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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

JAN 1931

Twenty Cents

JANUARY

**"What sort of truths do the majority really need? Truths that are decrepit with age. When a truth is as old as that, then it's in a fair way to become a lie."
G. B. S. (*An Enemy of the People*)**

(Title Copyrighted)

Dedicated to Voluntary Motherhood

Women's Part in the Neo-Malthusian Movement

By Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery

Birth Control or Racial Degeneration Which ?

By Anna Martin

Why I Believe in Birth Control

By Florence Guertin Tuttle

Editorials, Story, News Notes

BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery, President

- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
 HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
 GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hauameister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
 FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
 SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bullfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
 BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
 SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
 BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/c, Liabon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
 BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moecosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janerio.
 CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
 SWEDEN (1911).—Sallekspet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
 ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
 AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
 MEXICO (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

IN THE UNITED STATES:

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.
 CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
 CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*League for Voluntary Parenthood*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, Secretary, 1702 Belmar Road, Cleveland Heights.
 ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
 HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 1804 Penn Street.
 LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
 NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 264 W. 73rd Street, chairman.
International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, president, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
Voluntary Parenthood League, 49 East 59th Street. Mary Ware Dennett, director.
- BROOKLYN—Jessie A. Dastre, 673 Vanderbilt Ave.
 PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary.
 RADNOR, PA.—*The Main Line Branch of the National Birth Control League*. Mrs. Walter M. Newkirk, secretary.
 ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parcells Avenue.
 ST. LOUIS, MO.—Grace Anderson, Superintendent of Municipal Nurses, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.
 SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West, Seattle, Wash., secretary.
 SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.
 WASHINGTON, D. C.—*The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia*. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1926 New Hampshire Ave., president.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

FEBRUARY, 1921

No. 2

Editorial Comment

Birth Control the Key to International Peace and Security

MOST INTELLIGENT people who have given the population problem any thought at all now acknowledge the world's crying need for Birth Control. The few who still remain unconvinced could not remain so if they visited the European countries which are suffering most acutely from the consequences of the war. Had the war succeeded in jolting Europe out of its old ways of thinking and feeling, had it smashed up its old romantic and sentimental ideals, had it awakened men and women to the values of human life and human standards, it might after all have justified itself. If it had taught people the insanity of that hideous waste of human life, the danger of petty chauvinistic quarrels, and awakened them to the absolute need of international coöperation, it would not have been in vain. Instead, it seems to me after my months in Central Europe and Great Britain, the old reactionary and sinister forces are the first in the field to throw dust in the eyes of the awakened and disillusioned victims of the great disaster. In the face of wholesale starvation and disease, the militarists and the imperialists are still crying aloud for more babies. This despite the cruel fact that the children who have already been brought into the world by starving parents, are too weak, too undernourished to stand, even to hold up their heads. These are to become the torchbearers of the human race! The great duty of those of us who are convinced of the necessity of the intelligence, and therefore of the high morality of Birth Control, is to awaken and mobilize the intelligence of the whole world about this problem.

WE HAVE PASSED the initial stage of controversy, of attack and discussion, of breaking the taboo of silence. The war which swept aside the old pruriciencies concerning sex, has emphasized and accentuated the problem of population—showing it for those who have unprejudiced eyes to see—in the problems thrust every day before our eyes by the newspapers; pleas to save the starving children of Central Europe; appeals to aid the thirty million starving Chinese; questions of immigration and exclusion; the thousand “neediest cases”; reports on the increase of heritable disease and the congenitally feeble-minded; plagues and pestilences bred and propagated in this overcrowded world; the effort of the Roman Catholic Church to stop, upon the basis of its traditional dogma, the

rising and inevitable practice of Birth Control; the organization of huge international charities and philanthropies, through which the people of the less crowded and more prosperous nations are encouraged to pay for and palliate the inevitable disasters that follow blind and reckless breeding. More and more the whole world is looking to the people of America for financial support, for food, for the expression of our traditional generosity.

In facing all these complex problems, let us attempt first and always to seek the intelligent solution. Let us be generous, certainly! Let us minister to the needs of the afflicted and the disinherited; but in so doing, there is no need of wallowing in pathos and sentimentality. Let us remember that generosity does not preclude intelligence. We must not merely give; we must also guide.

To be creative, to be constructive, international charity faces the important duty, not primarily of relieving the sufferings of the afflicted, the starving and the diseased, but of preventing permanently the recurrence of conditions which have brought about social or economic disaster. Charity or philanthropy which does not seek to uproot the radical causes of social disaster, misery and starvation is negative and not worthy of support.

WHETHER WE LIKE it or not, the consequences of the war has thrust internationalism upon us. Our “splendid isolation” is a myth. We have been shaken out of our slumber of complacency into an acute realization of a finely enmeshed tangle of interdependencies, inter-relationships, and tightly knotted antagonisms. Today we are confronted with an internationalism of petty hatreds, of disasters, of starvation, of industrial bankruptcy. Among nations as among smaller communities the irresponsible and the helpless become the burden of the self-supporting and the self-reliant, a fact sufficiently and emphatically thrust upon us every day of our lives.

How then is it possible to disentangle this disordered skein of international affairs? How, out of all the international chaos and disease produced by national hatred, is it possible to sow the fruitful seed of the internationalism of peace and security?

The internationalism of peace and security and progress, to be enduring, to be a vital growing and fruitful principle, to be effective, cannot be based on the conferences of politicians and self-appointed “statesmen” who meet and discuss the limitation of armaments, who strive to gloss over deeply-rooted antagonisms and disguised policies of imperialism. Nor can it be

brought about by the establishment of a "world court" which refuses to recognize the most deeply rooted instincts and habits of the human race.

No: the new internationalism can only come as the outgrowth of a dynamic, living, functional practice, which penetrates into the very lives and habits of the human race, and which gradually but progressively lessens and obliterates the cause of wars and social catastrophes. If seriously we aim for world peace, we must discourage over-population and over-crowding, with its attendant train of disease, epidemic and plague. By diminishing overcrowding, much of the incentive for emigration will disappear, and with the lessening of emigration and immigration, we shall have taken an important step in stabilizing and increasing the power of organized labor.

THE PRACTICE OF Birth Control is this dynamic living principle which not only relieves the conditions of over-crowding for the individual, but also for the race. It is the crying need in over-populated countries like Japan and China and elsewhere, as the statistics of infantile mortality, infanticide and abortion tragically indicate. Only the great reactionary forces of tradition and exploitation and ignorance oppose its practice.

Our own immediate duty then, is to mobilize the forces of intelligence and true statesmanship in all countries, to establish "spheres of influence," to awaken the consciousness and the conscience of all serious-minded people to this great world problem, and to unite with the rapidly growing movements in other lands.

Our outlook is more promising than it has ever been. The causes of the present international chaos are becoming more and more evident, and to ever increasing numbers of people. Once we begin to grasp the factors of our great problem of international peace and security, we may assure ourselves that we shall be brave enough and courageous enough not to rest until we have solved it.

Effect of Birth Control on the Income of Physicians

To the Editor.—Has THE JOURNAL ever published a discussion of the effect that birth control has or would have on the income of physicians? Any information you may be able to give me upon this subject will be thankfully received.—C. W. C., New Jersey.

ANSWER.—We have no reference to any article on the effect which birth control would have on the income of physicians. The social aspects of this measure in relation to the general population are so broad that the relative importance of any effect it might have on the income of physicians is infinitesimal.

(From the Journal of the American Medical Ass'n.)

The Song of the Unborn

From the Unseen I come to you tonight,
The hope and expectation of your world.
I am Omniscience who seeks of you
A tongue to utter the Eternal Thought.
I am Omnipotence that claims of you
The tools whereby my power may profit earth.
All Love am I, that seeks to spend itself
Embodied in a human sacrament.
For I have heard the wailing of the world,

Not faint and far-away, as in a dream,
But very near—and lo, I understand,
It must not be—wherefore I come to you.

O You to whom my tenderness goes out,
To whom I fain would bring an end of groans,
And blind, bewildered tears, a cloudless dawn
Of unimagined joy, and strength unguessed,
What welcome will you give to me, O World?
Since I, whose dwelling is the Universe
Will stoop to walls and rafters for your sake,
What is the home you have prepared for me?
O Man and Woman, is it beautiful,
A place of peace, a house of harmony?
Will you be glad, who know me as I am,
To see me make my habitation there?
Since I will hamper my divinity
With weight of mortal raiment for your sake,
What vesture have you woven for my wear?
O Man and Woman who have fashioned it
Together, is it fine and clean and strong,
Made in such reverence of holy joy,
Of such unsullied substance, that your hearts
Leap with glad awe to see it clothing me,
The glory of whose nakedness you know?

O long, long silence of the waking years!
Thus have I called since man took shape as man;
Thus will I call till all mankind shall heed
And know me, who today am one with God
And whom tomorrow shall behold, your child.
From the Unseen I come to you tonight . . .

AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

CORNELIA BARNES LOU ROGERS
ANNE KENNEDY BLANCHE SCHRACK

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The First Step

CHARITY is an attribute of indifference to fundamental causes.

Charity, abroad as well as at home, enlists the sympathies of Americans in a large hearted, unstinting way.

America is essentially a generous nation. Europe has found her reward and her faith in looking to us for salvation from distress, disease, starvation and death.

What America must realize is that while giving is blessed, charity in this enlightened age should not be necessary.

A good deal of charity would be eliminated over here were those who so liberally donate to its manifold appeals to realize the urgent need of supporting movements that tend to abolish poverty, disease, ignorance—the three breeders of conditions creating charity needs.

Such a movement is that of Birth Control. We all know of the bill that has been drawn up by Samuel McCune Lindsay of Columbia. It will be submitted to the Legislature at Albany, and if it enlists enough support for passage, charity needs, in this state will be lessened.

Mothers will be saved from unnecessary hardship; crime will be decreased by the elimination of the unfit.

But its passage is dependent upon adequate funds to push the measure.

Forces of reaction—notably the National Catholic Welfare Council, are spending much money to combat it.

To meet their opposition, we must be increasingly active.

The truth about the issues must be placed before the people.

We are raising a fund—a Victory Fund—for this purpose.

We ask you to give to it generously, to the end that a measure that means progress, that means happiness, that means emancipation for America's motherhood may be lifted from the stage of a shadowy dream into reality.

Be liberal!

First Draft of the Lindsay Bill

TO AMEND the Penal Law in relation to the Prevention of Conception.

Allowing Doctors and Trained Nurses to give information on Birth Control, drafted by the Legislative Bureau of Columbia University, drawn up by Samuel McCune Lindsay.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Sec. 1. Section eleven hundred and forty-five of chapter eighty-eight of the laws of nineteen hundred and nine entitled "An act providing for the punishment of crime, constituting chapter forty of the Consolidated Laws," is hereby amended to read as follows:

1145. Physicians' instruments and information. An article or instrument used or applied by physicians lawfully practicing, or by their direction or prescription, for the cure or prevention of disease, is not an article of indecent or immoral nature or use, within this article. The supplying of such articles to such physicians or by their direction or prescription, is not an offense under this article. *The giving by a physician or registered nurse lawfully practicing of information or advice in regard to, or the supplying to any person of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception, is not a violation of any provision of this article.*

2. This act shall take effect immediately.

Hit the High Mark for the Victory Fund

Every contribution made now is ammunition in our fight. Each shot will hit its mark. Aim High!

This is what each shot will hit:

- \$5000** Maintenance of the campaign for the bill in the legislature for three months.
- \$2500** Provides enough to counteract the National Catholic Welfare Council's extensive propaganda for six weeks.
- \$1000** Will enable us to solicit legislators personally in Albany.
- \$500** Is needed to print about 10,000 circulars.
- \$250** Must be raised every month to cover the current deficit of keeping up the office.
- \$100** Defrays a week of educational campaigning.
- \$50** Shoots circulars into 2,500 homes.
- \$25** Distributes 125 copies of the magazine for propaganda purposes.
- \$10** Pays for the services of stenographer for 2 days.
- \$5** Will keep 100 people informed about the progress of the bill.
- \$1** Will supply 10 social workers and nurses with material to enlist workers in our cause.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
104 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Herewith I am sending check (or money order) for \$.....
to help push the Lindsay bill through the New York State Legislature.

NAME

ADDRESS

Liberty and Democracy

By F. W. Stella Browne

EDWARD CARPENTER'S LESSON to the world today, is to a peculiar degree, the direct expression of his own personality, as revealed in the art of life, as well as in literature. I think none among our greatest, teaches and helps us with such an intimate and individual touch, while his versatility appeals to an unusually varied collection of human types.

His social message is unmistakably definite and fundamental: it is a message of sincerity (in Carlyle's phrase, *veracity*) and spontaneity, and it also includes a gracious balance and proportion, a fine discrimination between essentials and non-essentials, an equipoise of individual and social rights, of body, mind and spirit.

Perhaps to the general public, Edward Carpenter is best known as the practical as well as theoretical, exponent of real and wholesome simplification of life, with its inestimable economy of time, energy and material resources. A real simplification, this: not the timidly pretentious affectation which H. S. Salt has so effectively scourged, in a recent criticism of Thoreau's critics. And an æsthetic and humorous simplification, not a mania for self-mortification, or a positively perverted relish in squalor and torment, such as has unquestionably animated certain ascetics, Christian and other. No: (I quote H. S. Salt) it is "the triumph of genuine taste over traditional habit." Its success is manifest in Carpenter's intellectual clarity and alertness, and the capacity for sustained and varied effort, which carries him through such an astonishing number of beneficent activities.

Carpenter has not only despised humbug and the "upholstery" and noxious paraphernalia of useless material which clogs and poisons *living*: he has *renounced* them. He has given a wonderful demonstration of the possibilities of wholesomeness, refinement and efficiency in the art of Household Management, which are being developed and adapted to social needs, in many modest yet determined co-operative and communal experiments.

SIMPLICITY OF LIFE goes hand in hand with labor. Carpenter devoted himself at an age (39) when many men have become impervious to fresh ideas and habits, to acquiring skill at market-gardening and manual work, in close contact with the primitive life of the soil and weather. He has told us, how his great poem "Towards Democracy" was written in the open air; this influence pervades all his work, e. g., the wholesomeness and genuine sense of wonder and space.

Of Labor itself,

"which is our daily death
and resurrection, in the thing created."

he has spoken excellently. He has emphasized the need for variety of occupation; for something harmonious as well as arduous, something personally expressive and socially useful.

The exaltation of manual labor is one aspect of Carpenter's

revolt against a *superficially rationalized and intellectualized life*; this reaction is shown most significantly too, in his treatment of all psychic and emotional problems—in his pre-occupation with the two great "imponderables" religion and love.

A born psychic,—(however little his early training and environment permitted this faculty to develop)—he knows the value of the *intuition* which most men ignore and depreciate.

He says:

"Do not pay too much attention to the wandering lunatic Mind.

"When you have trained it, informed it, made it clear, decisive, and your flexible instrument and tool,

"Why, do not then reverse the order, and become the mere fatuous attendant and exhibitor of its acrobatic feats, like a keeper who shows off a monkey."

("Towards Democracy" Part IV)

A hard saying? Perhaps. And liable to misinterpretation and abuse? Yet, what empty academic shows and exercises, what pompous, pinched, eviscerated humanity, in wigs, robes and all the paraphernalia of authority, must have prompted Carpenter's reflexion!

THE PORTION OF his delightful autobiography "*My Days and Dreams*," dealing with his experiences at Cambridge, is an invaluable commentary on this poem, and his whole attitude respecting education and religion.

Carpenter is a student of the emotional life and nature of humanity; and an untiring and most redoubtable champion of the right of the emotions to recognition and development in any sane social order. He has an intuitive understanding of, and sympathy with the wilder and more primitive manifestations of wonder, awe, and love: he is anxious to understand rather than to *condemn*. He has studied love's social value as well as the huge gamut of its individual variations. The essays on the relations of the sexes, in "*Love's Coming of Age*" are equally balanced and profound. In "*Towards Democracy*" are some of the most beautiful love poems ever written: for instance:

"Who shall command the Heart" with its amazing imagery:

who chained Thee in This body?

who muzzled thee, to drive

"this crank machine,

"Thou wanderer of the woods,

"Thou crimson leopard,

"No better than a turnspit?"

And throughout his work, he grasps and portrays love's infinite plasticity as well as its basic power.

The neglect of any humane understanding and expansion of emotional possibilities in our system of education, (as well as of any definite instruction in sexual hygiene) was thorough-

ly exposed long ago, by Carpenter. Our present society in which many restrictions, ideas and prohibitions have become meaningless, and therefore obsolete, still refuses any adequate *readjustment* of its laws, to meet realities; it wastes its manhood and womanhood, as it starves and stunts its babies—but it must recognize that “sincere love is, as we have said, a real fact and its own justification and that however various or anomalous or unusual may be the circumstances and combinations under which it appears, it demands and has to be treated by Society with the utmost respect and reverence.”

The student and seer who has made that great neglected truth more apparent—even if he had done nothing else—has thereby achieved an inestimable contribution to human happiness and evolution. He has helped towards the realization of that Freedom which “has to be won afresh every morning.” He is one of those “who dream the impossible dream, and it comes true; who dream the dream which all men always declare futile, who dream the hour which is not yet on earth, and lo! it strikes.”

“Jail Breeding” Labor Camps in Delta Bared

By ALAN McEWEN

A ROOM 9x12 FEET, finished in rough boards. Stretching across and occupying all of the space but three feet of passageway are two shelves, one above the other, that go by the name of “bunks.” The lower bunk is shared by a man and wife and three children. The upper berth by the five other children of the same family.

Separated from this room by a thin partition plentifully broken by wide cracks is another room of the same size. It is occupied by a mother, father and eight children. The only difference between it and the first room is that the first has a small window at the end of the three foot passageway. The second room has no direct opening to the outer air.

The second story, or, rather, attic of the shed containing these two rooms has two more rooms of the same dimensions. They are occupied respectively by a family of nine and a family of eight.

39 CALL THIS HOME

Altogether, there are thirty-nine persons living in the shack, which measures over all 18x18 feet. It is also occupied by countless thousands of flies.

Outside is a rude oven of bricks, adobe and sheetiron, where the cooking for these thirty-nine and thirty more who live in an adjoining shack is done.

Beyond this a few feet, where a stream of muddy water trickles from a pump, is an ordinary wooden laundry tub—the only washing place for sixty-nine men, women and children. There is no bathing place.

The principal sign of activity, besides the flocks of small children playing in the dirt, is furnished by the swarms of flies sweeping in intermittent clouds from the small swamp below the wash tub to the open tent that serves for a food

store room, into the kitchen, into the living quarters and out again.

MILES OF ASPARAGUS

BACK OF THE shacks and stretching as far as the eye can reach are brown asparagus fields—dotted here and there with the bent figures of men and women at work with their long knives over the furrows. They are the fathers and mothers and older children who call the shacks their homes.

The camp described is part of Camp No. 2 of Chow Kee’s holdings on Sherman Island, Sacramento County. It is typical—no worse, no better than most of the rest—of the asparagus farms of the California delta region, variously celebrated the “Nile of America” and one of the richest farming sections on earth.

During the past few weeks the delta labor camps have been the subject of inspection by the State Immigration and Housing Commission and the State Labor Commissioner.

In some instances they have been successful in having the state laws on camp sanitation and child labor complied with. In others, notably the camp operated by Chow Kee, they have not. In these warrants are to be sought and prosecutions are to follow.

CONDITION NEVER WORSE

The commission inspectors declare that the labor conditions existing in the delta are the worst that they have found since the immigration commission undertook the enforcement of the camp housing and sanitation laws.

The asparagus season is nearly over. The commission workers expect to accomplish little more this year than to lay the basis for better conditions next year. But with this season’s asparagus crop there has already been harvested a crop of human misery, suffering, squalor and hatred and their consequences. The breeding of “prison bait,” as one of the inspectors expresses it, is one of the consequences.

He referred to the children between the ages of 8 and 16, taken from school, cut off from opportunity to learn better methods of living, put to work in the fields for a few cents, or in some cases, a dollar or so a day, to swell the family income.

BREEDING PLACE FOR DISEASE

“What can be expected from children brought up without any of the decencies, in surroundings of filth and disease, witnessing the misery that is the reward of hard labor and with little but the worst examples for their moral education?” asks the author of the “prison bait” definition.

And this, he feels, is the worst feature of the island conditions.

ONE OF THE chief difficulties of the state emissaries is to find the persons responsible for the camp conditions. The ownership of the island farms is a mystic maze of leases and subleases, of contracts and subcontracts.

Many of the island tracts are owned by wealthy syndicates in San Francisco, Oakland and Sacramento. Their practice is to sublet the lands for cultivation to Chinese, Japanese, Hindus—whoever will pay the price and produce crops.

ORIENTAL DOMAIN

The lessees, particularly in the sections where the inspectors have found the worst conditions, are groups or partnerships of Orientals who in past years have themselves performed the actual farm labor.

Now, having learned the American lessons of thrift and enterprise, they have acquired possession of the lands where once they worked for days' wages and have put the newer nationalities of immigrants to work for them.

To this Oriental progress up the industrial ladder the state officers attribute many of the objectionable features of the present labor conditions.

The asparagus camps were constructed years ago to accommodate Oriental workers. Not being over particular where they lived, so long as wages were good, they were content to sleep in stalls, to eat in animal pens and corn-cribs converted into kitchens and dining rooms. With the exception of the Japanese, they seldom had women or children with them.

This year, when labor was needed in the asparagus fields, it was found that the Orientals had scattered to other parts of the state, the ricefields, the cantaloupe fields of the Imperial

Valley, the vineyards and orchards of the San Joaquin, or were operating in the delta for themselves.

The American migratory agricultural worker had been largely "absorbed" in other occupations.

New sources of labor supply were sought.

SPANIARDS EXPLOITED

It was found that numerous families of Spanish laborers and peasants had come to California during the last year. They had come from Hawaii, drawn by tales of far higher wages than could be earned on the Hawaiian plantations. They had established themselves during the winter in the Telegraph Hill section of San Francisco, in Hayward, in San Leandro and in other Alameda and Contra Costa County towns.

It is these Spanish immigrants who are occupying the former Oriental camps on the delta islands. And with these families, who, of course, have never heard of Margaret Sanger or the school of thought she represents, six children each seems to be a low average.

Some of the circumstances under which they live and work in the luxuriantly productive delta region and some of the things the state commissions are trying to do to protect them from disease, ignorance and exploitation will be recounted tomorrow.

The Eugenic Conscience

By Robert H. Kennedy

PROF. H. W. HILL, the famous Hygienic expert in a valuable article on Health in "America and the New Era" says: "Compare the sufficiently difficult demand 'Save the sick baby' with the sterner yet infinitely wiser slogan 'Prevent the unfit baby!' Of these two statements, the latter is obviously the wiser. It is evident that any real program of race culture or betterment which excludes, or does not take for its fundamental principle the exclusion or the elimination of those whose physical or mental incapacity would render them unfit for the battle of life—is entirely inadequate. It is entirely inadequate. It is now recognized universally that children are no longer an asset, but are instead a financial burden carried by parents for a period of 20 or more years. Although space forbids a lengthy discussion of the subject of Birth Control, yet it will suffice to say, that the prevention of the undesirable or unfit element in the human embryo through voluntary control of parenthood, commends itself to any right-thinking person, as being the safest and wisest policy. The practice of Birth Control will be adopted by any nation whose citizens are fired by a deep sense of obligation and responsibility to its future citizens. In ancient Sparta, each infant was examined by a board of authorities, as to its physical fitness, and was sentenced to extinction if found to be of unsound constitution. By this means, this state long maintained a superlatively high physical standard of manhood and womanhood, but at the price of man's noblest endowment—the human soul. To condone or encourage such persistent infanticide at the present day would be repugnant to the individual conscience, and

public opinion. But to prevent the possibility of the degenerate, and feeble-minded propagating their calamitous infirmities is a blessing rather than a crime, as it provides the remedy for those deteriorating and retrogressive influences which arrest human progress, lowering the human species further in the scale of evolution.

THERE IS A great deal of prattle at the present time about American culture, and about the making of our culture effective to the thought and life of other people. But it must be recognized that true race culture is not simply refinement, or academic distinction, these are but superficial. Heredity is the basic principle in all race development. Environment with its component factors, such as: education, dress, etc., is subservient only; if it is our purpose to effect the evolutionary tendency of the race for good or evil, heredity must be the starting point of our activities. As it is a universally recognized fact that many mental, moral, and physical traits are transmissible, it obviously becomes our bounden duty to eliminate all possibility of any abnormal anthropological specimens, and parasitical members of society propagating their vices, and calamitous infirmities to the detriment of society. The process which we know as evolution has been going on through countless eons and millenia in the realm of nature, and although it is a force which we cannot explain or elaborate, the researches of Mendel, Darwin, Wallace, Galton, etc., have brought it within the universal domain of law. Referring to this Prof. Hill also says: "There is in all biology a tendency

(Continued on page 17)

Race Suicide in the United States*

By Dr. Warren S. Thompson
University of Michigan and Cornell University

(Continued from January)

I HAVE MANY times been amazed at the utter lack of ambition among the children of unskilled laborers. But when one canvasses the situation carefully, one finds nothing in this attitude of children to cause surprise. They have been brought up to expect to go to work at an early age, their parents have never tried to instil into them the desire to better their lot. They have attended schools where no mention was ever made of occupations open to them, or if occupations of different kinds were brought to their attention, no efforts were made to inspire in them a desire to get into better occupations than those of their parents, and they have not been prepared to enter such occupations if the desire for them was implanted. In a word, everything in the life of the child of the poorer classes tends to press it into the mode of life of its parents while almost nothing urges it to a different mode of life.

There are forces at work now, however, which seem to me to be bringing about a change in the attitude of parents in this class towards their children, and also to be breaking down the passive acceptance by children of the role chosen for them by their parents. More stringent child labor laws, better enforced, are making the children dependent upon their parents for a longer time and thus rendering it less economically advantageous for them to have relatively large families. Going hand in hand with the movement to prevent too early work among children is the movement for vocational guidance and occupational training. In so far as these movements arouse ambition in the children of the poorer classes and supply the training to help them realize their ambitions, we may expect to see them become less and less an economic asset to their families. As this takes place, there is not the least doubt but that the birth rate will fall.

IT MAY BE well that the effects of these movements on the birth rate in this class will not be very marked in this generation, but they will be in the next. Those who have themselves risen from the poor class will want to maintain their new standards and give their children at least as good a start as they themselves had, and those who wanted to rise, but were unable, will hope that by having only a fair-sized family they can give their children such advantages that they can rise. Thus the effects of better education and a longer period of childhood and preparation are certain to bring about a reduction of the birth rate.

It is not likely, so far as I can see, that the poorer classes will ever have as low a birth rate as the other classes. There will always be those who must do the unskilled work of the community and their children will, for the most part, take their places with the minimum of preparation allowed by law. Under such conditions the children of this class will naturally

cease to be an expense to the family sooner than the children of the higher classes, and they will also be able to add something to the family income for several years before striking out for themselves. Thus in spite of greatly improved conditions children will always be more valuable economically to the poorer classes in the city than the other classes.

Another reason why I do not believe that the birth rate of the poor class will ever fall as low as that of the higher classes is that the poor class will always contain a greater proportion of improvident ne'er-do-wells than the other classes. People who never look to the future, who make no plans for their own lives, who care little what becomes of their children, will always have large families. The motive of prudence and foresight operative in the higher classes are not operative among such people. No matter how widely the knowledge of birth control may be disseminated, people who are shiftless, improvident and perhaps sub-normal will never restrict the size of their families to any appreciable degree.

EVEN THOUGH THE poor class in the city has a rather high birth rate, it does not have a very high rate of living populations. If the rate of natural increase of the city (excess of births over deaths per 1,000 of the population) as a whole is about 5 or 6, then the rate of natural increase among the poor probably does not exceed 6 or 8. The reason it is not larger than this is that the death rate in the poor class is higher than that in any other class. The Children's Bureau has recently shown that infant mortality rises as the father's income becomes smaller. We also find that insurance companies charge a much higher premium on insurance sold to the poor class than to other classes. Moreover a comparison of the death rates of such cities as Boston and Indianapolis shows that the death rate of the former is considerably higher than that of the latter. The death rate of Fall River, Massachusetts, is still higher than that of Boston. It is, of course, impossible to tell what proportion of the people in these different places belongs to the poor class, but no one can reasonably doubt that it is greater in Boston and Fall River than in Indianapolis.

THE COMFORTABLE CLASS

In the second class, voluntary limitation of the family is widely practised, though it is by no means universal. There are many people in this class who look upon their children in much the same way as those in the first class. In so far as this is the case, there is no need to dwell upon the motives at work. But there are also many influenced by motives that lead to the desire for a small family.

The skilled laborer who believes in the restriction of output and in the limitation of union membership can readily see the

*Unfortunately Dr. Thompson's article has appeared irregularly in these columns. Beginning with this issue ample space will be given him until it is completed.—Ed.

advantages in limiting the size of his family. If it is a good thing, from his standpoint, to control the amount of labor available for doing certain kinds of work, then it is a good thing not to raise more children than he can find places for in his own trade or other trades of the same grade. A great many skilled mechanics have small families for no other reason than that they believe this the most effective method of restricting the amount of labor and therefore of raising wages.

MANY OTHER PEOPLE in this class raise small families because they hope to be able, thereby, to give their children better opportunities to rise into the higher classes. Many and many a family can be found among skilled laborers and clerical workers putting forth its utmost efforts to give at least one of the children a better start than its father had. In such cases, the child instead of becoming an economic asset at fourteen or fifteen years of age becomes an increasingly heavy economic burden in the years after he leaves the common school. Not only is the child a charge for a much longer period, but in the degree that the parents are successful in launching him upon his career in a higher class, they must expect to forego any return on their investment, for it takes so long to attain even a moderate degree of financial success in these higher classes that parents seldom live to see their children achieve it.

Of equal effect with ambition for one's children in causing restriction of the size of the family is ambition for oneself. There are many men in this class who feel that children would be a hindrance to them in attaining a higher position. There are also many women who have social ambitions or who desire to continue their work outside the home after marriage. In either case children are not wanted and voluntary limitation of the family is practised. Since, however, personal ambition is much more common in the third class than in this, I shall not discuss it further here.

The lack of training for women in home-making which is so prevalent among all classes of city women shows its effects most markedly in this class. The girls usually leave school after they have finished the grades or early in their high-school course and work for several years in factories, stores or offices before they are married. The work they do is very largely unskilled and requires little thought or close attention. In many factories they repeat a single simple process over again and again until it becomes purely mechanical. In the stores only a few ever learn more than the simple mechanical parts of salesmanship. Even in offices as stenographers and filing clerks, their work is but little less mechanical than in factories and stores. In any event the work of the girl who expects to work only until she gets married very seldom offers much opportunity for her to develop responsibility, self-reliance or foresight. Instead of preparing girls for home-makers, such work as they do induces careless habits and an indifferent attitude towards work of all kinds which is demoralizing in the extreme. These girls never learn to regard work as the normal and proper condition of life. They do not know what it means to find work interesting and to put the best of themselves into it. They rather come to regard work as a necessary evil to be

endured for a given length of time daily either because they must work to live or because they need the money to have a good time outside of working hours.

THE GIRLS ARE not primarily to blame that they so regard their work. The organization of our industrial system is such that most girls never get a chance to do work that is interesting to them nor do they ever have their attention called to the opportunities for self-expression in their work. It is not the least surprising, therefore, that these girls have never developed the qualities which make a successful and happy wife and mother. Such qualities as patience, economy, foresight, good taste and adaptability—essentials to a happy life under all conditions—are not to be acquired with the taking of the marriage vows; they must be developed slowly through the years. In my judgment the work of these girls not only does little to help them develop such qualities, but often actually aids in developing other traits of character which unfit them for home life, *e. g.*, carelessness, shirking, selfishness, irresponsibility and vulgarity. The woman who looks upon her daily life in the home as she looked upon her day's work in the factory or store before she was married is quite certain to find little there which will compensate her for raising a family. When this attitude towards the home exists, when all the good things of life are thought to lie outside of the daily routine of home life, family limitation will be practised if the woman knows how.

Although the birth rate in this class is considerably lower than in the first class I believe that the rate of natural increase is not much different, for the death rate is also lower. But it may well be that in recent years with the improvement of the public health agencies administering to the poor the rate of natural increase of the poor has come to exceed that of this class. Unfortunately we have no very conclusive evidence on this point.

THE WELL-TO-DO CLASS

In the third class voluntary restriction of the size of the family is almost universal. In addition, late marriages and celibacy contribute to a very low birth rate. The motives leading to late marriage and celibacy do not need much special attention because they are the same, in general, as those leading to the rearing of small families among those who are married. It may be that the ease and comfort in which both bachelor men and women can live in the cities are motives which of themselves lead many to forego marriage, but I believe that ambition in various forms is the most potent motive leading to celibacy, as it is to family restriction.

MOST PROFESSIONAL AND managerial positions offer abundant opportunities for advancement to capable, wide-awake, energetic, men and women. Honor and wealth are the rewards of diligence in these positions. The ambitious young man who goes into business hopes soon to leave the well-to-do class and join the wealthy as do many who go into the professions. There are many in the professions who do not care to leave this class, but rather who are ambitious to gain recognition through scholarly or artistic work, which is more

dear to them than wealth. In either case—in seeking honor or wealth, or both—personal ambition is the dominating motive in life and has a great deal of influence upon the size of the family raised.

The young man in business who sees vistas ahead in which he may exert power through wealth has little time or inclination to give of himself to his family. He may be quite willing to meet the expenses of a relatively large family; but he is so immersed in his work that he is likely to forget to be human. He probably expects his wife to shoulder the entire burden of worry and care at home, so that he will not be distracted from his work. The wife soon becomes weary of bearing her burden alone and is ready to take measures to prevent it from becoming greater. So it is that the ambition of the father lies at the basis of family restriction in many cases.

Again the father may feel that he needs all the money he can possibly save to further his business plans and so takes means to prevent the coming of children. He often feels also that he will be hampered in his freedom of movement by even a fair-sized family. Then there is always the element of chance in business, and a man may not be willing to give hostages to fortune until he can be reasonably sure that he can redeem them. In the professions the situation is much the same, with the exception that the goal is more often recognition of some kind than mere wealth. Better than wealth to a lawyer may be the appointment to the Supreme Bench, better than wealth to a physician may be the discovery of some new means of aiding mankind, better than wealth to the engineer may be the successful completion of some public work, *e. g.*, a Panama Canal, better than wealth to the scholar may be the writing of an essay which will inspire good thoughts and noble ambitions in his fellows. But the way to success in the professions is slow and laborious, and even a moderate-sized family may make the ascent much slower and more difficult.

There are also numerous cases in this class in which the man marries so that he may increase his acquaintance among men who may be of help to him through the social activities of his wife. Many such marriages are childless, while many more have only a single child.

IT IS QUITE likely, however, that only a small proportion of the women who spend much of their time and energy in *social life* do so with the object of furthering their husbands' interests; most of them have social ambitions of their own. The care and expense of even a single child will seriously curtail the social activities of a woman of this class and so, many times, children are sacrificed to social ambitions. Children tie a woman to the home rather closely for a good many years if she gives them a true mother's care. She has to make a choice between another child and some cherished object which will further her social ambitions. An automobile, a new home, new furniture or more expensive clothes will each and all enhance one's social position and keep one before the attention of one's friends, while another child will withdraw one from their attention for a considerable time and make it more difficult to appear so well in their eyes. Only too often the temptation of the easy and immediately pleasant

way out, overcomes them and they shirk the real duty of a woman.

Like the mistrained or untrained women of the lower classes, women of this class who "go in for" social life see no satisfaction to be derived from the daily routine of the home. The dearest objects in life lie outside the home. Nowhere among their friends and acquaintances do they encounter any disapprobation of the frivolous, meaningless lives they are leading, for they are all of a feather. If it is to women of this type that the charge of parasitism, so often heard now-a-days, refers, it is very largely justified.

Again there are many women in this class who want a "career." They want to be independent economically and socially. Some of these women do not marry, but more of them do marry, although relatively late. Of those who do marry, many regard their work essential to the highest self-respect and self-development and therefore find no place in their lives for the bearing and raising of children. Happily there is a reaction, in late years, from the extreme type of feminism prevalent about a generation ago, which taught that for a woman to be dependent on a man for support was disgraceful and not to be tolerated by any woman of strong character.

But by no means are all the women of this class of the type that would prefer not to have children. The majority, without doubt, are women who find a satisfying existence in simple home life. But even such women do not desire large families, for they find the raising of children in the city a task of ever-increasing difficulty.

AS I HAVE watched the child life of the cities, especially among this class of people, I have often wondered that they tried to raise children at all. Children are not wanted in most apartment houses in desirable sections of the city, nor will single houses be rented to families with children if those without can be secured. Open places for play, close at hand, are generally lacking, while a private yard where one's children hold undisputed sway is almost unknown. Thus the naturally venturesome spirit of youth has no place in which to express itself in ways useful to the child and not troublesome to others. On the other hand, the opportunities to get into mischief seem to be unlimited.

Our cities today seem to be organized for the repression of the natural life of the child rather than to encourage its normal expression. *Don't! Don't! You must not! Get out of the way! What are you doing here!* are apparent everywhere, while, *Come on! Take part! Enjoy yourself! Here is a place for you!* are scarcely visible anywhere. Because of these conditions it is not unlikely that, in this class where standards of living are high and income not sufficient to permit of much help in the home, one child causes more work and worry than several in the lower classes.

But aside from the care and expense of raising children while they are comparatively young, parents in this class generally have to provide for their children for a much longer period than those in the lower classes. At the age the child of the poorer classes begins to be self-supporting the child in this class begins to make greater demands upon the economic

resources of its parents. Prevision and foresight are well developed in these people and consequently they make definite plans, so that their resources will meet their own needs and provide a good start in life for their children. Expenses during high school, college, technical school and possibly even for a year or two while getting a foothold in some profession, generally strain the family resources to the limit when the family is small. Therefore a large family is not desired.

The desire for travel is another motive often leading to the restriction of the size of the family in this class. It needs no argument to show that children make travel more difficult both from the standpoint of expense and from that of leisure. Each child born increases the normal expenses of the family and makes it more difficult for the parents to take their children with them or to leave them behind when they travel. Thus with the growth of the family the likelihood of being able to travel decreases. Therefore, where there is a strong desire to travel, a "trip" very often is chosen as the alternative to another child.

THE DESIRE TO attain culture is also a motive leading to family restriction in many cases. A certain amount of leisure and freedom from harassing care are necessary to the development of a cultured personality. A large family of children or even a moderate-sized family is apt to make the work and the worry of maintaining class standards so difficult that one will have little energy or inclination for anything beyond the daily routine. The realization that this is likely to take place causes many people to raise only one or two children. They feel that the sacrifice of self-development involved in rearing more is too great.

We have no very extensive data bearing on the birth rate and death rate in this class, but such data as we have seem to justify the conclusion that there is no natural increase. My own belief is that this class does not produce enough children to keep up its numbers, but we must await further investigations before we can be certain on this point.

THE WEALTHY CLASS

There is no sharp line dividing the fourth class from the third either in regard to the motives leading to family restriction or the rate of natural increase. Family limitation is almost universal in the fourth class and ambition in one form or another is the most powerful motive leading to it.

This class is quite small, comprising not more than two or three hundred thousand families (judging from the federal income tax returns). The great majority of the men belonging to it are men having incomes near the lower limit. Most of these men hope very soon to increase their incomes and are struggling desperately to rise. Nowhere in our population is the competition more strenuous than between men who have attained some measure of success and whose appetite for it is therefore insatiable. These men are "climbers" in their lines and very often their wives are social "climbers." Thus the chief interests of both husband and wife lie outside the home and children are regarded as a burden. Such people have no real home life and do not care enough for it to stop scrambling

for position. The husband only too often thinks of his wife as the means to a larger acquaintance among people who may be able to help him along and the wife regards the husband and home merely as necessary incidents to respectability. The result is that their families almost never comprise more than two children and very often none at all.

THESE "CLIMBERS" HAVE neither accumulated wealth nor do they have very assured positions in society. They have therefore nothing definite to bequeath to their children. They have no pride of family urging them to leave descendants to carry on the family name and traditions; they have no definite position in the community, which they can be assured of transmitting to their children. These people are themselves adrift, they know not whither they are bound, and many of them feel, in their more serious moments, that life is so uncertain and there is so little worth while to be got out of it that they will save trouble all around if they have no children.

On the other hand, among the wealthy, whose position is assured, there is a certain amount of pride in one's family, leading them to rear children to carry on the family name and fortune. They have not only wealth but a much-coveted position in the community which they can command for their descendants. This portion of the wealthy class probably more nearly reproduces itself than the "climbing" portion.

Undoubtedly the sheltered lives of ease and luxury led by many girls in the wealthy class and even by some in the well-to-do class disincline them to undergo the hardships of bearing and rearing a family. To a girl who has been brought up in the belief that her own whims and desires are of prime importance and that all values are to be judged by these pampered inclinations it is often inconceivable that she should deliberately do any thing to bring herself pain and work and worry and probably even deprivation of some customary luxuries. Such girls brought up apart from the stern realities of life are not capable of judging values aright. They know little of the feelings and values which grow up naturally when men and women struggle side by side, help to bear one another's burdens, share sorrows as well as joys and, above all, live close to the great streams of simple, work-a-day humanity. Women whose only passion is for ease and luxury lose touch with humanity and substitute for true human values those of a small and highly institutionalized class.

It is especially unfortunate that the women of this class do not rear moderate-sized families, because they are so widely imitated by the women in other classes.

(To be continued in next number)

"It is indeed a grand thing to help men and women to be their best. There are some among us who always seem to make the whole thing seem hopeless, and make us inclined to give up the attempt. There are others who always make it seem possible, and give us the courage to try. I appeal to all of you, be of the noble band. With or against your will you are standing there at those gates of other men's character."

JOHN KELMAN.

Bachelors Oppose Birth Control

By Genevieve Grandcourt

WE HAVE HEARD OF AJAX defying the lightning, and now, once again, we have the Roman Church trying to sweep back the ocean. This time, the objection is not to the revival of Greek learning; to the study of astronomy in general and the movements of the planets in particular; to the theory of evolution; or the use of anaesthetics (especially in childbirth) to the spread of education among the masses; to woman suffrage, or to the campaign against venereal disease. But the opposition to Birth Control is along the same old lines, and is expressive of the same vain hope to make time stand still.

The sequence of events in this case is unusually logical. The Church is directed by bachelors, and the average bachelor has a congenital conviction that whatever a woman is interested in, will bear the most suspicious scrutiny. The Roman Catholic priest is not like other men, but having a deep theoretical knowledge of original sin, he also knows how dangerous it would be to give woman too much freedom. Be this as it may, if the priest is true to his vows, he doesn't, from half a dozen different points of view, know what he is talking about in opposing Birth Control; if he is not true, he knows about as much of women-in-general as does the bachelor-in-general, which isn't saying much (and he is unfit to pose as a moral censor into the bargain).

However, here we have the Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D.!

In a Catholic periodical, Father Ryan voices appreciation of the action of the Catholic delegates to the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, in voting against the Birth Control resolution recently carried by a large majority; and gives, among his objections to Birth Control (which he implies are as the sands of the seashore) specifically the following:

1. It degrades the marriage relation.
2. It weakens self-control and the capacity for self-denial and increases the love of ease and luxury.
3. It leads to a decline in the population.

IN DEVELOPING the first argument, Dr. Ryan says that the husbands and wives who practice birth control, come to regard each other "as mutual instruments of sensual gratification, rather than as coöperators with the Creator in bringing children into the world."

The inference naturally is that those who do not practice Birth Control do not regard themselves as indulging in sensual gratification, but that such men and women seek the opposite sex with the single-minded purpose of assisting the Almighty!

Philip II in burning heretics at the stake at the time of the Inquisition, claimed also to be coöperating with God, and we have had illustrations of the same sort of thing off and on ever since. But we thought the idea had gone the way of inextinguishable laughter quite recently in the squelching of the German emperor. Suppose Birth Control advocates were to turn about and say, as we really think, that our aim to give future generations a better inheritance, is the way to the highest ideals, and certain to bring about the most far-reaching results

for good. "If the Lord is with us, who shall be against us?" *Voilà*. But it is, perhaps, sufficient in the present instance, to point out that Saint Paul, himself a bachelor, held no such sublimated view of marriage as Dr. Ryan professes to entertain since Saint Paul advised men and women not even to try in, since Saint Paul advised men and women not even to try the experiment of marriage unless they couldn't contain themselves, or words to that effect. Not one word about children; rather, an express acceptance of the somewhat prevalent masculine understanding of marriage as a convenient social arrangement, but more especially as means whereby may be safely and respectably satisfied what many of his sex, falsely or not, believe to be a physical necessity.

Personally, I can think of no degradation of the marriage relation equal to its continuance without mutual love. No matter how passionately a woman may want children, she wants them to come as incidental to that love. The thought of being married as a convenience of any sort, is no more to the taste of the woman than the man. The ease with which an intimation of being made use of, can mar romance, is so evident to anyone who has had the slightest marital experience, that it seems certain the objection of the Roman Catholic clergy to voluntary motherhood as putting marriage on a lower level, is primarily rather that of the bachelor than of the churchman, as such. This belief is strengthened by the fact that though several prominent married prelates of the Church of England have come out in favor of our cause, the bachelor Bishop of London has announced his hostility to it.

THE SECOND contention that Birth Control must weaken self-control, would surely make a certain school of psychologists smile. William James says somewhere that the strength of the sex impulse in the human race is out of proportion to its utility—and seems naively to be wondering why! That something does not come from nothing, is one of the first axioms of science. For 2,000 years, the Church has been enjoining upon woman absolute submission to her husband in these matters, and practically under all circumstances. An army of lost women also has been available for sensual purposes without too much condemnation on the part of religion, except, of course, condemnation of the women. Action and reaction are equal and opposite. The terrible consequences of this special immunity of one sex, are evident in the sensual slavery of the race.

Even those men who may be taking their very lives in their hands in the betrayal of innocent girls; even others, with beloved wives, who have been warned of the fatal effects of pregnancy in cases, for example of heart's disease and tuberculosis; even fears of a disease which may eat into the tissues and destroy men piecemeal—fail too often to induce the self-control which Dr. Ryan says his Church favors as a substitute for Birth Control under the licensing seal of marriage!

Self-control and self-denial are high things. Women excel

in the practice of them. But it is a condition that confronts us and not a theory. Dr. Ryan admits that large families are "sometimes an unreasonable burden." We assert that they are an unreasonable burden always where there is inability on the part of fathers and mothers properly to nourish and educate their children.

AS TO BIRTH Control leading to an increase in the love of ease and luxury, these things are not bad in themselves. Where humanity with a little more "ease" in which to think, might arrive but for superstitious efforts to delay and pervert education, may well cause the sort of religion that has been served up to us so long, some speculation.

