test must have had sexual intercourse involving sperm and female genitals and missed at least one menstrual cycle.¹⁵ The pregnancy test, according to his logic, just tested for news that would soon reveal itself without a mediating device and therefore did not constitute a diagnosis.

Despite this ruling, it would take another six years, until 1978, for another home

¹² This prompted the *American Journal of Public Health* to solicit medical and legal reviews of Ova II, and they found that it was only accurate fifty percent of the time. Lawrence D. Baker, Louise W. Yert, Mary C. Chase, and Edwin Dale, "Evaluation of a 'Do-It-Yourself Pregnancy Test,'" *American Journal of Public Health* 66.2 (Feb. 1976), p. 166-167; Anita Johnson, "Do-it-yourself pregnancy testing," *American Journal of Public Health* 66.2 (Feb. 1976), p. 129- 131.

¹³ For more of this history see Joan H. Robinson, "Bringing the pregnancy test home from the hospital," *Social Studies of Science* 46.5 (2016), p. 649-674.

¹⁴ The Associated Press, "Pregnancy-test recall overruled," *The Record* (Hackensack, NJ), July 18, 1975, p. 2.

¹⁵ *United States v. Article of Drug*, United States District Court for the District of New Jersey, July 16, 1975, Civ. No. 745-72.

pregnancy test to arrive on the American market. The first reliable American test was branded e.p.t. (for “early pregnancy test”), and it followed Crane’s design for the Predictor models because by then Organon decided it didn’t want to be in the over-the-counter business and licensed Crane’s design to several pharmaceutical companies.¹⁶ (Within a few months of e.p.t.’s arrival, two more home pregnancy tests would be released using the same design: Answer and Acu-test. Predictor would also soon be introduced to the American market.) The initial print advertisements for e.p.t. were text heavy and often featured smiling heterosexual couples to promote it. These ads ended with the note, “Now, when you call your doctor, you have the results of your test to report. Time is on your side at last.” This language was both meant to reassure an American public that the home pregnancy test wouldn’t circumvent the medical establishment, but its last line is ambiguous. On the one hand, early pregnancy detection encouraged women to obtain prenatal care as soon as possible, which in the late 1970s was increasingly promoted as women were being told that smoking and drinking alcohol might harm their developing fetus. On the other hand, having time on your side also meant time to contemplate whether you wanted an abortion, especially if you needed to travel to obtain one. By 1978 abortion had been legal in every American state for five years, but that doesn’t always mean it was accessible. The home pregnancy test gave women time to consider the ramifications of an unplanned pregnancy— and to plan for next steps, including abortion. This consequence of a privately administered pregnancy test couldn’t have been far from the minds of the people responsible for this advertisement. This test gave women more options and more time to consider their decisions.

¹⁶ Jane E. Brody, “Personal Health,” *New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1978, p. 11.

At the same time, these early home pregnancy tests weren't exactly affordable. The recommended sale price was \$10, which was equivalent to about \$40 today. Worse, it was recommended that women purchase two tests to confirm the accuracy of the first, especially if it was negative since if the test was taken too early the results could be misleading. The cost of the test therefore limited the market of women who might use it. While there were certainly working-class women, women with limited income of their own, and young women and girls who might have wished to learn whether they were pregnant in the privacy of their homes, the test's high price made it prohibitive for those who didn't have a spare \$10 or \$20. The home pregnancy test was another reproductive technology only accessible to women with some means.

After the court ruling in Faraday's favor, the FDA appealed, but more significantly, Congress decided to consider a bill that would give the FDA oversight of medical devices, even if drugs were not involved.¹⁷ Warner-Lambert, an American pharmaceutical company (later bought by Pfizer), aware that Congress would likely pass a law classifying the home pregnancy test as a medical device, rushed to develop a home pregnancy test before the bill's passage. In the spring of 1976, the company introduced e.p.t. on a small scale.¹⁸ No advertisements were taken out, and the media was nearly silent about the test's introduction. Still, because Warner-Lambert had managed to distribute the test to a limited market before the passage of the 1976 Medical Devices Act, which would ultimately classify home pregnancy tests as a medical device, they did not need to seek official approval for its marketing when it was released more broadly two years later. Shortly after Warner-Lambert released e.p.t., several other pharmaceutical companies followed its example with

¹⁷ United Press International (UPI), "F.D.A. seeks appeal over pregnancy kit," *New York Times*, July 26, 1975, p. 13.

¹⁸ Dolores Katz, "Home pregnancy test," *The San Francisco Examiner*, Dec. 6, 1977, p. 25.

competing brands and because they all used the same design they were grandfathered from needing FDA approval under the 1976 Act.

Why did it take almost eight years after Crane patented the home pregnancy test for it to be marketed in the US? Laboratory pregnancy tests were already big business, and certainly pharmaceutical companies like Organon and medical clinics run by physicians pushed back against a device that would challenge a lucrative system. However, the movement for legal abortion, which was gaining ground in the late 1960s, must have influenced the conversations about whether a home pregnancy test should be introduced to an American market. In 1967, Colorado passed a law allowing abortion in cases of rape, incest, or if the woman's life was at risk because of the pregnancy. California, North Carolina, and Oregon passed similar laws shortly after. In 1970, Hawaii became the first state to legalize abortion, and that same year New York repealed its anti-abortion laws as well, opening the door for legal abortions in the first two trimesters. A movement was gaining ground, and before *Roe v. Wade* was decided in 1973 ten more states would follow Hawaii and New York to legalize abortion, either by repealing or passing laws— depending on their state's existing statutes. The US was on a threshold in 1970, on the verge of swinging open doors that would allow women to make decisions about their reproductive lives in ways that had been previously foreclosed. Legal abortion would certainly be an important turning point, but perhaps a home pregnancy test took things a step too far for some people. With a home pregnancy test, women could take control of their decision from day one. They wouldn't need to find a doctor willing to test them for pregnancy who might question their motivations or next steps. They wouldn't need to share their news with anyone until they were ready. The home pregnancy test had the potential to upend a

paternalistic culture of gynecological medicine that had spent the last hundred years working to convince women that medical doctors knew more about their bodies than they did. It would take eight years before American legislators, pharmaceutical companies, and doctors were willing to accept a home pregnancy test that circumvented their authority—and even then they insisted that each home pregnancy test box, each commercial, and each advertisement include a line urging women to visit their doctor to confirm the results of the test.

Crane never imagined that her freelance job for a giant pharmaceutical company would forever change American women's relationship to pregnancy. Still, she was well aware in the late 1960s that times were changing. "I wasn't a card carrying feminist back then," she told me, "but I did understand that women's lives were constrained because of their gender." Women were pushing back against the social and medical controls that for so long had limited the possibilities of their biological lives. The home pregnancy test made that possible. Time was on our side at last. Or so it seemed.