It is particularly unbecoming for the Church of Rome to cavil at ease and luxury, considering the state in which it is, itself, carried on. Can one imagine the founder of Christianity who had not where to lay his head, returning to earth, making a bee-line to the Vatican, and requesting that the title of marquis or count be conferred upon someone who had contributed to the maintenance of this ecclesiastical autocracy? The entire tendency of organized religion is not toward the things Christ taught, but toward maintaining the *statu quo*.

Finally, we have to consider the question of population. Dr. Ryan says Birth Control reduces it, and points to France, although he should know by this time of the alarming percentage of still-born children in that country, not counted in the census! Hospitals in Paris before the war issued statements, and at least one physician wrote a book, attributing these terrible facts to the scourge of syphilis. Let us look, also, to Spain, preeminently Catholic. No scientific Birth Control there, yet within six months the daily newspapers published a statement in which the King cried out for some remedy against the dying out of the Spanish race! No such cry from Holland or New Zealand where Birth Control has long been in full swing. Echo answer "WHY?"

Shall we say that those countries in which the Roman Catholic religion is predominant, are more immoral, or that they are simply more unhygienic? The Catholic Church never has been strong on scientific precautions for the safeguarding of life. Why should it be, indeed? Have not children hitherto been cheap enough to keep populations at a high level, and will not this state of affairs be assured as long as women can be persuaded to bear children under all conceivable conditions? Perhaps not, even so! But in any case, we look forward to the day when women shall demand that the value in which lives are held, shall bear some relation to the anguish with which they are won.

WHY, INDEED, should we not do in a scientific and constructive manner that which Nature sooner or later takes out of our hands and does most wastefully through war and pestilence? Is intelligence nothing, that we can continue to let it run riot in the service of superstition? But for the fact that Birth Control is going on, in some form, all the time, we should not on this earth have space to walk.

In any case, why should the Catholic Church interfere with the changing of laws against birth control, which, by the way, Dr. Ryan says "our fathers" put upon the statute-books? Well,

Anthony Comstock husbanded the introduction of anti-contraceptive rules into the postal regulations—and if he passes in any sense as the father of Americans, many of us will be prompt to claim illegitimacy.

With these long ages of teaching, can Catholic women not be trusted with birth-control knowledge without this typical meddling of their Church in the matters of the State? There are Protestants, Jews, Quakers, Free-thinkers, in this country who claim the right to private judgment in these matters.

In this connection, let us consider a little further the point-of-view of the man whose arguments we have met.

Dr. Ryan quotes a statement made at the meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs, in which Birth Control is described as providing for "an intelligently determined interval between pregnancies." This, he characterizes as "*a futile attempt to indicate in nice phraseology, an essentially nasty proposal.*" (The italics are mine.)

Just what does he mean by this? He is not objecting to the language used, for he goes on to say that it is nicer than that we usually employ. Then? "An intelligently determined interval between pregnancies" means children born far enough apart to enable their mothers to bear them without undue and easily avoidable hardship; it means, in consequence, that the child shall have a stronger physique and become a healthier member of the community; it means that the father (especially if he be a poor man) shall have enough money laid by to guarantee his baby as good a fighting chance as that of his possibly more prosperous neighbor. Nothing obscene in this! It cannot be the good results that are so unpleasant. But the priest thinks of the physical details by which the good results are brought about—and he finds the proposal to make use of them "essentially nasty."

IT IS EASY to imagine the hue and cry that went up when surgeons first began to operate for the cure of disease. What a horribly suggestive thing was Harvey's declaration concerning the circulation of the blood! And Pasteur? How dare he say that germs caused disease, when the Church authorities knew all sickness to be the direct visitation of God? These things, too, were "nasty." Wasn't the mention of blood repulsive, and the idea of saying that germs in the blood secreted poisons! Worse and worse! From this point of view, what is nastier than the details of birth? But common sense and humanity prevail over our disgust (if we own up to any), and the most modest of us would not leave the mother and her little one to shirk for themselves in our shrinking from blood. Perhaps, indeed, it were more merciful to do so, in some cases, considering that we are not prepared as yet to go further, and revise our definition of nastiness.

A cultivated Turk once told a member of my husband's family of the sense of vicarious shame that flooded his whole being the first time he saw a woman with her face unveiled in the streets. No one could conceive the sensations with which he regarded the brazen creature!

With a fellow countrywoman, and a Spanish gentleman and his wife, I stood three-quarters of an hour before a statue in a studio in the rue Vercingétorix in Paris trying to see what

(Continued on page 16)

The English Point of View

The State Demands Citizens. What Does It Do for Them?

BOARD OF EDUCATION Circular 1160, on the "supply of teachers for public elementary schools," to which attention was drawn in yesterday's issue of the *Daily Herald*, calls for the most serious consideration on the part of the workers, whose children have to rely mainly on the education given in the primary schools.

Not only is the future working of the Education Act of 1918 imperiled, but the standard of efficiency of the present educational system cannot possibly be maintained at its pre-war level on the existing basis of staffing.

At a recent meeting of the London Schoolmaster's Association it was publicly stated that "in London alone close upon 1,000,000 children attending the elementary schools are today without permanent teachers."

A glance through the advertisement columns of any of the leading education journals will give sufficient proof of the fact that London does not stand alone in its demand for more and more teachers.

The effect of this grave shortage in the number of entrants to the teaching profession has contributed to a condition of affairs such as would not be tolerated for an instant in the schools provided for the children of the "classes," where the number of scholars taught together at one time rarely exceeds 30, and is frequently much smaller.

In the workers' schools, however, the children are often herded together in 50's, 60's, and even 70's when occasion demands.

THE HOPELESSNESS OF the task of a teacher faced by a class of such numbers can well be imagined.

At the best he can but maintain a rigid, military discipline, necessary in this case if work of any kind is to be attempted; while, owing to the varying capacity of the children, his attempt to keep all his pupils at the same level will naturally lead to a waste of time on the part of the brighter children, and overstrain on the part of the duller section of the class.

DUTY OF PARENTS

Of the effect on the health of the teacher a great deal might be said, but it is well known that the percentage of absences among teachers on account of illness has been very high during the past twelve months.

Various suggestions have been made to remedy the position by attracting a larger number of entrants into the profession, but until the parents of the children and the great mass of the working population realize the disabilities under which their children suffer during the educational life, the problem, which requires drastic action, will continue to be dealt with from the point of view of the taxpayer rather than in the interests of the nation's children.

—*London Herald.*

MAIMED AND MUTILATED on the battlefields of Europe, Britain's legions of disabled heroes are faced at home today with a conflict no less deadly than that they fought on the blood-stained foreign soil. Then they fought that others might live: today they strive that they themselves may have the wherewithal to keep a soul within their poor, distorted, crippled bodies. Their new foe is starvation.

In the hour of dire danger the Government promised to create a land fit for heroes to live in; but the battered remnant came home to find their only recompense in the form of miserable doles, and even these fenced round with amazing anomalies.

The President of the Council of Disabled Men (Mr. T. Adams) points out that the rates which were in vogue last summer were decreased to a very material extent in September, but the cost of living grows steadily upward.

Under the Government's precious scheme of "reconstruction" numbers of these men are receiving training in various trades, and now find they are unable to support themselves and their wives and families.

For instance, a man suffering maximum disability and having a family of three children receives 27s. 6d. a week less than he received prior to the reduction.

PENSION STOPS

THE MEN RECEIVE a flat rate of £2 per week when living at home; if in lodging, an additional 5s. A wife's allowance is 10s. per week; 7s. 6d. is allowed for the first child, and 6s. for every subsequent child. When living away from home an allowance is made for dependents. This is called "Living Away from Home Allowance;" so that, although this is paid only in respect to dependents, the man is not allowed to live with them if he wishes to receive it.

It must be understood that the man's disablement pension stops and his ring paper is withdrawn as soon as his training begins.

This means that an unmarried man may be living in the heart of a city and receive only £2 per week with which to defray all the expense of living.

"A married man may have to live away from his home. Is 10s. per week sufficient for his wife with which to keep the home going?" asks Mr. Adams.

"Is 6s. per week enough to keep a child healthy? Is the Government lavishing so much upon the man that it is justified in starving his children? In the case of a widower, would you like to keep another man's child for 7s. 6d. per week? The Government here encourages the baby farmer of the worst kind.

"Why must a man have dependents in order to claim the living away from home allowance? And why is a married man ineligible for this;

ELUSIVE BONUS

THE BONUS IS an elusive measure, as it is termed an 'efficiency bonus'; therefore, no efficiency, no bonus! The bonus has been wildly and triumphantly flourished by officialdom, but more wildly than triumphantly by the men. Are you dealing with emaciated men who want food now, or are you dealing with a species of glorified camel which can put off the vital question of sustenance until some period in the dim future?

"Should the question of payment under the National Health Insurance to the men in training be left entirely to the discretion of the approved society, so that a generous society pays a doubtful case while a mean society refuses to countenance a deserving claim?"

PIECE OF CRUELTY

The reduction of the rates last September meant that (omitting the bonus) every unmarried man with 100 per cent. disability suffered a loss of 26s., every married man 16s., and every married man with three children 27s. 6d. a week, whereas a single man with only 20 per cent. disability was 5d. in pocket under the new scale.

"It will here be seen," writes Mr. Adams, "that what the ordinary citizen will regard as an eccentric anomaly—i. e., the greater a man's disability and the larger his family the less he receives in proportion—the Ministers of the Government Select Committee who framed this piece of cruelty presumably, in the light of their wisdom, deemed a highly satisfactory and economic coup d'état.

"The wholesale reduction was so cloaked as to appear a decided advantage, and in many cases it deceived the trainees until it was actually in operation."

And the reduction was made on the ground of economy—economy at the expense of the disabled!—*London Herald.*

Bachelors Oppose Birth Control

(Continued from page 14)

there was in it that someone had described to us as "nasty," and we came away unenlightened. Evidently, "nastiness," like beauty, has some reference to the vision of the beholder.

To conclude: Dr. Ryan refers to the moral wrong of interfering with a natural function. It is true that, in the lower animals, the sexual instinct appears to have no other use than that of maintaining the life of the species. But with the normal evolution of our faculties, functions are widened and differentiated. It is for each husband and wife to say whether the transcendent emotional experience embodied in marriage, shall have wholly physical (i. e., animal) reactions; or whether it shall serve also for a higher understanding of life and a deepening reverence for its mysteries. The capacity to merge one's identity in that of another human being, is not entirely a matter of the senses, or necessarily a thing that passes like the mist.

Moreover, were the production of children the sole purpose of the sexual life, some of the greatest problems in emotional psychology, as exemplified in art alone, must remain forever unsolved.

Mrs. Sanger's Lectures

MRS. SANGER'S LECTURES have been wonderfully successful this winter throughout Greater New York. She has spoken to capacity houses everywhere and the audiences are most enthusiastic. Mrs. Sanger handles her subject with the utmost delicacy and beauty.

"The Sex Problems of the Unmarried" is one of her lectures that makes for cleaner citizenship.

"Preparation for Parenthood" is a strong appeal for the next generation.

"Birth Control" as an economic necessity for the workers is clearly defined. Mrs. Sanger's entire course has a great educational value.

In November Mrs. Sanger spoke to the League of Women Voters and under the Fine Arts Guild she gave several lectures at the Labor Temple. In December she had a very interesting debate with Winter Russell in the Bronx and she also gave several Sex lectures in that section. The National Women's Party arranged a meeting for Mrs. Sanger in Washington. She spoke for the Fine Arts Guild in Harlem and to the Current Events Club.

The Press Club of New York, the Sorosis Club, the Harlem Council of Women, the Portia Club, the Hollis Women's Club, the Riverdale Neighborhood House, the Flora MacDonald Society, of Brooklyn, the Women's Economic League of Tarrytown, the New York City Mothers Club, have all asked Mrs. Sanger to give a resumé of her work and to outline a plan for their coöperation in this movement.

MRS. SANGER spoke on January 19th, at Mrs. Dexter Blagden's on the legislative necessity of Birth Control. She also spoke on the same subject at Rye, N. Y., the 28th.

The Women's Economic Club of Philadelphia has arranged for Mrs. Sanger to lecture at the New Century Club on February 4th, a dinner is to precede this lecture; the patronesses are women of prominence in Philadelphia and vicinity.

From Philadelphia Mrs. Sanger will go to Reading, Pa., where she had a most successful lecture earlier in the winter and her return was urgently asked for by the Visiting Nurses Association.

A prominent Arts and Science Association is arranging for Mrs. Sanger to appear in six of the Eastern cities which include Chicago and St. Louis. The request for lectures on the economic question of birth control has come from all parts of the country but it will be impossible for Mrs. Sanger to go further West than Chicago during the season.

OLIVE SCHREINER, BRITISH AUTHOR, DIES

London, Dec. 12.—Oliver Schreiner (Mrs. S. C. Cronwright Schreiner), the author, is dead.

"The Story of an African Farm" and "Dreams" are among her well-known books.

More than a generation ago "The Story of an African Farm" created a sensation in England and set its readers to wondering whom "Ralph Iron" might be. No one supposed that a work of such maturity, power and assured simplicity of style could possibly have been written by a girl of 19. Its

author, Olive Schreiner, the daughter of the Rev. G. Schreiner, a missionary, was born in Basutoland, and it was to South Africa that she turned for most of her literary inspiration, conditions there sharing the main place in her thoughts with the lot of woman throughout history.

Her feministic views were early acquired, but owing to the tragedy of a burned manuscript did not see the light of publication until 1911, and then they were but incompletely embodied in "Woman and Labor," a work that had a decided influence in the campaigns for equal suffrage in England and America.

All her books revealed the same striking qualities, the effects achieved with clear, simple English and frequent use of allegory. "Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland" was a terrific arraignment of the Rhodesian policy. Other works were "Dream Life" and "An English South African's View of the Situation." After her marriage in 1894 she retained her surname.

OLIVE SCHREINER

Death, that hasty scribbler of immortal songs,
Has put a period at the end of another one of them. . . .

O Death, with that bizarre look in his eyes;
His strange loves and passions.
One never knows where he will linger next.
One by one, those dreamers among the pioneer ranks of women
Fall beneath that spell of his

What alchemy does he practice?
And do they love him—those flowers that wither and fade?
Perhaps there is something mad and sweet about his mouth;
Or the swift caress of his long fingers . . . who knows?
We only realize that another dreamer has gone to him over the
open spaces,
Leaving her work behind to whisper in the ears of the future
Its message of flaming love for humanity.

Another has passed on, hand in hand with her lover Death . . .
Let us dream awhile at our several tasks,
Remembering how faithful she was to the cause of our happiness.

"H. H."

Letter to Mrs. Sanger from an English Nurse

DEAR MRS. SANGER:

I was extremely interested in your address for the Malthusian League (of which I am a member) at the Central Hall, and I hope that your visit will arouse enough enthusiasm in us to get at least one Birth Control Clinic going whilst you are in England. I only wish I had funds to help. This kind of work is so badly needed.

I am a nurse, and have for the last 5 or 6 years been doing welfare work, (which included Day Nursery, Special Treatment for Invalid Babies, mothers suffering from over maternity, Dental Clinic and many consultations for mothers), which never touches the most vital spot, too many children and

over maternity which most of the mothers were suffering from. I have now given this work up.

I know of 6 women within a radius of ½ mile who have had 17 to 20 children each (one had 21). They were, of course, absolute wrecks and poverty stricken, and believed there was no way out for them, or they were too old to try, I however, suggested they could save their daughters from a like fate. But there is a great deal of superstition to wear down—which a Birth Control Clinic would very quickly help to do where one's individual efforts fail. One woman I knew had 10 children. She was only just over 30, the last 5 had each died within a few days of birth, the older ones were living each year as the yearly child arrived. Her condition got worse. She had to be taken to the hospital to be safely delivered. The M.D. warned her that other children might be fatal, but did not tell her what to do, and she herself firmly believed that her husband would be ill if she didn't go on having them or something else very terrible would happen to her. I have now lost sight of her.

Your visit will be a real triumph if you can get one clinic going. I thought I would just like to give you a word of appreciation, for all your efforts towards reducing all the awful suffering of our ever pregnant mothers.

With best wishes for a very successful visit,

Yours very sincerely,

MAUD F. HEBBES.

The Eugenic Attitude

(Continued from page 8)

to the normal—a force of some kind recognizable, but unexplained as yet, such that vitality, when pushed aside from the normal line is ever seeking to get back to it—even more. to move along it, developing and improving—the resultants being in the individual what we call health, and in the race, perhaps what we call evolution."

IT IS WELL known that our knowledge of biology, now enables us to formulate certain fundamental principles for the production of the very best strains in the human species, and for the elimination of the worst strains. The question of race betterment is as vital as any of the industrial, political, or economic problems of the present day, and that the solution of this problem is restricted by many antiquated, and inimical legal enactments is much to be regretted.

Remedial measures will only be adopted, and the desired results only achieved, by the development of a Eugenic conscience. There is no gainsaying the Eugenic yea or the Eugenic nay. The Eugenic touch-stone is the final and infallible test of all ethics and all politics.

Reason and good sense will not fail to augur ill of that system of things which is too sacred to be looked into: and to suspect that there must be something essentially weak that thus shrinks from the eye of inquiry.—WILLIAM GODWIN (Political Justice).

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ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.

GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.

FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.

SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.

BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascoux, Echevin, Courcelles.

SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.

BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.

AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Kloster-

neuburg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.

PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.

SWEDEN (1911).—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.

ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.

AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

MEXICO (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

IN THE UNITED STATES:

ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.

CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*.

Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*League for Voluntary Parenthood*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, Secretary, 1702 Belmar Road, Cleveland Heights.

ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.

HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 1804 Penn Street.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.

NEW YORK:

The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 264 W. 73rd Street, chairman.

International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, president, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.

The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.

Voluntary Parenthood League, 49 East 59th Street. Mary Ware Dennett, director.

BROOKLYN—Jessie A. Dastre, 673 Vanderbilt Ave.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary.

RADNOR, PA.—*The Main Line Branch of the National Birth Control League*. Mrs. Walter M. Newkirk, secretary.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Grace Anderson, Superintendent of Municipal Nurses, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.

SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West, Seattle, Wash., secretary.

SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—*The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia*. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1926 New Hampshire Ave., president.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

FEBRUARY 2nd.—Mrs. Sanger completed her series of lectures in Brownsville. The educational value of this course was endorsed by the crowds who flocked to hear her.

FEBRUARY 3rd.—A dinner was given in honor of Mrs. Sanger at the Bellevue-Stratford in Philadelphia. Prof. Patton of the University of Pennsylvania spoke emphasizing the necessity for Birth Control. He was followed by Mrs. Sanger who gave a very inspiring and convincing appeal for international coöperation for Birth Control on a scientific and logical basis of over population. The audience was deeply impressed and enthusiastic.

The next evening Mrs. Sanger spoke on "Birth Control and the New Race" at the New Century Club with a large seating capacity; hundreds were asked to adjourn to another hall that was procured and many failed to gain admittance to this over-flow meeting at which Mrs. Sanger repeated her lecture.

The 6th of FEBRUARY Mrs. Sanger returned to New York to meet a specially selected group of eminent physicians to consider the legislative amendment for New York State.

MONDAY, the 7th, Mrs. Sanger spoke in Reading, Penn., and the same enthusiasm greeted her there as in Philadelphia. An over-flow meeting was arranged. The meeting was addressed to women only. One thousand were seated at this meeting and five hundred at the over-flow, and she expects to return at some future date to address them.

FEBRUARY 13th, the Long Island Association of Chiropractic Doctors had Mrs. Sanger lecture on Birth Control and its relation to Society.

On the 17th Mrs. Sanger spoke before the Resolutions Committee of the National Womans Party at Washington urging them to place Birth Control in the platform of the new organization as the most immediate step for woman's freedom. Mrs. Sanger also spoke at a luncheon at the National Headquarters at Jackson Place where women from all parts of the country responded to Mrs. Sanger's eloquent appeal for coöperation in amending the present Birth Control Laws in the different States.

Kitty Marion and Ruth Albert sold the REVIEW at the Convention and on the streets of Washington during the entire session.

Owing to illness and fatigue Mrs. Sanger has been compelled to cancel her lecture dates for the rest of the month.

Mrs. Juliet Barret Rublee spoke at the meeting held at Mrs. Marcus Marks on the 23rd;

Mrs. Anne Kennedy spoke to the Flora McDonald Society of Brooklyn, on the 24th.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

MARCH, 1921

No. 3

EDITORIAL

IN OUR CAMPAIGN for voluntary motherhood, three great tasks confront us. These tasks are closely coördinated and interrelated. Yet each has its own distinct purpose and method. Let us not confuse them. Let us not make the mistake of acting upon the assumption that any one of them is enough. Let us not delude ourselves into the belief that our work will end when we have successfully solved one of these problems. Let us not depreciate efforts in one direction to emphasize work in another. The first essential for progressive work is to clear up this confusion. The best way is to make a definite statement of these three great tasks. These, it seems to me, are roughly to be differentiated as follows:

(1) *AGITATION AND EDUCATION: aiming to arrest, awaken and focus public interest to the pivotal importance of birth control; to point out the importance of a sound population policy for the United States and all countries of the world; to show the organized relationship of the function of Voluntary Motherhood in all programs aiming at social advance; to organize enlightened public opinion into decisive action.*

(2) *POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION: aiming to effect changes in federal and state laws restricting the knowledge and practice of birth control; to the end that hindrances may be removed preventing practical education in sex and social hygiene.*

(3) *PRACTICAL SCIENTIFIC TEACHING: aiming to meet the demand for birth control and hygienic knowledge by women WHO MOST NEED IT; aiming to establish birth control as a universal practice.*

IMPORTANT AS are the first two tasks here defined, they are misdirected unless they converge towards the third; unless they aim always to facilitate the solution of the last and greatest of our problems. We must keep this always in mind. We must work realistically. We must begin *here and now*. We must work from within, out. If birth control were not the answer to the immediate needs of submerged and overburdened mothers all around us, it would not and could not exhibit such tremendous vitality. From the economic, the intellectual, the logical point of view, it might be overwhelmingly

necessary and convincing; yet if, like so many reform policies, it had to be imposed from above—had in short to be thrust upon the underlying population from above, it would be inevitably foredoomed to failure. But it is because birth control is the answer to great human needs and the inarticulate cry for help from enslaved women, that it cannot be refuted or dismissed.

If at any moment we lose sight of the struggling, suffering, submerged woman, our work will at once become futile and misguided. Visions and dreams of a happy and healthy humanity are always inspiring; but too often they act as opiates which close our eyes to the cruel facts of life that painfully thrust themselves before our eyes. In our intoxication we are apt to place all our faith in some “political or legislative magic lamp” which we need merely to rub to effect a glorious transformation. The painful truth is this: educational and effective for the women who, from the personal and solve this problem: *how to make birth control practical and effective for the women who, from the personal and racial point of view, most need it.*

THE GREATEST misunderstanding seems to arise, at the present moment, because of our support of the movement to effect the amendment of the New York State statutes (Article 106, Section 1145) aiming thus to clear the way for practical and effective birth control education in this state, by removing the present prohibitions to doctors, nurses, midwives, clinics and dispensaries. To the objection that this perpetuates and even strengthens the so-called “medical monopoly,” let us repeat that this question must be practical, effective, and scientific. It cannot be a subject of back-fence gossip. To speak of “medical monopoly” is to speak of the monopoly of any specialist in technical scientific method and knowledge. We might as well condemn the “dentist’s monopoly,” the “occulist’s monopoly,” or the “plumber’s monopoly.” For the best care of our teeth, we must go to the dentist, even though we might get

much information out of a volume devoted to the relation of teeth to health. The proposed state amendment would open a direct avenue of approach to the women who need direct education and instruction in methods of birth control. It would permit us to get in touch with these women without condescension, but with respect and reverence. Many cannot read—a pamphlet or book no matter how simple or lucid would be valueless. The great point to remember is that we must reach each individual woman, because the instruction must be based on individual needs and physiological peculiarities, upon individual diagnosis and characteristics, which, as any trained investigator knows, vary widely. And it is precisely the abnormal and submerged woman it is most important to meet.

IN CONTRAST TO the state legislation is the proposed repeal of the federal law, aiming to open the United States mails to the distribution of birth control knowledge by amateurs.

We must not delude ourselves into the belief that this repeal would automatically cancel state laws. It merely opens the mails. It stresses the value of pamphlets and books and "literary" information. Even with this repeal, the physician, the nurse or the midwife in many of our most thickly populated states would be prevented from giving practical oral instruction. We base this opinion on the best legal advice available. We are told that the repeal of the federal law would be the quickest and shortest way to achieve our goal. But there is no such royal road! We might flood the country with tons of good books and pamphlets on the subject by recognized authorities on hygiene, psychology and sociology, but with no appreciable effect. (A poor woman once said to me: "I have read your book from cover to cover; and yet I am pregnant again!") To offer a pamphlet to a woman who cannot read or is too tired and weary to understand its directions, is like offering a printed bill-of-fare to a starving man.

Yet the repeal of the federal law, would accomplish practically no more than this. Nevertheless, to some it seems of primary importance; and those who think so are best qualified to throw their energies into that work. There is work for all of us; and it is a merely verbal quibble to derogate any phase of our tremendous tasks. Our work requires the maximum of patience, persistence, and foresight. The obstacles are great—much greater than some of us suspect. To overcome them we must mobilize all our energy, courage and bravery.

Much as we wish that one fine gesture would sweep aside these obsolete and ridiculous anti-contraceptive laws, both federal and state, experience has shown us the emptiness of legal and legislative victories unless followed up vigorously by concerted action. Remember that in England there is no law preventing the spread of birth control knowledge; yet we see there, that the removal of legal restriction in the use of the mails is not enough. Our interests and our activity must be positive, fundamental, dynamic, constructive. Let us beware of the futility of striving after vain victories and theoretical triumphs—which may, indeed, stimulate in us a fine glow of egotistical satisfaction, but also divert and distract our attention and interest from the hard, thankless, detailed work of helping overburdened mothers. Let us not be led into the trap

of believing that the mere repeal of a federal law will change the course of ancient human habits or the most deep-rooted of instincts.

THE AMENDMENT TO the New York law has the great value of emphasizing the difficulties we must inevitably face, instead of blinding us to them. It opens the way to—

Direct contact between those competent to teach scientific practical birth control and sex hygiene to women who need and demand it. Physicians, nurses and midwives in public and private practice.

Establishment of special clinics, dispensaries and hygiene centers.

Transference of the idea of birth control from the realm of the theoretical, the controversial, and the illegal to the field of the experimental, the practical, the scientific, the hygienic and the eugenic.

This means the next and by far the most important step in our work. It is likewise our greatest and our central task. To those who spurn such a step, who prefer to place all their hopes and all their faith in one only of these great tasks—the repeal of one federal law—our efforts will undoubtedly seem to prosaic, too lacking in all the flame and fire of the newly awakened enthusiast, too much a step-by-step procedure. But let us point out again, let us repeat with all the vehemence and emphasis we are capable of; we cannot solve our problem, unless we are conscious of, and familiar with the elements and factors comprising it.

When we recognize the threefold character of our work, when we honestly face the many obstacles to be overcome, when we come to a realization of the ever harder work ahead of us, above all, when we give up the childish idea that we need to see the results of our toil or claim a reward for our efforts, we shall find our strength and our energies released for work that is its own justification and its own reward.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

CORNELIA BARNES

ANNE KENNEDY

HAROLD HERSEY

LOU ROGERS

BLANCHE SCHRACK

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Suffrage and Birth Control - - By Florence Guertin Tuttle

THE ANALOGY BETWEEN the Woman Suffrage movement and the Birth Control movement is striking. Both have been pioneer movements arising from small beginnings. Both have been vital to the development of woman and of a higher order of civilization, yet each has been misunderstood and its adherents subjected to ignominy and scorn.

Each movement has produced great women. As suffrage centered and swirled around great personalities, so Birth Control has centered and eddied around great selfless women who have submerged themselves in an ideal. And as the names of Mary Wollstoncraft and Susan B. Anthony stand eternally for the political emancipation of women, so the name of Annie Besant and Margaret Sanger will stand eternally for the physical emancipation of women—the emancipation of their bodies.

Each movement has had the same enemies to fight, the ancient foes of tradition and prejudice, of ignorance and superstition, and in both causes, to fight these foes, courage, vision, endurance and consecration to a higher racial ideal have been required.

Both causes have had to destroy old laws and create new ones. While, in suffrage, there were the avenues of choice, in Birth Control there is but one method possible. Suffrage changed the law by a Federal amendment, giving all women the right of enfranchisement by one stroke of the legislative quill. With Birth Control there is no amendment to the Constitution that will automatically release Birth Control information making it practical and easily accessible to all classes of women, the only way that Birth Control information may be given for the benefit of those millions of women who need personal instruction is to change the laws state by state.

THE WOMAN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY believes that New York State should be the first to change the law since this method is quicker and New York's crowded condition makes its need more imperative. With this change, however, should follow the establishment of clinics, where contraceptive information should be scientifically disseminated by physicians and nurses, as it is now disseminated in Holland. As New York State goes, so eventually will go the nation.

Why was the privilege of exercising the franchise granted to women? Never as an end in itself, but rather as a means to an end. Suffrage, suffragists pleaded, was to be a tool, an instrument by means of which women were to get things done, especially things for women and children which men were too busy or too indifferent to execute. It was primarily an instrument of construction. How futile the franchise is as a weapon of destruction was shown in the last election when women wasted inestimable strength upon a negative measure—the defeat of an individual. In the end, the way of the transgressor is hard since Hanan generally constructs his own gal-

laws. Franchise was granted to women for positive purposes—to build up life where it is weakest, to overcome bad legislation with good legislation and to substitute justice for injustice.

How many enfranchised women today are interested in constructive legislation? Only a fraction of the corporate body of women voters. This is not a cause for despair, however, since the same truth applies to men voters. The women for the most part, though, are not so fiercely entangled in the economic struggles as men, and with greater leisure and with even more at stake, are more reprehensible if guilty of indifference to a needed change in legislation.

CAN IT BE THAT the rank and file of women voters are ignorant of the most needed legislation? During the last campaign, on Social Justice Day, a large group of women voters gathered at the Marion porch to hear the Republican candidate's program for social reform. Ten planks were given but one looked in vain for the most needed of all planks—Birth Control. Infancy and Maternity Protection were promised, but protection does not go to the root of improving our deplorable population which requires the clean cut axe of prevention. Infancy protection locks the barn door after the horse is stolen. Protection perpetuates paupers and defectives by patching up humanity and taxing society enormously for the heteragenuous patchwork, after the evil is done. Birth Control deals with prevention, which does not take life but which prevents unworthy life from being born.

Someone has said that the woman's movement in America narrowed itself to so great an extent to one appeal—the desire to vote—that when the ballot was given great numbers of women did not know what to do with it; they were out of touch with other great contemporaneous questions, such as the labor movement, the trades union movement and the great movement toward world peace. Take the subject of economics, for instance—it has been asserted that the average woman is shockingly ignorant of the laws of economics and the history of industrial evolution, so necessary to comprehend in order to get the key to the present world-wide unrest. Myriads of women, men tell us, are also indifferent to their responsibility as citizens to the question of world peace. The ox-like acceptance of thinking women of the ancient yoke of war is a distinct disappointment to many men. Ex-President Taft has said that organized world peace is not an idle dream and that its accomplishment is the task of the woman citizen as well as the man. H. G. Wells, in a recent letter to an American woman said, that the most amazing reaction of the war was that it had stimulated no international movement among women for world peace.

IS IT TRUE that American women concentrated their energies so strongly during their efforts to get the franchise on

this symbol of life that they neglected an interest in the great problems of life itself? This is not true of all women since many women are working whole-heartedly upon great problems. But in some localities it would seem to be true. In certain magazines devoted to the interests of women, we find symposiums of feminine opinion dealing with such questions as: What is the next step? Among groups of women one frequently hears a plaintive or an amused: What shall we do now? Enter the political field? Politics do not attract every woman any more than they attract every man. Moreover the politics of our country at present are particularly repellant having been shot to pieces through a bitter partisan fight. The industrial field? In the industrial world, on both sides, chaos reigns and the lack of leadership with practical vision or historic understanding is appalling. Where will a woman who wishes to align herself with a forward looking movement where the peculiar genius of woman is needed find a place to plant her feet?

The Birth Control movement, we hold, offers such a firm and immediate foundation. Not every question is universal enough—or shall we say personal enough?—to appeal to all women generally. Nor is there any shame in this assertion. Women will learn to be impersonal by doing impersonal things. Occasionally a woman may skip a grade in civic training and jump from sophomore to senior. Most women, however, prefer to go slowly and take the full course in citizenship which schools and leagues of women voters are now happily providing. But here is a question, even in this primary state of enfranchisement, vital enough, personal and pressing enough to enlist every woman's immediate interest, irrespective of creed, color or social condition, without preliminary training and that question is the paramount issue of an improved family. Ask the average woman whether she believes or not in "collective bargaining" and her answer may be indefinite. But ask her if she believes in a movement to produce better babies and her answer will give evidence that she is at home on this subject and knows just where she stands.

THE BIRTH CONTROL movement is primarily a movement to produce better children. It is not a movement to embargo production. It is a movement to safeguard production. Fewer babies will be born, but more will survive. Its object is a certificate of health insurance, so far as is possible, for every child. It affirms that no child should be billeted before birth with an inheritance stamped with tuberculosis, venereal or alcoholic poisoning, or a mother whose vitality is exhausted through perpetual pregnancy. Above all else it is a woman's question. For while responsibility for parenthood should be far more vital than it now is to a man, to a woman it should be paramount. Nature herself has made her responsible for the health of each little one for nine long months before its world advent. Nature therefore challenges every woman with a sacred responsibility to see that mothers are free to guard their own health and their unborn children. That this safe-guarding of mothers and children does not take place today is proved by the statistics of society's reckless waste. Approximately 23,000 women die annually, in the United States, in child birth. As for the infant death rate, that of New York City alone, the

mightiest metropolis in the world, in spite of the millions spent upon welfare work, it is still 85.4 per thousand and capable we are told of being greatly lowered.

The Birth Control movement is essentially a preventive movement—a movement to reduce the infant death-rate scientifically. It is the beginning of a beginning. The magnitude of the question prevents its accomplishment in a day. But an approximately clean bill of health for every child is no more an impracticability than was the dream of giving every child an education. As America has been the land championing the public school system, so American women should see that America becomes the land to care scientifically for its populations and to endow each child, so far as it is possible, with 100 per cent. of pure blood. Here surely should be the Alpha and Omega of freedom for women—freedom to protect the unborn.

TODAY, NO AMERICAN woman, in a strictly legal sense, is thus free. It is true that the granting of the franchise was supposed to emancipate woman in some total and miraculous way. And so it did emancipate her mind to express itself in political terms. But the complete emancipation of woman cannot be affected while unjust laws in regard to her body are on the statutes. She is not free while the law debar her from that science which should shield the birth of every child. This is a fundamental truth that the sooner all suffragists comprehend the better. The granting of a scrap of paper to be used once a year cannot emancipate women so long as other scraps of paper hold them in legal physical bondage to a mistaken idea.

The idea that taking thought of motherhood was obscene was not true even when Anthony Comstock rushed his bill—declaring that all contraceptive information was obscene—through Congress. And the bill itself has proved to be a two-edged sword. It has not only sentenced women to incessant child bearing, even when child-bearing was a social crime, laying upon the state a heavy burden of supporting defective children, but also it has cut in on the usefulness of physicians by prescribing a fine of \$5,000, or imprisonment for five years, for any physician who would endeavor to protect women, protect society and protect the state. The repeal of this absurd law is vital, not alone for the further emancipation of women but also for the emancipation of doctors who should be society's true life-savers and life-conservers, and not compelled to be accomplices in polluting the stream of life.

A GAIN, THE GRANTING of the franchise was supposed to bestow democracy upon women. And so it did bestow democracy—of a kind. Social barriers crumbled, classes were drawn together and caste distinctions melted in the common sisterhood of an idea. But democracy for women can not be effected while discrimination between women is countenanced. It is not democratic to give contraceptive information to rich women and to deny it to poor women. It is not democratic for a physician to assist intelligent women in regulating their families and to refuse to assist uneducated women in limiting their children—because he may be punished if the ignorant

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The Second Step

WE HAVE started the fight. It is possible to win if you will cooperate now! We need funds today in order to win victory. The session of the legislature at Albany closes in the near future and unless the Lindsay bill is introduced promptly we will have to wait another year.

Hit the High Mark for the Victory Fund

Every Contribution Made Now Is Ammunition in Our Fight.

Each Shot Will Hit Its Mark. Aim High!

This Is What Each Shot Will Hit:

- \$5000** Maintenance of the campaign for the bill in the legislature for three months.
- \$2500** Provides enough to counteract the National Catholic Welfare Council's extensive propaganda for six weeks.
- \$1000** Will enable us to solicit legislators personally in Albany.
- \$500** Is needed to print about 10,000 circulars.
- \$250** Must be raised every month to cover the current deficit of keeping up the office.
- \$100** Defrays a week of educational campaigning.
- \$50** Shoots circulars into 2,500 homes.
- \$25** Distributes 125 copies of the magazine for propaganda purposes.
- \$10** Pays for the services of stenographer for 2 days.
- \$5** Will keep 100 people informed about the progress of the bill.
- \$1** Will supply 10 social workers and nurses with material to enlist workers in our cause.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
104 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Herewith I am sending my check (or money order) for \$_____ to help push the Lindsay bill through the New York State Legislature.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

The Magnet

By Mary Heaton Vorse

TONY TELURA knelt on the pavement while First Street streamed past him. The other children playing hopscotch near him, shawled women trafficking above his head with the push-cart men, the street sounds and sights didn't exist. Tony was watching a magnet draw to it a nail. Thoughts unformed, portentous chased through his mind like clouds driven on a keen wind. Force—electricity, gravity—the magnet—the magnetic poles by which men steered ships on trackless oceans—in school he had heard hints and rumors of these things.

These things made things go.

What if—there he stopped and absorbed, wrapped, he watched the miracle of the magnet pull the nail to it. Without visible means, the solid nail leaped the gap and clung to the magnet.

Two little girls, Rosie Spozio and Reba Rosalsky, rushed out of the areaway of the kosher restaurant and made a raid on Tony. They shouted "Wow!" at him, for his absorption offended their pride; but he never looked up. Imperturbable, he went on with his experiment. Tony was ten. He had never had a magnet before. He had stopped to ask the teacher some unanswerable questions about the Poles and the Tides and she had given him the magnet.

Rosie tried three times to make him notice her. Then she went upstairs. The stairs were high. The tenement hall lit by the least flicker of gas—that the law might be kept—was spectral and dark. Up on Rosie's floor a big ungainly woman stood whimpering.

"TONY," called the big woman down the blackness of the stairs. Her voice was broken by tears—"Tony"—

That was Mis' Telura—she was always crying now. Last Summer when they all used to go to the beach together Mis' Telura was always laughing. At South Beach they went in swimming and Mis' Telura used to dash into the water after the kids and shout to Tony:

"Here you, Tony! Wot you dreamin' about, eh? That boy'll be my death! Is any o' your children always dreamin' Miss Spozio?" Then they'd go off into Italian so fast that Rosie could only get a word here and there. Katie was always ashamed when mamma talked Italian in public. But that seemed years ago. Nowadays Mis' Telura only whimpered and cried. That is, since the lockout began.

"Tony's downstairs, Mis' Telura—you want Tony. I" get him." Rosie ran downstairs obligingly.

She stood on the steps filled with triumph. He'd have to listen now.

"Tony Telura! To—nee" she cried shrill and piercing, "Ya mamma wants ya Tony! Don't ya *hear!* Ya mamma wants ya!"

Tony let the magnet draw the nail to it once more. The

needle, the mysterious compass that men sail the sea by—it was part of this. Maybe—above him, out of reach, like a bird, a thought fluttered. Force that makes things go. He could not grasp it.

Rosie's voice smote on his ears again. She had a shock of black curls from which her eyes peered out like a shy animal's. He liked Rosie. She said:

"Ya mamma wants ya. She's cryin'. What makes her cry all the time?"

"My father can't get no work," he answered laconically, but he flushed and darted in the house. He knew well enough why his mother was crying and a sullen shame stirred in his heart because of the reason.

"You simp!" said Reba in her superior voice of nine years.

ROSIE TURNED inquiringly on Reba.

"What ya mean simp?"

"Don't you know what for she cries—she *cries for why she's going to have another baby!*" Reba hissed the last words at Rosie. "Babies is awful any time, but in lockouts, Jeze! they's fierce." Reba made this self evident statement without emphasis. Everybody in the tenement knows it's fierce to have babies. Rosie had known that as long as she had known anything. Whenever her mother heard of a new baby, "Poor thing!" she would sigh. Rosie now contributed:

"My sister Katie says she ain't never goin' to get married. She says she's had enough o' kids already!"

"They all say that," Reba answered in her superior way. "Then they all go get married jes' the same."

The little girls went into the house. At the top of the stairs Mis' Telura was lamenting for the hundredth time:

"I could'a been working but for this. I can get my job back any time. I was workin' in the cloak room of a hotel! They said to me 'Marie, we'll make a place for you any time,' but now—if it hadn't been for this we could'a made out!"

That night the baby was born. There was a hurrying through the tenement.

Mr. Telura burst into Rosie's flat.

"For God's sake" he said. "For God's sake!" His face was the color of ashes. "The midwife won't come out unless I pay her—I—fifteen dollars—where should I get fifteen dollars—not a penny—a month too soon—on the street—the landlord—six more days—he won't wait—Oh God—God—God!"

Katie mocked. "God! God! For God's sake—shut up! Ma an' me'll make out with her. When our baby was born—I was alone with ma most all the time. Ma, you go to her and I'll put on water to heat."

AN AWFUL NOISE pierced through Tony's sleep, it slithered through him like a slashing knife. He sat up straight in bed. Another cry followed by heavy breathing—the anguished

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Tuberculosis and Pregnancy

By Ella H. Ward

MORE AND MORE are we coming to realize that tuberculosis is a universal disease for it is found in every land regardless of race, color, poverty or wealth. Many volumes have been written concerning its prevention and much progress has been made towards its cure. The establishment of the National Tuberculosis Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in 1905 has been a potent factor in bringing before the public the realization that they too must help and not leave it to a few hard working individuals if this great plague is to be successfully combated.

Annually there are 150,000 deaths and 1,000,000 sick with tuberculosis in the United States. This is a conservative estimate because it does not include the non-registered area.

There has been a tremendous growth in sanatoria, hospitals and dispensaries during the last few years.

Year	Sanatorium	Dispensaries	Associations
1905	111	18	18
1908	175	83	97
1911	355	322	490
1914	426	379	1004
1917	493	399	1272
1920	613	516	1082

In the last fifteen years the death rate from tuberculosis has declined 27 per cent., a saving of 50,000 lives a year. By eliminating tuberculosis entirely they can save for the country as a whole upwards of \$25,000,000,000. We owe a great debt of everlasting gratitude for the struggle toward relieving mankind of this dreadful plague. It is still apparent, however, that some tremendously vital steps need yet to be taken. The question arises: will the yearly raising of many millions of dollars eliminate this disease? That is the fundamental question when one goes right down to the "bottom" of the situation and searches for the reason why these many millions raised to prevent tuberculosis do not do more towards its actual prevention?

HEREDITARY TUBERCULOSIS is very rare. Constant observation has proved that the child does not inherit tuberculosis from its mother but that he or she does become infected if associated with the tuberculous parent. There lies the keynote of the tuberculosis situation. It is in the child's early life with its mother that infection occurs. I quote the following:

"Out of one group of 150 cases of children, where tuberculosis was present in the home, it was found that 70 per cent. actually had contracted the disease from members of their families, where in another group of 102 suspicious cases, where no tuberculosis was present at home, only 48 per cent. were found positive."

Where there is known to be tuberculosis in the family, Dr. Lampson, of Minnesota, has shown that 67.5 per cent. of the children were infected. These facts point definitely to the

danger of being in a family not where tuberculosis is common in the past history, but where there is active tuberculosis present. There immediately arises the vital question—should the tuberculous mother procreate. Absolutely not! It is an absolute impossibility to take the child from the mothers who are tubercular for two great reasons: first a question of the financial cost and secondly mother love for the care of her own is too great a factor to reckon with. You cannot bring science into everything and the things which we cannot see with our eyes are the hardest of all to combat.

The fact is the added drain upon the tubercular mother who constantly bears children is an added drain upon herself, making her more prone to become a worse case of tuberculosis every day. She constantly lessens her ability to fight the disease and is not able to physically assume the burdens of motherhood. Is this then fair to the unborn? Have they no right to a good heritage and a healthy environment? Any sane thinking mortal will agree they have. For until mothers realize that it is far better to have a few healthy children; not a large number of crying invalids the world will not progress very far in eliminating the tuberculosis death rate. Quoting from an article printed by the National Tuberculosis Association it says:

IT MEANS THAT if the child after he is born is allowed to remain with the tuberculous parent he is sure to become infected and probably dies. It also means that if the mother is ill, that she will be likely to become seriously so after the child is born, etc."

Yet they talk freely of prevention and more prevention of cure and more cure but fundamentally they will not face the real issue and question that arises constantly—should the tubercular mother procreate? For the ones here ill with it now we can raise the many millions needed to cure them or at least make their sufferings less—but what about the unborn that we are constantly bringing into the environment of the disease? There seems no hope for the situation as this goes on. "The increase in the frequency of tuberculosis with the advance of age from childhood to adult life makes it evident that eradication of tuberculosis in the human race can never be accomplished unless the child, first of all, is protected from infections."

Statistics show that the death rate from most diseases in the cities comes from the slum districts where poverty, ignorance, carelessness and lack of sanitation reign. Poverty is the greatest of all factors to combat. Koch has very truly called tuberculosis "a dwelling disease."

DEATH RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION			
	General Death Rate All Causes	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	Tuberculosis All Forms
1904	1,653.5	176.2	200.3
1905	1,602.0	166.7	191.9

1906	1,567.5	155.6	179.8
1907	1,597.1	154.3	178.2
1908	1,478.0	144.0	167.3
1909	1,440.0	137.7	160.7
1910	1,495.8	139.7	150.3
1911	1,415.9	138.0	158.9
1912	838,251	Rate not given	8,465
1913	1,407.4	127.7	147.6
1914	1,360.9	127.8	146.8
1915	1,350.2	127.7	145.8
1916	1,398.9	123.8	141.6
1917	1,416.5	128.7	146.3

The above figures are taken from the United States Bureau of the Census, 1909-1917 inclusive.

IT SEEMS ALMOST impossible but it is nevertheless true that in the nearly sixteen years of organization, in the transactions of the National Tuberculosis Association will be found only a few fearless remarks on this subject. The following quotation is by Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf:

In my own practice I feel it a sacred duty, when the tuberculous people who come before me are at the same time prospective candidates for matrimony, to tell them that they must not marry until the disease is completely arrested. I am not going to say how often I have been disobeyed. It might seem strange, but it is true, that these good people are willing to obey you when you forbid them to have children. To this they are always ready to listen. I am grateful even for this, for as long as there is an open tuberculosis in either one or the other parent it is a crime for them to bring a child into this world, and this rule, for such I consider it, cannot be too strongly impressed on a newly married couple when one or both are afflicted with tuberculosis. When such people are in poor circumstances, the gravity of the crime is increased.

Let me give you an example from my own experience. I was called in consultation for a diagnosis in the case of a street-sweeper who was thirty-six years old. He earned twelve dollars a week, and on his thirty-sixth birthday we had to declare him tuberculous in the second stage. On that same thirty-sixth birthday he had his twelfth child. That to my mind is one kind of race suicide, for *three-fourths of those children* will have died of tuberculosis before they reach the age of fourteen. And more than that, not only will they have died, but they will have caused the State an expenditure of many hundreds of dollars for education uselessly applied, and will have further spread the infection.

All tuberculosis and tuberculously inclined school-children should attend an open-air school. So should all the anemic and highly nervous. In fact, if we ever wish to solve the tuberculosis problem we must make

the open-air school the rule, the indoor school the exception.

I am going back once more to the question of large families, because I believe it is a very important one. I believe it is our duty, whenever we are confronted with problems such as the tuberculosis problem, to bear in mind that quality is better than quantity, that it is impossible nowadays for a man with a small income to raise a large family and expect the children to be strong, vigorous, and mentally and physically equipped to take up the struggle of life. I do not believe it is wrong at all to teach a tuberculous individual, man or woman, that they must not procreate as long as there is danger that they will either transmit tuberculosis directly—for that is possible, though rare—or run the risk of rendering their offspring tuberculous by postnatal infection, which happens very often in the earlier years of life. Although the tuberculosis may be latent for years in the child it is bound to come out when the system is run down from acute disease, privation, or overwork.

In our anti-tuberculosis campaign let us bear in mind that tuberculosis has as large a social aspect as a medical aspect, and as long as we allow the children to be raised as they are raised now, as long as we allow child labor and excessive woman labor, so long as we allow underpaid labor for men and for women, so long as we allow the masses to be fed as they are fed, housed as they are housed, so long will we not be able to solve the tuberculosis problem.

DR. KNOPF IS absolutely right; and just so long as we allow this tuberculosis will remain. Modesty means purity and delicateness, in other words everything that is beautiful. It is far from nature's design that we should bring into the world little children and handicap them for life's big existence unless we give them their rightful inheritance of a beautiful body free from any taint of disease.

Just so long as the tuberculous mother will continue to procreate will we have the tuberculosis problem to face. Just so long also as men have to work for insufficient wages so as to make it impossible for them to feed their babies as well as themselves and just so long as men and women must huddle together worse than animals—for darkness, foul air and filth keep the millions of germs alive—the tuberculosis fight will be in vain. While they are spending millions and millions to help cure hurt bodies is it not possible to prevent hurt bodies from having to be cured? The healthier the body the healthier the mind and it has always been so and always will. The progress of tuberculosis has not been solved in the past for any of us to object to views that may give a ray of light as to the future.

Rock and Rye

EDWARD MORGAN'S NEW BOOK

(Published by the author at 1 Market St., San Francisco.)

A book of poetry, particularly one by a sincere individualist, who is at the same time gifted with the privilege of lyrical song, is ever interesting to the lover of art. Edward Morgan's little volume, *ROCK AND RYE* carries the conviction of sincerity on every page. It is evident that he carefully prepared "copy"—selecting with an eye for the needs of a busy public, and issuing the whole in a conveniently small size that will fit the vest pocket. The old, old cry: "lack of space" is

our threadbare excuse for not giving this book of poems the serious attention it deserves. If any reader desires a book of poems radiating the energy of dreamer and thinker, the reviewer can suggest no better purchase than this one. And certainly among the drivel of books issued in America today, it is something for a bored idler at various shrines to suggest a new volume. But again, with all the vacuity of American poetry in mind, we recommend this one as a singing exception to the rule.—H. H.

Race Suicide in the U. S.

By Dr. Warren S. Thompson
University of Michigan and Cornell University

(Concluded from February)

IT IS NOT enough that two children should be born in a family in order to keep up the numbers of the class, to say nothing of increasing the numbers. I have estimated that from 3.5 to 4 children must be born to each married couple in the nation in order to keep up the numbers of the population. In the upper classes where the death rate is low, it might appear that an average of 3 children would be sufficient to keep up their numbers. But when we take into account the facts that (1) late marriages from which not more than one or two children can be expected are common in these classes, (2) celibacy is greater here than in other classes, (3) necessarily sterile marriages are probably more numerous than in other classes, it seems doubtful whether the numbers of these classes can be maintained with less than 3.5 to 4 births in the normal family.

In order to have a fair rate of increase in these classes, then, there should be an average of about 4.5 to 5 children born in the normal family as conditions now are. If the death rate of this class is lowered the number of children needed would be somewhat less, but not much increase in the rate of growth can be expected from this source, as the death rate in this class is already quite low. Then, too, the development of eugenic ideals in the upper classes should make it unpopular for the man fitted to be a father to remain a bachelor simply because it is the easier life. If more members of the class undertake to do their full duty by the next generation there will be more normal families in proportion to the number of persons in these classes, so that the burden on each married couple will be somewhat lighter.

* * * *

History records that during the middle ages, money lenders (for interest) were subjected to reproach, and in fact were socially ostracized, because of their calling. Today, however, it is possible for even a banker to be a leading member of the community. The moral code has changed.

Polygamy in different ages was generally accepted as moral (as it is today in certain parts of the world.) There is plenty of scriptural evidence of its propriety. King Solomon was not only the most married man of his time, but was considered the wisest. Today, with a thousand wives, he would be thought not only decidedly immoral, but positively unwise. The moral code has changed.

SO IT IS that birth control, which might, with some foundation, have been considered immoral in other times, under other conditions, is today socially justified and therefore moral.

BENEFITS OF BIRTH CONTROL

To best demonstrate the social benefits of birth control, the most logical thing to do is to point out the results in a given

state or country, where it has been legalized and treated in a sane, scientific manner, and universally practiced. Unfortunately, we are not able to use any American state as an example, as the facts of birth control are still legally denied to the proud, self-assertive, independent American citizen. Officially, married men and women of America, though they be mature, responsible human beings, otherwise able to take care of their own personal affairs, are not considered qualified to know certain well-established, scientific facts that would enable them intelligently to regulate the size of their families, and to have children *when* they want them and are able properly to provide for them.

There are states and countries, however, where the question is not prescribed, but where the facts are made legally accessible to married persons. And after a thorough test covering many years' practice, the results in every way confirm the tremendous benefits which the proponents of birth control claim in the improved social well-being and greatly lowered death rate, and completely refute the contentions of its opponents that immorality will increase, the population die out and other dire calamities occur.

THE FIRST BIRTH control clinic in the world was opened in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1881, by Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, incidentally the first woman doctor in that country. The splendid results were so evident that by common consent of the people the number of clinics was gradually increased until today there are over fifty, sanctioned by the Government, in operation in that country of some six million people. Dr. J. Rutgers of The Hague, Secretary of the Neo-Malthusian League, is the specialist who trains the nurses.

In addition to the clinics, a general but quiet campaign of educational propaganda is conducted continuously. In the words of Dr. Rutgers: "We are lecturing everywhere. But the essential missionary work is done privately and modestly, often unconsciously, by showing the happy results in their own families, by the nearly 5,000 members of our League spread over the whole country, among whom are physicians, clergymen and teachers, etc."

Since 1881, the general death rate and infantile mortality have fallen in Holland until today they are the *lowest* in Europe. Amsterdam and The Hague have the lowest infant mortality rates of any cities in the world. During this period there has been a decrease of 25 per cent. in the birth rate, but at the same time a decrease of 66 per cent. in the infantile death-rate, thus leaving an actual *increase* in the number of children reared. Furthermore, the number of men averaging 5 feet 7 inches in height has doubled, and the number under 5 feet 2½ inches has decreased 66 per cent. The people are physi-

cally and morally improved, and the population, as shown above, is certainly not dying out.

Contrast the conditions in Holland, where no woman need have more children than the family income will adequately provide for, with the wide-spread over-bearing of children and excessive infantile mortality, with the resulting misery and poverty, prevailing wherever this information is banned. And think of the socially disastrous results of these conditions in needless suffering, criminality, insanity, degeneracy, prostitution, child labour, and other evils that are sapping the very life-blood of the race.

EVILS OF UNRESTRICTED BREEDING

IN AN EDITORIAL, *American Medicine* cites a case, taken at random, which was reported by a nurse in one of the poorer districts of New York City: "One of my mothers has been the victim of fifteen pregnancies. She now has five living children; one of them is permanently deaf from an old case of otitis. Another has had a foul discharge from the ear for nearly two years. Only an operation can cure this; the parents refuse to have it done. Of the fifteen pregnancies, one resulted in a miscarriage. Nine children died during infancy, death being due to ignorance and neglect. All who lived through the first year were more or less enfeebled by being kept at the breast after the milk had lost its value as nourishment."

And this is not an isolated case. It is an instance of a type that literally abounds. What apologist will defend the morality of a social system that encourages this human waste, or makes it possible? Of the five pitiable children who are living, what will be their future status as prospective citizens of tomorrow? Physically and mentally and morally, they have been hopelessly handicapped from—even *before*—birth, and cannot become useful, productive members of society. They, and the countless numbers of their kind, will become, inevitably and through no fault of their own, the social scum that pollutes the streets and that make up the subterranean life of the underworld; that fill the jails, reformatories and asylums—if they are unfortunate enough to survive. What is the program of the moralists who condemn the rational morality that would almost immediately alleviate this condition, and ultimately make it impossible?

AND THESE SOCIAL tragedies are not by any means limited to the city slums. They are widespread in the country and agricultural districts as well. Referring especially to the tobacco and cotton fields of the South, and the beet fields of the West, Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labour Committee has said: "Large families, poverty and lack of schooling go hand in these rural counties. It is in this way that the circle of poverty, ignorance and child labour continues unbroken from generation to generation." The percentage of illiteracy among native-born Americans—many of old native stock—in these districts is appalling.

Another dubious distinction that America can claim is pre-eminence in the prevalence of abortions. On account of the lack of contraceptive knowledge, wilfully denied those who are most in need of it, desperate and distracted women, knowing

only too well their inability to raise and care for another child, submit to the perilous but single hope of relief in abortion. It is conservatively estimated that 250,000 abortions are performed every year in this country, and over 50,000 deaths result therefrom.

Numerous other arguments could be advanced to prove that birth control is socially desirable and that contraceptive knowledge made available to all married persons who wish it, would be of inestimable benefit to society. It is on these grounds that the moral status of modern birth control is incontrovertible. Of course, like all other innovations and new ideas that are pregnant with possibilities for promoting human happiness—and which ultimately are accepted—this idea, too, has met and will continue to meet with certain formidable, although constantly diminishing opposition.

BIRTH CONTROL AND DOMESTIC HAPPINESS

THE QUESTION OF birth control as an aid to individual happiness in the marriage relations, and as a promoter of conjugal tranquility, is closely allied to the social phase of the subject. This is true because of the fact that when individuals suffer through ignorance, preventable misfortunes, or otherwise, it most certainly affects society, of which they are a part. This principle is perfectly self-evident, and is recognized in laws that are enacted ostensibly to protect the individual, but actually in order to protect *society*. Thus, there is a positive reaction on society in individual welfare or misery. However, there are certain advantages of birth control that can be analyzed better in their more immediate effects on the individuals concerned. In this way, some features of the subject can be more definitely and concretely illustrated, and their respective merits emphasized.

Take, for instance, the average working man or even the better paid mechanic who has already five or six, or more, children, and whose wife is unusually fertile and is giving birth to children year after year. The wages of the father are not sufficient properly to support them all, even under the most favourable conditions of steady employment. And in "normal" times, the number of unemployed—which of course includes a very large percentage of married men who are the sole support of their families—runs up into millions for periods of a few weeks to months. The food that can be purchased with the slender means is not at all adequate. Rent and other bills fall behind and the man goes into debt, or the family becomes woefully undernourished—perhaps both. Still the man and wife are comparatively young. What is to be done? If they allow "nature to take its course,"* there will be an increase in the family every year. Moreover, these ever-recurring labours weaken the constitution of the woman and sap her strength. If the knowledge is not gained of how to prevent conception by harmless methods, then the woman, in sheer hopelessness, is either driven to attempt abortion to

*The ability to *control* nature, or to modify its normal results, and to change his environment, is universally esteemed as man's pre-eminent characteristic—which places him above the pale of the animal world. Everyone recognizes this, even the most bitter opponents of Neo-Malthusianism. Still, rational birth control is but an example of the application of this principle.

avoid adding to the already unbearable burden, or, with equal desperation, she resolves to avoid sexual relations with her husband. Anyone with the faintest idea of the potency and deep-rooted nature of sex life, can realize the tragedies that are bound up in this dilemma. On the other hand, a dreadfully overworked, utterly discouraged woman (or helpless child-bearing machine) and on the other, a man, also discouraged and hopeless, but with a normally developed sex consciousness, implanted by nature, that is demanding expression.

WHAT IS THE remedy for this domestic calamity? There is only one, which instantly suggests itself—contraceptive information, which should be amplified by a general knowledge of sex psychology and physiology. As to those individuals who advocate big families or the alternative of sexual continence in wedlock, they might be answered in the words of the eminent authority, Dr. August Forel:

"It is strange, indeed, to hear rich men, well-fed clergymen, pious zealots and reformers, leaning back in their comfortable chairs after a sumptuous meal and smoking an expensive Havana cigar, discuss this burning question and bewail the immorality of the common people. Statistics prove that these very people, who extol to the poor all the blessings of a big family, never live up to their teachings either in theory or practice. The majority of these apostles of morality have no children at all, or at the utmost two or three. Why should that be so? What interesting reading it would be if the sexual history of these persons were followed up and printed."

Of course, not all opponents of birth control are in the class just referred to. But the honest, though narrow-minded, ill-informed, exceptions are frequently in no position to pass judgment. Persons who are of constitutionally frigid natures, or who are perhaps sexual impotents, have no right whatever to pose as normal examples of the human race, and to ignore the existence of temperaments, characters and constitutions so widely differing from their own.

IRRATIONAL SUBTERFUGE

THOSE WHO ADVOCATE sexual intercourse for reproduction only, either conveniently forget, or do not know, what this involves, and how utterly irrational it is. In fact, besides being chimerical, it completely ignores all the important facts of normal sex life. This theory, if it can be dignified by the term, presupposes that the sex act should be indulged in only for the specific purpose of conception, and when the object is once attained any further intercourse should be discontinued until another child is desired. Speaking of normal human beings, many authorities agree this would limit the sexual relations of man and wife to about five or six occasions during the whole period of married life, as under favourable conditions, one coitus is sufficient to cause conception, and of course the proponents of this policy would, to be consistent, indulge in the sex act only when the conditions were so favorable as to be quite positive. In the event that one of the parties to this union should prove sterile—which is by no means rare—then upon the discovery of this misfortune, there must be no further sexual relations, because there would be no motive. Then, again, in the case of the average family, where

one, two or three children are all that can be properly provided for, the sexual relations would quite possibly be limited to one of these numbers. But even this would be birth control of a fantastic sort, as it would most assuredly limit the number of offspring.

The situation previously referred to where the wife refuses sexual relations with the husband is no uncommon occurrence, as many physicians writing on this subject have testified from confessions made to them either by the husband or wife. Nor is it by any means limited to lower-paid working class domestic life. In fact, it is probably as common in the middle and even upper class families, where the wife, after the manner of certain well-known types of these groups, has been educated along the lines of an unnatural asceticism and her sex life atrophied. In cases of this kind, where there is an absence of sexual harmony and understanding between the married persons, and added to this a fear of pregnancy on the part of the wife, the husband in many cases resorts to prostitution—the choice ranging from the common prostitute to the fashionable kept mistress, according to his social scale. Sometimes, this is even done with the wife's sanction and approval, the latter willingly suffering the knowledge of the normal and spiritual wreck of the marriage in order to be "let alone." And it frequently leads to physical disaster, too, as the prevalence of venereal diseases among prostitutes renders the husband extremely liable to infection. Thus, it is that the want of sex knowledge in general and contraceptive information in particular in many cases makes a travesty of marriage and helps to feed the social cancer of prostitution.

EDUCATIONAL STIMULUS

IN NUMBERLESS INSTANCES of this kind a timely knowledge of rational birth control methods would save the matrimonial ship from foundering on the rocks of sexual ignorance and morbidity, as invariably with the acquiring of reliable contraceptive information, vital facts of sex life are learned and a new and healthy attitude toward the whole subject is approached.

Human nature, as evolved under the multiple processes of civilization that have influenced it, is highly complex; personal, family, social and racial consequences are intimately interwoven and the sexual act in some degree is concerned with them all. It links them together, and to separate one from the other, as someone has said, "is an act of moral surgery which cannot be performed with safety or success."

We have been told from time immemorial to judge a tree by its fruits. It would therefore seem logical to assume that the moral and ethical standard of any human agency should be judged by its effects on society. If the results are for the positive good of society, then it is a moral agency. This is undeniable. If the results are socially evil, then it is an immoral agency. This is equally undeniable. With this premise established, and with the facts as outlined above before us, it must be admitted that birth control is one of the great moral and ethical forces of the present age, and those who attempt to deny its benefits to humanity are rendering a serious disservice to society. (Finis.)

HOW WOULD YOU ANSWER THIS WOMAN?

This is the type of letter that comes to Mrs. Sanger in thousands every month. We will print more of these in forthcoming issues.

DEAR MRS. SANGER:

Your book is "To my mother who gave birth to 11 living children," this letter is to my mother who gave birth to 12 living children and in so doing gave her own life long before her appointed time. She died at 45, a dear tiny frail creature, who when with child weighed less than 100 lbs. and the hardest part is she died gladly. I held her hand when she passed away and she told me she only wanted rest and peace and she could get it except by dying. Only a year and some 11 months between her children. Cancer of the womb caused by excessive child bearing. The horror of it and then one is forbidden knowledge. Today she lies in an unmarked grave because the poverty of her own family and her children's families made it necessary. When I pass by where she rests I feel guilty of my own birth knowing full well it helped to place her there.

Two days after my mother's death, my sister died in her first confinement, in the first year of her married life; another sister has her womb so full of holes there is little hope for her, by means of causing abortion by a knitting needle rather than go through it again. She has had 5 already.

A BROTHER DEAD leaves 4 children that have been in the children's home—another brother lost his wife and 3 children in a month, his wife went into tuberculosis trouble from child birth, 4 within 11 months and the children had tubercular meningitis. Doctor said they had been born too rapidly.

I myself tired of the poverty of a home with a dozen children, married at 17 a man I would never otherwise have done to get out of it all and in less time than it takes me to write it, was to become a mother and was glad to be back under my mother's roof. My child was born in a public ward of Sloan's Maternity Hospital in New York and for eight days I endured untold agony but was told when I left that hospital I could never become pregnant again. I would not live with my little one's father afraid of childbirth, so he left us to our own resources as he had the law on his side. It became my duty to support my child. He died the same month as my sister and mother and I became housekeeper for my father and the flock my mother left behind, but the ones able to work only thought of themselves, and my little tot and I were forgotten until we became so shabby we stayed inside, going out only at night.

Then an old school chum of mine seeing my life asked me to marry him and thinking I was in the position (never to have any more children) to give my little one clothing, food and perhaps a little more joy, did so, and in less than 6 weeks I was pregnant and also a widow. I could get no relief, so I now

had a little one and another coming, yet had to work night and day to keep our body and souls together. I was very ill vomiting all the nine months and was a shadow. Sonny was born in a public hospital, a puny sickly child and because he had to be a bottle baby so I could work, he did not get the proper care nor nourishment. At 10 months he died, undernourished, the doctor said, and yet that same doctor knowing my circumstances when I was 6 weeks pregnant, would not give me relief.

ABOUT A YEAR of struggle after this, I broke down utterly and for 15 months sat in one chair useless, a nervous anaemic wreck.

I am still a nervous wreck, but am on my way, I pray to health again. I had gotten where I could help myself and little one to a better living, and have now married again for I see a life of happiness and plenty for my little girl who has suffered so much and gone without so much. It was the only thing I could do. I am not well enough to make a big enough living for two and housework is all I can manage to get through and my husband has promised to claim no husband's privilege for two years until I am well again, but I know such a bargain is unnatural and yet I am not in any condition for motherhood. The thing has got me brooding and I find I am getting some of the symptoms back I had when I was so sick. I know I should not have accepted the bargain I did. I am afraid for us both. I watch him too closely in fear that he shall break his promise. He feels the watching and resents my lack of trust, but it is my own self I cannot trust as I love him. Should he break his promise I have not the strength to resist him or else it means a wretched mistake and I will be worse off than before.

MRS. SANGER CAN you in any way give me any information on Birth Control? Can you tell me where I can have it or obtain any means of prevention which is unharmed and certain, just so my girlie can have a little she has missed, a little chance of happiness.

Only for this condition in our home, we could be happy as anyone in the world and the man I have married has the means to make life a lot easier for us. It means new shoes, a doctor when ill and care and comfort, but happiness is not there because of my ill health and the only condition on which I dared to accept it, which is all wrong, and now I know it would have been better for me to have struggled on rather than to have linked another to my unhappy, unfortunate lot.

I want to say it is all true and from the depths of my heart I pray you and I will both see the day when you will have won your cause and Birth Control will be taught freely to relieve the suffering of this world. I am fully convinced it is the only thing that can overcome present conditions.

Thomas Robert Malthus, 1766-1834 - By Havelock Ellis

THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS, born near Guildford in 1766, was educated at Cambridge, became Professor of History and Political Economy at Haileybury College, and died in 1834. His most famous work, *An essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society*, was published in 1798, and in a much changed and enlarged shape in 1803.

"I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus," said Shelley, though he elsewhere admitted that he had no quarrel with Malthus' final conclusions, and had he known him better might have admitted more. Brought up in the ideas of Rosseau and Godwin, though he later opposed them, Malthus was not, as Shelley suspected, a champion of "the oppressors of mankind," but a humanitarian thinker of keen and large intelligence, of rare beauty and serenity of character, a fit companion, in whatever world, for Plato, whom indeed, he regarded as the pioneer of his own doctrine. The saying, however, well illustrates the strong feeling aroused even until today by the name of Malthus, the name rather than the book, which has never been read by the many. There is little excuse for not reading it now, since it may be found in *Everyman's Library* in two volumes. It is still well worth reading, and it has found readers of the first quality. Darwin stated that it suggested to him the doctrine of

natural selection, and Wallace was similarly inspired by it. There was nothing absolutely original in the view, or "principle," as he called it, that Malthus set forth. What he did was to present it more clearly and definitely, with a far greater wealth of evidence, and in a better style. That is why it is a classic. The "principle" is that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence; so that when no restraint is exercised on procreation the growth of population is necessarily checked by famine, war, poverty, and disease. Malthus sought further precision by asserting that population naturally increases in a geometrical ratio, food only in an arithmetical

ratio. That formula is generally discredited, since we can introduce no such distinction in natural increase between man and other living things. Other considerations, also, not obvious in Malthus' day, modify the tendency, so that we can scarcely regard it as a "principle." Moreover, Malthus' firm resolve to keep close to the essential facts led to what we now consider too cautious an attitude towards Utopian social reforms, while his followers have sometimes been too addicted to a narrow Individualism.

Yet Malthus stands for a great fundamental fact bound up with all solid social reform: *The necessity for the human control of procreation*. He realized the elementary relationship

between the price of labor and the size of the worker's family. He advocated that "moral restraint," which has led on to the more practicable modern movement of birth control. His doctrine, however, disputable in its original economic form, is in a more extended form slowly permeating the whole social consciousness of mankind.

The Vision

By Harold Hersey

(For Havelock Ellis on his birthday, February 2nd)

WITH those who have the eyes to see there are
So many things that hurt: immortal things
That fold their wearied and moth-eaten wings
Around some faded and forgotten star;
So many faces where a ruddle scar
About the eyes a blood-black shadow flings;
So many broken memories of kings
Whose empires have been scattered near and far.
Yet it is lonely standing on the height . . .
The ashes of the burnt-out stars in clouds
Go tumbling through the silences of night,
Then in the dreaming darkness there are crowds
Of gaunt, gray figures, dim and wan and white,
And winds that toss against their empty shrouds.

They Are Our Conscripts

". . . Perhaps the deepest impression I've got since I've been in Germany is that made on me by the indefatigable beavers of old wrinkled peasant women, striding like men through the streets, dragging their carts or lugging their baskets, minding their business, seeming to notice nothing in

the stream of luxury and vice, but belonging far away, to something better and purer. Their poor, old ravaged and stiffened faces, their poor, old bodies dried up with ceaseless toil, their patient souls made me weep. 'They are our conscripts.' They are the venerable ones whom we should reverence. All the mystery of womanhood seems incarnated in their ugly being—the Mothers! the Mothers! Ye are all one! Yes, Alice dear, what I love in you is only what these blessed old creatures have, and I'm glad and proud, when I think of my own dear Mother with tears running down my face, to know that she is one with these . . ."—From *The Letters of William James*.

The Magnet

(Continued from page 8)

breathing of inhuman effort. He heard Mis' Spozio's voice soothing, encouraging. Katie's voice hard and snappy with excitement—his father's voice.

Birth!

He felt as if a white star had exploded inside his head—a child coming into the world! A sort of terror shook Tony and a curiosity that was like the urge of hunger.

Why? What made us be born? People got married and then had babies—but *why*—the big boys who laughed so knowingly when he had asked questions—none of them could tell him—why. No one knew.

Again the scream like nothing human, rending the night, rending him.

He sat rigid. Birth! How had everything begun? Tony asked how it all began in school. They couldn't answer him there.

A cold chill crept down Tony's back. He felt the way you feel when people tell you creepy stories in the dark and you can *almost* see the things that aren't there.

Now the screams didn't stop. They followed one on the other.

Tina in the other bed waked up and began to cry from fright, and now a thin little voice stabbed the sudden silence like a needle.

"Well, Telura, another boy," he heard Mis' Spozio's voice.

He crept to the door. He glimpsed his father's face more ashen than his mother's. His brow glistening with sweat, he was hurrying around under Mis' Spozio's directions while Katie had in her arms something that looked to him like a red worm. She saw Tony and shouted fiercely at him:

"Get out, you!"

NEXT DAY THE agent came for the rent again. Tony went to the door. His father was out.

"My mother's sick." The agent looked at him with suspicion.

"What's the matter?" he asked.

"A new baby—" The agent whistled.

"You tell you pa that he's got just a week to get that rent in." He was apologetic. "You know Grollo, he won't wait. You owe three months a'ready. If even he'd pay one month."

The collector was a wizened little man who looked as cast-off as the clothes he wore.

Tony gave the message to his father who made no answer except to repeat:

"A week—Yes a week—"

"Maybe you'll find some work—" said Tony vaguely.

"I'll find something—Jesu Christ! You can't see a family like this starve on the streets, can you?" His father asked him seriously as if he were grown up and could answer. His tone made Tony uncomfortable. He fingered his magnet. He wanted to get away from these terrible and perplexing questions. "I'll find *something*" his father said. "I'll find something. This is a terrible thing to bring on a woman by loving her"—he went on always as if Tony was grown up—"Children

—blessings! When you were born how proud we were! This one was more than we could stand—destruction—"

"What'll we do if they throw us out?" Tony asked,

His father's face assumed a look of cunning that froze Tony with sudden fear.

"There are asylums for orphans—widows with week-old babies—are taken care of." He sat down on the edge of the stairs and buried his head in his hands.

Tony sat beside him looking at him with terror. His father looked up and said, still speaking as if Tony was grown up:

"There is—no other way—try—try to understand." Then most frightening of all he flung his arms around Tony and kissed him with desperation.

Telura found a way—

THERE WAS A shot out in the back yard and a great buzzing echoed through the tenement when they brought Telura's body upstairs.

Telura had found a way out. He had advertised to society that it was up to it to take care of his wife and children.

The women in the tenement talked together in their rooms and on the landing.

"They ain't any relatives—"

"She can't lie there—"

"Tony's the oldest."

"What can you do—five children—"

"Her folks is all killed in the war—"

The priest came to see what could be done.

"Santa Virgine!" he exclaimed.

"What are you going to do, Father?"

"The best I can—but if you think it's easy all at once to find places for four children too young to be adopted easily—not old enough to work—a bad age! A bad age—poor woman—poor woman!"

Tony's mother lay in the bed her eyes looking at nothing.

Under a sheet lay the body of Robert Telura who had taken the only way he knew to give bread to his family.

Alive and sleeping profoundly was the baby that had taken Robert Telura's life.

Tony stood between the room where his father lay under the sheet and the room where his mother lay in bed staring at nothing.

Where had his father gone? What made people be born and die?

TONY'S HAND TOUCHED something cold in his pocket.

It was the magnet, the faithful nail clamped to it.

The awful feeling about Tony's chest relaxed.

His mind lost itself in the wonder of speculation. Majestic, distant, always escaping him were the great forces of the earth that make things go. The moon in the heaven's pulling the tides around—Gravity, the magnetic current, the mysterious needle swayed by the North and the little horse-shoe magnet. These august, mysterious things, greater than even birth and death, obliterated everything—his pale staring mother, his dead father.

He knelt down on the floor and put the nail at a little distance. It leaped the gap.

Suffrage and Birth Control

(Concluded from page 6)

woman tells. The result of this prohibition is not only undemocratic class discrimination among women, but also it is a swelling of our population by a tide of undesirables until it is rising to heights of a national menace today.

If suffragists are not convinced of the reality of this menace and that the question of population and the quality of that population is paramount to all other American issues, they will be forced soon to acknowledge it by the inexorable logic of events. For some months, 10,000 immigrants a month have been crowding our shores. Nothing like this condition has ever been known at Ellis Island which is totally unequipped to handle and adequately examine such numbers. What becomes of this avalanche of aliens descending upon us, refugees from stricken Europe? "It is moving," an emigration officer said recently in a public address, "in a muddy stream across our continent." What becomes of it, then? It filters into the poorer and most congested parts of our cities, the parts least fitted to receive it. For if the housing problem is pressing upon Park Avenue, and its environs, it is perilous and iniquitous in the slums. Just how these people, many of them sturdy and with much to contribute toward American citizenship, are pathetically and perilously propagating, will be told in an article next month, embodying a visit to a maternity clinic in a crowded New York district.

WE REPEAT, THE question of population and the threatened defilement of the national life of America, through pressure within and without, is the paramount question before the citizenship of America today. And Birth Control is its solution. It is the crux of Americanization and the keystone toward which every other constructive measure should move.

The psychological moment for the enlargement of the Birth Control movement is therefore here. Just as in the suffrage movement the justice of the cause and the interests of thousands of women in industry led to suffrage to expand from a small pioneer movement and extend itself to the boundaries of a national campaign, so, great events and great necessities are pressing upon the chrysalis of the Birth Control movement, urging it to spread its wings and fly from coast to coast until it becomes a nation-wide movement. Its needs are urgent. Its response should be wide.

The former needs of suffrage and the present needs of Birth Control movement are nearly parallel. We need first of all the sympathy and coöperation of every individual who believes in a better race. We need the active coöperation of every suffragist no matter what her talent. Some place will be found for her. If she cannot give of material resources, as in suffrage, she can at least give her services—spend and be spent.

We need women with executive talent who can organize and command members. We need speakers who can treat the subject of an expurgated humanity with dignity and understanding, putting it where it belongs—in the public forum and the patriotic press. We need writers—unquestionably great writers whose names will challenge attention and whose consecrated pens will tell the world why they believe in a scientifically re-

stricted race. We need the establishment of a department of research and the coöperation of scientists—alienists, eugenists and psycho-pathics—men who will give us facts as to the breeding of the unfit and knowledge of how the population may be unmeasurably strengthened when quality and not quantity is the criterion. The man or woman who would establish and endow even on a small scale, such a department dedicated to the interests of better children, will erect a monument "more lasting than brass." "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these little ones, ye have done it unto me."

WE NEED SUFFRAGISTS with political experience to work on legislative committees. It requires political acumen to present and secure the passage of bills. It also requires funds.

We need money—what cause does not? Suffragists raised thousands of dollars for suffrage propaganda and legislative work. So must the Birth Control movement command large sums. When we recall the fact revealed in the last election, that to send one letter to all the voters in New York State alone costs \$60,000 we get a glimpse of the cost of an educational campaign. It requires money to publish a magazine and to distribute it, not alone in postage but also in salaries, in printers' bills and office rents.

The BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW is sent to the ends of the earth—Japan, China, India; and from these ancient countries where civilization is still on a low level largely because women are still inarticulate and still degraded, comes the old Pauline cry, "Come over to Macedonia and help us." And we are helping with literature, with letters and sympathy as best we may. But the need is appalling. The Rising Tide of Color in the East challenges us.

Viewed in this world light the Birth Control movement becomes like the early Christian movement with its need not only for home missions and home missionaries, but also its imperative call for foreign missions and foreign missionaries who will carry its gospel to the overcrowded Orient where the lives of women and children are held as lightly as atoms of dust in the air.

Because of its universal character, the Birth Control movement is fundamental. Sooner or later suffragists, cities, states, nations, must awaken to its beneficent imperative. Until we have learned to be consciously humane, we may not satisfactorily approach a solution of our many allied problems. We must first cleanse humanity's Augean stables. The need is as wide as the Heavens itself. The cry is from pole to pole. Only the workers are lacking. Who will answer the call?

JESSIE A. DASTRE, former social worker, and at one time house-mother and teacher of sex hygiene, in one of the western reformatories, recognizing that lack of sex education is largely responsible for the deplorable conditions in the lives of many people, and for the widespread unrest and inharmony in married and family life, is now lecturing and teaching under the auspices of the Margaret Sanger Lecture Bureau. She is open for lectures, or heart-to-heart talks as she prefers to term her educational work, on the vital problems of Sex, Marriage and Parenthood, in New York and vicinity.



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IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery, President

- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
 HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
 GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
 FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
 SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
 BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
 SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
 BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
 AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuburg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.
 PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/c, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
 BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.
 CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
 SWEDEN (1911).—Sallakapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
 ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
 AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
 MEXICO (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

IN THE UNITED STATES:

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.
 CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
 CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*League for Voluntary Parenthood*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, Secretary, 1702 Belmar Road, Cleveland Heights.
 ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
 HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 1804 Penn Street.
 LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
 NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 264 W. 73rd Street, chairman.
International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, president, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
Voluntary Parenthood League, 49 East 59th Street. Mary Ware Dennett, director.
 BROOKLYN.—Jessie A. Dastre, 673 Vanderbilt Ave.
 PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary.
 RADNOR, PA.—*The Main Line Branch of the National Birth Control League*. Mrs. Walter M. Newkirk, secretary.
 ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue.
 ST. LOUIS, MO.—Grace Anderson, Superintendent of Municipal Nurses, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.
 SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West, Seattle, Wash., secretary.
 SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.
 WASHINGTON, D. C.—*The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia*. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1926 New Hampshire Ave., president.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

- FEBRUARY 28th—The Stuyvesant Casino was filled to the doors to hear Mrs. Sanger speak on the subject of: "Is Modern Marriage Conducive to Happiness?"
- MARCH 1st—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers urged Mrs. Sanger to devote the morning to them at Beethoven Hall, where she gave them a very comprehensive talk on "Birth Control and Labor."
- MARCH 7th—The Sociological Club of Columbia University invited Mrs. Sanger to speak on "The Economic Side of Birth Control." The students were most interested and enthusiastic.
- MARCH 9th—The Bryn Mawr Club of New York City invited Mrs. Sanger to luncheon where she spoke on "Birth Control and the New Race" to the largest gathering of the Club's history.
- An article by Mrs. Sanger appeared in the April number of *Physical Culture*. The title "No Healthy Race Without Birth Control."
- The *Reconstruction Magazine* of Tokyo, Japan, has asked Mrs. Sanger for a special article, "Birth Control—Past, Present and Future." This is to appear in the May number and will be used, by the increasing number of Japanese who believe that Birth Control is the solution of their over-population question, as a very comprehensive treatise on the subject.
- Mrs. Anne Kennedy has been in Albany on several occasions in the interest of the legislative work on the amendment to Sec. 1145 of the Penal Code. Numerous legislative committee meetings have been held throughout the month.
- The Health Committee of the Academy of Medicine has endorsed the amendment to Section 1145 of the Penal Code. Jessie A. Dastre, Miss Mildred Wise and Mrs. Grandcourt have been selling the REVIEW throughout the month and report increased sales.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

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APRIL, 1921

No. 4

Editorial

VICTORY USUALLY bears a crop of bitter ironies. Victory for woman's suffrage in the United States is no exception. To attain enfranchisement American women have struggled for decades. The history of this long battle is one of undaunted courage, unswerving idealism, unhesitating self-sacrifice. Not merely among such pioneers as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott, but among the militants of a younger generation, among the strategic tacticians who finally won this battle, there has always been evident a great uncompromising end in view, based upon a thorough and deep understanding of Woman's nature and needs.

The struggle itself clarified this understanding, gave a spiritual insight into the true nature of freedom, opened new vistas and possibilities for the future development of women. At last the long fight was won. Victory came. The vote was given to American women. The age-long shackles of the past, politically speaking, were thrown off. Women were empowered to carry on with this new weapon of the vote, the battle for freedom. The National Woman's Party was to convene in Washington and adopt a basic program formulating the demands and the future rights of women in America.

A HIGH and not altogether unwarranted hope rose in our hearts when we first heard of this coming convention. This was not the hope that through political action and achievement, this party might with one magic gesture effect the complete emancipation of all women, or usher in, with one majestic decree a millennium of feminism. No: it was that, voicing those aims and needs and ideals that have for generation upon generation been stifled and inarticulate in women's breasts, the National Woman's Party might now form the nucleus of a new and formidable *union* of American women, presenting a solid front against all the sinister forces that insidiously work to separate us. The National Woman's party, it was our undying hope, would continue in the same militant spirit by which the vote had finally been

won, continue the great struggle, carry on the great fight for freedom and justice, not merely for women living today, but for the generations of the future.

Of course we are quite beyond hoping for any expression of idealism in political conventions. But hope springs eternal in our hearts and it was the dream that this convention of the National Woman's Party would be different; would introduce into American politics a newer, more original point of view, a more dauntless spirit; would represent something deeper than complacent middle-class self-satisfaction. Never has there been such a need, for instance, for scientifically determined facts about conditions determining the lives of millions of women and children. Never has there been so imperative a need for the expression and assertion of Woman's power in this country. Never in the history of the New World has there been presented so great an opportunity for a new, purposeful, strongly organized Woman's viewpoint in national politics. Yet with an almost incredible completeness, the National Woman's Party, at this recent convention in Washington, neglected this unique opportunity, and never came within miles of approaching any problem vital to American women today.

IT IS NOT merely that the great idea of Birth Control has been completely ignored in the formation of its program. It is something much more tragic. It is the revelation of the lamentable lack of any originality of approach, of any vague inkling of the tremendous and unparalleled opportunity given for the first time to women to impress upon the most powerful community in the world today the great central importance of women to the very existence of the nation. There was the glorious unequalled opportunity for women to give American politics an entirely new direction, a new power, a new interest, to assume the protection and to proclaim the dignity and the freedom of the great profession of motherhood. Instead we were presented with the repetition of all the worn-out threadbare palliatives,

compromises, and lack of vision that has for so long been the shame of the old political parties. Had a definite uncompromising, clear-cut and illuminating stand been firmly taken concerning any of the great social problems that confront this country the National's Woman's Party would have justified its reorganization, its existence as a force in the education and enlightenment of American women. It would have been a truly contributory fact in American civilization. But in its actual lack of stamina, its second-rate, threadbare political vision, its very lack of ability to differentiate itself from already existing political parties, the women's political party has cast aside the greatest opportunity that ever presented itself to any political party in any country—the opportunity to lead the world into a new and true civilization.

CONCERNING the importance of Birth Control in the emancipation of womanhood, in controlling and improving the quality of future humanity, we are no longer lonely fanatics crying in the wilderness. The ladies of the National Women's Party may scoff at its importance. But even the politicians and the statesmen they are imitating are awakening to the world's inevitable need of this practice. Birth Control is in truth forcing itself upon the attention of the true statesmanship of the world. Men are coming to see that *quality* is more important than quantity in human beings. The whole problem of Japanese immigration revolves about the question of competitive fertility. The dangers of immigration are emphasized daily. Are we to accept the surplus population of Europe and Asia to lower our own standards of labor and living, and sooner or later to breed an inferior race of human mongrels incapable of carrying on the torch of civilization?

Or are we American women to follow the advice of the male moralists and male clergymen and professors and enter into a "cradle competition" with the over-fertile races of the world?

Under different disguises, in a dozen different forms, the great world problem of Birth Control every day meets the readers of the newspapers. Now it is unemployment, now it is immigration or exclusion, now it is the appeal to give money to feed the starving in the near East or the Far; now it is the increase of the mentally defective; now it is the warnings of the deterioration of the race increased steadily by the uncontrolled fertility, the proportionally excessive fertility of the morons, the subnormal, the mentally defective. Again, it faces us in the occasional reports of infant mortality published by our government in which we find such trenchantly significant statements as that "more than half of the babies in New Bedford live (and possibly die) in the river section, where the worst living conditions in that city are to be found; where families of from fifteen to eighteen are often herded together in overcrowded tenements. The mothers are employed in cotton mills practically the entire year around," and where, to quote our conservative contemporary, the *New York Times*, "the harmful results of depriving a young baby of its mother's care and nursing is shown in the fact that among the babies whose mothers left them to go out to work when the baby was less than four months old, the mortality was nearly twice the average rate . . . In the low wage group twenty babies out of every hundred born alive died before the end of the first year."

Devoted to rosewater remedies the National Woman's Party may feel that it can ostrich-like, bury its head in the sands of political sentimentalities and refuse to recognize this problem. In that it follows the example set by the statesmen of our two national parties and their far-sighted legislators. But in choosing this, the easier way, these political parties are just as surely cutting themselves off from an understanding of human needs and human aspirations. It remains for others to express the true and deeper interests of the people, to voice the hopes of womankind and thus finally but inevitably, to lead men and women the slow but only certain road to freedom.

WE ARE GLAD to welcome Mrs. Florence Guertin Tuttle back from her trip abroad. Mrs. Tuttle attended a conference of the League of Nations during its session at Paris. She presented letters of introduction to Sir Eric Drummond and gave him many facts concerning over-population and its relation to war. Mrs. Tuttle will write for the REVIEW in the next number concerning her trip. This article should be welcomed by all our readers as it is one of the many indications of the energy that the workers for Birth Control exert continually in behalf of the freedom of women. Birth Control has become international in its scope and strikes at the very root of the problems of over-population.

The manufacture of babies and the extent of the supply is still a matter of chance and passion very much as it is with animals in a wild state.—TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE

LOU ROGERS

ANNE KENNEDY

BLANCHE SCHRACK

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A Word Concerning Birth Control

By Theodore Dreiser

I HAVE NEVER been able to understand why anything so obviously beneficial and essential as Birth Control—the knowledge of the means of preventing conception—should need a champion or a movement to foster it. Nature apparently understands the importance of it—or, at least, the pointlessness of waste in connection with life at any level as I will later indicate. And certainly the shrewd and intelligent in all ranks of society are not stopped by religious or moral theory from exercising that care in regard to the number of offspring which they feel themselves decently and intelligently able to provide for. And again it would seem to me, that anything so plainly advantageous to the very poor would be most enthusiastically welcomed by them. And I am inclined to believe that ignorance and religious and moral theory aside—the dogmatic and commercial beneficiaries of the same estopped from exercising an undue influence on the ignorant and the religious)—the same would gladly welcome and profit by such intelligence. But, as it stands, this natural and advantageous knowledge appears to collide most sharply with present day religious, corporate and social theory in general and is even taboo as a subject in most of the so-called conservative circles of all walks.

Why, I wonder?

To what or whose advantage?

I CAN READILY understand why a certain type of state, depending for its existence upon a large standing army and—(as, opposed to another state or army of greater numerical strength)—anxious to maintain its place, might be opposed to Birth Control in any of its social grades—might even proceed to enforce its mood in regard to the matter. Again I can understand why some very powerful and huge manufacturer or group of manufacturers or growers controlling some product the profit from which might depend upon cheap if not exactly ignorant labor—the rubber interests operating in Africa and Brazil let us say—might be very much opposed to anything which would tend to lower the birth rate in his or their respective preserves, however much a larger rate might torture the lives of those over whom, for the time being at least, he or they chanced to exercise economic control. And again, I can understand why shrewd and well conducted organizations such as the Roman Catholic, Mohammedan, Methodist, Baptist, and other churches interested as each must be in its own numerical growth, might be violently opposed to Birth Control in the ranks of its followers at least—and by reasons of fear of contagion of knowledge from other sources be opposed to Birth Control in the ranks of society anywhere. But knowing all this, or once having had it pointed out, I cannot see why the

poor or those economically uncertain, should ever again allow themselves to be influenced by such alien considerations.

For after all their own lives and their own economic welfare and that of their children should plainly come before that of any religious or commercial organization, however much one might be willing to bow to the social necessity of the state. I am a believer in strong and intelligent states and I would not wish to hinder their intelligent development in any way. But it seems to me that Birth Control should be as good for the truly intelligent state, as it is for the individual and his progeny contributing as it must to a better nurtured citizenry. I may be wrong, but I think so.

MY PERSONAL FEELING about life and education in every form is this, that the more we know, *exactly*, about the chemic and biologic and social complexities by which we find ourselves generated, regulated and ended, the better. It cannot be drummed into too many ears and brains too soon. Few of us have sufficient capacity to know much or to do anything with what we do know as it is. Quite all of us know much, much too little of all that we should know. Man has never progressed either self-defensively or economically via either blind faith or illusion. It is exact knowledge that he needs. And as I see it contraceptal means are not only exact but most beneficial economically and so socially of course. The individual should be better cared for at every turn if he is to do better, and where better to begin with him and his proper care than at the source—by regulating the number of him to as many as can be intelligently cared for. This seems to me so plain that the thickest of dunces should be able to see the point.

But let us pause a moment and take a look at nature and see how she works. Among fishes, creatures exceedingly low in the scale of intelligence, yet plainly regulated by exact chemical and physical forces—call them intelligent if you wish or blind and accidental—their eventual import is the same, the average number of eggs spawned per female, by seventy-five well distributed and typical species is 646,000. The eggs of fishes are greedily devoured by other fishes and the parents of the same display little or no intelligence as to their care. Plainly they are blind machines in the control of larger forces which may or may not be using them for a superior or at least an intelligent purpose. But note, as intelligence increases, how the different ascending orders modify the waste in regard to their offspring.

AMONG AMPHIBIA, the next in order of intelligence above fishes the average for twenty species concerning

If Government knew how, I should like to see it check, not multiply, the population.—EMERSON.

which information is to be had, is no more than 441 eggs. More intelligent care on the part of amphibian parents makes the lesser number sufficient to keep that particular order going. Reptiles which stand still higher in the scale of intelligence, show, as an average for thirty-nine species, only seventeen eggs per annum. The waste is plainly less. Among birds, which represent a much higher standard of intelligence and care, the average number of eggs per annum, for over two thousand typical species, is only a trifle over five for each female. Still higher in the matter of intelligence stand the mammals. Eighty-two typical species of all grades of mammal intelligence yield an average of only three and two-tenths offspring per female, per year. Among the higher orders of the same, as intelligence increases, a progressive diminution in the number of offspring per annum is to be witnessed. Thus all of the higher orders below the apes, taken together, only average one and three-tenths offspring a year. And the apes and mankind, taken together, do not exceed one offspring every two years. I am indebted for my figures to a work entitled: "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct"; by A. Sutherland.

Now what does this suggest? But one thing, as I see it. As intelligent parental care increases the number of offspring needed for the perpetuation of the species decreases. Also, that nature manifests a tendency to overcome useless waste with intelligent care. I have no desire to dogmatize. But there seems to be a legitimate suggestion in all this for intelligent human beings.

INDEED, TO ME it glows as a plain bit of common sense that no human being should indifferently or lustfully, or because of some religious or moral emotion bring a line of offspring into the world for whom he or she can make no adequate economic provision. That smacks of ignorance and real vice—criminal brutality in my judgment and worthy of the cat-o-nine-tails. Yet in the face of ragged and unintelligent children, a constant increase in the number of the defective, the criminal and the insane, we hear the squawk of the moralist and the religionist and the boom of the dull time serving politician to the point that contraception is wrong. Millions dying in India, China, Egypt and elsewhere of starvation. Other millions everywhere, who find themselves because of poverty and ignorance to begin with undernourished, poorly clothed, bondservants to men their lives long, underpaid, despised socially and morally and yet they, and even those who brought them into the world, continuing to usher in others as wretched or more so than themselves—weaklings who will ever find the hands of the strong at their backs and necks ushering them unwillingly to their unwelcome tasks.

But why, I should like to know?

Where the intelligence?

Where the much vaunted Christian or moral generosity, charity, decency even when in plain view lies a remedy.

Would it not really be more intelligent and humane and

moral for that matter, to allow or compel even the ignorant and the criminal and the hopelessly incompetent of all walks to waste themselves in idle unproductive pleasuring, if such be their bent, rather than that they should be permitted to spawn a helpless or criminal brood afterward to be looked after by the police, the hospitals, the asylums and the homes for the defective? Or to be worked in huge and hopeless droves by those who have no other ambition in life than to "cut financial melons" the substance of which is to be used to take even more from those who have all too little and waste it among those who have already too much. I think so. I have all the respect in the world for the individual who collects from among thousands and millions even who don't know how to manage their own affairs some hundreds of millions of dollars and then distributes the same in the shape of education or science—improved means of living—to all those and more from whom he has collected his wealth. That is one thing. He suggests a practical Providence. But how about those who do not? And why shouldn't the worthless be prevented from being so worthless or at any rate so numerous. How about reaching the evil at the source?

WHENEVER I HEAR a Catholic priest or a Protestant minister or some flabby, half-educated judge or journalist spouting from the altar, the pulpit, the bench or the editorial page solemn tosh about the manifest scandal of so many parents refusing to have more than one or two children, or none—all they can decently support in any case perhaps—I would like to rise in my place and say to the very good father or the grave and reverend bunkus or dub of whatsoever persuasion that he is about an ignorant if not a tricky or self-aggrandizing business in thus urging his docile followers, if any there be, to undertake what, in too, too many instances can only prove not only financially but intellectually and ethically beyond them. "Increase and multiply." As though the numerical or physical size of anything—a state, a religion, or a family were the measure of its import. If that were true, what would one have to say for India with three hundred millions as against England with forty.

What an inane or deceptive or criminal suggestion. To what end? Who is to pay? The state or the individual? And with what? In the case of the state with other peoples' money of course. In the case of the individual thrown out without care or education by irresponsible parents with his very life perhaps. A fine business for a priest or a judge or an editor to be in. Such men besmirch not only their professions and organizations but the intelligence of life itself. They ought to be drummed out of the work which they profess.

FOR IF RELIGION or the bench or the newspaper and periodical have nothing better than this to offer—a de-

(Concluded on page 12)

Fostering the good-for-nothing at the expense of the good is an extreme cruelty. It is a deliberate storing up of miseries for future generations. There is no greater curse to posterity than that of bequeathing them an increasing population of imbeciles.—HERBERT SPENCER.

Famine and Over-Population

SPEAKING RECENTLY at a luncheon given at the Radcliffe Club, Frank A. Vanderlip touched on the world-problem of over-population, and particularly of the Chinese famine. Mr. Vanderlip is more honest than other philanthropists of Wall Street, but does he really believe that railroads are the real remedy for over-population? As quoted in the *New York Times*:

"Congestion of population will always breed war," said Mr. Vanderlip. "It is because of congestion that all nations endeavor to branch out. That is why Austria is starving today. It is this same congestion that is costing the lives of millions in China. And when I say that I would rather build a railroad in China than save the 10,000,000 lives now being lost there, it is not from lack of sympathy for the situation there but because of a greater sympathy for the future generations. We must all be guided by intelligent self-interest—that is, interest for our people and an eagerness to progress, and a League of Nations or a similar document would not encourage such progress

"During the last seventy years the population of the world has increased 700,000,000. This increase of 1 per cent. a year is bound to bring about great economic problems. It has made it necessary for people to specialize and it has caused congestion in certain districts. In the case of China the population has increased so much more rapidly than the nation has progressed that they now find themselves in the deplorable condition of having millions of their people without food. Even if we could gather enough food for this vast number we could not get it to them in time to save their lives, for they have such inadequate means of transportation. Therefore, since we are unable to help these suffering people materially, it would be far wiser for us to centre our attention toward building railroads for them, thereby preventing a recurrence of such a condition and enabling the future generations to carry on trade with other countries."

Mr. Vanderlip predicted that women would dominate political thought and said that such groups of women would soon be the greatest instruments in bringing about "intelligent selfishness."

This conclusion, at least, is promising!

Children's Deformed Bodies Tell Tragic Tale — Czecho-Slovakia

EGER, Czecho-Slovakia.—All the babies of Eger who have learned to walk in the last four years are deformed.

All the babies who have not yet learned to walk have big heads—called "water heads" by their mothers. The infant death rate now is greater than at any time during the war. For the babies have not enough food to make bones for their little bodies. Somehow, Hoover didn't reach this place or any of the places near it.

The one-armed and wooden-legged men are sad enough. The women, bare-footed or shod clumsily in cast off, hob-nailed military shoes with their backs bent under little sacks of rationed coal and potatoes are sad enough. But the thing that wrings shudder after shudder—that chases wave after

wave of helpless wrath through a man's being—is the sight of these hundreds of infant monstrosities.

Great bulging heads with dull little eyes stare at one from every doorway. The top-heavy little bodies all have distended abdomens and a queer hunch to the shoulders. The little legs, too weak to support the excess of weight above them, are crooked. Hundreds of them are bowed outward—many of them more on one side than on the other. Other hundreds of little scamps are knock-kneed. And there are many with one leg bent out and the other bent in. There is something wrong with the ankle joints, too, that bore weight while the bones were yet too soft.



Ryan Walker

The Vision of Olive Schreiner

By Hugh de Sélincourt

A LARGE portion of Olive Schreiner's life was devoted to writing a book on Woman. This was completed but for the preface, in 1899, when the Boer War broke out and during the course of which military authorities looted her room and burned all her papers, including the manuscript of this book, her life's work. It is an irreparable loss. Rarely can Milton's words have found a more vivid illustration. "Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." There is no doubt that Olive Schreiner was a master-spirit. She was consumed with the love of two great causes; the cause of the Native, exploited by western commercialism and the Cause of Woman. Edward Carpenter in his beautiful book of reminiscences writes: "But even though it would seem little, the fact that one woman in South Africa has thus prophet-like stood up and (much of the time) singly opposed Rhodes and the shoddy imperialism of which he was the mouthpiece *has* had an influence deep and wide-reaching and such as will be felt far down the years."

Her first published book "The Story of An African Farm" made her famous when she was still a girl; this was followed by "Dreams," "Trooper Peter Halket," "Dream Life and Real Life," and in 1911 by "Woman and Labour." The quality of this work makes one passionately regret the loss of her masterpiece. It is large brained, and large hearted, and glows with vision which no man and no woman can afford to neglect, because it is expressed with a power and a burning sincerity which is an inspiration and must help to bring nearer the day of its fulfillment. She has passed on the torch undimmed, which she gallantly carried through life, undaunted. It is to this vision that I should like to draw attention.

The wording of her dedication to "Dreams" is significant. It runs: "To a small girl-child, who may live to grasp somewhat of that which for us is yet sight, not touch."

That which for us is yet sight, not touch—what is that hidden mystery which the child might live to grasp? In the Introduction to "Woman and Labour" she puts it into beautiful words, where she is describing the line of thought which ended her destroyed masterpiece. The words are prophetic and true. The words are an encouragement to those

to whom this world of life

Is as a garden ravaged, and whose strife

Tills for the promise of a later birth

The wilderness of this Elysian earth.

In these words her spirit lives forever. Let them be reverently read and remembered.

Surely it is better to have thirty-five millions of human beings leading useful and intelligent lives, rather than forty millions struggling painfully for a bare subsistence.—LORD DERBY.

IN THE last pages of the book I tried to express what seems to me a most profound truth often overlooked—that as humanity and human societies pass on slowly from their present barbarous and semi-savage condition in matters of sex into a higher, it will be found increasingly, that over and above its function in producing and sending onward the physical stream of life (a function which humanity shares with the most lowly animal and vegetable forms of life, and which even by some noted thinkers of the present day seems to be regarded as its only possible function) that sex and the sexual relation between man and woman have distinct aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual functions and ends, apart entirely from physical reproduction. That noble as is the function of physical reproduction of humanity by the union of man and woman, rightly viewed, that union has in it latent, other and even higher forms of creative energy and life-dispensing power, and that its history on earth has only begun. As the first wild rose when it hung from its stem with its centre of stamens and pistils and its single whorl of pale petals had only begun its course, and was destined, as the ages passed to develop stamen upon stamen and petal upon petal, till it assumed a hundred forms of joy and beauty.

"And it would indeed almost seem, that, on the path toward the higher development of sexual life on earth, as man has so often had to lead in other paths, that here it is perhaps woman, by reason of those very sexual conditions which in the past have crushed and trammelled her, who is bound to lead the way and man to follow. So that it may be at last that sexual love—that tired angel who through the ages has presided over the march of humanity, with distraught eyes, and feather-shafts broken and wings drabbed in the mires of lust and greed, and golden locks caked over with the dust of injustice and oppression—till those looking at him have sometimes cried in terror 'He is the Evil and not the Good of life': and have sought if it were not possible, to exterminate him—shall yet, at last, bathed from the mire and dust of ages in the streams of friendship and freedom, leap upwards, with white wings spread, resplendent in the sunshine of a distant future—the essentially Good and Beautiful of human existence."

Maternal Deaths

Year by year about 15,000 mothers have been dying in the United States in childbirth from causes which are largely preventable. The new figures now published by the Census Bureau for 1916 (16.3 per thousand) indicate that since 1900 no decrease in maternal deaths had yet taken place.

—From *Journal of American Medical Association*.

A Visit to a Maternity Clinic

By Florence Guertin Tuttle

HAVE YOU EVER visited a Maternity Clinic? Perhaps you do not believe in the need of regulating the population in the city's poorer sections, either? Come with me then, on a tour of illumination. But do not come unless you can face reality. We shall see life, not as the novelists and dramatists imagine it. We shall see life as it reveals itself in stark unforgettable facts.

The woman physician whose guests we are, has engaged to meet us at ten o'clock. We ascend from the subway and finally secure a taxi. Alas, we have but exchanged darkness for darkness. Into the city's ant hills we plunge. Through gloomy caverns we churl with walls looming black and grimy. From top to bottom humanity seethes, festers and ferments. And life seems suddenly to have grown drab.

The maternity center of my dream stands on a hill surrounded by gardens, welcoming the morning sun. Its walls are white marble. Its classic outlines suggest a temple—the temple of the creation of life.

The taxi draws up at a house a degree less slovenly than its neighbors. A brass plate proclaims its function. With the awe that the word maternity awakens in us, we ascend the steps. Surely garlands will adorn the portal. Surely Eros will open the door. Alas! We push our way in, unwelcomed and unheralded. Some one at last directs us. The Maternity Clinic is on the top floor.

THREE FLIGHTS UP we go, the steps that every expectant mother must climb, arriving a little panting. Two small rooms we find given over to Motherhood—a waiting room and the doctor's tiny room for examinations. We should hardly dignify them by calling them a center. A side-issue, perhaps—a by-product. To call a space of 25 by 18 feet a Maternity Clinic is too sardonic—unless we could have one, like the saloon on every corner.

Two white-robed nurses greet us. They are efficient and for the most part silent. Their shining eyes, hopeful and steady, hearten us. We feel as if we had discovered two gleaming diamonds in acres of mire.

The doctor has not arrived. We are given chairs and told to wait. We seat ourselves and become all eyes. Perhaps fifteen women are in the room, each one facing motherhood. By ones and twos newcomers arrive, toiling slowly up the stairs bearing their double burden, arriving hatless, after the fashion of their own sunny home clime, a shawl held around their shoulders, or sometimes wearing a cheap, American fur-trimmed coat.

A nurse presides at the desk at which each woman must register, giving her name and antecedents, usually in broken

English. We realize that we are in America's melting pot. Nearly every woman present is to bequeath to the nation a future American citizen. The occasion itself becomes pregnant with patriotism and pride.

The doctor telephones that she has been delayed. We determine to utilize the time by making friends with these soft-eyed, patient-faced sisters. Our hearts go out to them. They feel the spirit of friendliness and smile slowly in return.

A GROUP IN one corner interested us. A white-faced child is sewing. Child did we say? She looks at the most sixteen. Her blue serge skirt reaches just below her knees. On her feet are cheap, high-heeled American shoes. But her head, too, wears the halo. In a few days she will become a mother. We cross to the vacant chair beside her.

"What are you making?" we ask.

"A skirt supporter," she replies in English with a gutter accent, holding up an elastic harness. The white little face is hard and does not lighten as she talks. But she is eager to talk and gladly tells us her history. She is twenty-three she says—perhaps twelve years old, mentally—and about to bear her third child. The first one is three years old and is living. The second was born dead. She supposes this one will die, too, she feels so miserable. She goes out to work every day, to help her boy husband.

"But your child, what do you do with him?"

"I put him in Salvation Army. Ten cents a day. They give him grade A milk." She shrugs her thin little shoulders. "I can't afford to buy grade A milk."

"What do you give your baby?"

"Coffee and bread. I don't eat nuthin' myself, either, but coffee and bread. I can't. Food makes me sick."

A look at her pinched and bloodless face confirmed the lack of nourishment.

"My dead baby ain't nuthin' Missis," she said in response to my spoken sympathy. "This here lady has had eight dead kiddies—ain't you Rosina?"

I TURNED TO look at Rosina. She was thirty-five, perhaps, stout and ruddy, but with the look so common to women of the Latin races, of fruit that is past its prime. On her lap was a tiny infant whom she trounced on her broad knees in a manner not according to Holt.

"Thees ma friend's babie," she volunteered brokenly. "I bringa heem—for her."

"How old is he?" I asked.

"Sixa week." And she was allowing him to sit up! His

The criminality of producing children whom one has no reasonable probability of being able to keep, must in time be seen in its true light, as one of the most unsocial and selfish proceedings of which a man nowadays is capable. If only the devastating torrent of children could be arrested for a few years, it would bring untold relief.—COTTER MORISON.

wrinkled, ruby face looked fully a century. I was reminded of the woman who said she did not love her new-born son. She venerated him.

Rosina soon told me the sad facts in her own life, continuing to mismanage the baby. With apparently no gift for motherhood—the infant on her lap cried lustily until I told her that if she would keep her knees still the child would fall asleep—she was nevertheless constantly pregnant. Eight times she had tried for motherhood and eight times she had born dead children. This time the woman doctor was going to help her save the baby. I looked at her healthy color and strong frame, wondering at the physiological mystery. I was to be enlightened later.

“Ma man—no work—seven weeks,” volunteered Rosina. “He go Eetalie.”

“And left you?” I cried indignantly.

“He getta the mon (money), his father—he die—een Eetaly.”

“My man laid off, too,” said Lisa, the child-mother. “No work—two weeks.”

“But what will you do?” I asked, turning to her, appalled by the situation. “You cannot work for some time.”

ANOTHER SHRUG of the thin shoulders. Then a sly look came into the half-closed hard black eyes.

“We go in store—knock man down—take what we want.” I shrank back. It was the only note of violence that I heard during the morning. I turned to a pretty young girl on my right. The face wore the soft bloom of a Murillo Madonna. Her broad brow and her clothing proclaimed her of a greater intelligence and higher social grade than Lisa or Rosina.

“And how many children have you?” I asked smiling, apologetically. Yet one could not imagine talking on any other topic than children in this vibrant center. The very air was pulsating with the wings of life itself.

“I have no children,” she replied sadly, “and I am married three years.”

I reached for her hand. It was unnecessary to tell me more. I knew her longing—the saddest a woman can know. Her husband was a chauffeur. He, too, wished for little ones.

“The doctor surely will help you.” I suggested.

“I hope so,” she replied simply.

A fair haired girl entered bearing a huge baby of about eighteen months. The baby elicited much admiration on account of his size. But his fat was flabby. Although his mother was well-dressed the child looked as if reared in a cellar. He was evidently untouched by the rays of the sun. When he gave a lusty cry the girl opened her coat and gave him her breast.

“It is time that you weaned your baby, Mrs. Ughetti,” admonished the nurse at the desk. “You must begin to give him a bottle. Go to a station—and get a milk formula. They will tell you where to buy the milk. You must be very careful. One sour feeding will make your baby very ill.”

THE GIRL TOOK the address gratefully. She had come with a friend. I remembered that nursing mothers were supposed not to become pregnant. Why did not the nurse give the girl the information that would make unnecessary this obvious subterfuge?

At eleven o'clock the doctor arrived. She went directly to the small operating room and change her clothes. Then she sent for me.

“You can sit here,” she said placing a chair in one corner behind the examining table. A nurse seated herself at a small desk armed with a fountain pen. Then began the customary team work. Skilfully the doctor handled each patient, measuring, listening scientifically to see that all was well before the coming advent. Every detail was recorded by the nurse including the probable time of delivery, whether the baby would be born in hospital or tenement, and whether any condition existed in the mother that should be especially watched.

I marvelled at the doctor's technical dexterity but even more at her tact in establishing friendly relations with her clients.

“Well, kiddie, how are you feeling? Pretty well?” she inquired as my young friend Lisa entered.

“Sure,” said Lisa, looking the picture of death. The doctor worked rapidly over the small form, keeping up a stream of more or less affectionate conversation. At last Lisa was dismissed.

“Now remember, kiddie, do just as I tell you and maybe we save this baby. You savey?”

“Sure,” reiterated Lisa, backing, a pathetic figure from the room. The doctor crossed to me.

“Her husband has an active case of syphilis,” she whispered. “It is doubtful if she can have a live baby. She belongs to the criminal type.”

I RECALLED THE girl's words, “We knock man down—take what we want,” and admired the doctor's discernment.

“Why let her bear children?” was at my tongue's end. But the doctor was engaged again. Rosina had entered, looking like a ruddy fall pippin, in strong contrast to the livid pallor of Lisa.

Rosina was soon disposed of. She had known the joy of feeling her baby stir within her. She was a happy woman.

“No more dead bambinos,” said the doctor. “Do what I say and we'll save this baby.” Exit Rosina.

“Her husband has a passive case of syphilis,” said the doctor softly. “We have almost cured her. Notice how rosy she is? We hope to save this child.”

A thousand questions sprang to my mind. But there was no time at this life-saving station for questions. The life-savers had to work. The chauffeur's wife had entered. Her flower-like face, her dignified and reserved manner differentiated her.

“You have not been here before,” the doctor said gently.

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The diseases of Society can, no more than corporeal maladies, be prevented or cured without being spoken about in plain language.—JOHN STUART MILL.

The Answer

*A Mountain Mother Answers the Article on "Mountain Mothers," by
Winifred Kirkland, that Appeared in the Ladies Home Journal,
December, 1920*

I HAVE JUST read the "Mountain Mothers" in the December Journal and I feel I was just meant to answer it. I am lying in bed after the fourth visit of the stork bird in four and a half years. I think I can say the article did me little good, it simply frightened me and I think it frightened many other women who are forced to live under the same conditions. It didn't give a bit of help, simply told of the horrors, etc.

We are poor, both working like slaves to care for our family and pay a little on the farm. We go without all the luxuries even tobacco for the husband. I did my work up to the supper dishes and putting the babies to bed. We sent for the doctor at nine. He came at twelve. The baby came at eleven. Then the same team was sent for the "Old German Lady" the only nurse in the country and she came at 2 o'clock. The doctor charges \$25 with \$6 extra for the team to bring him. The nurse will be here for nine days for \$25. \$10 extra for the team to bring her. Beside the expense at the drug store.

Everyone was so busy they did not watch the children. They ran out and ate snow and one cried all night with a gathering in the ear; the others have sore throats. The weather has turned warm so that the meat of the two hogs killed the day before baby came will have to be cared for at once besides all the regular work that fills 16 hours of every day as it is. I am not doing as well as other times and my husband who was a happy boy a few years ago looks like a middle aged man. How long his health will last if he goes on working as he has been is a question.

Now, don't you feel that instead of all the money the government and magazines are spending on telling how many children die from lack of care and how many mothers go to pieces and how many fathers are failures, they would take this money and either through good literature on the subject or a few good nurses sent out to lecture to the "Poor Mountain Women" or by good displays in the drug stores teach these same mothers a good way to prevent having so many children. Every home wants a child. It's when they come too often that sorrows stack up. Why aren't we taught a good sanitary safe method to keep from it, and that would do away with the crime of women "getting shed" of children before they come?

Maybe I can't express it so you can understand it, but I feel if we could be taught to have only a few, our lives would be so much happier. I do want to send my babies to college, but what chance have I? I'm sure I speak what dozens of others think. Why don't you tell us how not to have them instead of what awful results come from having more than we can care for?

Sincerely,

MOTHER OF FOUR.

So You've Come Back

By Harold Hersey

SO YOU'VE COME back like the spring - - -
The old flowers for a moment darted like living things in
your eyes.

The skies were clear.

One remembered the ancient voice of passion and the dead
hands of faith.

There came back the perfumed silence of understanding mo-
ments.

So, you've come back like the spring - - -

Our dream went out like the day

To be lost in a chorus of stars - - -

Our dream went out like a candle

Snuffed by restrained bitterness - - -

So, you've come back like the spring - - -

It was more than love and this

More vain than all dull vanities - - -

Your return - - -

The echo of a song

Hanging under the rafters of memory.

Let it be so - - -

I shall whisper to my heart and remember.

I shall wonder and be satisfied - - -

I have learned to covet,

Then to know the pleasure of coveting what I cannot desire.

So, you've come back like the spring - - -

The summer will soon be with me - - -

Many summers that merge endlessly into many winters.

Let it be so - - -

I stand aside gladly, freely, simply.

I love the springs that have gone and cannot return.

Memory is more beautiful than truth - - -

Beauty more wonderful than faith - - -

Creation of beauty and memory the god that crushes

And makes us renew ourselves when spring returns.

So, you've come back like the spring - - -

I go on forgetting and destroying - - -

Only the dream of dreams crashing through my brain

Like broken sunlight - - -

Birth Control Opinions

THE SUBJECT of Birth Control continues to create interest and discussion. A symposium on the subject, appearing in the *Medical Review of Reviews*, March, 1919, contains a number of expressions of opinions and beliefs of physicians. The subject matter expressed in the numerous letters resulting from a questionnaire, offers nothing that is new in the way of argument either for or against the subject.

The most significant contribution of the symposium is secondary in nature and incidental in origin. While answers were received from 47 physicians, four did not wish to express any opinion; two were too busy to give it attention; twelve had not given the subject sufficient study to warrant the expression of an opinion; two had gone to war; and three thought the matter should not be discussed in war time. These facts are enlightening, particularly as 25 per cent. of the replies stated that the writers had not given the subject sufficient study to warrant the expression of an opinion. It scarcely seems possible that physicians constantly facing the facts of life, understanding well the difficulties in family relations, developments and adjustments, should escape the impress of social conditions.—*American Medicine*, March, 1919.

Ignorance, poverty and vice must stop populating the world. To accomplish this there is but one way. Science must make woman the owner of herself, the mistress of her person. Science, the only savior of mankind, must put it in the power of woman to decide for herself whether she will, or will not, become a mother.—ROBERT INGERSOLL.

A Word Concerning Birth Control

(Continued from page 6)

luded consciousness of moral well-being in rags and squalor, they had better shut up shop. For their business is or should be to make life more tolerable for all, since they all so boldly profess to have the best interests of life at heart, if not in charge. They should be helping man to understand and meet his very human difficulties and necessities here—not urging him to complicate them by the bearing of a number of children whom he may be in no wise fitted to aid or instruct. Roosevelt with his race suicide mush. And the preachers and judges with their solemn bletherings against the sin of childlessness. If a home is anything it ought to be a place in which children can be physically and mentally assisted to the end that they will prove a comfort to themselves and to others. And if any so-called home is overcrowded with ignorant and helpless children thoughtlessly spawned by ignorant and economically inadequate parents, how is the same to fulfill this function? I sometimes suspect the wealthy and powerful of various persuasions and interests, especially those who might hope to profit from the presence here of vast and docile hordes of having more of an interest in blind unregulated reproduction

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Book Reviews

A Review by Margaret Sanger

"RADIANT MOTHERHOOD": A book for those who are creating the future. By Marie Carmichael Stopes. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a challenging and stimulating book. Dr. Stopes, who is one of the few living Englishwomen who have attained enviable reputations in the sciences, brings a special technical training as well as human understanding into her considerations of love, marriage and motherhood. But it will undoubtedly be the scientists themselves who may object to some of her conclusions. Not the least important of "Radiant Motherhood," to my mind, may be the suggestions Dr. Stopes so lavishly throws out for scientific investigation and study. The scientific spirit has recently been defined as "the divine curiosity to know"—and of this spirit Dr. Stopes partakes. Instead therefore of merely condemning the shining optimism that pervades this book, especially in the chapter on pre-natal influence, scientists might do well to re-investigate this whole problem. As Dr. Stopes herself suggests: "The view that the pregnant woman can and does influence the mental states of the future child is today a scientific hypothesis which may shortly be proved." In view of the recent studies that have been published by such investigators as Cannon and Crile, demonstrating the bodily changes thru fear and anger, the positive chemical changes in the blood. Dr. Stopes' point of view must seem, to the ordinary reader, as most stimulating and suggestive. Practically, it seems that the burden of proof should rest with the opponents: if the mother's mental and physical condition affects the infant after birth, why not before? As a matter of fact, this question has been too little investigated. The influence of Fear as a factor of Maternity and as a pre-natal influence might well be studied.

It is in these stimulating suggestions for new lines of thought and scientific investigation that, to me, the main value of "Radiant Motherhood" is to be found. Dr. Stopes is fully aware of the great value of motherhood as one of the great avenues of self-development and self-realization for women; just as she is fully aware that, dragged into the mire, used as the most certain method of enslavement, it can become the most certain instrument of self-destruction. One of the strongest chapters is that entitled "The Cost of Coffins," in which she shows that the midwife of the modern slums inevitably works hand in hand with the undertaker, who does a ceaseless and thriving business in little coffins.

One cannot commend Dr. Stopes too highly for her clear and illuminating insight into the point of view of men as lovers, husbands and

A Word Concerning Birth Control

(Concluded from page 12)

on the part of the masses than they would care to admit. It is a sinister thought to be sure and I hope, untrue. But when one finds so many of them so enthusiastic in their suggestions and urgings to this end, what is one to think. For surely they cannot be blind to the economic and social difficulties not to say horrors which too often trail ignorant self reproduction. If they are, believe me, they are blind indeed—judges, priests, editors and public leaders all.

Personally I would rather think that the latter rather than the former is true for the latter is so much easier of remedy. And perhaps such is the case. But in either case an earnest campaign looking to the enlightenment of all is in order. And it has my unqualified endorsement.

fathers. This insight is often strangely lacking in modern feminism. It is not necessary to agree with Dr. Stopes in all her convictions. Few books contain so much with which the ordinary reader would like to agree. Yet few books will be so valuable in forcing the reader into new channels of thought, to the consideration of problems that have been absolutely neglected in our world. In "Radiant Motherhood," as in her earlier book "Married Love," Marie Carmichael Stopes brilliantly shows that science need not always be divorced from sentiment, and that idealism can only really express itself through the great central facts of life. "Radiant Motherhood" should be read by every intelligent American woman—and man.

A Review by William J. Fielding

"MAN'S UNCONSCIOUS PASSION" by Wilfrid Lay. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Love is the oldest theme in the written word—and it was an old story when man learned to record his language in the enduring script. It would be futile to speak of the countless volumes that have been inspired by this irrepressible urge—a cosmic force that is old in youth and young in the old.

The sublime, subtle element of Eros is the motivating force behind the noblest deeds, as well as many of the commonplace acts of men and women; perverted, thwarted or frustrated, it asserts itself no less through the eternal tragedies. Love will not be denied. It basks across the sunshine of our days. It stalks in the seamy corners of our nights. It is the greatest of the omnipresent, universal forces that surge through the veins of life.

And yet it seems we are only beginning to learn what Love is. Like most things that are so universal, we have taken it for granted, failed to appreciate its meaning or significance. Because it was common, we thought it was cheap. Holding it cheap, and joyous, men of the world have played with it and given it the stamp of their cynical philosophy. Ecclesiastics, also sensing its incomparable joy, have for this reason doubly damned it. The masses of people of the world, caught between these two unhealthy extremes, and blindly influenced by them, have received their jumbled conception of Love from these irrational sources.

Science, by its intellectual onslaught, has been driving both the bold Red Devils and the austere White Gods out of their intrenchments in the strategic positions of life. And it is now bombarding these interlopers from the Temple of Love.

Psychoanalysis, one of the latest sciences, has done and is destined to do, more than any other single factor toward rationalizing the love life. And Dr. Lay, in "Man's Unconscious Passion," has given us one of the most thorough analyses of the unconscious side of our love nature, particularly in reference to the conjugal relations, that has been produced to date.

The fact that the conscious elements entering into the biological passions can be over-sublimated, and repressed even to the extent of a pathological climax, is becoming more and more generally realized. The fact that the unconscious passions cannot be effectively coerced in a normal, well developed personality, is not so generally recognized. In emphasizing this truth, and in showing the devastating results of the resultant conflicts between relentless nature and an excess of "culture" or a false ethical standard, analytic psychology is proving a real boon to the human race.

Dr. Lay covers the condition of imperfect or frustrated development of the conscious love component, and its relation to marital life and un-

Europe with a stationary population will be in much happier condition; and problems of social reform can then be tackled with some hope of success.—THE VERY REVEREND DEAN INGE.

happiness, in very much detail. He also shows how insight into the actual situation may be gained, at least in a large percentage of cases.

My only criticism is a minor one. It is that the author in laying so much emphasis on the psychological factor in prostitution may lead some readers to believe that it is the major factor, if, not indeed, the only one. I do not think Dr. Lay meant to convey this impression, and as he has not written a treatise on economics, he is not expected to go into the economic and social causes of prostitution, but it seems to me that it would have been wise, in stressing these psychological tendencies, to allude casually to the fact that there are material conditions involved which are very deep rooted and of profound importance.

The book is one which will prove of real value to anyone seeking insight into the psychological basis of sexual phenomena.

A Review by Harold Hersey

Nicholas L. Brown is one of the American publishers whose every book is a new indication of intelligent and forceful selection. Not only has he published Gauguin's "Noa Noa" but he has had translated recently some of Demetri Merejkovski's essays under the title "The Menace of the Mob." In addition, Mr. Brown was fortunate enough to secure as translator Bernard Guilbert Guernsey, and the care and consistency with which Mr. Guernsey has bridged the Russian and the English languages makes the volume doubly interesting and valuable. We, who have been accustomed to thinking of Merejkovski as a novelist, will find these essays of value in the critical placing of the Russian among the important writers of late years. As Mr. Guernsey says in his introduction "He is not a logician; but is frankly a mystic and his appeal is to a more poetical factor than logic-emotion . . . There are many prophets crying in the wilderness; if there be among them one who does not merely cry, but also points a way out of the wilderness, shall we not heed and follow him, if he be also a seer whose previous prophecies have been fulfilled?"

In these few words Mr. Guernsey has summed up the use that the world has for many creative artists, and the publisher is to be congratulated for daring to bring forth the work of a pure idealist in the face of the great welter of useless volumes printed every day in America.

A Review by William J. Fielding

"CHILDREN BY CHANCE OR BY CHOICE," by William Hawley Smith. Boston: Richard G. Badger, Publisher.

The subject suggested by the title of this book is one of very profound significance. The possible alternatives referred to represent a chasm as broad almost as any the mind can conceive of. The difference between a complete acceptance of these two possibilities in fulfilling the biological role of procreation is so sweeping that the substitution of choice for chance must affect mightily great masses of individuals, almost every family, all communities, every nation—in fact, the entirety of civilization.

The begetting of children by chance—and attempting to avoid unwanted children by chance methods—are heritages that bear the historic approval of all our hoary social traditions, musty ethical precedents, and the commands of medieval religions. Inseparably bound up with the attitude which sponsors this doctrine are superstitions and ignorance, an irrational conception of man's destiny, individually and socially, and, in particular, prurient ideas regarding the sexual side of human nature.

It is impossible to estimate the tragedies that are spawned in the abysmal sea of universal ignorance of sex and its functions; in the shame and degradation which are associated with what should normally be the crowning point of human development, the mainspring of its creative power. And not the least of these unnumbered tragedies are the hordes of unwanted children themselves, conceived by chance in the womb of an ill-starred fate.

Fortify the resistance of the individual by freedom. Immunize the individual against social mental plagues by the full development of his rational reflective self, controlling the suggestible, automatic subconscious with its reflex consciousness. Put no barriers to man's self-expression, lay no chains on man, put no taboos on the human spirit.—BORIS SIDIS.

It is a tragedy for parents, loving mothers and fathers to bring into the world children they are unable to properly feed, educate and prepare to meet the battle of life; that add to their already insufferable economic burdens, so that both parents and children are dragged further and further into the mire of a penurious existence. It is a tragedy when untold millions of potential parents are destined by the social ignorance which is forced upon them to live in constant fear of having unwanted children, or still more babies that cannot be provided for, and who in their desperation resort to all kinds of irrational, dangerous or futile means to avoid what in so many cases proves to be the inevitable.

It is a beautiful shaft of light which William Hawley Smith throws upon this age-old problem steeped in darkness. His analysis of Chance versus Choice, not only in the realm of reproduction, but in many other lines of human pursuit, is a masterly and convincing argument. And in his analogy of the importance of Choice as admittedly the dominant factor in all other of mankind's activities, he demonstrates how vitally necessary it is that this element shall supercede Chance in the domain of human procreation.

The fact is stressed that the capacity for Choice in the regulation of his life constitutes man's superiority over all the forms of sub-human life. This capacity has resulted in man's progress up the ladder of Time. It is a faculty that is inherent in man as he is, and to refuse to use it is an insult to Nature, or God, or whatever name you prefer to give to the source you may accept as the ultimate seat of infinite power.

For man to spurn the factor of Choice in this most important phase of his life is the great anomaly of the age. Of course, it is due to the fact that all questions relating to sex have been tabooed. And Mr. Smith, again, has given a strong hand toward helping sex out of the mire, where the accepted conventions would keep it. He emphasizes the importance of developing the affectional side of sexual life, in contrast to the purely reproductive side, and in a very thorough manner pictures the vast possibilities for human happiness and well-being that are bound up in this prospect. In substance, the author identifies effectual display of the sex life with the other higher attributes of mankind, which he terms the "Plus of Humanity."

A chapter is devoted to the principal influential objectors to Birth Control. He states: "There are three classes of peoples who have been objectors to any form of Birth Control, and who have always opposed any measures which would enable parents to have children by choice rather than by chance. They are, first, the war leaders; second, the church leaders; and, third, the leaders in the commercial world who have wanted cheap labor." He then proceeds to analyze their motives in fostering the doctrine of unlimited human reproduction.

A review of this book would be inadequate which did not especially mention the charm of Mr. Smith's literary style. Those who have read his educational books have appreciated this fact; but it seems to me that the present volume represents a distinct achievement even in this respect. Mr. Smith has a strong, logical, convincing faculty of expression, but in addition to these qualities, there is ever present the subtle charm of his quaint humor, penetrating insight, and sound, home-spun wisdom. In other words, to read "Children By Chance Or By Choice" is not only to peruse a masterly presentation of a subject that should interest every normal person, but it is to commune with the genial personality of a cosmic spirit, as it is reflected across the pages.

There is no other safeguard for wages than to restrict the progress of population. Little improvement can be expected in morality until the producing of large families is regarded with the same feeling as drunkenness or any other physical excess.—JOHN STUART MILL.

A Visit to a Maternity Clinic

(Continued from page 10)

"What's the trouble?"

In a low voice the girl told her. The rubber gloves became immediately busy. When the examination was over, the doctor said to the nurse, "Take a blood test, please." The girl's arm was bared and a phial of bright red fluid obtained. A written address was then given her.

"YOU HAVE SOME trouble, my dear, that prevents your becoming a mother," said the doctor tenderly. "But go to this address, say that I sent you, and you can be cured. You shall have your baby yet." And she dismissed her with an affectionate pat.

"The girl has gonorrhoea well developed," she whispered to me. "It has made her sterile. We have taken her blood for the Wasserman test."

"But can she have a healthy child?" I enquired.

"In time. In such cases we must watch the baby's eyes carefully to see that the poison does not make it blind."

A cherry-faced, small woman (all these women seemed stunted compared to our long-limbed athletic, American type) stood in the doorway, her brown face crinkled into smiles.

"I bringa ma friend," she began, "her *babie vera seeick*."

Then I looked upon what I believe is the unpardonable sin: a crime against one of these little ones—a child that should never have been born. In the outstretched arms of a prematurely old woman, with despairing eyes and devastated face, lay a tiny mustard-colored infant. Its arms and legs were spindles. But its body bulged into a semi-balloon. The horror of its appearance was heightened by hoops of gold wire thrust through its small yellow ears.

"Rickets and jaundice," the doctor admonished me. I turned away, violently sickened, while the nurse advised the woman where to take the baby.

The doctor cornered the cheery woman and detained her.

"Marianna has eight fine children," she told me. "Let me see—Pedro is thirteen months old. Now tell me, Marianna, why don't you have any more *bambinos*?"

Marianna demurred.

"Me grow wise," she laughed, her eyes twinkling. "Me learn—Americano."

ANOTHER CASE entered as Marianna left. A girl slunk in sideways, like a crab, even her faded blue gingham dress was slinky. She was the perfect type of stage slavey. One glance at her face revealed why. The pasty features were only features. The light of the soul was not there.

A rapid examination followed during which the girl answered the doctors' questions vaguely. The doctor and nurse consulted.

"See here, child," said the doctor at last, speaking as one would speak to the very young, "you are all wrong about your

baby. It will be born in two days. Understand?" She held up two fingers. "You'll be sick in two days. You go straight from here to the hospital and ask for Dr. Blank. He'll take care of you." The girl slunk out again. "Her child is dead," the doctor whispered. And as I recalled the feeble mind and vacant eyes I breathed an inward "Thank God."

Why continue? One hour more of similar grilling examinations and the doctor and I left the building together.

"How do you stand it?" I exclaimed, realizing that my own over-strained nerves were in tatters. "Did you stage such sensational cases for me or is this the usual morning's offering?"

"I haven't time to stage anything for anybody," answered the doctor shortly.

"Forgive me," I said, "but these splendid women, so patient and uncomplaining, yet caught so hopelessly in a treadmill of breeding. I can never forget them. I feel as if I should never be happy again."

"I hope you won't," said the doctor dryly, "until you've done something to help them. Why do you suppose I asked you to come?" We walked on in silence.

"It's a great idea," I mused, "a Maternity Clinic to watch over expectant mothers. It's getting down to fundamentals. If only you could have a Birth Control clinic in connection with the Maternity Clinic as they do in Holland." The doctor did not reply. It was an old subject to her.

"SEE HERE," I broke out. "You're a woman. Those nurses are women. Why in heaven's name don't you tell those other women how to stop this infernal multiplication and have normal healthy children?"

"And get a year imprisonment or \$1,000 fine?" the doctor answered. "Besides the managers of the Maternity Clinic have just passed a resolution that any nurse who gives contraceptive information will lose her job."

O strange and perverse generation. O reconstruction that skims off surface scums, and leaves the slimy oozing creatures that create the scum, at the bottom. O Americanization that knows not how to protect the cleanly stars and stripes. I had just seen in action the machine that fed our institutions for the blind, the feeble-minded, the insane, the prisons, defective and delinquent homes and the prostitute class and which taxes American citizens billions of dollars a year to maintain them. Yet we make senseless rules that anyone attempting to prevent the grinding of this wasteful human grist should be punished. O the blindness of legislators! O costly asininity! Could human stupidity go higher?

"What's a law made forty years ago among women?" I burts forth indignantly.

"Change the law," suggested the doctor.

"Confound Anthony Comstock," I replied.

"Don't swear at him. Obliterate him," said the doctor as she signalled an uptown trolley.

(Concluded on page 16)

But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.—I TIM. v. 8.

A Visit to a Maternity Clinic

(Concluded from page 15)

A half an hour later, Fifth Avenue seemed just a little gayer, more cleanly comfortable and prosperous than when I had left it. The library stretched its broad wings of learning, whitely. Beautiful women in sables and orchids hurried to keep luncheon engagements. But I was hardly conscious of them. I seemed to see only one sight—babies stretching through the centre of the airy avenue from the Arch to the Park; little forms laid out in columns of four like the parades of war-time—white babies, brown babies, yellow babies, blind babies and babies no human being could bear to look upon. And as I walked in a sunlight that did not warm me, my heart cried out: "How long, Lord, how long?"

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 HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
 GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
 FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
 SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bullfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
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 SWEDEN (1911).—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
 ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
 AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
 MEXICO (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

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Outline of Margaret Sanger's Work Since Her Return from England

Articles and Reviews

ARTICLES WRITTEN by Mrs. Sanger for other magazines besides the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW:

- One article for *Physical Culture*.
 An article for *Reconstruction*, a Japanese magazine, in three parts entitled "Birth Control—Past, Present and Future."
 A review of "Problems of Population and Parenthood" in *New York Saturday Evening Post*.
 A review of "Control of Parenthood" in *New York Saturday Evening Post*.
 A review of "Radiant Motherhood" for Putnam Publishing Co.
 A Sunday *New York American* interview on "Clothes and Morality."

Lectures

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| Nov. 18—League of Women Voters, at Mrs. Guggenheimer's, N. Y. City. | Jan. 8—The Press Club, New York City. | Feb. 7—Berks County Ass'n. Women's Workers, Reading, Pa. |
| Nov. 23—Fine Arts Guild, N. Y. City. | Jan. 11—Arts and Science Club, Brownsville. | Feb. 7—Overflow meeting of 500 women only, Reading, Pa. |
| Nov. 30—Fine Arts Guild, N. Y. City. | Jan. 14—Literary Club, Bath Beach. | Feb. 13—Long Island Chiropractors' Assn. Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Dec. 3—Berks Co. Ass'n. Women's Workers, Reading, Pa. | Jan. 17—Sorosio Club, N. Y. City. | Feb. 17—Headquarters of National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C. |
| Dec. 7—Fine Arts Guild, N. Y. City. | Jan. 19—Arts and Science Club, Brownsville. | Feb. 23—Residence of Mrs. Marcus Mark. |
| Dec. 8—The Birth Control Review Luncheon of four hundred at Commodore Hotel, N. Y. City. | Jan. 20—Portia Club, N. Y. City. | Feb. 28—Seven Arts Guild. |
| Dec. 12—Debate with Winter Russell, "Resolved, That the Spreading of Birth Control Knowledge is Injurious to the Welfare of Humanity." | Jan. 21—Literary Club, Bath Beach. | March 7—Sociology Club, Columbia University, N. Y. City. |
| Dec. 14—Fine Arts Guild, N. Y. City. | Jan. 24—Mrs. Dexter Blagden's residence, N. Y. City. | March 8—Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Cutters Local, N. Y. City. |
| Dec. 16—National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C. | Jan. 26—Arts and Science Club, Brownsville. | March 9—Luncheon Bryn Mawr Club, N. Y. City. |
| Dec. 17—Current Events, Hotel Marquise, N. Y. City, at 2:30. | Jan. 28—Residence of Mrs. Robert Malory, Rye, N. Y. | March 22—Broadway Casino, Brooklyn. |
| Dec. 17—Fine Arts Guild, Harlem, at 8:30. | Feb. 2—Arts and Science Club, Brownsville. | March 29—Broadway Casino, Brooklyn. |
| Dec. 23—Fine Arts Guild, Harlem. | Feb. 3—Dinner Woman's Economic Club, Bellevue Stratford, Philadelphia, Pa. | April 12—Just Government Club, Baltimore, Md. |
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| Jan. 5—Arts and Science Club, Brownsville. | Feb. 6—Group of prominent doctors at the residence of Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee, N. Y. City. | April 28—Lecture series at Mrs. Dexter Blagden's residence, N. Y. City. |
| Jan. 7—Fine Arts Guild, Harlem. | | |

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

MAY, 1921

No. 5

Politicians vs. Birth Control

ADVOCATES OF Birth Control must possess the power to face facts and to analyze them. Only upon the basis of tested experience and actual scientific knowledge can we overcome the ignorance, the stupidity and the prejudices which are the only formidable forces standing in our way. Our recent legislative campaign at Albany, an account of which may be found on another page of this number, has revealed in striking fashion the antagonistic attitude of the typical American politician to the pivotal problem of society today. To expect aid or even intelligent understanding of Birth Control from the typical Albany politician; to be disappointed because of the ignorance of these so-called "legislators;" to be discouraged because of their failure to remove the coercive and criminally obscene insult to American womanhood from the statute books—this would be to succumb to emotion rather than to profit by the knowledge, the invaluable knowledge, we have gained from our experience at Albany. The great fact is this: we can expect nothing of the politician of today. If we must use the weapon of politics to further the progress of Birth Control, it must be the politics created by ourselves.

When the first Birth Control clinic in America was declared a "public nuisance," by the courts, we were advised by well-meaning friends that the legal way, the political way, the legislative way, was the only safe and sane method of propaganda. This has now been put to the test. And we discover that the successful politician is not only mentally unable to understand the aim of Birth Control, but, moreover, he himself is the very product of those sinister forces we are aiming to eradicate from human society.

AS MANIFESTED in the United States today, current politics is the very outgrowth of overcrowding and under-feeding: mental and physical. Your successful politician is the demagogue who knows the best tricks to catch the greatest number of votes. He is the hypnotist of great, docile, submissive, sheep-like majorities. He is interested in number, not intelligence. Therefore, to expect such masters who, by hook or crook, ride roughshod into public office or slide into seats of the state legislature to understand or support a program which aims at the creation of self-reliant, self-governing independent men and women, would be to neglect one of the most important factors among the resources of our opponents. But we did at least expect something more among men elected to public office than the embarrassed giggle of the adolescent,

the cynical indecency of the gangster, in the consideration of a serious sexual and social problem.

Perhaps, moreover, we failed to take into consideration the vast power wielded today by the politician in the control and administration of the public charities, hospitals and "correctional" institutions. Politician and office-holder indirectly benefit through these institutions for the support and maintenance of the victims of compulsory motherhood. Impartial statistics make this evident. Exclusive of privately supported industries and charities, New York City alone spends annually approximately sixteen million dollars to maintain its various departments of charities, hospitals and "corrections." In 146 of the largest American cities, the total expenditure for the support of the dependent population amounts annually to no less than fifty millions of dollars.

OUR POLITICIANS today profit from human misery. They have an interest, direct or indirect, in the production through uncontrolled fecundity, of the unfit, the underfed, the feeble-minded and the incurably diseased. Their interest, financially, is in the increase of our institution populations, with their insistent demands for appropriations from the city and state, as well as their unending appeals to public and private sentimental generosity. Most eugenists dub the victims of our legal and social barbarism "the unfit." But as William Bateson has recently shown, we need to revise and re-interpret our definition of the "unfit." The victims are not the "unfit," but these blind leaders of the blind—the politician, the profiteer, the war-making patriot, the criminal moralist who is urging men and women to "increase and multiply." "The crimes of the prison population," declared Professor Bateson in his recent Galton lecture, "are petty offences by comparison, and the significance we attach to them is a survival of other days. Felonies may be great offences locally, but they do not induce catastrophes. The proclivities of the war-makers are infinitely more dangerous than those of the beings whom from time to time the law may dub as criminals. *Consistent and portentous selfishness, combined with dullness of imagination are probably just as transmissible as want of self-control, though destitute of the amiable qualities not rarely associated with the genetic composition of persons of unstable mind.*"

IN DELEGATING important powers to near-sighted, unimaginative, politicians and acquisitive office-grabbers, the American public is submitting, with deplorable docility, to every sort of injurious and grossly coercive legislation. Laws

Birth Control Clinic in London

A NEW TYPE of clinic for mothers was opened recently at 61 Marlborough Road, Holloway, N., London, Eng.

Founded by Dr. Marie Stopes, the distinguished biologist, and her husband, it is intended to carry into practice the principles governing motherhood advocated in the former's popular book, "Married Love."

"Our object," said Dr. Stopes to the "Daily News", "is to give working-class mothers the latest scientific knowledge of motherhood, in order to reduce the death rate among young children and to increase the survival rate.

"At present there is an appalling ignorance among mothers as to the best means of contributing to the population the greatest number of healthy, happy children.

"Owing to that ignorance thousands of mothers are reduced to a state of misery and poverty, and married life to them has become a mockery.

"In far too many cases weak, sickly children follow each other, frequently year after year, and the result is seen in a heavy death rate, the shortening of the mother's life, and the wastage of millions of pounds by the State and municipalities on asylums, hospitals, homes, and work-houses for dealing with the unfit.

"Investigation shows that at least two years should elapse between any two births in a family. Otherwise there is a drain on the mother's health and the child also suffers, or both find an early grave.

"Another fact we shall emphasize to mothers is the undesirability of bringing into the world children likely to be tainted. A nurse will be in attendance at the clinic every day, and Dr. Jane Lorimer Hawthorne will attend once a week to give medical advice."

THE MOTHERS' CLINIC

HISTORY OF THE CLINIC

What it stands for.

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell."

"The control of procreation by the prevention of conception has become a part of the morality of civilized peoples."

—HAVELOCK ELLIS.

REVERENCE not only for the fruitful mother as such, but for her spirit as the creator of our race; reverence for the wife who is the centre of the united love and tenderness in the home; reverence for the child, that it shall not be allowed to come unwanted and unloved to play a miserable part amongst us; reverence for the Race, that it shall be represented on this earth by the most perfect and God-like individuals that it is in our power to call forth in His Image!

This Clinic stands for all these reverences and maintains that they can only be obtained by *knowledge*.

With all the Clinics already existing, with all the Schools for Mothers, Baby Welfare Centres, and other proofs of the interest now taken in children and their mothers, why is it that

we find it necessary to originate still another type of Clinic? Why is it that this new Clinic is not only to do a work hitherto neglected, but is also epoch-making for our race?

It is because this Clinic is for Birth Control and for Beauty. Here mothers will be considered not only as the producers of mere babies, *but as the creators of splendid babies*. Only Motherhood which is in the control of the Mother can now truly advance our race.

In this Clinic healthy mothers will obtain the key to *personal security* and development, to *united* happiness and success with their husbands in marriage and to *voluntary and joyous motherhood*. Birth Control

knowledge will be given not in the crude repressive form it is advocated in some quarters, but as the keystone in the arch of progress toward racial health and happiness.

The poor woman who is driven into her motherhood blindly, involuntarily and rebelliously is not she who best serves our race. Slave-mothers have produced in the past, and are producing today, myriads of weak, inefficient, diseased and miserable lives. With one puny infant hanging on her half-starved breast the mother carelessly and recklessly, or pitifully and ignorantly, or bitterly and rebelliously has conceived another to bear upon her womb's depleted strength. And of the

MATRIARCHY

Their dull democracies commence to wane.

Cooped in their capitals of steel and stone,

The ape, the tiger and the hog have grown

Thick through the neck and atrophied of brain.

So the wheel turns, and your day comes again.

Magnificent in tyranny, alone,

You will loll back on your pomegranate throne

And teach man how an empress shows disdain.

I shall make songs to greet you. I shall bear

Roses and subtle perfumes for your hair,

I shall not fear that you will bid me go.

For though you spurned all others, you would spare

Swinburne and Keats and Baudelaire and Poe,

Pan and his troop of fauns and poor Pierrot.

—WALTER ADOLPHE ROBERTS.

infants such as she produced, myriads have died before their lips could frame the word "Mother," taking in their tiny coffins back to mother earth the human strength for want of which their brothers and sisters went through life enfeebled.

THE BISHOP of Birmingham and Dean Inge have pointed out how serious it is for our race that it is now the better and thriftier couples, those likely to make good parents and train their children to be good citizens, who have to restrict their families, while those below the level of self-respect, often even of decency, reproduce themselves innumerable. Thus, in recent years, there has been a proportionate increase in our population of the miserable with an ever decreasing percentage of those who originate in good homes.

Once stem the onrush of those who enter life in such quick succession that they snatch the bread and milk from each other's mouths and do nothing but defeat each other's chances of life, or, if they live, lead weakened, doomed or diseased lives—once stem the onrush of those who are a total loss to the State, an anguish and drain to their mothers and a misery to themselves, and then we shall find in each home only the joyous creators of children born in love and loved before their birth. Then only and at last will the sting of life be vanquished and victory over misery be achieved by humanity.

Scientific investigation has shown that the percentage of infant deaths steadily *decreases* as the interval between births is increased. Dr. Bluhm showed that more than twice as many infants die when they are born only one year after a previous birth than die if two or more years are left between births so that the mother has time to recover properly, and, moreover, that a much *higher* percentage of the children in large families die than of those in small families. In poor, crowded homes, the necessary security for mother and infant can *only be secured* by Birth Control knowledge on the part of the mother.

WELL-TO-DO WOMEN, and those of the more thoughtful and intelligent artisan class, have acquired the necessary knowledge by the help of which they have controlled nature's inveterate desire for mere crude conception, and thus have been spared the loss and human agonies of the mother's heart torn by the sufferings of incessant pregnancies,* and the heart-rending pathos of puny and dying babies.

It seems strange that England, so advanced and so considerate towards the manual laborers in many respects, should yet be so far behind Holland which started Birth Control Clinics in 1878. The Mothers' Clinic, in some respects on similar lines, differs from these in laying chief stress on the *constructive* side of other aspects of sex knowledge, in order to

*See the tragedies revealed in that little book "Maternity Letters from Working Women."—Co-operative Guild, 1915.
increase the happiness of married life as well as decrease its miseries.

It will also save the pitiful children from being *unwanted*.

"I have learned the great lesson astounding to each in his turn: life is not a thing to turn idly about in one's hands, to mould like putty, but something hard as rocks through which one has to fight his way, maddened by a dream."—*Gestures in Ivory* by H. H.

Have you ever looked deep into the heart of an unwanted child? It reflects all its mother's misery with an even tenderer, more helpless and incurable pathos.

Right in their midst, open to all those who most sorely need it, the "Mothers' Clinic" will bring to the unhappy not only knowledge of the power to quell nature's archaic fury of procreation, but also the knowledge of how to live in true love and *happiness* in marriage. This double work has a double blessing, both to every individual and to the race.

HOW THE CLINIC CAME INTO BEING

THE TWO FOUNDERS of this Clinic, starting from positions so diverse as well could be, reached by very different routes the point where they clasped hands over their mission.

Mr. Humphrey Verdon Roe, after experience as a regular officer who went through the Siege of Ladysmith, left the army to control a business in one of the great industrial centres of the north. As an employer of labor he became increasingly aware that the pitiful miseries of the dwellers in the slum districts in which his factories were placed were, if examined critically, due with astonishing frequency to the broken strength of the poor involuntary parents, or to the feebleness of those who, as children, had been conceived when strength for their manhood was not in their mothers. The type of mind which made Mr. Roe a pioneer in aviation made him ever inquire into fundamentals, and his inquiries swept aside one after another the superficial explanations, the false economics, the futile tinkering at the greatest of our racial and national problems. After attempts to rouse others whose duty and direct concern it seemed to be to open such clinics as the Mothers' Clinic, and meeting everywhere with lethargy, timidity or stupidity, Mr. Roe offered a definite and guaranteed £1,000 a year for five years, and £12,000 in his will to one of the great northern Hospitals on condition that they would immediately found a Birth Control and Maternity Clinic. At the time Mr. Roe was settling his affairs preparatory to active service in the Royal Flying Corps in France, so there was considerable possibility that the Hospital might have benefitted to the full extent at an early date. The Committee feared to embark on so novel a step, and the offer was therefore refused. Efforts to arouse other suitable bodies also failed to bring about any material result, and with deep regret Mr. Roe had to leave the establishment of the Clinic in abeyance. In France he was wounded but not killed, and while thinking all the more of the subject was prevented from taking immediate action.

DR. MARIE CARMICHAEL STOPES (a doctor of Science, *not* Medicine) after a life devoted to scientific research and university lecturing in biology, had incidentally been prepared to take an interest in the social aspects of the biological problems of humanity by work in the collieries, and by much travel. Her conscious interest was aroused, and her eyes opened

(Concluded on page 15)



Drawing by Boardman Robinson

REST AT LAST!

"The State has no more right than the individual to ravish a woman against her will. We are beginning to realize that if the State wants children it must make it agreeable to women to produce them."—HAVELOCK ELLIS.

From Man to Superman

By Herman M. Bernelot Moens

THE GREAT EVENTS of yesterday, the bloody wars whose manifold murders and mutilations were not only practiced but glorified in, should turn our thoughts to consider ways and means to end these terrible upheavals, caused by the ancient beast in man, and to restrain the brute force by wisdom and conscience.

The way to make a permanent improvement is through BROTHERHOOD AND BIRTH CONTROL.

Humanity's salvation depends not on the *quantity*, but on the *quality* of those that are born into the world. The ending of prejudices between races and nations, between creeds, casts and sects, can only be affected by the practice of universal brotherhood of humanity as the true religion.

Anthropology, the study of mankind, can materially help us to attain this result and should serve a humanitarian end, as well as a scientific purpose.

Though the majority of Anthropologists, in keeping with the scholastic teachings, have begun by assuming as an axiom the inequality of human races, they will have to evolutionize and adopt a more broadminded and many-sided treatment of the subject.

Now nation fights nation, and it seems inevitable that the struggle of race against race will follow, unless we develop a greater interest in each other, a fuller understanding, more friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation, to bring about the brotherhood of man, and render the conditions on our planet as favorable as possible and our earthly existence more worth while.

WHEN A RACE thinks itself superior, it should make other races look up to it; but it should never demean its superiority by looking down upon the others. The present conditions among the white race show that a superior race still has to be developed. At any rate, at present where brute force, shot, shell, shrapnel, hypocrisy and injustice have to be more convincing than wisdom and conscience, the so-called superiority of our white race makes but a poor impression on the philosophers of any race.

The essence of natural philosophy will influence humanity with the result that men will become more interested in all human beings, and shall all practice the *Golden Rule*: "Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you."

In reality, we cannot draw a line at all between any of the races, neither does nature. We should learn to understand the greatest and most serious truth, which is *the oneness of all humanity*. *Man is all men*, and the future of humanity lies with men, who have the good physical and psychical qualities of all the human races.

This 20th century does not show that the Caucasian race practices much philosophy and brotherhood neither among themselves, nor towards other races.

A comparison of the average Caucasian conduct of the present day with the broad philanthropy and unselfishness of Buddha, who was born 2479 years ago, or with the doctrines about truth and justice of Confucius, who was born 2470 years ago, will award the palm of superiority to these Mongolians of nearly twenty-five centuries ago.

Besides the somatological classification of the Genus Homo, based solely on physical characteristics in the Etheopian race, the Mongolian race and the Caucasian race, with the numerous sub-forms, we should accept also the classification based upon intelligence and character, as this gives especially those characteristics which are essentially human, namely:

Uncivilized Man
Civilized man
Humanized Man
Cultured Man
Perfect Man

This classification offers the solution of the race problem in the United States and throughout the World.

Lewd Thinkers

ACCORDING TO THE laws in 18 States as well as to Section 211 of the Criminal Code of the United States of America, the expressed views concerning Birth Control of the following thinkers would have been adjudged lewd, obscene, filthy, vile and indecent and would have been adjudged against the peace of the United States and their dignity.

PLATO	JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN
ARISTOTLE	JOHN BURNS
ZENO	JOHN RUSKIN
BECCARIA	H. G. WELLS
VOLTAIRE	JOHN MORLEY
ROUSSEAU	AUGUSTE COMTE
MONTESQUIEU	EUGENE BRIEUX
JOHN STUART MILL	WM. GRAHAM SUMNER
THOMAS HUXLEY	RÉMY DE GOURMONT
EMILE ZOLA	HELENE STOECKER
PAUL ADAM	ODA OLBERG
GUY DE MAUPASSANT	ELLEN KEY
GUSTAVE LE BON	IWAN BLOCH
ANATOLE FRANCE	HAVELOCK ELLIS
ROBERT G. INGERSOLL	JOSEPH McCABE
RALPH WALDO EMERSON	GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

"The child of misery (is) baptized in tears."—JOHN LANCHORNE.

An American Woman's Visit to the League of Nations

By Florence Guertin Tuttle

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS is not dead, in spite of the United States Senate, "more feared by France than God," according to the recent utterance of a Frenchman, "and unfortunately nearer." The League of Nations is alive and functioning not only in a political sense, but also along humanitarian lines dear to the hearts of women.

This is the story of an American woman who went to visit the League of Nations to carry a great social message—a woman who had believed in the League principle and had worked for it even before the covenant became a reality. It is written now in the hope of bringing the League a little nearer to American women as a living actuality needing and challenging their co-operation.

The incentive of my visit came through the visit of another woman to the League. When I read, just before the departure of my husband and myself for Europe, that a woman had appeared before the Assembly of the League of Nations to present the subject of the international traffic in women for the League's consideration, and what is more, that she was granted a respectful hearing, I knew that I too must go to Geneva to present to the General Secretariat, Sir Eric Drummond, the subject that was uppermost in my mind as a fundamental of reconstruction—the subject of the control of expanding populations as one of the means of avoiding war. Everyone acknowledged that Germany's surplus population was one of the causes of the recent war. And now Japan was piling up just such another dangerous menace.

IT WAS AN EASY matter to obtain letters of introduction to Sir Eric Drummond, the League's General Secretariat. And I am sure that no letter from any other American could have insured for us a more cordial reception than the one from Mr. Raymond Fosdick, who had served as under-secretary of the League, endearing himself to the entire Secretariat until the refusal of the Senate to ratify the treaty made it seem imperative for him to resign.

While we were resting at Nice, en route for Geneva, we read that Sir Eric Drummond and seventy secretaries had departed for Paris where the High Council was to sit in special session. We therefore changed our plans and our tickets and departed at once for Paris anticipating our stay there by several days.

When we were able to get into touch with the League it was holding its closing session which we had the pleasure of attending. The Council convened in the Residence of the Senate, the Petit-Luxembourg, through the courtesy of Mr. Leon Bourgeois, president of the Senate and representative member of the High Council from France.

The session was held in a small room with stately panelled walls and beautiful candelabras. When the members of the High Council filed in, taking their places simply at a long table, yet representing the mightiest nations of the world, as Americans we experienced a thrill but alas not one of pride. Article IV of the Covenant says that the Council shall be made up of nine members—the five great Powers and four smaller ones selected in rotation. Only eight men sat at this Council table. One country had left its altruism on the battlefield. America furnished the vacant chair.

THE PERSONNEL of the Council consisted of the allies of the war with the exception of the United States. Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium represented respectively by Arthur J. Balfour, Leon Bourgeois, Marquis and Paul Hymans, elected President of the League Assembly in Geneva. The other states were Japan, represented by Count Ishii, Spain a neutral, represented by Ambassador Quinones de Leon, Brazil, represented by da Cunha, and China, represented by Wellington Koo, the brilliant Chinaman, who has done so much to entrench his country in the League and who learned his political tactics in the United States.

There they were before us—men grown old in service each to his own country, men trained in the old devastating school of nationalism, yet willing to discard this outgrown principle for a new ideal—the compelling ties of internationalism—because there was nothing else in which to place faith, every bulwark of civilization having crashed in the collapse of 1914.

But if it was true that the Council was composed for the most part of elderly men trained in the old reliances, this was not true of the Secretariat—the "administrative nerve center" of the League. This is made up of 100 under-secretaries drawn from over 20 nations whose purpose it is to do the research work and prepare the data for the Council and the Assembly. For the most part the Secretariat is composed of young men and women, full of faith and practical idealism, chosen for their work in the war, on the Peace Conference or in some international field. Nothing like this Secretariat has ever been known in history—a large body of different nationalities harmoniously working on entangling world problems—the Saar Valley, the free city of Dantzig, labor, economics, mandates, disarmament, typhus, the problem of international health and many other vital questions. It was inspiring to see these secretaries overflowing the rooms outside the Council Chamber, happily working at typewriters and desks, but never too busy to stop and be courteous. Thank God there were eager American faces in the company—college bred men and women, for the most part serving, not as representatives of their country, but

Go put your creed into your deed, nor speak with double tongue.—EMERSON.

unofficially as enthusiastic adherents of this new world ideal. This was one of the surprises of our visit—to find America, not in her place at the head of the family of nations where she belonged but still represented unofficially by her brilliant children who realize as the gray-beards in power cannot or will not realize, that the destiny of America is inseparable from the destiny of her fellow men.

THE COUNCIL was presided over by Da Cunha, of Brazil, who sat at the center of the table occupying the presidential chair through the principle of rotation by which this office is filled. He was clean-cut, well groomed and looked like a bank president at a formal reception. On his right sat Leon Bourgeois, seventy years old, white haired and leonine. On the President's left sat Sir Eric Drummond, slim, athletic-looking and astonishingly youthful, a fair-haired more-mature Prince of Wales.

We had presented our letters to Sir Eric Drummond and at the close of the session had the pleasure of meeting him. He greeted us cordially but regretted that as he was leaving for Geneva that afternoon he would be unable to appoint an hour for a conference. He invited us to go to Geneva where we could talk at leisure, but as we were starting for home in a few days, this was impossible. So I told him that I would put my errand in writing. I also expressed my great pleasure at having had the privilege of attending a session of the League of Nations and regretted that as the speeches had been made in French I had been unable to follow them confidently. He said that he would have an English translation made of the morning's activities and sent to our hotel. I demurred at putting even his secretaries to the performance of so great a task and thought that perhaps, in the hurry of departure, the suggestion might be overlooked. But when we returned to our hotel, later in the day, a generous, League-al looking envelope greeted me, a complete English translation of the morning's session.

The speech of Da Cunha, the Brazilian President of the Council is especially interesting. It took the form of a review of the work of the League since the first meeting of the Council, January, 1920, one year previously and breathes the spirit of international co-operation.

BUT TWO REFERENCES were made in the address to the United States. The first was to the lonely man whom the people enthroned and then crucified, as they crucified Admiral Dewey and other one-time idols.

"The Treaty of Versailles provided the League with an admirable constitution under the inspiration of the noble American President whose ideal, which superficial or reactionary critics have described as Utopian, is in my opinion, solidly based upon the most living realities of our time."

The second reference is found in his closing paragraph. "Perhaps you will allow your President to say in conclusion

that those of our friends who on the other side of the Atlantic, still hesitate to join our endeavors, will soon mingle with ours, not only their thoughts—which we well know are inspired by the same ideal—but also their powerful and generous action."

At this session we also had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Arthur Sweetser, member of the American Peace Conference and of the Provisional Secretariat of the League, author of a fascinating little book called "The League of Nations at Work."

To Mr. Sweetser we put the question: "What was the greatest difficulty you found in establishing the League in Europe?"

His answer was immediate.

"To convince the nations that the League is not a super-state—that it does not abrogate sovereignty. All decisions of the League must be unanimous and ever then may take the form only of recommendations to their countries. Congress alone of course may declare war."

AT THE END of this article will be found a letter from Mr. Sweetser, received after my return to the United States and written in answer to my inquiry, "What is the League's greatest weakness?" It should be read by every American woman who loves her country and believes that its moral obligation to her allies did not end with the war.

After receiving such courteous treatment from members of the Council and Secretariat and realizing that here at least was the humanitarian instrument for which women and social workers had been longing, an instrument designed to be the servant of all, it was not difficult for me to put into words the motive of my visit.

In the historic Hotel Crillon where the American Peace Conference had been housed, I wrote my message to Sir Eric Drummond. I told him that the group of women representing the Woman's Publishing Company of New York believed that the control and improvement of populations was the paramount subject of importance today; that expanding populations—"explosive populations," as Margaret Sanger calls them—had become a modern menace; that Japan on her tight little island, with a population increasing at the rate of 400,000 per year, was placing herself in Germany's condition which meant expansion or war; that what Japan needed was Birth Control, not battleships; that her people, except perhaps a few jingoes, did not wish war but desired a scientific control of the birth rate as was demonstrated by the great number of educated Japanese who visit our office, and by the fact that they had engaged Mrs. Sanger to write a series of articles for the Japanese newspapers.

I ASKED Sir Eric if there was a commission in the League to study populations and their control and pointed out Holland and New Zealand as examples of nations that have by a system of scientific Birth Control, eliminated many of their

(Continued on page 13)

"But as he gazed on truth his aching eyes grew dim."—BYRON.

Outline of Legislative Work at Albany

A LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE was formed by the Margaret Sanger group to push a measure or amendment effecting the present Birth Control laws in the State of New York.

Professor McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University had drawn up an amendment to Section 1145. This was taken to him and his associates for confirmation and revision, and with the following draft the campaign work began:

1145. Physicians' instruments and *information*. An article or instrument used or applied by physicians lawfully practicing, or by their direction or prescription, for the cure or prevention of disease, is not an article of indecent or immoral nature or use within this article. The supplying of such articles to such physicians or by their direction or prescription, is not an offense under this article. *The giving by a physician or registered nurse lawfully practicing of information or advice in regard to, or the supplying to any person of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception, is not a violation of any provision of this article.*

Mrs. Kennedy of the Review staff, went to Albany early in January to interview the Assemblymen and find out their interest and information on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN of the Health Committee seemed the most logical and best informed man to approach and he was also a member of the medical profession. He stated his absolute opposition to the repeal or amendment of Birth Control laws and his determination to fight any such measure. His judgment was based on his country practice, naturally limited, and disclaimed any experience with the congested districts of large cities.

Several of the important men of the Assembly assured us of their approval of this class of legislation, but did not care to introduce the amendment.

On a second visit to Albany, W. F. Clayton, of Brooklyn, expressed his approval and belief in the great benefit of such a measure and was thoroughly conversant with the desperate condition of increasing families, in the housing problem of Brooklyn. He would sponsor the amendment he said and wished to consult with Prof. Lindsay about the drafting of the Bill, which on revision the amendment read as follows:

The giving by a physician licensed to practice, to any person applying to him or her, of information or advice in regard to, or the supplying by such physician to any person applying to him or her, of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception, is not a violation of any provision of this article.

After three weeks' delay and two more visits to Albany, on the same day Mr. Clayton said he would introduce the measure, a letter was received from him saying:

"I very much regret, but after consulting with some of the leaders of the Assembly, I have been strongly advised not to offer your bill.

"I am told it would do me an injury that I could not overcome for some time. Now, while I am more or less in favor of your bill and if you can get someone else to favor it and they are able to get the bill out of committee, I am strongly inclined to think that I would be one to vote for it, providing it had a ghost of a show. I regret that I have had this bill so long, but I sincerely hope that my keeping the bill this length of time will not in any way prevent you from finding someone to introduce it."

THE REACTION from this was a return trip to Albany to find the intelligent and courageous man who would not be moved by party policies.

Our next effort was to get sufficient and important backing from the medical profession of the State to influence Dr. Smith of the Assembly to sponsor the amendment. We did get the Health Board of the Academy of Medicine of New York City to endorse it. Doctors of national reputation wrote urging Dr. Smith to introduce it. Thousands of slips were signed urging the measure. The amendment, in the form of petitions, was signed by doctors, judges, economists, editors, department of health officials, nurses, settlement workers, prominent philanthropists, clubs and club women and many hundreds of voters in the State of New York. All this data was collected and presented as a background to the lawmakers. Dr. Smith refused on the ground of levity from his associates.

Mrs. Sanger and the Committee approached Mr. Jesse, of New York, a very able and prominent member of the Assembly and also conversant with the righteous and urgent need of such legislation. He considered the question and finally decided that he could not sponsor the amendment. This decision was given to the Committee after he had consulted party leaders in New York.

Personally many of these law makers believe the measure of great benefit, but the party whip cuts too deeply for courageous action. The Session drew to a close without the introduction of this amendment. Many trips have been made to Albany by a number of individuals who gave their time and money to this effort. Effort has been continuous for three months. Every means has been used to get an introduction of this Bill at this Session.

Next year we feel assured there will be a man or woman courageous enough to place this measure for consideration before the Legislature. We will still strive and feel deeply grateful for the support we have had individually and collectively from the friends of this movement.

"'Tis man's perdition to be safe, when for the truth he ought to die."—EMERSON.

Book Reviews

A Review by Edw. G. Puské, A.M.

Assistant and Fellow, Dept. of Sociology, University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

"WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE"—By Margaret Sanger.

"The most serious evil of our times," says Mrs. Margaret Sanger, in her book "Woman and the New Race," "is that of discouraging the bringing into the world of large families. The most immoral practice of the day is breeding too many children." And again, "Family limitation will always be practiced as it is now being practiced—either by birth control or by abortion." . . . "Contraceptives or Abortion—which shall it be?"

Thus Mrs. Sanger sets the issue sharply. Overpopulation is an immoral practice. Mankind or rather womankind has always limited the size of the family when it became too large, either by infanticide, abortion, or birth control. Infanticide is gone with savagery and barbarism, abortion is soon to follow, while in their wake advances scientific contraception, she declares.

"Woman and the New Race" is a far-flung battle cry to newly enfranchised woman to use her political power to emancipate herself from the curse of unwanted children. "Birth Control," remarks its author, "is a woman's problem. She thus accepts the challenge of the world that having been given political privileges, woman use them for the betterment of humanity.

All socially minded people of enlightenment, all those interested in the improvement of mankind and the progress of humanity will welcome "Woman and the New Race." It is an important contribution to the literature on the question of voluntary motherhood by one of its foremost American champions. It is written in a brilliant, interesting style. For so small a volume it is packed with vital facts. It cannot be read too widely.

The facts set forth in chapter II, *Woman's Struggle for Freedom*, are especially valuable in laying the foundation for the author's final question "Abortion or Contraceptives—Which Shall It Be?" It shows clearly that some form or other of family limitation is as old as the human race. Chapter IX, *Continence—Is It Practicable or Desirable?* is also of vital interest. Here Mrs. Sanger masterfully disposes of that class of moralists who preach birth control thru conjugal abstinence. Her statement "Few who advocate the doctrine of absolute continence live up to it strictly" is surcharged with truth. While the sentence "Enforced continence is injurious—often highly so," should act as an extremely healthful tonic for the sex psychologists who laud sexual continence to the seventh heaven. The chapters on *Will Birth Control Help the Cause of Labor?* and *The Cause of War* should prove provocative of serious thought to Labor Leaders and those interested in world peace. The chapter *New Morality* is very stimulating, while that on *Legislation* gives a brief review of the legal status of Birth Control in this country. Finally the chapter *Birth Control Clinics* sets forth clearly the need of such clinics to make birth restriction really effective.

As mentioned before, Mrs. Sanger has made a valuable contribution to the literature on family limitation. We cannot but feel, however, that she overstates some points and overlooks others. For instance it is extremely doubtful if the removal of legal obstacles to the free dissemination of voluntary motherhood information would result in the same degree of family limitation by the poor and defective classes as is now practiced by the upper ones. This is indicated by the conditions in England, where since 1876 there have been no hindering legal barriers. The lower classes are the very ones most needing family limitation. To obtain a salutary restriction of children in the poor and defective groups

actual instruction in contraceptive methods and the creation of a social atmosphere frosty to reckless child-bearing will be required. The word proletariat means the "maker of children," and it seems that function, being one much used, has acquired a much stronger hold upon the proletarian mass than upon the other strata of society.

Moreover, two other points should be mentioned in this connection,—child labor and compulsory education. If children are kept from gainful labor until they are sixteen years old and if they are compelled to attend school up to that age, the chief economic value of offsprings to their parents is abolished. Children then become an economic loss rather than a gain. Heretofore and yet today children are economically valuable to the poorer classes in the cities and to the farmers in the rural districts. With offsprings expensive beings, their number will decrease and their care and opportunities increase.

The increase of individual opportunity within the social whole is one of the best criteria of a progressive civilization. In the United States today one of the most urgent needs is the curtailment of the size of families by the poor and working classes. In many ways this is a prerequisite to the raising of the standard of living of those classes. It becomes the duty of all persons desiring social progress and advancement to get behind the movement for scientific Birth Control and see that it is brought into effective use among the foregoing classes. Unfortunately, heretofore, sociologists, social workers, economists and those interested in social progress have been lukewarm in their advocacy of family limitation. They can wipe out that bad record only by lending their full support to this movement in the future.

A Review by Harold Hersey

"WOMEN AND CHILDREN"—by Hugh de Sélincourt, London,
Leonard Parsons, Publisher, February, 1921.

I have always felt that there are various planes of feeling that bridge time. Certain minds, creative or otherwise, reach these planes through the laws of natural selection. There is no power in heaven or on earth that will place a mind on a plane where it does not belong. True, for a brief hour it may dance perilously near the higher ones—even along the edge—but sooner or later it will only be a maniac dancing in the sun and a bored world will turn away disillusioned. Needless to say, these planes are governed by their own laws; their own backgrounds; their own possibilities as creative makers. The lower ones being within reach of the mass undergo affected changes. Alien hands reach in and have their effects. The higher one goes, the less able are these strange paws to mess about. A few elementals standing on tiptoe, so to speak, are able to do damage.

These lower planes change with the times. As we go up the scale, however, we find ourselves in clarifying atmospheres that are only affected by the individuals that walk there in loneliness and power. As with the attributes of a Spinoza, so with these planes—we are only conscious of a few. We put Goethe, Dante and Shakespeare, in the highest because so far as we know they are unalterable through the ages. They have obeyed standards of aesthetics and lived up to them with such amazing facility that no age, no century, or series of centuries can govern or control. The generations to come will meet them, eye to eye, and understand. And in the meanwhile, it is a sign of life and vitality that the lower planes are swerving and changing and moving. Their very malleability is a sign that the lower strata is furnishing rough material from whence rare manifestations of the higher will blossom forth. It is all interesting as a theory. At any rate, it serves as an explanation of certain things.

"Is not marriage an open question, when it is alleged, from the beginning of the world, that such as are in the institution wish to get out, and such as are out wish to get in?"—EMERSON.

It is only uttering truth to say that a mind like that of de Sélincourt could only occupy one of the highest of these planes. To feel anything else; to believe anything else, would only be denial of facts. The very material of his intellectual sympathies is woven out of the purest form of beauty—and we can never get away from the fact that beauty is always truth. This man could no more handle an unbeautiful idea than he could be false to an ideal. This is not denying as a natural corollary that his understanding of beauty exists parallel to his ability to interpret it. And we are admitting a great deal. In this case the writer of the review has not only had the privilege of reading much of his published matter but a number of manuscripts as well. He has yet to find a moment where loyalty to truth and beauty is not triumphantly in evidence.

"Women and Children" is a novel that opens on one of these higher planes of creative value, and closes on a still higher one. It is as though his first use of a tuning fork of aesthetics, golden clear in itself, only half satisfied his sensitive ear. He must needs find a sweeter, a clearer note, and he does find it.

One does not approach a book of this kind with an outline of the story. The four or five characters that make it a living work of art, require no story to link them together except in a conventional mind—they are life itself. Henry Charlcote, Agnes Renart, Hubert Bonner, Augusta, and then the pathetic Jenkins—that instrument of fate that links these four destinies into one complete aesthetic whole. I shall not attempt in these few words to weigh them as I would like to. . . . I can only say that a reading of "Women and Children" is like a journey through sunlight and flowers after wading through darkness in the barest of human emotions. We meet these people in their innermost hearts. We understand how Henry could be given the glory of Agnes and then turn with the gift in his open hands to bequeath it to Hubert—poor Hubert who in this novel at least but only half understood the golden light that spread around him in a flame. We can visualize the attack that Jenkins made and the near approach to death that Agnes suffered at his murderous hands. Henry's saving her at the psychological time is only a moment in time but the night that follows is a dream of eternity. There can be nothing so beautiful as where Agnes drops her cloak like a suddenly opened flower that its sweetness might bring color and life into the heart of Henry Charlcote. And then the amusing backwardness of Hubert and superb understanding of Agnes when she takes her gift at Henry's bidding to another's life. Would that more men who returned from the carnage, bruised and beaten, could have made the discovery that Hubert made in that final chapter. And we close the book with the feeling that in the arms of Agnes he will learn love at its source. But lying in those arms of hers one finds it difficult to detach the personality of Henry.

I cannot recommend more heartily a recent English book. This one stands forth because it dares to deal with people and their love lives—a rare manifestation in the welter of Anglo-Saxon morality. It stands forth because in the most sacred moments one is conscious of the deft, tender hands of the creative spirit behind them—as though he has transplanted them bodily into his book from life. And this must be so, if I may be allowed a surmise. These people are living in the world—whether in his book, alone, or outside as well, I do not know—but living they are and vitally. The book stands out again for its simplicity of style—its delicacy of vision—its clearness of manner. This book is born a *grande dame* as an Austrian princess at the Tuileries once remarked to the Countess of Montijo then the wife of the Little Napoleon (as rumor has it). It is of the blood royal because it becomes of a long ancestry of living close to beauty and truth. And I must be pardoned by a hard case-hardened public for slipping into a mid-Victorian style as I write of a truly big book—I can only answer that it is saying something for any book that with the rush of work now before me, I can fall into any form of style at all.

"The faith that stands on authority is not faith."—EMERSON.

"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."—From President Jefferson's papers; found after his death.

A Visit to the League of Nations

(Continued from page 10)

unfit, decreased poverty and improved the individual standard; and that the draft during the late war showed that both those countries had more men fit to fight than any other countries in the conflict.

I also sent him scientific literature which I had taken with me and offered to cooperate with the League by republishing anything the League had published on the subject of population in our Birth Control Magazine which has a circulation of 10,000 and goes to China, India and Japan.

Since my return I have had an acknowledgement from Sir Eric Drummond as follows:

League of Nations,
Geneva, 9th March, 1921.

Société des Nations,

Dear Mrs. Tuttle:

I beg to thank you for your two letters, and am grateful to you for the two publications which you sent me, which I look forward to reading with a great interest.

I am so sorry that my engagements in Paris prevented our having a talk. I need not say that I shall not forget your kind offer, on behalf of the Woman's Publishing Company, of cooperation with the League. We have no information here to send you with regard to the subject of expanding populations, but I am interested in what you tell me.

Hoping that I may have the pleasure of seeing you at a later date, I am,

Yours very truly,

ERIC DRUMMOND.

Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle,
14 East 60th Street,
New York City.

AND NOW, finally, what was accomplished by this little international visit, humbly impersonal on one side, that makes it worthy of recording?

First, I believe a great subject—Birth Control—has been placed before the General Secretariat of a great body and an entering wedge for the introduction of other data has been effected into the very heart of the League itself. Already Mrs. Sanger's book, "Woman and the New Race," has been dispatched to Sir Eric Drummond, with a note saying that 25,000 copies have been sold here within three months—a phenomenal record. This book should be followed, I feel, by the appearance of Mrs. Sanger herself, before the Assembly meeting next September in Geneva, since no one else could present this subject of the need of watching the birth rate with so much beauty, dignity and conviction.

To send Margaret Sanger to Geneva to speak before the League of Nations I believe would have two very definite results. First it should lead to the formation of a Commission to study the question of populations and Mrs. Sanger might well be asked to serve on this commission which must naturally be made up of experts; and in the second place, the effect upon public opinion in this country of such a visit to the League would be exceedingly salutary.

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Again, the little visit to the League proves, I believe that the League needs the interest and cooperation of women even as women need a vehicle of endeavor like the League to promote their humanitarian aims. As I said in the beginning, the League is not merely a political instrument, a world court, a well-oiled legal mechanism. It is a humane viaduct possessing untold possibilities for carrying remedial social measures. It cannot function, however, unless behind it is the urge, the strong support of an interested public opinion. And for this urge and for this support, the League must largely depend upon the staunch loyalty of women.

THAT WOMEN may accomplish large humanitarian ends through an appeal to the League is proved by the fact that the League has already scheduled a conference on the International Traffic in women for June, largely because women have asked for it. It should be a matter of pride also to American women to know that an American woman—Miss M. F. Wilson—has been chosen librarian of the League, and that Miss Sara Wambaugh of Cambridge, author of an important work on Plebescites, had the distinction of being one of the four under-secretaries of the League during an absence of some months of Mr. Gilchrist. Also that a Swedish woman—Madame Buggo Micksell—has been included in the Mandates Commission of eight at the request of various women's organizations from all parts of the world.

It would seem to be true, therefore, that women are needed in the realm of international politics and that the League of Nations offers them a practical bridge of opportunity. What are the American women going to do to span this bridge? The negative position is no longer tenable. A positive plan for foreign relationships must be formulated with the ethical aspirations of women—one-half the enfranchised people—included.

To say that America will have nothing to do with the League of Nations is like Jupiter saying that it will have nothing to do with the solar system, or the heart telling the adjacent organs that it will not be a part of the human organism. We are in the great world system of nations whether we acknowledge it or not and acted upon by the same inexorable laws. And at present we are the heart of the world organism because we happen to hold in our possession the wealth and the health of nations. The veins of the world body are sagging, emasculated with the long drain of war. Only America can revivify this weary organism by sending her own red blood coursing through these old world arteries, giving them new life and health. Until American women see this truth and work to have their country accept her solemn responsibility at the Council table of nations, a Council already laboriously organized, already humanely functioning, they must prepare to live in world chaos. To delay is to play like children at Blindman's Bluff—to flirt merely with world stability while the forces of disintegration eat at the nation's vitals.

The danger to America lies not in going into the League of Nations. The danger lies entirely in staying out.

Société des Nations
League of Nations,
Geneva, March 14, 1921.

MY DEAR MRS. TUTTLE:

It was most kind of you to send flowers to Mrs. Sweetser at the Crillon, and to write me your kind note of March 5th. I am sorry that it was necessary for us to leave Paris so immediately after the Council meeting, as a matter of fact, I had a great deal of work to do in Geneva and felt it essential to return.

As regards your question as to the greatest weakness of the League, there can be no doubt in the world as to what it is, namely the attitude of the United States, and this attitude must be interpreted from two points of view, first negative, and second positive.

The negative viewpoint is what you might call the mere result of America's abstention. Of course, the United States is at the moment the richest and the most powerful nation in the world, and by favor of geographical circumstances, the most able to be disinterested. She has achieved through the war a reputation for idealism which is perfectly tremendous, so that her voice counts to an even greater degree than her power would indicate.

It was always thought that America would be the great balance wheel of the League, or indeed of any Association of Nations. She is full of life, and is free from the petty racial disputes and difficulties which face the European countries, is untouched by the war, and can afford to be broadly disinterested. Consequently, her mere moral power was looked upon as a great regulator in the difficult affairs that would come up.

But owing to the political dispute at home, the United States has withdrawn lock, stock, and barrel. We are off every commission, and out of every conference. We take no part in any decisions that are being made, yet in some of them, such as mandates and reparations, we still claim or possess a power of veto. The situation, as you can imagine, is almost impossible, and cannot, I believe, last very long, especially as I do not think the American people either have the desire or can afford to see Europe continue drifting on into chaos.

The second result, namely what might be called the positive result, is that the opposition of the United States to the League has been used by all the forces working against international co-operation as their strongest weapon. They can say with the best of reason that if a great Democracy like the United States refuses to go into the League, that in itself is a condemnation which should make all other nations wary. Whenever League action is proposed, whether it be a project like the Permanent Court, or relief of typhus in Poland, or anything of that nature, the various reactionary elements in the different countries always seek to find some other way of encompassing it than through the League, largely on the ground that any kind of League of Nations is impossible without the United States. As you can appreciate, this means that there is a certain disintegrating force eating into the theory of international cooperation which will have the most disastrous effect even if Senator Harding's Association of Nations were called into being. For such cooperation is a thing of the spirit as much as of politics, and if the spirit is shaken by constant narrow attacks by interested parties on this side of the water, it is going to be a very difficult thing to restore, short of the stimulating influence of another war.

As regards admitting Germany and Russia, I think that every one agrees that that is absolutely essential to the future of the League. The League, indeed, is not so much a League opposed to something as an all inclusive society. So long as two great states remain outside, it will always be merely partial. But the time of admission of Germany

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"Give us men to do the deeds of dreams."—H. H.

Birth Control Clinic in London

(Continued from page 6)

to the urgency of the proper dissemination of sound Birth Control knowledge by an incident which, never to be forgotten, flamed through her heart early in her academic career. One of her own students had been assisting the doctor in dealing with out-patients at a hospital, and a woman had brought in a miserable little baby, which wailed all the time and which the mother explained wouldn't put on any flesh or grow into a nice, healthy baby whatever she did with it. The mother, with tears in her eyes, made an intensely earnest appeal to the doctor to tell her what was, to her, unaccountably wrong with the infant. She said this was her fourth, and the others had all died when they were very little. The doctor put her off with some soothing platitudes, but the woman driven to despair said: "I believe there's something wrong with my man. If there's something wrong with my man I won't have babies no more—it's just cruel to see them miserable like this and have them dying one after the other. Won't you, for God's sake, tell me whether there's anything wrong with my man or not?" This appeal was met by the assurance that there was nothing wrong, and she should go on having babies and do her duty by her husband. The medical woman student said that it was glaringly obvious that the baby was syphilitic.

THAT NOT ONLY such ill-fated mothers, but that *all* mothers, should be freed from the appalling slavery of unwilling and undesired motherhood, became a conviction so intense as to necessitate action. Dr. Stopes realized with the astonishment that youth always feels towards the cruelty of its elders, that although the knowledge of Birth Control has been freely circulating in our country for very many years, it has been available chiefly for the educated and the well-to-do. The *really* poor, the utterly thriftless, the ignorant and miserable have been shut out from such knowledge. They, of all others, most need it, and, as they know not where to go for it, Dr. Stopes determined that it should be brought to them. But she did not rush into action unpreparedly. The incident leading to what might almost be called her "conversion" happened in 1906. By 1914 her now famous book "Married Love" was written, although she did not wish it to be published then, and it was not given to the Press till 1918.

In 1915 Mrs. Margaret Sanger, who had by this time taken strenuous action for the foundation of Birth Control Clinics in America, came to England seeking the help of Europeans in her fight against the reactionaries in America. She met Dr. Stopes, who, as a result of the friendship then formed, prepared and sent the following letter to President Wilson, signed by several distinguished persons:—

To The President of the United States,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

September, 1915.

Sir,

We understand that Mrs. Margaret Sanger is in danger of criminal prosecution for circulating a pamphlet on birth problems. We, therefore, beg to draw your attention to the fact that such work as that of Mrs. Sanger receives appreciation and circulation in every civilized country except the United States of America, where it is still counted as a criminal offence.

We in England passed, a generation ago, through the phase of prohibiting the expressions of serious and disinterested opinion on a subject of such grave importance to humanity, and in our view to suppress any such treatment of vital subjects is detrimental to human progress.

Hence, not only for the benefit of Mrs. Sanger, but of humanity, we respectfully beg you to exert your powerful influence in the interests of free speech and the betterment of the race.

We beg to remain, Sir,

Your humble servants,

(Signed by) PERCY AMES, LL.D., F.S.A., Sec., Roy. Soc. Liter., London.
WILLIAM ARCHER, Dramatic Critic and Author.
LENA ASHWELL, Actress Manager.
ARNOLD BENNETT, Author and Dramatist.
EDWARD CARPENTER, Author of "Towards Democracy," etc.
AYLMER MAUDE, Author of "Life of Tolstoy."
GILBERT MURRAY, M.A. Oxford, LL.D. Glasgow, D.Litt.,
Prof. Greek, Oxford.
MARIE C. STOPES, D.Sc., Ph.D., Fellow and Lecturer, U.
Coll., London.
H. G. WELLS, B.Sc., J.P., Novelist.

IN THE COVERING letter to President Wilson, Dr. Stopes said:—

"Have you, Sir, visualized what it means to be a woman whose every fibre, whose every muscle, and blood-capillary is subtly poisoned by the secret, ever-growing horror, more penetrating, more long-drawn than any nightmare, of an unwanted embryo developing beneath her heart? White men stand proudly and face the sun, boasting that they have quenched the wickedness of slavery. What chains of slavery are, have been or ever could be so intimate a horror as the shackles on every limb, on every thought, on the very soul of an unwillingly pregnant woman? And you have *thousands* of such slaves in your 'free' United States, many of them 'honored' wives, forced to stumble through nine months of nightmare for want of the scientific knowledge which every grown man and woman has a right to have. And does the State benefit by the numerous births of the poor and ignorant classes? In the 'alums' women often have nine or ten or more births or still-births, and yet of these only two or three offspring reach a feeble maturity. The State therefore not only loses the four or five healthy children the woman might have had, but also suffers the costly drain of her ill-health and weakness and the reduction of her working power due to the useless births. The only people who benefit are the undertakers.

"I pray that you, Sir, may be instrumental, not only in rescuing Mrs. Sanger, a tender and sensitive mother, from injustice, but also that you will hasten the establishment of a new era for the white race when it may escape the sapping of its strength and the diseases which are the results of too frequent child-birth by over-worn or horror-stricken mothers."

Early in 1918 Mr. H. V. Roe and Dr. Marie Stopes were introduced, and, discovering this mission and other deep

"Against stupidity the very gods themselves contend in vain."—SCHILLER.

mutual interests, joined forces in this, as in all other of life's undertakings.

IMMEDIATELY THE WAR was over, recognizing that novel enterprises are the proper work of individuals and not of established bodies, they decided to waste no more time in urging others to start the first Birth Control Clinic, but to establish one immediately themselves, in order that its success might make it easy for others to arise all over the country. The unexpected difficulty of housing accommodation hindered the immediate materialization of their Clinic, but at last, at the close of 1920, a suitable house was obtained at No. 61, Marlborough Road, Holloway, London, N., and on Thursday, 17th March, 1921, the Clinic was first opened.

Some distinguished people have kindly lent their names as Patrons to indicate the deep interest felt in very various quarters in a scheme of such racial moment, but no one has been asked for any financial aid. The two founders feel privileged to take entirely upon themselves the initiation of a work so calculated ultimately to save untold expense to the whole Community as well as untellable misery to individuals.

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REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,
OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1921.
State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Margaret Sanger, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, New York Women's Publishing Co., 104-5th Ave., New York; Editor, Margaret Sanger, 104-5th Ave., New York; Managing Editor, Harold Hershey, 104-5th Ave., New York; Business Managers, Anne Kennedy, 104-5th Ave., New York.
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MARGARET H. SANGER, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of March, 1921.

[SEAL]

JACK G. KARPF.

(My commission expires March 30, 1923.)

A Visit to the League of Nations

(Concluded from page 14)

and Russia is a more difficult problem. The former is having a very hard time at the moment, and the latter is still considered by the majority of people as outside the pale. However, I think that the League of Nations in so far as it has a distinct personality is more in favor of the admission of Germany and Russia than any of the bigger nations today.

I should be very glad indeed to hear from you at any time on any question about the League. There are a great many people in the United States now who are writing me occasionally as to difficulties arising out of their discussions of the League, and if I can be of service to you in this matter, I shall be more than happy to do so.

Meantime, I am sending you a little Summary I have just prepared of the last session of the Council at Paris, which I think will give you a little idea of the general work of the League, which seems to me to divide into the two elements of building up a cooperative Association of Nations and of carrying out some of the major humanitarian tasks of the world of today.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR SWEETSER.

Mrs. Tuttle,
14 East 60th Street,
New York City.

MRS. MARGARET SANGER

Author, "WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE," says:

"This is a challenging and stimulating book. Dr. Stopes, who is one of the few living Englishwomen who have attained enviable reputations in the sciences, brings a special technical training as well as human understanding into her considerations of love, marriage and motherhood."

RADIANT MOTHERHOOD

By

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"One should never put on one's best trousers to go out in to fight for freedom."—IBSEN in "The Enemy of the People."

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW



Birth Control—Past, Present and Future

By Margaret Sanger

JUNE, 1921

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BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery, President

ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.

GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.

FRANCE (1895).—C. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.

SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.

BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.

SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.

BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.

AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Kloster-

neuburg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.

PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

BRASIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.

SWEDEN (1911).—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.

ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.

AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

MEXICO (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

IN THE UNITED STATES:

ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.

CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*.

Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*League for Voluntary Parenthood*. Mrs. A.

W. Newman, Secretary, 1702 Belmar Road, Cleveland Heights.

ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.

HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 1804 Penn Street.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.

NEW YORK:

The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 264 W.

73rd Street, chairman.

International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson,

president, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.

The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pin-

chot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.

Voluntary Parenthood League, 49 East 59th Street. Mary

Ware Dennett, director.

BROOKLYN—Jessie A. Dastre, 673 Vanderbilt Ave.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Penn-*

sylvania. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.,

secretary.

RADNOR, PA.—*The Main Line Branch of the National Birth Con-*

trol League. Mrs. Walter M. Newkirk, secretary.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. L. Howær, 227 Parsells Avenue.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Grace Anderson, Superintendent of Municipal

Nurses, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.

SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie

Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West, Seattle, Wash., secretary.

SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—*The Birth Control League of the District of*

Columbia. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1926 New Hampshire Ave.,

president.

A Little Lesson for Those Who Ought to Know Better

QUERY.—What is Birth Control?

Answer.—A Science which teaches that poverty and social evils can be greatly reduced by encouraging people to have small families.

Q.—Why should people have small families only?

A.—(1) In order to be able to feed, clothe, house and educate their children properly;

(2) In order to preserve the mother's health, strength and happiness;

(3) In order to avoid overcrowding the labor market and keeping down wages by competition.

Q.—How can people limit their families?

A.—In two ways. One is by ceasing to live a natural mated life. The other is to employ the means which have been discovered for avoiding having children without giving up the sex-life.

Q.—Is it not wrong to use artificial means for avoiding having children?

A.—It is not wrong provided that no means are employed which would injure the parents or any child which is once on the way.

Q.—Are not artificial methods of restricting families bad for the health?

A.—It used to be thought so. But within the last few years it has become clear that there is no justification for this belief.

HERE ARE SOME facts:—

(a) Doctors nearly all have small families nowadays.

(b) The Presidents of the British Association and of the American Medical Association have both spoken in favor of family limitation.

(c) In 1911 the Hungarian Medical Senate gave a judgment in favor of permitting the use of preventive means.

(d) Wherever small families have become the rule the health of the nation has improved; and it is not improved when families have remained large.

Q.—Does not family limitation mean race suicide?

A.—No, it does not. Large families mean race slaughter, because so many mouths cannot be fed, and large numbers perish.

Q.—Would not a knowledge of preventive means encourage young people in immorality?

A.—Perhaps it might if it were taught to very young people without warning them properly in other ways and warning them of the terrible risk of disease. But if young people are told that they can marry because there is no need of having children before they can support them, and if they are given the knowledge when they marry, it will improve morality by taking them away from temptation.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

JULY, 1921

No. 7

EDITORIAL

The advocates of Birth Control have long claimed that the lack of Birth Control was responsible for much of the poverty, crime, disease and wars that ravaged the world.

And they have been told frequently that they claimed too much.

Gradually, however, the world is coming to see that the control of populations, the plural of Birth Control, is the paramount question for every country and that over-population is indeed not only the root of all evils, but also the primary factor in producing wars.

At a disarmament dinner in New York given during the week of May 22nd—which was celebrated by the women of 38 states as Disarmament Week—Major General John F. O’Ryan in a fine analytical speech on disarmament, dwelt longest on over-population as a cause of war.

Self-interest on the part of nations caused war; emotion caused war, the Crusades being cited as “emotional undertakings,” but while these factors were dismissed with paragraphs, over-population in its relation to stimulating war, was given four pages.

If Germany, in 1914, for instance, had possessed a population of 40,000,000 instead of 60,000,000, there would have been no world war.

Nations with a low birth rate, and a high order of civilization, do not make war, the speaker claimed.

General O’Ryan has kindly given us permission to reprint his speech and we have given the extract on over-population in this issue.

We hope that all readers of the REVIEW will read it carefully and remember that it comes from the pen of one of our greatest soldiers—the leader of the 27th Division of New York in the late war, and an expert on war.

It is pleasant to record that he has quoted a page from Margaret Sanger’s latest book “Woman and the New Race.”

—F. G. T.

Interesting Notes

BARONESS ISHIMOTO organizes a *Birth Control League in Japan* is the startling news conveyed to Margaret Sanger in a cable received lately. The Baroness is a member of one of the oldest and most aristocratic families of the Island Empire and her husband has been in the diplomatic service for a number of years. Adherents of the Birth Control cause in New York were jubilant at the news of the success of their Japanese sisters.

To quote Baroness Ishimoto, "What is the real cause of the Great War? It is neither the ambition of the Kaiser nor the diplomatic policy of Great Britain. It is the oppression from the economic life of people in Central Europe. They have menaced each other by the wonderful increase of population. 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."

PRIZES FOR MOB POPULATION

THE GENERAL COUNCIL of the Department of the Seine has instituted prizes for large families. These prizes are accorded to the mothers of legitimate children and of recognized illegitimate children. The mothers must have resided for three years in a commune of the department and must have given birth to at least two living children. For the third 300 francs are bestowed; 350 francs for the fourth, 400 francs for the fifth, and so on, there being a progressive increase of 50 francs for each additional child. These prizes are payable in two installments—150 francs on the thirtieth day after birth, and the balance when the child is one year old. Monsieur Latour, the reporter of the budget, pointed out that this act would entail a heavy expense for the department and requested the council to pass a resolution asking the administration to levy a municipal tax on bachelors. The funds thus secured would permit the city to meet the increased obligations incurred by this endeavor to raise the birth rate.

Take the clergy. They are the officers of a church that has made marriage a source of revenue and of social control; they preach from a sacred book that bids the chosen people of God to "multiply and replenish the earth;" they know that large families generally tend to preserve clerical influences and authority; and they claim that every baby is a new soul presented to God, and therefore for His Honor and glory the greatest possible number of souls should be produced.

—TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG

MR. RICHARD MAYER has compiled a very interesting little booklet entitled: "Vital Facts on Right Eating and Right Living." It may be had for ten cents and is published by the author at 200 Summer Street, Boston, Mass. It is an excellent reference book for those who wish to learn the values of food and food combinations.

A POSTHUMOUS POEM

By William E. Williams

July 6

THE HILLS are purple as they yearn to Heaven and their purple speaks of Thee;
The green sympathy of trees, clinging like lovers to the river's lips, speaks of Thee;
And the green meadows; understanding and loving the blue skies;
The opulent warmth of yellow wheat, returning ardor to the sun;
The crimson, clinging passion of the rambler rose;
And always the singing, singing, singing of the feathered throats—
They sing of Thee—silent or vocal, in color or in sound—
They sing of Thee! They sing of Thee!
They sing of Thee because thou art Truth in woman's grace!
They sing of Thee, for thou art Truth, looking through woman's eyes—
Because thou art Beauty in a woman's guise—
Because thou art Sweetness that is more than fair—
And in them and through them and with them, my heart
Sings, sings, sings unceasingly of Thee.

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE

LOU ROGERS

ANNE KENNEDY

BLANCHE SCHRACK

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Birth Control—Past, Present and Future

By Margaret Sanger

(Continued from June Issue)

II

WE HAVE POINTED out that Malthus, discoverer of the theory of population and the precursor of the Darwinian theory of evolution, advocated as preventive checks upon overpopulation, "moral restraint" and very late marriage. His knowledge of human instincts was limited. Malthus proposed "moral restraint," abstention as long as possible from sexual intercourse, or so late a marriage that between the marriageable age and that of the critical period of the woman (the time of the cessation of menstruation) that it would be impossible for her to bear very many children. This is in the narrow sense Malthusianism. The Neo-Malthusians very quickly saw that this was impractical and productive of much unhappiness and misery. The sociological doctrine became a psychological one. Restraint with the direst and most unfortunate of consequences, both psychological and physiological, to the individual and to the race. Although advocated by the Church fathers, continence and celibacy had never been practiced by the masses of the Occidental world. But in thus driving sex expression into underground and secret channels, prostitution and its train of evils, diseases and insanity became firmly entrenched institutions of the western world.

Nevertheless, the spirit of Malthus' own reform stopped at marriage. He was radical enough in interposing difficulties between the desire to marry and actual marriage; but when a man and woman were once married, he did not presume to counsel sexual restraint. But from other quarters the theory was soon carried to its logical and serviceable conclusion. In the supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica published in 1818, James Mill wrote that it was time to "discard the superstitions of the nursery" and in his "Elements of Political Economy" (1821) he concluded "The grand practical problem is . . . to find means of limiting the number of births."

ANSWERS TO THIS question were almost immediately forthcoming. In 1823 was published the so-called "diabolical handbill" addressed "To the Married of Both Sexes," and setting forth the economic disadvantages of excessively large families. From this time to the present, advocates of Birth Control have published, throughout Europe and America, various handbooks and pamphlets giving explicit directions to men and women of the physiological and practical aspects of family limitation. These directions have been made up, partially upon the basis of scientific investigation and partially upon the traditional practices of people which have, notably in France, proved to be expedient and serviceable.

But the great advance has been made since the discovery by

Postem of the germ theory, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Applied to Birth Control, the germ theory of life gave rise to the practice of Spermatacide, the name to those preparations destined to sterilize the male cells (*spermatozoa*). But the question has often been asked: Is there a perfect or safe method of prevention of conception? Such a method should combine the following conditions: (1) It should depend exclusively upon the woman; (2) it should cause neither the man nor the woman any inconvenience; (3) it should be absolutely certain and dependable; (4) it should cost very little.

Let us answer this question at the outset. There is no magic method, no perfect method of preventing conception, that does not require care and attention. But the experience of the movement in Europe and America has shown us that this is partially due to the ignorance and inertia of the medical profession, many of whom profit largely by the practice of abortion, and many of whom do not wish to give to women a much needed education in sexual prophylaxis. Women are thus thrown back, for the source of their knowledge in these matters, upon neighbors and friends. Here they receive numbers of conflicting suggestions, each presented in an unscientific and unhygienic fashion. Altogether this is very disturbing and confusing to the poor woman whose ideas on sexual hygiene are of the most primitive, and who is living in constant fear of pregnancy.

IT IS ON account of this confusion that the best authorities in Europe and America have decided that the greatest present need is for Birth Control clinics in all of the poorer sections of our cities, where all the women may receive safe and sane instruction in all matters of personal hygiene, so that they may protect themselves from unwanted pregnancy.

Our Occidental world has come to see that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." The great weapons of prevention, in the battle against infectious and contagious diseases, are hygiene and sanitation. Contagious and infectious diseases breed and propagate their disastrous deaths in the soul of filth and overcrowding. A stifled, weakened, undernourished, dirty group of humans is the very breeding ground of the great racial scourges, such as tuberculosis, typhus, typhoid, venereal maladies, trachoma, as well as the lesser contagions. Most of these evils, or the predisposition to them (*diathesis*), are heritable; and it is precisely among the children of the crowded unsanitary filthy slums, in all parts of the world, that these great scourges are enabled to propagate and perpetuate their curse.

The western world has long professed horror at the ancient Oriental practise of exposing infants for the purpose of their destruction. But what essential difference is there between that action of starving parents in a poverty-stricken population and the annual preventable death of a quarter million infants in our enlightened republic?—FLORENCE KELLEY.

The only means of preventing, of uprooting, is by sanitation and personal hygiene, *and by reducing the birth rate among the carriers of transmissible and heritable diseases.* A great Dutch authority, Dr. Rutgers, has pointed out that personal hygiene, so essential to the well-being of the individual and the community, is practically equivalent with preventive methods of Birth Control. In answer to the contention that mechanical devices and antiseptic fluids are provocative of irritation to the mucus membranes, the same objection might be made of the hygienic care of the teeth, yet we realize that the proper care of the teeth is an absolute essential to health. Ever increasing numbers of civilized men and women today are wearing "mechanical devices" in their mouths and are daily, and even more frequently, washing out their mouths with fluids that are sometimes identical with, and often even stronger than, those employed for Birth Control. Yet such precautions are not considered "immoral" or "unnatural."

INCONVERTIBLE FIGURES and statistics, of the most definite and exact precision, drive us to the conclusion that filth, unsanitary conditions, and infectious diseases, are the inevitable companions of large families and numerous children. It is no less true that cleanliness, personal hygiene, and sanitary surroundings go hand in hand with birth control and fewer children. We also learn that these fewer and cleaner children are not so often victims of diseases that increase the infant mortality rate among the less fortunate.

It is more imperative than ever that women should now be taught the great necessity of personal hygiene and cleanliness. This is the only safe way to prevent the transmission of the venereal diseases and to avoid unwanted children.

In approaching the great problem of hygiene and sanitation through the agency of Birth Control clinics, the great advantage is that we are thus enabled to offer poor and unfortunate women immediate relief and to begin their education in sex and personal hygiene and prophylaxis upon the great fundamental basis of their own personal needs and interests; thus ours is a campaign not imposed from without or above, not a charity nor a philanthropy, but the one inevitable answer to a crying demand. It helps the woman to help herself. And more than any other scheme or program or policy for social and world betterment, it is truly *preventive* of the evils of the world. It does not make two evils grow when one grew before; but it is the only safe and certain way to eradicate social evils at their very root.

Such clinics as these, which have, as I have tried to show, so brilliantly proved their value in Holland, are of the greatest necessity to our Western civilization, even in countries like France where an effort is being made to remedy the losses of the war by repopulation. Their function would be to substitute scientific Birth Control in place of the devastating practice of abortion and that inevitable result of bringing unwanted children into the world—the high rate of infant mortality.

WHEN ONE EMINENT authority informs us that there are at least one million abortions performed every year in the United States of America, and others place the figure even higher, when even the Government of the United States points to an inordinately high death rate among children, we are able to understand that scientific Birth Control, aiming to prevent the dangers and the deaths from this cause, is truly hygienic and eugenic in its aim. While the women of the wealthy classes are permitted by their physicians to use Birth Control, the poorer women, in order to escape a forced maternity, are forced to seek relief in abortion. Despite the fact that abortion is forbidden by law in the United States, there are very few prosecutions of midwives and physicians who practice it. Moralists and authorities close their eyes to this practice, so universally practiced is it, though with great risks to life and health.

Thus the question is reduced in America not to whether family limitation should be practiced. It is practiced, by fair means or foul. It explains to a large extent the large number of maternal deaths. The problem that American society must solve is this: Shall family limitation be attained through abortion or through Birth Control? Shall normal, safe scientific methods be employed, or shall women be forced to continue to resort to dangerous, surgical operations, often performed in the most dangerous circumstances? In view of the permanent injuries that often result from abortion—hemorrhage, sepsis, tetanus, perforation of the uterus, as well in many cases of sterility, anemia, malignant diseases, displacement, neurosis, endometritis,—there can be but one logical and sane answer to these questions. As a great medical authority, Dr. Max Hirsch puts the question: "He who would combat abortion and at the same time combat Birth Control may be likened to the person who would fight contagious diseases and at the same time forbid disinfection. For contraceptive measures are important weapons in the fight against abortion. America has had since 1873 a law which prohibits by criminal statute the distribution and regulation of contraceptive measures. It follows, therefore, that America stands at the head of all nations in the huge number of abortions."

INFANTICIDE AND ABANDONMENT are likewise the result of the present enforced restrictions. Orphan asylums, organized charities, foundling homes, are becoming a great and greater drain upon the resources of the American public; while practically nothing is done to check the fertility of the feeble-minded and the insane. Not merely from the standpoint of personal and family hygiene, but from that of the well-being of the nation, Birth Control is an imperative necessity at the present moment.

From the point of view of the coming generation, that is of the future of the nation and the race, the practice of Birth Control more than justifies itself. In every country of

(Continued on page 15)

The reward of a thing well done is to have done it.—EMERSON.

General O'Ryan on Over-Population

Extract from Major General John F. O'Ryan's Speech on Disarmament Made Before the Woman's Pro-League Council on May 25th.

OF ALL THE circumstances, however, which involve man in dissatisfaction with his normal peace-time existence, there is perhaps none which exercises so great an influence as over-population. The population of the world has been increasing by leaps and bounds. These great increases vitally affect the life of the individual. They may change completely not only the material environment of great groups of individuals, but may indirectly change with completeness their psychology, their happiness, their moral viewpoint. In a recent drive for funds to save people in China from the effects of famine it was announced that a stated number of millions of them would be dead from starvation in six months' time. As a result of the conditions in connection with their numbers, it was preordained that this number must die. In the Near East Relief movement the American workers with supplies available for a given percentage of the population, reported that they had to call upon mothers having several children to designate the children to die and those to be saved by feeding; that to attempt to save all would result in preserving the lives of all for a few months, when all would begin to starve and ultimately all would die through lack of food to carry them over the critical period. Do you think that the parents among a nation living under conditions that made it a matter of orderly procedure to call upon them to make such decision, can be normal minded people? Do you think they are people who would permit themselves to be restrained by the terms of any agreement which stood in the way of their relief?

EVEN IN AMERICA there is much to criticize in relation to the population; and it is the quality and numbers of the population which, I am pointing out, so vitally affect the question of the abolition of war by international agreement.

"Immigrants or their children constitute the majority of workers employed in many of our industries. 'Seven out of ten of those who work in our iron and steel industries are drawn from this class,' says the National Geographic Magazine (February 1917) 'seven out of ten of our bituminous coal miners belong to it. Three out of four who work in packing towns were born abroad or are children of those who were born abroad; four out of five of those who make our silk goods, seven out of eight of those who are employed in woolen mills, nine out of ten of those who refine our petroleum, and nineteen out of twenty of those who manufacture our sugar are immigrants or the children of immigrants.' And it might have shown a similarly high percentage of those in the ready made clothing industries, railway and public works construction of the less skilled sort, and a number of others.

"That these foreigners who have come in hordes have brought with them their ignorance of hygiene and modern ways of living and that they are handicapped by religious superstitions is only too true. But they also bring in their hearts a desire for freedom from all the tyrannies that afflict the earth. They would not be here if they did not bear within them the hardihood of pioneers, a courage of no mean order. They have the simple faith that in America they will find equality, liberty and an opportunity for a decent livelihood. And they have something else. The cell plasms of these people are freighted with the potentialities of the best in Old World civilization. They come from lands rich in the traditions of courage, of art, music, letters, science and philosophy. Americans no longer consider themselves cultured unless they have journeyed to these lands to find access to the treasures created by men and women of this same blood. The immigrant brings the possibilities of all these things to our shores, but where is the opportunity to reproduce in the New World the cultures of the old?

WHAT OPPORTUNITIES have we given to these people to enrich our civilization? We have greeted them as 'a lot of ignorant foreigners,' we have shouted at, hustled and kicked them. Our industries have taken advantage of their ignorance of the country's ways to take their toil in mills and mines and factories at starving wages. We have herded them in slums to become diseased, to become social burdens or to die. We have huddled them together like rabbits to multiply their numbers and their misery. Instead of saying that we Americanize them, we should confess that we animalize them. The only freedom we seem to have given them is the freedom to make heavier and more secure their chains. What hope is there for racial progress in this human material, treated more carelessly and brutally than the cheapest factory product?" (Woman and the New Race—Margaret Sanger.)

It is usually the country with a high birth rate and resulting over-population of territory that endangers the peace of neighbors and brings war. We know that Germany's main reason for attempting conquest was territory for her expanding population. France, with a low birth rate, did not want war. The urge was lacking. The countries of Europe which have remained more or less continuously out of war, the so-called neutral countries—Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland—have low birth rates.

The importance of population in its relation to the practicability of avoiding war can hardly be over-estimated. Its

(Concluded on page 15)

The only reward of virtue is virtue; the only way to have a friend is to be one.—EMERSON.

The Wrong End

By Florence Guertin Tuttle

THE OTHER NIGHT I had dinner with twenty-six Sinners and one Saint. The writer was not the Saint. The Saint was Rose George, the gracious guardian of a Home for Delinquent Girls. The twenty-six sinners were the inmates of this Home, girls pitifully young, and some of them winsome, even as girls who had not "gone wrong."

A chance remark of Miss George's had taken me to the Home. "All my life," she had said, "I have been working for charitable institutions. I find now that I have been working from the *wrong end*. Organized charity is but a panacea, not a preventative. Now I am with you people heart and soul," (the Birth Control Board) "because I believe that you are working from the right end. You are working from the beginning, from fundamentals. You women are going to the roots of the matter, and you must cry from the housetops until you make society listen and understand."

I wish I could make you see Rose George. I am not sentimental. I dislike "slush." But to look at Miss George is to think of the homing dove. It is not alone the Quaker gentleness of her, the soft grey of her hair, the pink of her cheeks, nor the tender light of her eyes, but also it is the radiant iridescence that surrounds her like a halo and that springs from a sympathetic, understanding spirit. Miss George is a great lover of humanity, with the home-making instinct strongly developed. She believes that if wayward girls can be given the sanctity of a home-nest for a period they will get strength enough to fly straight on their next flight.

"Every girl here has a story within her," she said to me in her cosy study in this true home overlooking the East River. "Some of these stories contain plots for novels or the screen. Take Faustine, for instance. Faustine was born in Armenia. Her mother was massacred by the Turks before the child's eyes. Her father, a teacher, used Faustine for wrong purposes. Her health, and what is worse, her mind, have been incalculably injured. In consequence, she is over-sexed, but so intelligent, so able mentally and aspiring that she towers above the other girls in education and refinement. I will speak to Faustine at dinner so you can see her interesting face."

WE ATE BELOW in the basement, a room with the hall partition removed. The walls bore a pretty white and blue paper. The chairs had been painted blue and white by the girls. The mantle bore a blue and white Della Robbia placque. A group of sub-debs could not have wished for a more dainty dining hall. When the gong sounded the girls filed down the open staircase into the dining room. Many of them came from work, holding positions outside. But most of them could not work yet for they were waiting that greatest

event in the life of a woman—the miracle of the advent of a child. Perhaps half a dozen were already child-mothers, the fatherless babies being carefully cared for in the nursery on the third floor.

Miss George waited for quiet and said a simple blessing. Was it the power of her own pure spirit? No cloistered, rose-windowed cathedral had ever made me feel so religious. "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." I felt one with these "wayward" girls, even as Rose George felt one. Only the accident of birth and environment prevented the possibility of my being in their places. The point was to make them feel one with me.

"Faustine, how did you get on at the Library today?" Miss George inquired.

"Very well, Miss George, but we were extremely busy. We are re-cataloguing the books."

How could I gain the attention and confidence of these girls, all more or less on their guard against me?

"When I visited the Pope, a few weeks ago," I began. Every knife and fork dropped. Every head was turned towards the visitor's table. Encouraged by Miss George's sympathetic "Tell the girls about it," I told them of our visit in Rome; of the wonders of the Vatican—the brilliant uniforms of the Swiss Guards, the priceless tapestries, paintings, frescoes and jewels, presented to various Popes, and finally of the small, sad-faced "Holy Father" himself who had felt so keenly the sufferings of his people that he had vainly tried to stop the great war. After that the ice was broken, the atmosphere began to thaw, and I did not feel like an alien at the feast.

And how delicious the dinner was! A nourishing soup, baked liver, smothered in vegetables, fruit punch for dessert, and enough for two helpings for every one! The entire meal had been served by the girls.

THE GIRL WHO served at our table wore a pink gingham apron over her frock and a startling pink make-up over her features. But bleached hair, rouged cheeks and lips could not hide a pallor, beneath, abnormal and ghastly. When I asked Miss George the cause, she replied in one word—"dope."

The faces of these girls would have invited the study of a psychologist. Most of them were heavy and many were mentally defective. The curse of a crowded environment, the inheritance of bad blood, laid an iron brand upon them. Dorothy, on my left was an exception. Dorothy was eighteen, with brown eyes, bobbed hair and quick bird-like movements. Dorothy's features would have screened well. But it was her temperament that was most arresting. Her eager, inquiring

(Continued on page 14)

Men are better than their theology.—EMERSON.

The Hidden Queen

A SATIRE IN ONE ACT*

By Harold Hersey

THE PERSONS IN THE PLAY

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.

DAGOBERT, Secretary and Guardian of the Final Doorway.

MALAGIGI, Jongleur and outrageous Dwarf.

RINALDO

NAMO

SALOMON

TURPIN

ASTOLPHO

FLORISMART

GANELON

ORLANDO

OGIER

} Representatives of Labor.

} Representatives of the Middle Class.

} Representatives of the Capitalists.

Note.—Only three men take these parts as they appear in the order named and separately.

SCENE:—The inner throne room of the Hidden City in the Impossible Mountains.

TIME:—Dusk.

SCENE:—As the curtain rises the audience looks upon the inner throne room of the Hidden Kingdom. The people of this country dwell in one of the many lost valleys of the world among the Impossible Mountains. Each end of the valley is guarded by a wall five hundred feet high, one hundred feet thick, and pierced by a single tunnel, or gate. The outside of these walls are camouflaged with century old trees and brushwood. The subjects of the Hidden Queen have considered themselves sufficient unto themselves and in consequence have not felt it necessary to open the gates for countless generations. Nevertheless the descendants of the the original wardens of the gates hold the same sinecures. Twice already have there been movements to oust Mulleres at the West gate, and Mustaphson at the East gate—both movements ending in failure because of the older classes who believed in custom.

There are two windows or doors in the throne chamber. The walls are hung with gray blue hangings, draped with panel effect in a semicircular fashion. The floor is covered with a rug designed after the delirious dreams of some mad poet. It is probably an heirloom of a Persian master in the early centuries, but this is doubtful and I hesitate to accept the word of the rather talkative Court Chamberlain as to the authenticity of the various *objets d'art* in the palace.

The throne is seen about half-way to the right of the stage. It consists of hammered bronze, a single set of broad stairs leading to the plain, easy chair at the top. Reclining therein is a magnificently gowned woman of middle age, shielding her eyes from the only light—a tall candelabra of marvelous de-

sign and priceless value. It is built in the form of two snakes twined together in the last ecstasies of love, their heads constituting the positive and negative poles for the sending of currents through one globe of electric light. The light is screened after the overhead fashion—that is, resting in the bottom of a bowl.

When she appears the audience is aware of an exquisite weariness. It is evident also, that she has experienced all the sensations possible to the flesh and spirit, and nothing can ever transpire to raise her from this lethargy of will. She has laid aside an enormous fan and is toying with a necklace of jade with slow movement of the wrist rather than the arm—endeavoring to keep her eyes shaded at the same time. Finally she drops the necklace and sighs.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(After brief silence she reaches up and suddenly pulls a silken cord at her right. The sharp sound of a gong is heard off stage. Almost instantly a man appears between the folds of the draperies. He is wearing a breastplate, a helmet and carrying a heavy, double-edged sword. At his side hangs a large portfolio and a CORONA typewriter. Over one ear may be seen a rather conspicuously large fountain pen. He casts himself before her beating his head against the bottom step.)—Arise! You may speak to me, Dagobert. I am weary this evening.

(He obeys her, gradually crawling to his feet, sighing as though affected by the majesty of her presence.)

Dagobert, is there nothing that will amuse me?

DAGOBERT.—(Pulling some official papers out of his portfolio.) O Mighty One! I have here the reports of the Wise Men's committee concerning the various poisons that you so shrewdly ordered investigated.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(Leaning forward as though interested.) Proceed, faithful Dagobert! I am no longer indifferent. I am enthralled. But first,—tell me, did they decide upon the merits of the beautiful Fox Glove?

DAGOBERT.—Aye, your Highness, that they did. As you know, all parts of this plant are poisonous and they grow wild everywhere in the Impossible Mountains. The Wise Men (*he refers to his papers*), the Wise Men report that they experimented with Colivarus, the slave lad who offended Your Highness at one time with some very crude verses addressed to your hands.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(Holding one hand gracefully before her shaded eyes.) Ah, yes, I recall the case. He failed to sing to the unusual tapering qualities of my hands. I refuse to be considered with other women.

DAGOBERT.—Yes, a most serious transgression, and his death would have delighted Your Highness. He nibbled at the

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Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm.—EMERSON.

poison and was soon stretched in grotesque agony upon the ground. His turnings, and twistings, and contortions would amuse your lovely mind. Enough. It was successful.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Animated*) And did they experiment with the seeds of that East Indian tree which appear like jewels in the form of crystals? When partaking of these, does the victim remain conscious to the end, in terrible agony?

DAGOBERT.—Verily, it is so, and it was tested upon one Turusian, the theorist who still contends that men are good at heart. It must have been a beautiful sight.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*More animated*) And did they try the deadly Nightshade? Oh, how I love its plant with the purplish blue blossoms and shining black berries. And the Meadow-Saffron with its rose colored flowers not unlike the crocus? Ugh, but I hate its odor.

DAGOBERT.—Verily, again, O Untamable Daughter of the Gods. They fed these poisons to some amateur musicians and a knot of peculiar worshippers who call themselves Neo-Christians. This sect is pernicious because it is ever interfering with other peoples' affairs. It is developing a new disease of a social variety called Moralism. We are proceeding against it whole-heartedly.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—And what of the Hemlock with its darkened power, which produces a kind of paralysis? And Henbane—the hairy, sticky little affair with large, deeply indented leaves, the blossoms with a yellowish hue with violet tinted veins? How beautiful it appears and yet how terrible its secret!

DAGOBERT.—Verily, again, the report is exact. This brings their latest experiments to an end pursuant to your Great Highness' exact wishes. They tried the last named upon Madurpsus, the critic. You will doubtless recall that he was the one who was commanded to speak before the Academy of Immortals and who requested the state authorities not to disturb him as he was busily engaged in torturing a young maiden for inspiration.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—I am the only one holding the power of torture. But Dagobert, is that all to amuse me? (*Dagobert stands abashed.*) It is seldom that you fail me. (*Starts forward as though suddenly possessed with an idea.*) Why not take my jewels and dispose of them? It will give me a fresh thrill to part with my most precious heirlooms. . . The hours are tedious, Dagobert. Last night I went upon the balcony and looked at the city lying sleeping stretched in slumber before me and I wept. That is my soul, Dagobert, a sleeping city of a thousand, thousand ideas.

DAGOBERT.—Your wish is my law, O Heavenly Mistress of the Moon, even unto the destruction of the world.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—You will go to the treasure room of my ancestors and break open all the boxes. Take the collar of Opals that glisten each like a separate star and cast them into the night one by one. . . You will take the crown of my fathers. . . the Amethysts of my insane mother. . . the

Topazes that are as subtle as fancy. . . the Rubies that blush like virgins in moments of ecstasy. . . the Onyxes from the Forbidden Lands . . . the Moonstones for whose mystery I have long gathered awe and veneration. . . and all the Sapphires of the Sun . . . together with the wrought-gold ornaments, the lumps of gold and every precious thing therein. . . and you will take these and let me see. . . yea, Dagobert, I have devised a new thrill. . . cast them down to the prisoners who are encased for life in the wooden boxes under the palace. It will add insult to injury.

DAGOBERT.—Verily, be it so, Oh Majesty! (*He bows low and leaves the room through another opening between the hangings. It is noticed that whenever he leaves or enters, he makes use of a different fold. This, upon order of the Queen who does not wish to be bored with the sight of one ever using the same portal.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Thinking*) Ah, that is done. Now I may sit in silence and contemplate the sensations of the prisoners when they receive the jewels I have sent them to play with. (*There is a loud rapping heard under the throne. The Queen smiles but stamps her foot.*) Be still, Malagigi, I shall see thee later. (*She resumes her thoughts.*) Poor Dagobert, I do hope he contracts none of the hideous diseases and filth that are so rampart in my dungeons. (*She seems worried for a moment but immediately relaxes.*) But what a fool he is, here he has been in love with me for twenty years and to this hour dares not declare it. (*She relaxes behind the shade of her slender hand.*)

DAGOBERT.—(*Entering softly and casting himself at her feet.*) All has been done as you wished, only that I have to report that Arminius the philosopher, cursed in his box and reached for my throat with a withered hand as though he would like to choke me.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—And well he might, Dagobert, insofar as he has been incarcerated there for five years. I shall never forgive him for his book that so absolutely proved that beauty has no place in what he called a "practical workaday world." He shall stay there until he recants.

DAGOBERT.—That he will never do, being a vindictive man.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—O, that the believers in beauty were as vindictive and could prove their philosophies so ably! I might have almost loved Arminius had he been only just slightly mad.

DAGOBERT.—(*Bowing again*) O Lady of Light, thy love is too exalted for such a crab as he.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Why?

DAGOBERT.—(*As though surprised*) Why? A question like this when thou art ever more lovely than all the lovely women of all times . . . thou, the daughter of light whom I have compared in many stanzas of verse to Helen of Troy, Iseult, Juliet, Cleopatra, Francesca, Thisbe, Angelica, Guenevere, Aloyone, Hero, Dido . . .

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Waving her free hand*) Do not read

Shallow men believe in luck.—EMERSON.

me thy verses tonight, Dagobert. I am in a critical turn of mind and wish to contemplate upon the sensations of Arminius as he looks over the jewels I sent to him with much affection. They will do him so much good down there in that stuffy, narrow box in which he can neither stand, sit nor lie.

DAGOBERT.—(*Hesitatingly*) But, O Lady of the Roses, I have to report bad news . . . the representatives of labor await outside in the upper corridor. They have an exact appointment with Your Highness near this moment.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Why must they disturb me? Nay, I suppose I must forever be pestered with these interviews of one kind or another. Bring them in, Dagobert, but interrupt me within five minutes that I may rid myself of their hated presence. They have already destroyed my contemplation of the state of mind of Arminius.

DAGOBERT.—Verily be it so, O Lonely Flower. (*Exits. Returns almost immediately with Rinaldo, Namo and Salomon. Rinaldo is dressed as a farmer and carries a rake; Namo as a machinist or general type of manual laborer, and Salomon is a miner carrying a pick. They bow very low, knocking their heads against the floor in strict unison.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Sinking back in a still more bored fashion*) Well, . . . and why do you disturb me?

RINALDO, NAMO and SALOMON.—(*Speaking in chorus as one—quite loudly and pompously*) We have come, O Queen of the Hidden City, to present pleas that our conditions of life be bettered.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Yes, yes . . . and what about them?

CHORUS.—Our families have been starving, O Glittering One! They were torn by poverty, destroyed by fire, and they died with sickness until we formed unions and fought back. But we wage a losing battle, O Just Mind. It is not only that we pay exorbitant prices for food, but we are without credit in a city of riches. The soldiers shoot us down in the streets. The rich ride over our children in their high powered cars. They find ways to rid themselves of our leaders by chicanery and dishonesty. They despise us as the dirt under their feet. We plead for the aid of thy divine strength and power. We work wretched long hours. We receive indifferent pay. We have few pleasures. We are considered the scum of the earth and yet we do all the real work.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Manual labor, my friends, is not the real work. Any machine can perform what all of you do today. Don't develop egos beyond your truthful selves.

CHORUS.—But, O Far-Reaching One, we—

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—I hear stories like these every day. I have reports from my advisers that you are really getting more money than you deserve. If this continues I shall instruct the Academy of Science to install machinery everywhere and eliminate the laboring class entirely. The real workers, my friends, are the creators.

CHORUS.—Yes, O Magnificent Queen, but—

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Return to your work; I will do what I can for you.

DAGOBERT.—(*Very slowly and pompously*) The interview is at an end.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Bowing her head and shielding her eyes more effectively as the labor representatives bow and go out*) I will do what I can for you, never fear, but I am growing weary of my peoples' selfishness.

CHORUS.—(*Outside in singing fashion*) The gods' blessing upon our kind Queen's head. (*They are heard repeating this down the corridors until quiet reigns.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Are there any more appointments?

DAGOBERT.—Another, O Glorious Sunflower, and I, thy faithful servant am hesitant in naming it—the representatives of the middle class awaiting in the onyx chamber, desire audience with thee.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—What! The butchers, the barbers, the undertakers and all the crew of petty tradesmen and clerks and salesmen and fanatics . . . Bring them in, Dagobert, and get it over quickly.

(*Dagobert exits and returns with Turpin, Astolpho and Florismart. Turpin is dressed as a butcher with bloody white apron and heavy knife; Astolpho and Florismart as successful merchants dressed respectably and offensively well.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—What do you desire? Speak quickly. (*She leans forward and looks at them closely, shielding her eyes.*)

TURPIN, ASTOLPHO and FLORISMART.—(*Speaking in chorus throughout and with much fervor*) O, Your Mightiness, we shall not be long. We are but the humble servants of the government in thy hands. We wish peace on earth and good will to men. We have to report dire things. The mercenaries destroy our places of business. Their officers refuse to pay their accounts long overdue. The courts are slow in granting justice. The governors are corrupt.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Be patient men of the middle class. You are usually cowardly and afraid of your own shadows. Does not your faith give you strength in these difficult times?

CHORUS.—Yea, verily, O Understanding One, but we are in sad straits and even our prophets fail us. The currency is sadly inflated; the markets are tumbling. We cannot buy and sell goods of the same quality as of old. The laboring man is restless and refuses to work. He is ever on a strike. The big fellows get it all—the laborer receives better pay and shorter hours. Our profits shrink and our responsibilities increase. But we don't want trouble, we want peace and quiet.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Yea, every time trouble arrives you good citizens stay indoors. You want peace and profits without the risks. And the restless ones are out in the streets, breaking windows and causing disturbances, filling the night with hideous clamor. It is high time we rearranged the classes.

CHORUS.—But—

Self trust is the first secret of success.—EMERSON

DAGOBERT.—(*Pompously and slowly*) The audience is at an end.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—I will do what I can . . . tell all that I love my people.

CHORUS.—(*Outside and down corridors*) The gods' blessing upon our kind Queen's head.

DAGOBERT.—(*Referring to papers and marking them with fountain pen*) I hesitate, O Cherished Jewel of the Mists, to interrupt again, but the representatives of the capitalists and rich classes await without in the circular chamber.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Quite wearily*) Show them in, Dagobert. Are they the last? (*Suddenly animated*) But did you note that the faces of the last men were strangely like those of the laborers?

DAGOBERT.—I did, O Your Majesty, and I wondered.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Watch those who enter very closely, my eyes pain me tonight.

(*Dagobert exits and returns with Ganelon, Orlando and Ogier . . . three richly dressed men of the proprietary class as evidenced by their top hats, frock coats, gloves and canes. They speak very distinctly and with much dignity.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Leaning over and looking at them closely*) Rise gentlemen and step directly under the light. (*They do so and it is seen that they are the same men who came in as representatives of labor and the middle classes. They are evidently unconscious of the farce.*) Ah! my good sirs, proceed. (*She leans back and looks pointedly at Dagobert.*) I am much wearied this night with plenty of talk and little inspiration.

GANELON, ORLANDO and OGIER.—(*In chorus*) Mighty Princess of the Cherished Gods, we come to address thee upon weighty and serious subjects. The very structure of the kingdom is tumbling and unless strict measures are taken we doubt whether we will be able to continue in power. Perhaps a revolution . . .

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Clapping her hands*) O, have my people that much courage? (*Sinks back wearily again, shielding her eyes.*) No, I doubt whether they have courage for anything except business.

CHORUS.—(*Stepping back surprised*) But Your Highness—

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Proceed, I was thinking of other matters of no consequence.

CHORUS.—We have shot down the strikers in the streets. We have tried to starve them in the mines. We have had lockouts. Then we tried the plan of raising their pay, but still they are unsettled. We shortened their hours with like results. The middle classes are rapidly usurping our rights by dividing the power. The stock market is crashing into chaos. We find it difficult to advertise and sell our products on large scales. We are afraid, O Mighty Queen, that the times are changing.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—The people do seem unhappy. Can you suggest any remedy?

CHORUS.—Yea . . . if the laboring class will only attend to

its work and be content, and if the middle class will mind its own affairs and stop endeavoring to break into society, perhaps . . .

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Ah . . .

DAGOBERT.—(*Slowly and pompously*) The audience is over.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—I will do what I can. (*The representatives bow and depart.*) I love my people.

CHORUS.—(*Outside—their voices dying down the corridors*) The gods' blessing on our good Queen's head.

DAGOBERT.—That was the last audience this night, O Magnificent Queen!

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—They were the same men—did you notice, Dagobert?

DAGOBERT.—Verily, yes, O Mysterious Radiance of the Night. They were the same men in different clothing, that was all. It has puzzled me. I find nothing to help me in the writings of our philosophers or lawmakers.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—They do not know, Dagobert. Many vistas are open to me now. One question dangles before my eyes . . . Why did none of these representatives mention beauty or art? Have they not heard of impractical things?

DAGOBERT.—They are but interested in living—eating, sleeping, raising their families and growing prosperous.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Shuddering*) The time has come to bring their battles to an end. But first tell me, Dagobert, is Mullares at the Western Gate, and Mustaphson at the Eastern gate?

DAGOBERT.—(*Consulting some papers in his portfolio*) They are, O Generous One. I have the report of the daily inspectors.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Likewise, I must know if the transparent lake at the crest of the Impossible Mountains is ready for any emergency.

DAGOBERT.—It is, Merciful Goddess. And the flood gates are locked under the ancient combination of which I am the only custodian, the secret numerals and their arrangement having been handed down to me from my father, from his father, and from his . . .

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Obviously bored*) Yes, yes. The main point is, Dagobert, I am greatly alarmed over the endless wars of my people among themselves. We have had many audiences and plans and methods to save the world for this or that, but the struggle continues endlessly, monotonously. If I divide the wealth as the laborer desires, all incentive for ambition will be removed as my people frown upon beautiful things and their creative dreamers have always been burned at the stake or flayed alive. Likewise, a division of capital means the ultimate gaining of it again by the rich. If I give the wealth to the middle classes they will spend it on chromos, lithographs, horsehair sofas, phonographs, player pianos, cheap automobiles and all the ridiculous spendings of unimaginative dullards. In addition, they will use the money endeavoring to get into society. The rich already have it, and as

Nothing can bring you peace but yourself.—EMERSON.

without exception our rich people are half idiots and incompetents, there is no hope there.

DAGOBERT.—What can be done, O Star of Wisdom?

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—You shall go up now and let loose the waters of the lake.

DAGOBERT.—(*Casting himself at her feet*) O Loveliest Ruler of the Centuries, I am not the one to disobey but I beg mercy from thy hands. It means my death and there will be no one left that can be trusted by the Imperial family.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Removing her hand from her eyes for the first time*) Is Dagobert a coward?

DAGOBERT.—(*Cringing but standing erect after some hesitation*) Nay.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Then do as I direct. You will have every palace attendant, guard, councilor and slave, go down into the city that lies below the palace gardens. You will tell Mullares and Mustaphson to throw their eyes into one of the city lakes and die at their posts as the waters rise. You will lock the palace gates as you return and then go up the hidden passage beneath this very room, and open the floodgates. It will cause your death because the only way they can be opened is by a member of your family standing directly in the path of the onrushing waters. (*Dagobert is seen to tremble.*) But patriotism should carry you on as it has thousands of others in the past.

DAGOBERT.—(*Starts to go*) Verily be it so, I cannot refuse such a command.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Wait, O Dagobert, you may kiss me upon the middle toe of the left foot.

DAGOBERT.—(*Returning to the throne and kissing loudly the naked foot of the queen which she extends from under the folds of her gown. She is wearing sandals. There is evidence of Dagobert's hopeless affection by his actions but after some hesitation he goes hurriedly away upon his knightly task.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*After he has gone*) A fine soldier but somewhat sentimental. (*She rises and pulls back a fold of the hangings and looks out upon her city.*) My children are sleeping. Here and there lights shine, perhaps the meeting places of revellers . . . Poor children, they are so helpless. (*She returns to her throne in response to loud knockings from below.*) Maligigi, yes, you may come up at once. (*Stepping back she resumes her seat and shades her eyes as a trapdoor opens near her and an outrageous dwarf comes up and closes it behind him.*)

MALAGIGI.—It was getting stuffy down there. Is my Queen of Ancient Wisdom and Imperishable Beauty, happy tonight? (*Laughs down deeply in his throat.*)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—I am, Malagigi. It is so good to hear the sound of your voice after listening to the inane compliments of Dagobert all evening long. And the representatives of my people—what bores—more so, even, than the people themselves. But, Malagigi, I have settled their affairs for them. Dagobert is now on his way up the hidden passage to open

the gates of the transparent lake at the crest of the Impossible Mountains. As his body is washed down the passageway it will bring freedom and happiness to all my people for by morning they will be drowned like rats in the hold of a sinking ship.

MALAGIGI.—(*Thinking deeply*) And what of us, my One Love, whom I shall never fully understand?

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Ah, Malagigi, we shall leave with the morrow and go up the twisted path that leads away from the palace—a secret many generations hidden in the hearts of my family for an hour of emergency, and we shall found another kingdom beyond the Impossible Mountains.

MALAGIGI.—I understand, Unusual One, that it is much easier to found a new religion. Why couldn't we take the ideas of these new believers in our midst—I think they call them Neo-Christians and I will write some sort of message, or myth for the purpose, and then we will go down into the outer world and capitalize it.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—Good! I weary of such things as freedom, especially as we have talked about it here until we almost expected it to make a living for us, and I think some such religion as this will keep us interested and give us all the slaves we need to do our will.

MALAGIGI.—(*Listening*) I think I hear the roar of many waters.

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Rising and looking out of the folds in the draperies over the sleeping city*) Yea, verily, Malagigi my lover. It is true. (*There is silence for a moment, then the growing sound of distant, rushing waters that finally fill the entire room with its echoes to the extinguishing of every other sound. . . The Queen and Malagigi continue looking out of the folds with utter equanimity until after a moment there is again complete silence.*)

MALAGIGI.—It is over. A lake lies at your doorstep, My Inspiration and Life. A lake of blue and green and purple that conceals the deed of thy small hands. (*He takes one of them and presses his forehead against it.*) Such small, white hands, My Queen, with the strength of a people behind them—what am I but a poor poet, or Jongleur, as you will. I have done nothing toward saving the world?

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—(*Melting visibly*) But Malagigi, I have loved thee better than the world and I have sacrificed it that we may go hence and find another world to our liking. If I had married thee one of my attendants would have stabbed me in my sleep as he did my weak-minded grandfather who dared to espouse his cook once long ago. And then, as I am the last of my family save my now dead insane mother, they would have set up a republic and that would have been hideous. (*Both the Queen and Malagigi shudder at the thought.*) But now Malagigi you may kiss me upon my lips as we are alone.

(*Malagigi reaches out his hideously long arms and draws the Queen to him, kissing her upon the lips with dramatic*

(*Concluded on page 15*)

Life is not so short but that there is always time enough for courtesy.—EMERSON.

THE WRONG END

(Continued from page 8)

nature seemed to reach out arms to hold one. The only way to get rid of Dorothy was to make a friend of her. She made a friend that night, which her history related later by Miss George, only served to bind closer.

After dinner we went upstairs to the home-like sitting-room overlooking the river. Miss George read a Psalm simply as one would read good poetry. The note of the Psalm was "Rejoice."

"Now we'll read something from one of the modern Bibles that are constantly being written," she announced, and she read from one of Olive Schreiner's great Parables—"Three Dreams in a Desert."

A short human prayer followed, with all of us on our knees.

"Now we'll sing our guest's favorite hymn" she announced. But by that time the guest was so moved by the simplicity and beauty of this home-time service that she could not remember her favorite hymn—not even the one she wanted sung at her funeral! But Miss George stepped into the breach and suggested a hymn and we sang something gay and conquering, not mournful or depressing.

"WOULD YOU LIKE to go up and see our babies now?"

Miss George asked with her arm around one of the girls. There was great whispering and finally one of them said "Can't Faustine play for the lady first?" I said I would be delighted to listen and settled myself back comfortably, resigned to hearing the usual mechanical amateur render the usual popular melody.

Without further urging Faustine stepped to the piano and ran her fingers lightly over the keys. It was like feeling a velvet electric current when you had expected to be scratched. Then she played Grieg, softly and wistfully, and with a practised technique. But there was something more than technique in Faustine's playing. The anguish in her eyes flowed out at the end of her finger-tips and vibrated through the room.

Half dazed by swiftly following impressions, I felt the girls lead me upstairs to the nursery.

In certain countries in Europe where feminism is advanced, there is no such thing as an "illegitimate baby." A child, once born is legitimate and the father is obliged by law to contribute to its support.

In this river home there is no such thing as an "illegitimate baby." A child is a child and treated with tender care. As for the girl mothers—no royal heirs, could have been exhibited more lovingly than these six nameless waifs of humanity were shown to me. In little white cribs they slept or gurgled. According to Holt they were being reared and tended. And twenty-six girls gave them homage and affection after the age-long habit of the way of a maid with a babe.

"Isabel, tell Jackie to stand up in his crib to show how tall he is" Miss George suggested. Isabel was a better dressed

girl than the others, with a frock cut lower behind and in front than the collarless smock called for. She bent an elaborately coiffed head over a beautiful boy of one year, with clear blue eyes and clustering curls. Jackie clung vociferously to the crib, but Isabel wilted. The strong fond arms of Miss George went around her, and Isabel sobbed some unknown bitterness from her spirit on the sympathetic shoulder of this understanding saint.

IN THE PRIVACY of her study, later, Miss George told me Isabel's story. A married man in the West had betrayed her. She came East—was working in a shop and living in Miss George's Dove-nest (I can never again call it a Delinquent Girls' Home) until Teresa had beguiled her. Teresa had recently come to the home, a tall, showy girl, dominating in spirit and a born trouble maker. Teresa had persuaded Isabel to run away from the dove-nest with her. She had stayed away two days—then the thought of the baby had drawn her back. The scene I had witnessed was the prodigal's confession of repentance and joy at being returned to the flock.

"Tell me about Dorothy," I requested.

"Dorothy ran away from home when she was sixteen," Miss George replied. "The home conditions were bad. Too many babies, too little food; a cross-tempered mother, an over-burdened father drove her to it. For one year she lived the life of a girl of the streets. Some nights she made"—never mind the sum. It made a minimum wage for girls look pale. One night she met a man who had some manliness left in him.

"I'm all in," she told him as they sat at supper somewhere, "I can't go on in this life any longer."

"Do you mean it, kid?" he asked. "Do you want to go straight?"

"Sure," she replied. "It's that or the river. I'm sick and would rather die than live."

"Then I know the place for you." And he brought her here, and left her, a foundling of sixteen, on my door step."

She did not tell me the rest, but I divined it—that the wise and tender guardian of the dove-nest was making a woman of Dorothy. (Dorothy has given up her place in the tea-room and is now studying to be a trained nurse.)

"What can I say." I cried impotently. "What can I do to help this gigantic problem?"

"Just tell the truth," she replied simply, "that society is working from the wrong end; that social workers are all dipping out the ocean with a teaspoon, until they begin to clean up the slums and regulate the population. Tell your readers that prostitution and crime are, primarily the problem of the badly born. These girls, most of them, have a bad inheritance and a bad environment. The chances are ten to one against them before they are born. They are weeds from society's rank and over-crowded patches. A large percentage of prostitutes are mental defectives who should never have been

(Concluded on page 15)

We boil at different degrees.—EMERSON.

BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 6)

Europe and America in which investigations have been made, it has been shown that children born into large families have less chance of survival, of becoming the men and women of tomorrow, than the children born into small families. It has been discovered that children should be spaced out. If a woman submits to a rapid and successive series of pregnancies without a sufficient interval between to recuperate and recover her strength, her weakened constitution and physical debility react unfavorably upon her children. Even from the economic point of view, the large family is more apt to be underfed and undernourished. In the creation of a great new race, the first essential is the development of strong healthy mothers.

It is not merely theory, but carefully tested facts, which indicate for us the close interrelationship between uncontrolled fecundity and misery. The salary of the worker is not apportioned according to the number of mouths he has to feed. One more child in the family is an added burden to the shoulders of all. To keep up the home, the father and mother are forced to work harder. The elder children are forced out to work also at a much earlier age. The home becomes more and more neglected, and the younger children are more and more neglected, particularly as they come into the world as the penalty of ignorance. It is from such families as these that we recruit our dependent classes, our paupers and our criminals, who fill the various institutions or are the endless subjects of charities—thus consuming wealth that should go to the enhancement and advancement of human life.

(To be concluded in the next issue.)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN

(Concluded from page 13)

flourish, while she relaxes and trembles. There is silence for a moment and then he sits down with her upon the top step of the throne dias holding her in his arms. She is quite ridiculously happy.)

THE HIDDEN QUEEN.—*(Cooing)* Wilt my dearie tell his dearie a fairy story, or other delightful tale, for ah me, I already dread that the morrow will be like today.

MALAGICI.—There is a tale that has come down to me from many centuries, it is of a Queen who ruled the subjects of a Hidden City. Her people were bourgeois, successful tradesmen and politicians. The sight of them finally wearied her to the point of tears, and she ordered their representatives banished from her sight because they did not believe in beauty as such. Then she commanded one of her arch-slaves to drown them that they might be released from all thoughts of profit and loss and after she *(pauses as she looks adoringly up in his face)* and she . . . *(pauses again)*

(And curtain slowly falls, the Queen waiting upon his next sentence as though entranced.)

Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it.—EMERSON.

THE WRONG END

(Concluded from page 14)

brought into the world. Charity can't solve this problem. It's a matter for the scientist, and the Eugenist. It's a matter for the statistician, the tax payer and the mathematician. It's a matter for women most of all, to dignify Motherhood, to reduce infant mortality, and stop the feeding of charitable institutions by the animal repetition of the unwanted children of the slums."

I DON'T LIKE BEING out alone at night. But that night I forgot to call a taxi, forgot that I was alone. My thoughts were more than company as I walked twenty-five blocks through East Side city streets.

The wrong end! How absurdly true it was. Billions for preservation of the unfit and not one cent for prevention. Hundreds of institutions for abnormal children and not one life-saving station to give light to a tired diseased woman who knew herself unfit to bear a normal child.

I was going back to the upper zone of the city where families had long been regulated, and where children, like flowers in a cultivated garden, were given light and air and space. And as I walked, pondering and bruised from the waves of reality that had beaten over me, I asked myself, who, in reality are the delinquents? Are they these submerged children, caught in a maze of uncontrolled breeding—cradled in poverty, vice and disease? Or are they the comfortable dwellers in the spacious upper zone, dwellers indifferent to the evils of over-population—after they have carefully regulated their own small family system in their clean and sun-lit homes? Is society or is the individual the Great Delinquent? I am still wondering as I work from what I am convinced is the Right End.

One phrase, however, I shall never again be guilty of using. I may speak of delinquent fathers, delinquent mothers, or delinquent communities. But never, never, never again shall I speak of "delinquent girls."

GENERAL O'RYAN'S SPEECH

(Concluded from page 7)

importance was pressed before the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919. The Malthusian League, at its annual meeting in London in June, 1919, adopted the following resolution:

THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE desires to point out that the proposed scheme for the League of Nations has neglected to take account of the important questions of the *pressure of population*, which causes the great international economic competition and rivalry and of the *increase of population*, which is put forward as a justification for claiming *increase of territory*. It, therefore, wishes to put on record its belief that the League of Nations will only be able to fulfill its aim when it adds a clause to the following effect:

"That each nation desiring to enter into the League of Nations shall pledge itself *so to restrict its birth rate* that its people shall be able to live in comfort *in their own dominions without need* for territorial expansion, and that it shall recognize that *increase of population shall not justify* a demand either for increase of territory or for the compulsion of other nations to admit its emigrants; so that when all nations in the League have shown their ability to live on their own resources without international rivalry, they will be in a position to fuse into an international federation, and territorial boundaries will then have little significance."

This subject of the relations of peoples and their governments, of war and peace, is inseparably related to the basic subject of the development of man, individually and collectively, and the radical improvement of the conditions surrounding him. It is the greatest and holiest world subject that can be conceived,—this problem of man's development and the abolition of war. It appeals to all that is decent and best in us. It overshadows in importance every other world mission of man. Whatever may be the object of our existence on this earth, and however people may disagree concerning it, be assured that the further development of the human race and the elimination of war constitutes a necessary step toward a better understanding of why we are here.

A THOUGHTFUL LETTER

MY DEAR MRS. SANGER:

YOUR BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW seems to take it for granted that we subscribers are posted on the prevention of conception. I for one have been taking the magazine in the hope of learning but have been disappointed. Can you not tell me the secret which so many seem to know, or tell me how or where I can find it?

I have had four children, three of whom are living, and my health is so broken that for two years I have not allowed my husband a natural embrace for fear of another pregnancy which I feel I can never live through. You can readily guess that keeping my husband away from me thus is having its effect on the ideally happy home which was ours before; there is not the same unity for the pleasures I no longer give him.

I am a college girl, but my mother died before I was married and being naturally reticent, I do not like to talk over these things with other women. So can you help me and tell me how to bring back the happiness to our home? Or at least give me a hint as to what can be done.

I certainly wish you well in your fight but I fear sometimes the victory will come too late to be of any help to me.

I enclose envelope for reply.

Sincerely yours,

AN INTERESTING PARAGRAPH FROM THE NATION

THE late unlamented Postmaster General while still engaged in making his office a jest and a byword among decent citizens ruled that Dr. Marie Stopes' "Marrried Love," a work originally published in England and by the best English authorities considered among the best of its sort, is too obscene for the chaste society of the United States mails, and so banned it. Of course, prosecutions followed; Dr. William J. Robinson, the publisher, has been fined and the treatise totally suppressed. If the book were as bad as the law which has been invoked, it would be bad indeed and would deserve some fell fate; but the book is not bad in any eyes but those of this particular squint-eyed law and those who preposterously approve it. Dr. Stopes, in a language which we can object to only because of a tincture of sentimentalism in it, has tried to help married people to be happy by pointing out certain difficulties which must continue to arise so long as the principal equipment of bride and groom is ignorance regarding the biology, physiology, and psychology of marriage. Her offense is that she has put into print what all enlightened people know.



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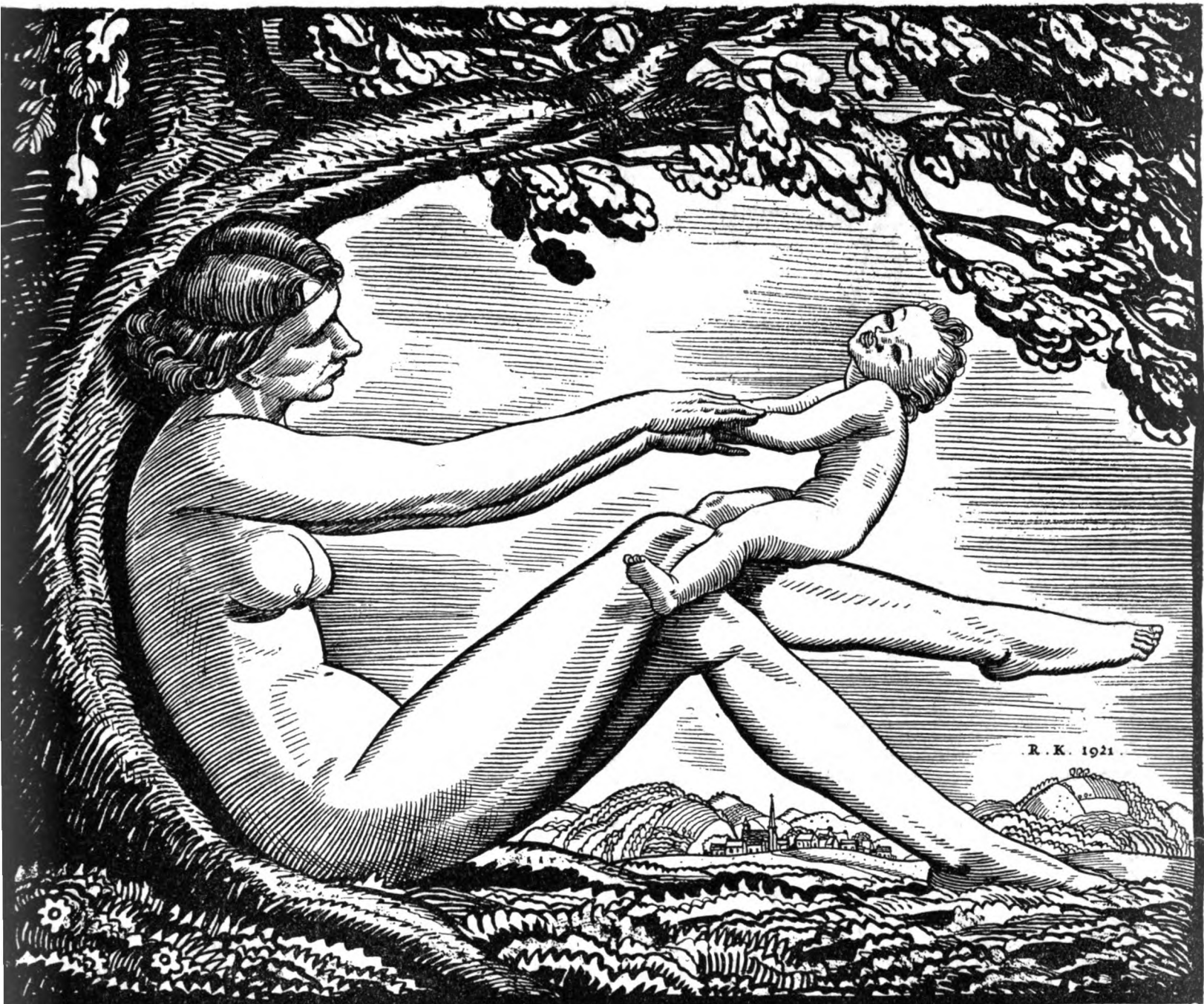
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AUGUST, 1921

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BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery, President

- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 124 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S. W. 1.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gelukkig Huisgezin*.
- GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
- FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulle, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
- SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
- BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
- AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuburg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizconde de Meranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.
- CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWEDEN (1911).—Sallakapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinks Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lammara 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
- MEXICO (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 512, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

IN THE UNITED STATES:

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*League for Voluntary Parenthood*. Mrs. C. C. Rand, 1031 East 141st Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 1804 Penn Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 264 W. 73rd Street, chairman.
International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, president, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
Voluntary Parenthood League, 49 East 59th Street. Mary Ware Dennett, director.
- BROOKLYN.—Jessie A. Dastre, 673 Vanderbilt Ave.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary.
- RADNOR, PA.—*The Main Line Branch of the National Birth Control League*. Mrs. Walter M. Newkirk, secretary.
- ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parcells Avenue.
- ST. LOUIS, MO.—Grace Anderson, Superintendent of Municipal Nurses, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.
- SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West, Seattle, Wash., secretary.
- SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.
- WASHINGTON, D. C.—*The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia*. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1926 New Hampshire Ave., president.
- BLOOMFIELD, N. Y.—N. J. B. C. League. Mrs. Clara Carter, Beach Street.

First American Birth Control Conference

New York City, November 11, 12 & 13, '21

To those who have been working for Birth Control, the Conference of November 11—13 comes, as a welcome opportunity for a cooperative service, no matter how small or large your part will be in the historic events of this meeting, it will aid Margaret Sanger and co-workers in carrying out the ideals of the Birth Control movement.

If you are anxious to obtain any information or to offer your services write at once to Mrs. Anne Kennedy, c/o Birth Control Review, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

AUGUST, 1921

No. 8

First American Birth-Control Conference *November 11th—13th, 1921*

ALL PROGRESS IS the reflection in age-old mirrors of mankind's movements toward the light of another day.

And a movement lives so long as it adheres to the principles that brought it into being.

Birth Control can be no exception to this time-worn law. The fact that the economists, scientists, doctors and social workers have signified to Margaret Sanger that the time has come to call the first conference where Birth Control may be discussed as a national and international subject, is a vital indication that her pioneer work has taken root in American thought and now demands action.

To Margaret Sanger's loyal workers, the calling of this conference is the highest point yet reached in her long years of educational propaganda.

It is an answer to her early struggles in the face of apathy and lack of interest; her sufferings in prison; her legal battle that she carried to the Supreme Court of the United States; and her unselfish devotion to the cause.

It can mean but one thing: a success along the lines of her original vision; a success without one compromise with untruths; a success of an ideal for race betterment that will be accepted everywhere in the world's tomorrow.

To this conference of November 11th to the 13th, there will come the most significant minds of America, and the years of preparatory work accomplished by Margaret Sanger and her faithful friends can seek no clearer answer than such a recognition of Birth Control as the Science of Population.

THIS number of the REVIEW has been given over to an International discussion in order that material will be at hand for the conference where comparisons may be made between America and other countries.

Regret is naturally in order for the reason that this great country lags behind in progress.

It will be one of the duties of the conference to see that such a condition is rapidly changed, and that our people are educated to believe in the truth rather than in superstition.

A careful study of this International Number will reward the reader with many interesting facts.

To the careful student will come the realization (if it has not come already) that Birth Control is no longer a localized matter—but that it has risen in the minds of the world as an answer to the "explosive populations" that brought on the recent tragedy of war.

Likewise, to the student of life as it is rather than as the superficials prefer to imagine it, there will come the hope that under the lash of necessity to curb the overwhelming populations of various countries that burden the workers with support of the drones and unfit, our people will grasp the essentials of Birth Control and adapt it to their needs.

The next three issues of the REVIEW will be given over to the problems of the conference. It is hoped that every believer and worker for Birth Control as well as the open-minded and intelligent in other fields of activity, will follow these issues carefully, attend the conference, and co-operate in every way possible.

—H. H.

THE GHOST OF MALTHUS (From the New York Globe)

SOMETIMES A GRIMMER shadow than that of wars and pestilences falls across the vision of one who considers the future of mankind. This is the spectre of over-population, first summoned up to frighten mankind nearly a century and a quarter ago by the Rev. T. R. Malthus. Mr. Malthus observed that population tended to increase more rapidly than food. He inferred that except for certain checks the whole of mankind would be reduced to the bare level of animal existence. These checks, as summed up by Harold Cox, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, writing in the *Dial*, "are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery," the latter two causes appearing to be the most efficient.

The great achievements of the machine age were made after Malthus wrote, but they postponed rather than abolished his problem. The world's population has increased enormously during the past century. Between 1901 and 1911 the gross increase in England and Wales was greater than the total increase during the whole of the eighteenth century. Between 1851 and 1911 the population doubled. If this rate were to continue the British alone would equal the present population of the earth in less than three centuries and a half. But other great populations are also increasing, or held down only by hunger. Perhaps a half of mankind do not now know what sufficient food means. "If," says Mr. Cox, "the 300,000,000 inhabitants of India and the 500,000,000 inhabitants of China consumed food at even half the scale that Englishmen and American think necessary there would be little, or indeed none, left for the rest of the world."

A DECENT STANDARD of living for the whole of mankind is not now possible; if population increases as rapidly as the food supply, or more rapidly, it never will be possible. Unless there are limitations on the human increase the next stage in history will be wars for survival. Before then there will be a silent war in which the most prolific races and groups, who are at present those with the lowest standards, will multiply at the expense of those with higher standards.

Mr. Cox's remedy is the favorite and simple one of present-day radicals. It is one which is repugnant to many people. Yet suppression and denunciation are not sufficient answers. If this recourse is to be avoided others must be found, or our descendants will die like rabbits a few generations hence, in some year of drought; before then we shall be plagued with wars of undreamed of destructiveness and ferocity, and grinding poverty will be the lot of increasing millions of mankind before the next generation is dead. The subject is surely the most appallingly important one that the world has to face.

LITERATURE, advertising the Birth Control movement is being distributed by Selma Melms, who, accompanied by her husband, Ammon Hennacy, is making a 2,500 mile propaganda hiking trip throughout the Eastern and Middle Western states. Birth Control clinics will be advocated and groups will probably be formed interested in Birth Control.

Mr. Hennacy, who until recently was Secretary of the World War Objectors, will emphasize the need of opposition to the next war.

AN INTERESTING LETTER

New York, April 20, 1921.

MY DEAR MRS. KENNEDY:

The success of Margaret Sanger's book, "WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE," has been very gratifying to us, and we have already sold three large editions of the book. At the time that the manuscript was first offered to us for publication it seemed to us only fitting that there should be adequate discussion and literature upon so vital a movement as that of Birth Control. We believed "WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE" was a dignified, forceful, and truthful justification of this movement, and it would seem, judging from the reputation the book has acquired, that our confidence in it has been amply vindicated.

Sincerely

BRENTANO'S

NOTICE

It will be noted by readers of the REVIEW that this is an enlarged number. However, even with extra pages, we are unable to include material from certain countries that should have had representation.

We regret that all of the material could not have been included in this first International number. It will be printed in the forthcoming issues.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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MARGARET SANGER
Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE LOU ROGERS
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Recent Activities of the Neo-Malthusian Movement

By Dr. C. N. Drysdale, O. B. E. F. R. S. E.
President of the Malthusian League

ALTHOUGH THE GREAT war which has caused the downfall of several social movements, seriously affected the neo-Malthusian movement in this country, mainly by the withdrawal of its leaders and most active members on war service, the flag has been kept steadily flying, and our paper *The Malthusian* has appeared without intermission, while everything proves that instead of being in danger of suppression like the movement in France, the movement has gained enormously in influence and popularity so much so that it is becoming difficult to cope with or to chronicle its advance.

For the first two years of the war the campaign which had been started in the streets and small halls of the poorest districts of South London was continued, and large numbers of practical leaflets describing the methods of Birth Control were distributed. The darkening of the streets on account of the Zeppelin raids, and the calling away of our officers forced us to discontinue this work, and as the writer was put in charge of the scientific work of the Admiralty Experimental Station which was situated in Scotland until it was removed to London in the Spring of this year, active propaganda has only just been resumed. Mrs. Drysdale has now become Hon. Secretary of the League, and has created a most active organization during the last two months. New offices have been taken at 124 Victoria Street, Westminster, including a lecture room for educational meetings, and the South London Campaign has been revived with increased energy. Our 44th Annual General Meeting was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on May 25th and was well attended. After the formal business our address was given on "The Neo-Malthusian Ideal and How It Way Be Realized" a copy of which is sent herewith.

AT OUR HOUSE-WARMING "At Home" on June 17th we had the great pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Sanger, and of hearing her account of the recent activities in the U. S. A. with especial reference to its effect on the Japanese representatives who were enquiring into the possibilities of Birth Control as an antidote to the poison of militarism which is being fostered in Japan by its rapidly increasing population and consequent need for expansion. The need for Birth Control propaganda in the populous Eastern nations of Japan, China, and India is extremely urgent, and many small attempts in this direction have been brought to the notice of the Malthusian League, so that we are convinced that if Mrs. Sanger can make her proposed visit to Japan it will give the necessary impetus for an important Birth Control movement, both in that country and in China. A well known journalist, Mr. Edward Cecil gave a spirited address on "The Common Sense of Birth Control," and Mrs. Drysdale outlined the future policy of the League. The meeting was well reported in many of the principal papers.

Our South London Campaign was revived at the beginning

of July, and has proved an unqualified success. Two doctors, one a lady, have offered their services freely for practical instruction and advice, so that for the first time we have been able to introduce what is practically a clinic into our activities. Two solid weeks' work have been completed in the Southwark and Camberwell districts, including seven open air meetings in the streets, two general meetings in halls, and six meetings for married women at which practical instruction was given, and the doctors attended to assist in fitting the women and giving detailed advice. The open-air meetings were especially satisfactory, and it is remarkable to see how sympathetically and respectfully our doctrines are received by the poorer classes. There has been practically no opposition except from one or two men, obviously of Roman Catholic proclivities, and our resolution calling the attention of the public health authorities to the need for giving Birth Control information at the hospitals and health centres has been passed in every case without a single dissident. Copies of the *Malthusian* have been eagerly bought at all these meetings, and the forms of application for our practical leaflet on Birth Control have been distributed, with the result that shoals of applications have been coming in to our office. At the indoor meetings people were able to fill up their application forms and receive the leaflets on the spot. A very pleasant feature of the campaign has been the meeting with some who remembered our previous propaganda on the same lines seven years ago, and who have expressed their gratitude for the information and their pleasure at seeing the work resumed. It is intended to carry on this propaganda at full speed now that it has been recommenced under such favorable auspices, and it is hoped that its effect will be shown before long in the vital statistics of the district.

PREPARATIONS ARE ALSO being made for the opening of a permanent clinic in the autumn. It is not intended to make it purely a Birth Control clinic, but to work it on the lines of the already existing Maternity and Child Welfare Centres, with the addition of Birth Control information; the object being to show how this feature may be incorporated with the existing organizations, and to form a model clinic where completed records are kept, statistics and diagrams compiled of the results achieved, and the efficiency of the various contraceptive devices can be studied.

Mention should also be made of the independent propaganda which has been started by Dr. Marie Stopes and her husband, Mr. H. V. Roe, who inaugurated a clinic in North London on the 17th of March last. A large meeting was held in the Queen's Hall on May 28th, the subject being "Constructive Birth Control" at which the chair was taken by the Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, J. P. M. P., and speeches were made by Dr. Jane Hawthorne, Dr. Killick Millard (Medical Officer of Health

(Concluded on page 16)

A Holiday—A Short Story

By Ethel Watts Mumford

MARY GILLESPI WAS A country bred girl, a girl of the hills, of green meadows and whispering brooks, and long cool stretches of marsh that spread to the mothering embrace of the sea. Now in the superheated tenement where she lived, amid heavy odors of humanity, its food and its offal, she trod the weary mill of mere living. If she could only get back, but how? She and Teddy had planned to escape. Teddy had been a carpenter, and a good one. He could go back to the fishing fleets of the North, but he was dead, and the little savings had gone to the expenses of a funeral—and then, two children—and one coming! She worked in an office building at night and into the dawn, scrubbing floors, afraid each time the janitor passed that he would notice her condition and fire her. It was a mortal fear that sent hot flushes over her whole strained body, for it was somehow scratch and paw the money of a scant wage, or have the children taken from her. And now, another—a posthumous baby. She loved it for the thought of Teddy. It seemed like his life prolonged beyond the grave. And yet, if it should be a *girl!*—a girl—to grow into a woman, to suffer and bear hopelessly and helplessly—that was a thought she thrust from her. Already her terrified conscience beset her day and night with the thought of Little Mary, aged five, and Dora, three years old.

It was summer and sweltering, and her time was approaching, sometime soon, a few weeks, and then the public ward, the agony, and then to be sent out, weak and trembling, to make room for another victim. Daily the fear and horror grew. The little sleep she could catch after her early home comings and the first demands of the children, was nightmare haunted. Oh, if she only had some one to turn to—but she was alone, an orphan and an only child. Back there in the village there might be some who remembered, but she could not bear to confess her fallen estate. And Teddy came vaguely from “somewhere in the West.” He had been a ship’s carpenter when she had met him.

WITH SHARP, PAINFUL steps time advanced. All her dreadful past experience and her trembling foreknowledge was fulfilled and repeated—the ward, the agony, and last and final realization—another girl. She turned her face to the wall and fainted, not alone from pain and exhaustion, but from utter collapsed heart break.

Still the iron steps of time advanced, and she was spewed forth into the pitiless street. A kindly neighbor came for her and assisted her to reach the tenement, the new baby folded in a clean rag of blanket. They did what they could for her, the over driven, miserable females around her—women they had ceased to be, if they ever had developed that far; they were females, quarrelling and slobbering over their males and their young.

Indifferent, nauseated with existence, silent with the tripli-

cate despair of her three girls and their all too unproblematic future Mary Gillespi struggled up, filched a few days of rest from the work that must claim her or she perish. She would wait till after the holiday, the Fourth of July.

In search of coolness, some measure of relief, she sought the park early. Staggering the long cross-town walk, the new baby in her arms and Mary and Dora skirt hanging on either side, she had barely strength enough to reach the oasis in the city’s heart, and sink upon a bench. And no sooner had her weak limbs relaxed, than she was conscious that she must go all the way back, trudging the long hot streets, back to the little room, and the eternal walk up to reach it. Tears coursed down her cheeks. The shrieks of excited delight of the children rolling on the grass, tore her ears. They were *girls—females!* With a gnawing, poisonous hatred she glowered at the boy babies and toddlers that passed by. All about her were women, at that day and hour mostly women of her own kind and sharers of the yoke of intolerable sex. Why? why? why? Was God just that he afflict one-half of his creatures? She laughed, harshly, bitterly. There was no God, of course not—or if there was, why didn’t he punish the half of his creatures that preyed on the other half. And yet—poor Teddy, she had loved him and he had been a good man. She wept again, and from utter weariness, she slept.

SHE WAS AWAKENED by the crashing music of a military band. She became aware of crowds all about her. Across the green an orator, swaying with the force of his enthusiastic utterance; was declaiming, “In the course of human events.” She could catch the words now and again. Idly she listened. Her anemic brain skurred itself to attention. “Freedom.” “Intolerable conditions.” “People who knew nothing of the needs and desires of the Colonists made their laws, exacting penalties, imposed taxes.” “Tyranny.” “Unrighteous.” “Self-expression.” “Let the people rule, for they know their necessities, their sufferings, their ideals and aspirations.”

Mary Gillespi, out of her own bitter life, supplied an analogy. Women—Women! If they’d all rise up. Why should they be crushed and mangled? Why couldn’t they *demand* escape? But how? To whom could they go? And her girls, her little girls, what chance had they got? Sure, there were happy mothers and happy children, sometimes, somewhere; but the likes of her and hers—child-ridden—struggling practically to meet ever-growing needs. There weren’t nothin,’ nothin.’ And love was a Nature-trap, and it would snap fast on her girl children and kill them slowly, atrociously, as it had snapped on her. And that man, that man up there, on the platform, he—he dared drule about Liberty! Freedom!—and “all men being born free and equal!” Men!—Men!—but women? If they were’t helped by something or somebody outside of themselves and their sex—they were just slaughter cattle. The orator ended in a laudatory

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Woman's Error and Her Debt

By Margaret Sanger

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

Only in recent years has woman's position as the gentler and weaker half of the human family been emphatically and generally questioned. Men assumed that this was woman's place; woman herself accepted it. It seldom occurred to anyone to ask whether she would go on occupying it forever.

Upon the mere surface of woman's organized protests there were no indications that she was desirous of achieving a fundamental change in her position. She claimed the right of suffrage and legislative regulation of her working hours, and asked that her property rights be equal to those of the man. None of these demands, however, affected directly the most vital factors of her existence. Whether she won her point or failed to win it, she remained a dominated weakling in a society controlled by men.

WOMAN'S ACCEPTANCE of her inferior status was the more real because it was unconscious. She had chained herself to her place in society and the family through the maternal functions of her nature, and only chains thus strong could have bound her to her lot as a brood animal for the masculine civilizations of the world. In accepting her role as the "weaker and gentler half," she accepted that function. In turn, the acceptance of that function fixed the more firmly her rank as an inferior.

Caught in this "vicious circle," woman has, through her reproductive ability, founded and perpetuated the tyrannies of the Earth. Whether it was the tyranny of a monarchy, an oligarchy or a republic, the one indispensable factor of its existence was, as it is now, hordes of human beings—human beings so plentiful as to be cheap, and so cheap that ignorance was their natural lot. Upon the rock of an unenlightened, submissive maternity have these been founded; upon the product of such a maternity have they flourished.

No despot ever flung forth his legions to die in foreign conquest, no privilege-ruled nation ever erupted across its borders, to lock in death embrace with another, but behind them loomed the driving power of a population too large for its boundaries and its natural resources.

No period of low wages or of idleness with their want among the workers, no peonage or sweatshop, no child-labor factory, ever came into being, save from the same source. Nor have famine and plague been as much "acts of God" as acts of too prolific mothers. They, also, as all students know, have their basic causes in over-population.

THE CREATORS of over-population are the women, who, while wringing their hands over each fresh horror, submit anew to their task of producing the multitudes who will bring about the next tragedy of civilization.

While unknowingly laying the foundations of tyrannies and providing the human tinder for racial conflagrations, woman was also unknowingly creating slums, filling asylums with insane, and institutions with other defectives. She was replenishing the ranks of the prostitutes, furnishing grist for the criminal courts and inmates for prisons. Had she planned deliberately to achieve this tragic total of human waste and misery, she could hardly have done it more effectively.

Woman's passivity under the burden of her disastrous task was almost altogether that of ignorant resignation. She knew virtually nothing about her reproductive nature and less about the consequences of her excessive child-bearing. It is true that, obeying the inner urge of their nature, some women revolted. They went even to the extreme of infanticide and abortion. Usually their revolts were not general enough. They fought as individuals, not as a mass. In the mass they sank back into blind and hopeless subjection. They went on breeding with staggering rapidity those numberless, undesired children who become the clogs and the destroyers of civilization.

Today, however, woman is rising in fundamental revolt. Even her efforts at mere reform are, as we shall see later, steps in that direction. Underneath each of them is the feminine urge to complete freedom. Millions of women are asserting their right to voluntary motherhood. They are determined to decide for themselves whether they shall become mothers, under what conditions and when. This is the fundamental revolt referred to. It is for woman the key to the temple of liberty.

EVEN AS BIRTH CONTROL is the means by which woman attains basic freedom, so it is the means by which she must and will uproot the evil she has wrought through her submission. As she has unconsciously and ignorantly brought about social disaster, so must and will she consciously and ingeniously *undo* that disaster and create a new and a better order.

The task is hers. It cannot be avoided by excuses, nor can it be delegated. It is not enough for woman to point to the self-evident domination of man. Nor does it avail to plead the guilt of rulers and the exploiters of labor. It makes no difference that she does not formulate industrial systems nor that she is an instinctive believer in social justice. In her

submission lies her error and her guilt. By her failure to withhold the multitudes of children who have made inevitable the most flagrant of our social evils, she incurred a debt to society. Regardless of her own wrongs, regardless of her lack of opportunity and regardless of all other considerations, *she* must pay that debt.

She must not think to pay this debt in any superficial way. She cannot pay it with palliatives—with child-labor laws, prohibition, regulation of prostitution and agitation against war. Political nostrums and social panaceas are but incidentally and superficially useful. They do not touch the source of the social disease.

War, famine, poverty and oppression of the workers will continue while woman makes life cheap. They will cease only when she limits her reproductivity and human life is no longer a thing to be wasted.

TWO CHIEF OBSTACLES hinder the discharge of this tremendous obligation. The first and the lesser is the legal barrier. Dark age laws would still deny to her the

knowledge of her reproductive nature. Such knowledge is indispensable to intelligent motherhood and she must achieve it, despite absurd statutes and equally absurd moral canons.

The second and more serious barrier is her own ignorance of the extent and effect of her submission. Until she knows the evil her subjection has wrought to herself, to her progeny and to the world at large, she cannot wipe out that evil.

To get rid of these obstacles is to invite attack from the forces of reaction which are so strongly entrenched in our present-day society. It means warfare in every phase of her life. Nevertheless, at whatever cost, she must emerge from her ignorance and assume her responsibility.

She can do this only when she has awakened to a knowledge of herself and of the consequences of her ignorance. The first step is Birth Control. Through Birth Control she will attain to voluntary motherhood. Having attained this, the basic freedom of her sex, she will cease to enslave herself and the mass of humanity. Then, through the understanding of the intuitive forward urge within her, she will not stop at patching up the world; she will remake it.

Dutch Neo-Malthusian League

Erected November 1, 1881.

PRESIDENT OF HONOR

By Dr. J. Rutgers, M.D.

Mr. S. L. v.Riet.....Pres.	Mrs. T. Kiersch de
Mr. J. Geurts1st Sec.	Jong2nd Sec.
Mr. C. Geurts.....Treas.	Mr. G. J. Kiersch, Esq.
Mr. H. S. de Vries...Vice-Pres.	Mr. C. v. d. Pol

39th YEARLY REPORT

THE YEAR 1920 was a difficult one for the Dutch N. M. L. The universal meeting at Utrecht, April, 1920, disapproved the tactics of the board of directors and a new one was formed.

The new board of directors is more democratic, every member does his own work in order that more can be done in the future for propaganda.

The number of members of the league was 6,418 on the first of January, 1921.

From April to ultimo December we received 992 letters for information about Birth Control. About 125 letters come in from every part of the world and every one asked us, tell me the methods for Birth Control! In the "*Pectorial Review*" Mac O'Donnell wrote an article, "Keeping the Stork in His Place," and told some things about the Dutch N. M. L. with her secretary Dr. J. Rutgers.

Many physicians asked for a report which told all about the league and they received one.

Some interesting things about the Dutch Neo Malthusian League

1. The Penal Law tells us:

"He, who either some remedy for the prevention of pregnancy
"show publicly,

"Either such remedy or services for the prevention of pregnancy to offer

"openly or unasked or

"openly by spreading of any pamphlet unasked, indicate as obtainable,

"shall be punished with detention of two months at most, or fine of two hundred guilders."

(Dutch Penal Law, art.: 451).

2. There are in Holland 54 clinics; 8 doctors and 56 nurses, the latest formed by doctors.

3. More than 1,000 persons asked yearly for information; consultation is gratis. Many women come for help. The common price is about 5 guilders by person (understand here, payment for articles advised). When they can prove that the price is too much, the League will pay partly or whole.

4. It is not comfortable to give an answer on the question of indisputable claims about the Neo Malthusian on the public health.

We must appeal to our statistics of illness and disease.

I recommend the manual: The Life Insurance Examiner, Spectator Company, New York and Chicago 1888 page 186, by Dr. Ch. F. Stellman.

b Another pronouncement favorable for the Neo Malthusian we borrow out of the manual written by Prof. Schroeder: "The illness of the female genitals." He wrote: "the most women, who have cancer on the lowest part of the uterus, have often had many confinements."

Schroeder: "Krankheiten der weiblichen Geschlecht organe 9th edi. page 348.

(Continued on page 12)

Birth Control in Japan

THERE ARE SIGNS of alarm in Japan at the extraordinary rate of increase of the Japanese population. The belief that a war of aggression is inevitable unless something drastic is done to prevent further overcrowding of the island realm of the Mikado is becoming every day more common there.

As the problem of overpopulation becomes increasingly acute Japan tends to cleave more and more sharply into two camps of opinion. In one are the militarists, the nationalists, the "jingo," to whom a steadily growing birth rate means the wherewithal for realizing their ambitious dreams of a Greater Japan, the maintenance of a source of man-power for armies which are to carry the Japanese flag from the islands which have cradled the Japanese race to mainland regions, where that race may spread and flourish without hindrance.

In the other camp are those who believe in a peaceful Japan of the future, living in harmony with her fellow-nations. These Japanese look with horror upon the idea of wars of aggression. Casting about for some means of checking the phenomenal growth of the Japanese population, they have turned their thoughts to Birth Control. There is an element in Japan which thinks that, by the introduction of Birth Control, the unprecedented rate of increase of the Japanese population will be kept within reasonable bounds and Japan saved from a militaristic aggression which otherwise would be unavoidable.

MIDDLE CLASS AND BIRTH CONTROL

A CURIOUS PHASE of the situation is that the crisis of over-population in Japan has been rendered acute by the great strides forward which the Japanese have taken within the last half century. In proportion as Occidental civilization has advanced among them, as social welfare work and better hygienic conditions spreading through the land have lowered the rate of mortality among the people, the problem has assumed a seriousness tending to over-shadow all the other problems of the new Japan. The Japanese of other days were kept from increasing at too alarming a rate by natural checks on population. Unsanitary living conditions was a chief check.

But enlightened progress and industrial development have completely altered matters. The Japanese of today are confronted with a crisis which never loomed before their forefathers. Here are extracts from a letter on the subject written by a Japanese magazine editor, which was received in New York a few days ago:

"In the first place, the middle and laboring classes are keenly feeling financial pressure. In the second place, the middle class is conscious that it must resort to Birth Control. This fact caused me to publish a special number on the Birth Control question last March, to which many prominent Japanese scholars contributed interesting articles. I am glad to say this special number evoked a hot discussion of the question among public men. Some scholars and women have started a movement for the cause of Birth Control."

BOOKS AND MAGAZINE articles on the population problem are appearing in Japan in constantly increasing numbers. Some are the work of Japanese authors, others are written by foreigners domiciled in Japan, or are translated from foreign languages. "It is significant," says a writer in an American publication advocating Birth Control, "that the arguments for or against the rapidly increasing numbers of the Island Kingdom, take as primary tenets, imperial expediency. The increase of population is considered only in the light of political expediency, never in terms of human happiness or misery." As an example of this, the writer points out that B. L. Putnam Weale, the well-known authority on the Far East, states in his "The Conflict of Color" that density of population will in the future decide to a great extent the grand movements in world politics. "Education, material improvement and the birth rate are the modern touchstones of success," he says. "It will one day be admitted that the real key to a thousand vaguely defined problems lies in men's breeding capacity—in their capacity to obey nature's most imperative political law, which is: multiply and increase, or die."

That is the idea of the Japanese militarists. To become a formidable world power, they argue, capable of measuring strength with any rival out of the Occident, Japan must have a population of at least 100,000,000—which would mean nearly the Mikado's realm almost to its utmost capacity. "More people, more territory!" is their slogan.

The present population of Japan is about 56,000,000. It is increasing at the rate of somewhere between 700,000 and 1,000,000 yearly, a rate in excess of that in any other country. In 1911 the birth rate among the Japanese was 33.7 per thousand for the whole country. In some of the provinces where congestion of population is especially acute, it was higher. And this, be it remembered, applies to ten years ago. Now matters are still more serious.

THE DENSITY OF the Japanese population per square mile, according to recent statistics, was 320. This is less than in densely populated countries like Belgium and England, but the problem of accommodation is less acute there than in Japan.

"Belgium and England are wholly arable, Japan is almost wholly mountainous," writes Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, in "American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship." "If we eliminate from the figures the area of unproductive lands of each country, the population per square mile works out approximately: England, 466; Belgium, 702; Japan, 2,688." In other words, figured thus, Japan's density of population is more than 5½ times that of England and more than 4 times that of Belgium.

An idea of the alarming growth of the Japanese population may be gained from this extract from the Encyclopaedia Britannica's article on Japan:

"According to quasi-historical records, the population of the empire in the year A.D. 610 was 4,988,842, and in 736 it had grown to 8,631,770. It is impossible to say how much

reliance may be placed on these figures but, from the 18th century, when the name of every subject had to be inscribed on the roll of a temple, as a measure against his adoption of Christianity, a tolerably trustworthy census could always be taken. The returns thus obtained show that from the year 1723 until 1846, the population remained almost stationary, the figure in the former year being 26,065,422, and that in the latter year 26,907,625. There had, indeed, been five periods of declining population in that period of 124 years. * * * But after 1872, when the census showed a total of 33,110,825, the population grew steadily, its increment between 1872 and 1898 inclusive, a period of 27 years, being 10,649,990.

QUESTION OF SUBSISTENCE

"SUCH A RATE of increase invests the question of subsistence with great importance. In former times the area of land under cultivation increased in a marked degree. Returns prepared at the beginning of the tenth century showed 2,500,000 acres under crops, whereas the figure in 1834 was over 8,000,000 acres. But the development of means of subsistence has been outstripped by the growth of population in recent years. Thus, during the period between 1899 and 1907 the population received an increment of 11.6 per cent., whereas the food-producing area increased by only 4.4 per cent. * * * The birth rate, taking the average of the decennial period ended 1907, is 3.05 per cent. of the population, and the death rate is 2.05."

That the problem is becoming still more serious since the above figures were compiled may be gathered by a comparison of the growth of the Japanese population between 1872 and 1898, shown above, and the increase between the latter year and the present day. Whereas the increase between 1872 and 1898, inclusive, was somewhat over 10,600,000, bringing the total population of Japan in 1898 to a little under 44,000,000, the increase in the twenty-two years from 1899 to 1920, inclusive, has been in the vicinity of 12,000,000, or considerably greater than for the twenty-seven-year period preceding it.

"Japan's problem today," says Dr. Gulick, "is how adequately to feed, clothe, house and educate her multiplying millions and give them that larger richer life of the modern world for which their intelligence, industry, education, ambition and world outlook are fitting them."

The cost of living is already such in Japan, according to Professor Morimot of Sapporo University, that 98 per cent. of the people there do not get enough to eat. No wonder the Japanese are earnestly studying possible solutions of the over-population problem.—*New York Times*.

NOTICE

The Birth Control Conference to be held November 11th, 12th and 13th, needs every kind of helper. It is a good opportunity for those who have long been interested in the movement. Write at once to

MRS. ANNE KENNEDY

104 Fifth Avenue

New York City

A HOLIDAY—A SHORT STORY

(Concluded from page 6)

burst: "Be thankful, be grateful, my listeners, that you live in an intelligent age and country; that you share alike the blessing—of Freedom and Liberty—and the pursuit of happiness."

SAVAGELY, HER WHOLE body filled with indignant fury, a last spurt of flame in her burnt out heart, soul and body, Mary Gillespi snatched up the bundled baby, and with a sudden vicious lunge, regained possession of Little Mary and Dora. It was no good being a woman. It was Hell!—and it was all a lie. "Freedom," "Liberty," "Pursuit of Happiness!"—a lie—a lie! She shrieked it at the top of her meagre lungs, as she pushed her way through the gaping crowd.

"A crazy woman!" "Some nutty foreigner!" they shrugged and let her have passage. No one made a move to stop her, or offered her help.

"A lie! A lie!" she repeated. Mumbling incoherently, she made straight for the reservoir.

It wouldn't take long. She'd seen a woman drown once back there—at home by the sea.

"Too late to save 'em," said the policeman. "I'll have to telephone for the boat and grapplin' hooks. Suicide—the heat, o' course."

To his ears came the strains of the band and the hoarse vocalization of the crowd on the Mall—

"O'er the land of the Free—
And the home of the Brave!"

A DRAMATIC LETTER

DEAR MADAM:

I heard you were in favor of Birth Control and I would like you to give me some advice on how to prevent having children. I am a young girl of twenty-four and have no mother or father or in fact nobody to give me any advice on the matter. My husband is young and both being brought up in the country, we know nothing about such things and I do not want to do anything to myself to injure me.

I am the oldest in the family and have to bring up a brother and sister. I also have one baby of my own born in October. I suffered so with her that I do not want to have another very soon. I had to stop nursing her on account of me being in such a run-down condition, and I have already spent several dollars on different foods for her. She is also very nervous and I have to be very careful of her on account of her navel which she ruptured from crying so hard. Each belt I buy for her costs four dollars and the expense from where I live to where I get the belt costs me a dollar.

We are not in very good circumstances as my husband is only a laborer. He couldn't get back to his trade when he got a house we had to buy one which took all we had and besides a mortgage on it to help pay it off.

Now since my baby has stopped nursing on me I have had my changes once which was on December 31. My husband has been careful each time but I am afraid I am pregnant again as I am over a month now. So will you please write me and tell me if there is anything I can do. I would not mind if the

(Concluded on page 20)

France

Report translated by M. De Vrieze

Paris, April 20, 1921.

DEAR MADAM:

Inclosed please find the article you asked for. There is little to be said, inasmuch as the law has interfered with the spreading of Birth Control propaganda.

I am fifty years old and in poor health, and I have neither the strength nor the means to brave arrest and imprisonment.

I am following with the greatest interest the work you are carrying on in America and wish to congratulate you upon the progress made.

Should the government be overthrown at the next election—and I hope it will—it is not impossible that the movement might be revived. On the other hand, it seems as though war were to devastate Europe for years to come and who can say what will happen next?

Cordially yours,

G. HARDY.

THERE is not at present in France any organization spreading Birth Control propaganda.

During the war I attempted to bring together the scattered forces of various organizations (*Generation Consciente, Renovation, Le Malthusien*) whose work had followed upon that of Paul Robin since 1894. The war and the censorship hindered my efforts. "Le Neo-Malthusien," a magazine which I had established, was suppressed, and my home was entered and searched.

After the armistice had been declared, I renewed my attempt and "Le Neo-Malthusien" appeared until July, 1920. At this time a law was passed interdicting all Birth Control propaganda, or the spreading of knowledge of contraceptive or abortive methods. This legislation was the work of reactionaries and of men who, for "patriotic reasons" were afraid of depopulation. It violates deliberately all French laws with regard to the freedom of the press, and utterly disregards the famous declaration of the rights of man.

All Birth Control propaganda, whatever form it may assume, is pitilessly condemned. Publication, sale, or transportation of literature dealing with Birth Control methods is forbidden; lectures on the subject are prohibited.

Formerly we were tried by the Cour d'Assises and a jury; now we are dealt with by the judges of the Tribunal Correctionnel. In the first case, it was possible to obtain the indulgence—the approbation, even—of the members of the jury. The publicity of the trial was propaganda. When we appear before the Tribunal Correctionnel we are at the mercy of judges who, if hostile, may pass sentence in secret session. A French law forbids the publication of proceedings before the Tribunal Correctionnel.

THE LAW AGAINST Birth Control propaganda was enacted at the instigation of associations subsidized by captains of industry and wealthy merchants, and supported in their

action by politicians and "eminent professors." Among these associations I might mention *L'Alliance rationnelle pour l'accroissement de la population française*. This association had very little influence for a long time. Since the war, however, things have changed. At the last election, some of its members were chosen to fill high government posts.

All these leagues assume a philanthropic attitude. They prove their devotion to large families by soliciting help of one kind or another: premiums, bonuses, reduction in taxes, etc., for those whose stupidity has brought into the world more children than they can properly care for. They spread the works of Mm. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, J. Bertillon, P. Bureau, G. Rossignol, etc. They publish pamphlets which treat wildly of race suicide; they compare the rapid increase of the German population to the slow growth (termed by them "depopulation") of the French population.

And so, while we, Birth Control propagandists, are being persecuted, those whom I call "surpeupleurs" (over-populators) are organizing; with the help of public authorities they are attempting to set at naught the headway we have made.

Public opinion has paid little attention to the new legislation. The press, echo of the government, has accepted it serenely. The war having claimed more than two million victims in France, repopulation is universally considered to be an urgent need.

HERE AND THERE, however, a voice was raised in protest against the proposed law. Among the deputies Mm. Morucci and Berthon, Socialist representatives, made strenuous efforts to prevent its passage. The ignorance of the members of the Bloc National was denounced in articles written by Mmes. Louise Bodin, Nelly-Roussel, and M. Sixte Quenin, and published in "L'Humanité" and in "La Voix des Femmes." Certain anarchistic associations gave lectures in which the statements of the Birth Control partisans were cleverly opposed to those of the anti-Birth Control forces.

But all this is not concerted action; it is not a coherent, steady movement.

And then, of course, there was no delay in the application of the new law. Although we had stopped all propaganda, the homes of some of the leaders were searched as a result of lying police reports. We have been accused of violating the law. The investigation continues . . . Another law, which aims at the sale of preventives, is being drafted.

It is impossible to carry on Birth Control propaganda in France without braving arrest and imprisonment. Only in some other form and at great expense could it be taken up again. We ought to have a magazine that would not have to depend upon the sale of Birth Control literature. It should refute the arguments of the "surpeupleurs" from the eugenic point of view.

THE FOLLOWING WORKS were published before the war by various Birth Control organizations:

Contre la Nature, Malthus et les Neo-Malthusiens, Population et Prudence Procréatrice, Pain, Loisir, Amour, by Paul Robin.

La grève des Ventres, by Fernand Kolney.

La loi de Malthus, Malthus et ses Disciples, La Question de Population, Population et Subsistances, by G. Hardy.

Elements de Science Sociale, La Pauvreté, sa seule cause, son seul remède, by Dr. G. Drysdale.

La chair a canon, by Manuel Devaldès.

Socialisme et Population, by Léon Marinont.

Le Mariage, l'amour libre et la maternité, L'Education Sexuelle, by Jean Marestan.

Y a-t'il assez de subsistances? by Ch. V. Drysdale (a post-war publication), etc.

Many works dealing with practical contraceptive methods have had a very wide distribution, more than 100,000 copies being printed in several cases. Some of these titles are:

Génération Consciente, by Frank Sutor; *La Préservation Sexuelle*, by Dr. Liptay; *Moyens d'éviter la grossesse, L'Avortement*, by G. Hardy; *Moyens D'éviter les Grandes Familles* (translated from the Dutch).

SOME OF THESE publications have been translated into foreign languages. Among the most practical are: *How to Prevent Pregnancy, Mittel zur Schwangerschaftverhütung*, by G. Hardy.

To sum up, then, the question of population interests the French government from the patriotic and economic stand-points only. Our population should not decrease while that of other countries is on the increase. Labor is scarce, salaries are too high, profits too low, and the industrial or agricultural worker is too independent and too happy. Human flesh is needed for war, industry and prostitution. And then again, the war having killed two millions of people, it is necessary that these be replaced by as many, or more, births.

If we could have a magazine, we could answer that the war was brought about by over-population: that it would be better for the nation, the family, the individual, rationally to *regulate over-population* by contraceptive methods, by voluntary scientific procreation *practiced internationally*, rather than to regulate it by war, the barbaric suppression of the most fit. I hope some day to hear publicly discussed these ideas and the biological and economic laws upon which they are based.

When the Bloc National, which is now crushing us, shall have been overthrown, we will take up again with renewed vigor the fight in favor of ideas which are to contribute very largely to universal happiness.

G. HARDY.

DUTCH NEO-MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE

(Continued from page 8)

c. The Dutch Neo-Malthusian League recommends for Birth Control precautions.

Is this hurtful for health? No. The simple precautions, which are recommended by the Dutch Neo-Malthusian League are purely harmless for the health. By washing and injection (which is the main point thereby) the cleanliness of the body is extraordinary. Just by taking precautions, it must have a very favorable effect on the health. Cleanliness of the body is the first and principal condition for the health that no germs come on the inside. Complaints about this or that (flowing pain a.c.o.) manifold come forth by married women, many times hold up after regular use of precautions. (Dr. J. Rutgers, "The worth of the N. M. (or the health).")

5. The Dutch Neo Malthusian League always warned against abortion, but it does not make a study of the number of victims.

In the yearly report 1919-20 we find a.o. and above all things the pamphlet: "The danger of abortion," has many a one retained from a inconsiderate deed.

Also in the small book: "What every married couple should know," Dr. J. Rutgers warned against it.

6. The Dutch Neo Malthusian League did give out from April till December 1920 for propaganda these publications:

Blue sketch	884
Public morality	572
Truly health	1,722
The danger of abortion	1,792
In hard times	1,080
Prosperity and growth	1,140
To all fathers and mothers.....	740
Higher morality	915
What every married couple should know.....	1,161
Why small families	23,000
The happy family	26,000

The league has 23 local organizations and every one can give out his own publication, only the Chief Direction governing in order not to have difficulties of the law.

For the Chief-Direction

H. S. DE VRIES, *Vice-Pres.*

Charged with the foreign correspondence.

SONG

Oh, the dawn is grey and my love is old,
Shrunken and haggard she stoops along
With her cheerless lips that have learned to scold;
Palsied hands that once filled me with song.

It is pitiful now to see her so,
To taste her voice and feel her eyes
I, too, am old and I ought to know,
But what shall we do when our memory dies?

—HAROLD HERSEY.

GERMAN REPORT

A NEW BILL PERMITTING ABORTION BEFORE REICHSTAG

Reichstag,
1 Elective Periods,
1920.

M O T I O N

Frau Schuch, Dr. Radbruch and associates. The Reichstag
RESOLVES:

to give constitutional consent to the following bill:

DRAFT OF A BILL to

CHANGE THE PENAL CODE

The Reichstag has resolved, with the consent of the members of the Council of the Empire, to proclaim the following law

§1.

The following S219a is to be inserted in the Penal Code:

The Acts designated in Articles 218 and 219 of the Penal Code are not punishable if performed by the impregnator, or by a certified reputable physician, within the first three months of pregnancy.

Berlin, 31st July, 1920.

Frau Schuch, Dr. Radbruch, Frau Ansorge, Bias. Buck, Franz Frohme, Girbig. Hausmann, Frau Hauke, Heimann, Hellmann, Hildenbrand, Hoffmann (Kaiserslautern). Hunchlich, Janschek.

Berlin, March 14, 1921.

JUST A SHORT message which will undoubtedly interest you very much.

I came home from a huge meeting which was called by our 'Syndikalist Women Association' on Birth Control, the success of it was really inspiring, and worth the while mentioning.

Over two thousand people of both sexes crowded one of the biggest halls in Neukölho, listening most attentively to the speeches of: Dr. A. Bernstein, Dr. Goldstein, Frau Rosa Schwan-Schneider, Comrade M. Winkler editor of the Syndikalist and Sister Kyndle.

All the speakers have given way to strong criticism against the medical men who though they know how dangerous it is for the poor working people to create large families yet they decline to do anything to prevent them. They have condemned the law and severe punishment for abortion and reproached the Socialists who were in power and left that barbarous law untouched.

They spoke of the disadvantages a house full of children means to the working people; of the impossibility for the mental development of the women; the danger for the child and consequently for the whole human race.

Great emphasis was laid by all the speakers to help the women with preventives, to teach them how to avoid conception. Comrade Winkler demanded that the people should ignore the law of abortion which only exists for the poor today, whereas the rich never cared for it.

THE APPLAUSE which each speaker received proved that the words spoken went straight to the hearts of the listeners. It also convinced us how eagerly the proletariat of this country are to be enlightened on the sex problem, and especially on the limitation of the family.

The success of this meeting encouraged us so much that we have decided to arrange similar ones in every district of Berlin, and suburbs, and do our utmost that the comrades all over the country should work on the same lines.

Isn't it deplorable that the Anarchists and Syndikalists should be the only ones who work in this direction, whereas the Social-democrats all the years kept on preaching the gospel of large families, and what a blessing for the social revolution when the proletariat keeps on increasing? What a mad idea!

MILLY ROEKER.

Stuttgart, April 12th, 1921.

To the Honorable,
New York Women's Publishing Co., Inc.,
104 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

DEAR LADIES:

Conforming your wish, I give you hereby my report and opinion concerning the population question in Germany.

The Neo-Malthusian Propaganda since 30 years had a remarkable effect. The number of births per 1,000: in 1900, 36.5, was in 1909 only 32. and in 1913 only 29.5. The number of deaths in 1900, 23, was in 1909 18.1 and in 1913 16.5.

There will be no question, that this decline of the Death Rates has been reached to a great part by the decrease of poverty in the smaller families. But as you see by the above difference between Birth and Death Rates there was still an augmentation of the population nearly every year of about 1.3 per cent. or 700,000 to 800,000 a year, so that the increase amounted to nearly 4 millions every 5 years. Now as our country is very intensively populated—about 6,500 in a German, or over 300 per American or English square mile—our agricultural production, although so much raised as possible, was not sufficient for our food necessities and we were therefore restrained to very large imports, which we could only obtain and pay for by industrial exportations. The average size of a German farm property being only 9 acres against the nearly 10 fold in your country, the German farmer, after covering his own want of food, has not very much to sell; much less than an American farmer. From a German farmer's family, having 4 children, only one or two could find there an existence, the others were therefore obliged to get an industrial occupation and for that purpose to go most to the cities more and more overfilled and with *very bad housing circumstances*, against all government orders were nearly without success, because by the so indigent existence the deficiency of room was anyhow not so hard, as the deficiency on food. Many families were, and are, so poor, that 2 or 3 children together had only one bed.

(Continued on page 18)

Neo-Malthusianism or Birth Control in Austria

By Pierre Ramers

DURING THE TIME of the monarchy any and every public propaganda of conscientious self-control in matters of race propagation was severely prohibited. Nevertheless the propaganda was carried on in an underground way by a small minority within the labor movement.

The first agitation in this line was done in the year 1910 by the group "*Welfare for All*", publishing an anarchist publication under the same name. This paper published frank moral neo-malthusianism articles and essays, declared itself for the self-determination of womanhood in matters of sex, and especially in matters of birth. All these articles were confiscated legally by the monarchist regime of police and judicial procedure; but the publishing group succeeded in securing the editions of the paper, so that the copies were reaching its subscribers.

Besides this we published at that time a little green slip, entitled, "Directions for Mothers and Women." On this slip which was distributed gratis and also put into each copy of one edition of our paper, there was given the methods, the actual way and means, how a woman can prevent an unwelcome pregnancy. It was also at that time one of our co-workers by the name of Josef —, published with the aid of our group, the first neo-malthusian pamphlet ever appearing in the light of day in Austria. The pamphlet was very carefully couched, and showed only how disastrous *too many* children are and gave some means of prevention, showing them. It was, of course, promptly confiscated by the authorities, but a large portion of its edition could be secured from the grips of the police invasion.

THE TIMES ABOUT which I am speaking were fertile in discussion of this problem. In Germany there was going on a certain brisk agitation of neo-malthusianism, mainly carried on by Dr. Julian Marcuse, Dr. Bernstein and literally by Dr. Fritz Benphasher. They were literally opposed by the entire social-democratic movement; the attacks being headed by personalities like Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and others, since become very famous in the so-called "communist" movement, which, until today is *anti-neo-malthusian*, in Germany as well as Austria.

Since the overthrow of the monarchy in those countries there is to a certain extent, an even increased antagonism against the principles of conscious birth prevention. In Germany Dr. Goldstein (Berlin) was publishing a small periodical, entitled "Enlightenment." It was suppressed by the "revolutionary" authorities and its editors had to undergo many raids of pious people in his meetings, which made it impossible for him to continue in his public propaganda on a larger scale.

As to Austria, there has come up, right after the "revolution," a new association, called the "Covenant against forcible motherhood." Its aims are the abolition of all laws tending to prohibit abortion. This association wishes that scientific,

medical abortion should be within the reach of every woman, notably mothers. Now and then public meetings to that effect are being held. The speakers of this agitation are mainly Johann Ferah, a former type-setter, now author, and Dr. Fritz Wittel, a physician. The awkward thing on the part of the former is that he is against the propagation of Birth Control methods, and exclusively wishes only the propaganda of the right of abortion.

AT THE SIDE of this movement there is the neo-malthusian movement, which is in Austria solely represented by the anarchists and their "Covenant of no-governmental socialists." Right after the revolution, preparations were made for the publication of a pamphlet which was, for the first time, absolutely out-spoken on the subject. There appeared again in the autumn a small pamphlet without consequences! How to prevent unwanted conception and pregnancy. An indispensable aid for all. Though the entire pamphlet was written and typographically set up in Austria, still there was started a false publishing firm of befriended people in a foreign country, so as to waylay any and every state prosecution, which was and is, to be feared. The first edition of the pamphlet was 20,000 which went speedily off, so that in the middle of 1920, there already appeared the second edition, comprising the same amount as the former one.

Public gatherings about the subject of neo-malthusianism are hardly, if ever, held in Vienna or Austria at large. Church and State are very much against this propaganda and it is therefore only carried on by the extreme left of the labor-movement, viz. the anarchists. As for the socialists, they are either indifferent or hostile, the "communists" absolutely against the subject. Austria does not, unlike Bohemia, possess a somewhat liberal bourgeoisie; the Austrian bourgeoisie is uniformly clerical, bigotted, and thus neo-malthusianism lives for its wealthy circles only in the privileged practices of house-doctors, and in the very few chemist shops in which neo-malthusian means can be procured at very expensive rates.

THOUGH THERE IS hardly any public lecturing agitation carried on in Austria and Germany, still the authorities are very much alarmed by the subterranean advances it is making. There are rumors that the laws, forbidding the sale of means of prevention existing in the monarchy are to be forfeited in the republic. The only thing which is preventing these measures are the protests of some physicians, notably some of the foremost authorities on sex questions. Dr. Wilhelm Stekel—also one of the pioneers of liberty in sex—who point out that the total prohibition of means of prevention means the inevitable increase of sexual diseases.

However small the neo-malthusian movement in Austria is, it is not going to stop or to be stopped. Its propaganda is slowly, but surely making headway.

Birth Control and Woman's Liberty

By Harold Cox

UNTIL RECENTLY THE question of Birth Control has been more or less tabooed by the newspaper press. Newspapers which will publish columns of reports of sensational divorce cases appear to regard the discussion of the problem of the birth-rate as not quite seemly. Yet of all human problems it is finally the most important. Some aspects of the problem are debatable; others have no room for argument. It is a possible question for debate whether a nation will be stronger by breeding slowly, as the French did before the war, or by multiplying babies recklessly, as the Russians and the Chinese do. But it is beyond dispute that if in any given family the babies follow one another too rapidly, the health of the mother suffers and the children receive inadequate attention. It is this aspect of the question which I, as a man, submit ought to appeal to all women.

We have heard much lately about sex emancipation, about the right of woman to vote and to work. I am in the fullest agreement with women who assert that sex ought to be no bar to the enjoyment of civic rights, or to the claim for industrial freedom. But for the married woman, neither of these rights is comparable in importance with the rights to the control of her own body. A married woman in the poorer classes is liable at any moment to be subjected to the prolonged discomfort of pregnancy, ending in the pains and dangers of parturition. That pregnancy and parturition are natural phases of life does not alter the fact that in their physical effects they are equivalent to a serious disease, and a woman has the right to claim that she shall not be subjected to the discomforts and dangers involved unless she deliberately desires to bring a child into the world. The average woman probably desires to have at least one child; some women desire to have quite large families; but no woman desires to have a new pregnancy forced upon her before she has fully recovered from the effects of the last child-birth, or before the baby then born has grown out of babyhood.

YET UNLESS THE woman and her husband know how to control conception, the pregnancies may succeed one another with a frequency which makes the woman's life one long disease and leaves her no leisure to watch over her up-growing children. That is not only an injustice to her, it is a wrong to the race. If the mother is weakened by too frequent pregnancies her children will be born weak; if they are unable to enjoy a mother's care during early childhood, they will suffer both in health and character. Many of them will die. One of the best established of statistical facts throughout the world is that a high birth-rate means a high infantile death-rate. Every year, in this country as in all countries, tens of thousands of women are compelled against their will to produce babies, who are doomed within a few months to die. The sufferings and anxieties imposed upon these mothers are an absolute waste for which there is no compensation. The nation gains

nothing from the birth of these babies, who flicker out their lives for a few days or months. The cost of bringing them into the world, with the cost of their brief maintenance, is a net loss to the community.

Surely, then, from the national as well as from the women's point of view, it is right that married couples in all classes should take measures to avoid conception when they do not want children. To suggest, as some theological writers have done, that conception should be avoided by abstinence from the basic relationship of married life is to mock at human nature. The vast majority of the population will not so abstain. Except in the poorer classes the problem has already settled itself. Throughout the middle and upper classes, the control of conception is almost universally practised. It is also very widely practised by well-to-do artisans, and in many countries by agricultural laborers. But there remains a considerable mass of people, especially in the slums of our large towns, who continue to breed recklessly. Possibly some of these people are of the type that never take thought for the morrow, but it is difficult to believe that there are many women, even in the poorest classes, who would run the risk of an unwanted pregnancy if they knew how to prevent conception. At any rate it is worth while that all should be taught, even if only some avail themselves of the knowledge. For this reason I hold that Dr. Marie Stopes and her husband, Mr. Roe, have rendered a real service to the community in opening a Mothers' Clinic in a poor district of London (61 Marlborough Road, Holloway), where married women will be able to obtain from a qualified nurse the necessary information. This is a practical piece of work that is worth a million speeches about a new world.

IT MAY BE suggested that if this knowledge spreads the result will be to produce a substantial reduction in the rate at which our population is growing, perhaps even to stop its growth altogether. I hope so. During the first decade of the twentieth century our population was increasing at a rate which, if continued for 360 years, would have produced for England and Wales alone a greater number of inhabitants than the whole world contains. Obviously, such a rate of increase could not be maintained for that period, or even for a quarter of it. Before the century ended we should be killing one another to find room to live. Undoubtedly there would be some national risk if the population of our country were to decline very rapidly while the population of countries that might be our enemies continued to grow. But it is fairly certain that all the higher races are already adopting the policy of Birth Control. If occasion should arise, the slow-breeding races must league themselves together for common defense.

At the present time England is, in my opinion, over-popu-

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NEO-MALTHUSIAN MOVEMENT

(Concluded from page 5)

for Leicester), Admiral Sir Percy Scott, Councillor H. V. Roe, Dr. Marie Stopes, and Mr. Aylmer Maude. A proposal to form a society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress was put forward. The large audience was greatly interested, and the chairman gave a powerful address on the national importance of this question. There was no opposition, but a protest was raised by a Roman Catholic priest as the audience was dispersing.

The sudden and strenuous activity of the Birth Control campaign has evidently come as a bombshell to the Roman Catholics, who have been sending emissaries to take notes at our meetings, and warning their followers not to attend them. A protest against our South London Campaign appeared in the Catholic Press from Father O'Mara, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, and articles and pamphlets have been written by Roman Catholics denouncing our propaganda and that of Dr. Marie Stopes. These protests can but enlist public sympathy on our side, as they are written in such a disgusting tone, and with such callous disregard of human suffering, that they cannot fail to alienate all unprejudiced readers from them. We have no fear of interference as a result of their efforts, as it is evident that both the Government and public opinion is overwhelmingly on our side. In a lecture given by the writer at the Richmond Young Women's Christian Association recently to an audience of the Women's Citizen's Association, under the Chairmanship of Lady Nott Bower, not only was there no opposition, but several ladies including the Chairman were only concerned as to whether compulsion or even sterilization would not be necessary. This fact alone shows how public opinion has been educated by the revelations of the serious amount of defectiveness during the war, and the discussions concerning venereal disease; while the political enfranchisement of women has emboldened them to express their point of view openly in public affairs. An important meeting has also just been held at the Medico-Legal Society which the recently appointed Professor of Gynecology, Dr. Louise McIlroy, depreciated Birth Control on national and religious as well as medical grounds, but was opposed by Lord Chief Justice Russel, Dr. Haden Guest, Mr. G. B. Shaw, and the President, the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Atkin. There was no legal support for Dr. McIlroy, and only the medical men, Dr.

Armand Routh, who has always been an opponent of Birth Control and Dr. Connor expressed any objection to contraceptives on medical grounds.

BIRTH CONTROL PROMISES to be the great subject of discussion in the coming season, and with the activity with which we hope to press forward the propaganda, and the powerful support of many public authorities, such as the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. G. H. Roberts and other Labor Leaders, as well as other prominent persons who are nearly ready to come forward, the success of our cause is assured. The Eugenics movement in England has now become almost completely sympathetic to the Neo-Malthusian cause, and will prove a valuable ally.

Although the public press has not yet come forward openly in support of Birth Control, there are signs that it will do so very shortly. The serious industrial situation and high cost of living since the war has revived interest in the population question, and the *Morning Post* has boldly asserted that there are ten million too many people in this country. Also the discussion concerning the Japanese treaty has revealed the serious difficulty with which the world is confronted on account of the rapid increase of the Japanese population, while articles are appearing on the famines in China and India and the general shortage of food.

Two important events are looked forward to in August. Mrs. Sanger hopes to attend the League of Nations Congress in Geneva, and it is possible that the resolution sent up by the Malthusian League three years ago may be revived. As President of the International New-Malthusian Bureau of Correspondence and Defense, the writer is also calling a meeting of experts on contraceptive devices at the Hague on August 29th and 30th, in order to secure the most authoritative and up-to-date opinion as to the most reliable and cheapest contraceptives. The Malthusian League is also sending a Medical representative to investigate this matter before the conference. After this conference new practical leaflets will be prepared, and it is hoped that the information elicited will prove of considerable value to the Birth Control movement.

We are deeply interested in the rapid progress of the Birth Control movement in the U. S. A., and send our heartiest congratulations to our American friends on their remarkably active and successful propaganda.

Birth Control and the Immigrant

By John Di Gregorio

THE IMMIGRANTS, of late, have been made the target of the solicitous cares of all kinds of "Americanizing" agencies. They have been exhorted to learn the English language, to read the Declaration of Independence, to memorize the Constitution, to get into the spirit of our fatherly laws, to quiver with awe before our just courts, to be subservient to their employers, to produce more and take less, to be industrious, thrifty, frugal, and content, and to acquire all other knowledge of virtues that are supposed to form the foundation and inspiration of the sane, safe and orderly American

citizen. The fact that all this deignful solicitude has fallen, for most part, upon unresponsive ingrates does not detract at all from the merits of the noble efforts and it merely shows that people born abroad are, as a rule, incapable of grasping the altitude of Americanism with all that it implies and that they can only appreciate such vulgar things as good wages, fair treatment, comfortable and dignified living, and the like.

There is one good feature of native accomplishment, however, which has been overlooked by the above extolled agen-

(Continued on page 18)

The Greatest Need in Puerto Rico

By Elisabeth Freeman

IF ONE WANTS a lesson in Birth Control I recommend them to pay a visit to Puerto Rico.

During the nearly twenty-three years of American occupation, the population has increased from 953,243 (1898-1899) to 1,263,474 (1918-1919), on an island of about 3,600 square miles or 300 persons to every square mile.

As there is no definite regulation about registering births it is difficult to gather statistics, but the report of the Health Officer states there are 7,603 babies under one year die each year. 3,666 between one and two years of age, 4,245 between two and five years and 4,063 still births.

In view of these figures (Health Officer's 1919) we find from the same pen: "A scientific and well based sanitary organization must direct its utmost effects to the accomplishment of the three fundamental objectives which integrate social hygiene-dynamics; that is, to decrease mortality, INCREASE NATALITY, and to obtain greatest longevity within the limits fixed by nature on human existence, a trilogy, which resting on *nuptiality* and on sound fecundity, constitutes the characteristics of modern sanitary science."

The living conditions of the workers are deplorable. Mothers breed under conditions that our Government considers far from fit for pigs to breed in. Of course there are profits in breeding high grade pigs, and the same can be said of breeding an ignorant diseased race in Puerto Rico, because the exploiters of labor consider them only fit for long hours and poor pay. When remarking to an American of long residence in Puerto Rico about these ghastly living and working conditions, he remarked, "They are happy in their poverty." A typical bourgeois viewpoint. To think of happiness in the primitive huts made of palm leaves, or gasoline cans, or stray boards and boxes, families of eight and ten persons living in one room 8x10 feet. The heads of these families earn from 70c to \$1.50 per day and the mothers earn a little extra by washing or bending over a frame making their beautiful embroidery.

SANITATION AND HYGIENE are unknown in these hovels, oftentimes built beside open sewers, where stagnant water pulutes the air. No attention to hygiene can be given during pregnancy; to the diseases of the father and pregnant mother, especially to gravid intoxication; to the various dystorcias, wholly preventable; to tuberculosis, syphilis, etc. If a child overcomes such tare and is born to life with the stigma and characteristics of congenital debility it is doomed to an early death; those who live are doomed to lives of neglect, disease and undernourishment. It is reported there are 25,000 homeless children in the Island. These children are ill-clad and driven to stealing for food. It is a shocking spectacle to see a ragged child beg a penny and when he or she receives it, run madly to the nearest bakery or grocers and buy bread, sharing it with their less fortunate hungry brothers. One

realizes that this large number of homeless children breeds thieves and shiftless citizens, even if we do not take into account the suffering and hardship of bringing them into the world.

The Bureau of Education reports there are 450,000 school children between 5 and 18 years, of this number 185,000 attend school—only about 41 per cent. of the children—this means 265,000 are unable to obtain education; first because there are not sufficient schools; second the children are compelled to have suitable clothing and wear shoes. This may sound a simple matter, but when a man has ten or more children under 15 years of age, (and this is the rule rather than the exception) and he is only earning 70c. to \$1.50 per day, and also possibly keeping several mistresses and their families, it is impossible to feed and clothe this brood. In the country a child rarely has any clothing before it is eight years old.

IN HIS MESSAGE to the Legislature the Governor said, "Puerto Rico will not be ready to assume its proper permanent status until we have lifted the great masses of our people out of their present condition of illiteracy, disease and poverty.

"This is an immense task, especially when we consider the *dense and rapidly increasing population of the Island*. In order to accomplish it we will be obliged in all the years to follow to use all public money available to push forward the general education of the people, to wage relentless war against wide-spread diseases, especially hook worm, malaria and tuberculosis, to diversify and develop our agriculture, promote and protect our commerce and communications, and increase in every possible way our industries so as to furnish employment at fair wages for the great and increasing population that live in Puerto Rico."

From this Island hundreds of millions of dollars worth of wealth goes every year into the pockets of the capitalists of the United States and Spain yet one meets poverty in an unbelievable form and very little done to alleviate it.

It is into these unfair conditions that women are asked to "increase natality." With absolutely nothing to look forward to making their home a better place for their children to be born into. With no voice in their Government and no understanding as to how they can change their status. They want to know how to prevent overbreeding but no one is allowed to tell them and they are resigned and go on being cattle instead of human beings.

Have you volunteered your services to Mrs. Anne Kennedy for the Birth Control Conference of November 11th to 13th? Write today!

GERMAN REPORT

(Continued from page 13)

THEREFORE THE Neo-Malthusian Propaganda shows also the most effect in the large cities.

Number of births per 1,000 in Prussian cities

	1875-80	1881-85	1886-90	1891-95	1896-1900
Aacken ----	43.2	41.3	38.3	37.1	35.7
Altona ----	44.1	39.3	38.2	37.9	34.3
Barmen ----	48.0	40.1	38.2	35.7	35.5
BERLIN ----	44.9	38.4	34.9	31.6	28.9
Breslau ----	43.2	38.8	37.3	36.8	35.9
Charlotten- burg ----	46.9	41.4	38.7	36.1	31.6
Danzig ----	41.4	38.3	37.1	34.8	35.5
Dortmund --	54.6	48.7	44.2	43.1	45.8
Elterfeld ---	45.5	41.5	38.7	35.6	35.6
Essen ----	53.5	48.7	44.1	45.9	46.2
Frankfurt a/Main --	35.2	30.0	27.8	28.7	30.6
Halle a/L --	41.3	39.5	38.5	38.9	36.2
Hanover ----	40.2	35.6	34.7	35.4	35
Konigsberg i/P (P) --	39	36.5	35.4	32.8	32.4
Kaefeld ----	46.4	44.4	42.6	35.7	30.9
Magdeburg -	39.5	37.	41.7	39.1	35.1
Posen ----	40.1	36.1	34.9	31.6	32

The general movement in Germany is indicated above.

However, this reduction, the still larger increase of population was more than sufficient to influence unfavorably the wages, which otherwise most likely would have shown a better tendency.

SINCE 1914, THE beginning of the war, all circumstances were quite altered. The young men, beginning with the 20th year of age had to go to the Army, the number of marriages was very reduced, and as also the married men until 40 were conscripted for war purposes and for years separated from their wives, the births were also much reduced, while on the other side heavy losses on the battlefields diminished the population. Again since the end of the long war, November, 1918, things are much otherwise. The marriages so long suspended by the war show a very large increase, also the number of births.

But the present circumstances in Germany—extremely heavy taxes, the low value of our money, enhancing of all necessities, deficiency of labor in many establishments, the export difficulties, caused by the imposed hostile regulations by France and England until 50 per cent. of value—are so, that nearly nobody in Germany can come to a clear idea, how these things may come to a supportable end and so also I myself not to a sufficient impression, to give you at present therein a suitable report.

The public opinion since the war has also rendered it difficult to maintain publicity and propaganda concerning the Neo-Malthusian questions, but I believe that this reserve shall not endure a long time. Which way their development may take, is at present not clearly to foresee.

I remain very respectfully, MAX HAUSMEISTER, Secretary.

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE IMMIGRANT

(Concluded from page 16)

cies in their preachments to the aliens, and that is, Birth Control, the high art so generally, skillfully, and deftly practised by the "best people" in the country. The omission is all the more regrettable and culpable, because the immigrants that come to these blessed shores need a working knowledge of Birth Control more than all uplifting exhortation put together. In fact, is it of any benefit to them to know the language, the customs, and the laws of the country as long as they are burdened with the exhausting care and concern of a lot of children which they can neither feed, nor clothe, nor educate properly?

THE TRUTH OF the matter is, that those self-appointed agencies are the very ones that combat Birth Control. Knowingly or unknowingly, both by commission and omission, they aim only at one result: to keep the immigrant down to the state of a tame and obedient serf. They have no other purpose. If they did, if they were not hypocritical and fearful, they would realize that a large family makes the life of the immigrant a continuous misery; they would teach the newly arrived that children are a blessing only when they can be attended to and cared for; they would impart to them one of the most helpful ideas of self-defense—Birth Control.

In order to realize how much the immigrants need such instruction, one must reflect that most of the people coming here from Europe and other places, are poor peasants or poor artisans with nothing in the world except their willingness and their ability to do something that will secure a better living for them. This is the long and short of immigration's driving power, all the talk about the search for liberty or any other chimera being pure fiction. The men along with the women, as soon as they arrive, must find employment, and, whether they are handicapped by children or not, they must keep on toiling day after day without cessation. Often the women must go to the factories until the very eve of becoming mothers and must leave their offspring to take care of themselves as best they can. These people come here totally ignorant of preventive measures, often without even a suspicion of the existence of such measures, and they keep on bringing children into a world that offers no protection and no sympathy.

In addition to being ignorant, some of these people are afraid of interfering in any manner with the merciless ways of nature owing to religious scruples and they accept with stolidity all the children that the Lord chooses to send to them.

UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES the dictates of law, of custom, and of religion, are cruelty in itself and result in the most appalling effects upon the parents and upon the children, and it is hard to understand why such a large portion of mankind submit supinely, without protest and without rebellion, to the impositions of stubborn, relentless traditions!

Under such circumstances it behooves the people who hold as sacred the lives and the well-being of their kind, and not myths and phantoms, the people of heart and of mind to fight

vigorously all the elements of reaction whether clothed in law, in custom or in religion, and to help the helpless to get free from their deadly tentacles.

The fight that has been made heretofore in this country has surely been wholehearted and well-meaning, but it has been in the nature of a defensive fight, low-voiced, almost reverent and certainly deferential to the enemy; whereas it should be aggressive, loud, penetrating and denunciatory.

Who are those who oppose Birth Control, anyway? The most hidebound conservatives, the militarists, the big employers, the churches: in a word, all the forces that would stay progress, that would forbid all pleasures, that would cast social life into an unbreakable mold. Why should they be spoken to submissively? What right have they to impose upon the poor such an unbearable burden as an unlimited number of children? Why don't they practice what they preach? And why can't they be attacked openly for not practising what they preach? What right has the Catholic Church, for instance, the church that condemns its direct servants to sterility for life, to condemn its followers to unbound fertility? Why shouldn't we open the book of history old and modern, and expose the sham and the scandal of enforced celibacy of the preachers of non-interference with the will of God?

It is to be hoped that the fight for Birth Control will take a new turn and that soon there will be not one, but scores of publications smashing at the ramparts of darkness, expounding in many languages the ideas of freedom to the foreign born women, and of self-respect, self-reliance and self-mastery to all poor immigrants that form so large and so worthy a part of our population.

MRS. MARGARET SANGER,

Dear Madam:

Could you inform me as to the method or methods you advocate to control child birth? Can you send me this information by letter? If so it will be very much appreciated. If not will you please tell me if there is any means of obtaining this information? I have read quite a bit along this line but nothing that gives the method. I am sorely in need of this information. I have two children and have miscarried within 5 years. My health is in no condition to bear children and if you could give me this information or inform me as to how I can obtain this information, it would be much appreciated. May I hear from you soon?

Yours truly,

BIRTH CONTROL—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

By Margaret Sanger

(Concluded from July Issue)

OPPONENTS OF BIRTH CONTROL have often objected to this practice on the ground that it was injurious to the health of the woman who practices it, and that it often renders the woman sterile. This accusation is untrue. It grows out of the confusion between Birth Control and abortion. Repeatedly performed abortions, it has been proven, may have the most injurious effect on women and may render them sterile. Abortion is dangerous alike to the mother and the child. It is a

practice that must be combatted with all the weapons at our command. Abortions often produce inflammations and dangerous infections. Often they are unsuccessful, especially when an unfortunate woman attempts to induce them herself. The result is often a permanent injury to the child.

In order to combat this disgraceful custom of abortion, into which thousands of American women are forced by the cruelty and stupidity of our laws, nothing is more effective and hygienic than the alternative of Birth Control. As a great English authority on sex, Havelock Ellis, has pointed out, in order to do away with the need for abortion our main reliance must be placed on increased foresight in the determination of conception and increased knowledge of the means of preventing conception. In addition there must be awakened a great social valuation of mothers and children. There can be no doubt that in many charges of criminal abortion the real offence lies at the door of those who fail to exercise their social and professional duty in making known the more natural and hygienic methods of Birth Control, and who in their blind servility to the customs of the past are committing irreparable crimes against the future of the race.

Abortion is the great indictment against a civilization that tries to enslave motherhood. High infant mortality rates are the inevitable result and consequence of bringing too many children into the world. Add to these unfortunates the victims of the great racial diseases, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and all transmissible maladies of this type, and one gains a comprehension of the extent of dependents who are becoming an ever increasing burden upon society.

THE PRESENT SITUATION, in all countries of the world, and for all races, is of the utmost seriousness. While the better types in all countries are restricting their numbers in order to improve the quality of the humanity of the future, the undernourished, the diseased and the feeble-minded are encouraged to reproduce and multiply their numbers by the political leaders and the untrained sentiments of society at large. In our blind worship of mere numbers, we are losing sight of the invaluable qualities of self-reliance, independence, and health, without which neither an individual, a nation nor a race can long survive in the world struggle. To meet this problem as a great scientist has recently pointed out, *we need not more of the fit, but fewer of the unfit.* It would be unbelievable, unless it were not a cruel fact of our American civilization, that syphilitics, consumptives, epileptics and semi-idiots are permitted to propagate their own curse, both what is called legitimately and illegitimately. Is it not time to protect ourselves and our children and our children's children? The propagation of the degenerate, the imbecile, the feeble-minded, should be prevented. We have no way of controlling the syphilitic and gonorrhoeic who pass their blights on to women, deteriorate her offspring, and commit an unpardonable crime against the human race. As a great scientist has said: "We have come to this; that half of us are obliged to watch, and nurse, and support the other half, *most of whom should never have been born.*"

In the gloom which shrouds the future of civilized com-

munities, the same great authority, William Bateson, points out, there is one factor which gives encouragement and hope: the decline in the birth rate. It is not the *maximum* number that we need but the *optimum*.

IN THE GREAT problems of the future, in the programs of reconstruction and re-creation of human society, of what importance is the problem of Birth Control? My readers of the Orient may well ask this question. Our answer is definite: None of the problems of the future of humanity can be solved at all, I must assert with all the emphasis at my command, unless they are solved scientifically. Too long have we attempted to advance and better poor struggling humanity upon the basis of politics, of sentiment, or of religions. Each of these has dismally failed. You may act according to the most benign and humanitarian motives; you may even find these satisfactory in four cases out of five; but in the fifth case, you may destroy all the efforts you have accomplished in the other four. It is hard to believe that what you instinctively feel to be kind, is in the long run, cruel. Yet in our sentimental and religious praise of fecundity and fertility, we are encouraging the most dangerous and unfit elements in the community to spawn and reproduce themselves. We are learning that too many charities and philanthropies are not merely accomplishing nothing toward the prevents of the evils they attempt to palliate, but are actually the deep-seated causes of aggravation.

The Great War has taught us that the world is but one community. Just as in any city, the indigent and dependent classes must be supported by the self-reliant and prosperous, so we are gradually learning that the over-populated countries are a menace to the peace and security of the less densely settled ones. When overpopulated countries learn that there is neither strength nor cohesive force in mere numbers, but in the development of a strong and healthy self-sustaining population, a new direction will be given to national aims; and much will be done toward the elimination of waste and war. The strength and wealth of a country are to be sought, not in mere numbers, but in the number of self-reliant and independent men and women, who have physical, intellectual and productive value. Is there any more truly patriotic doctrine? Put into effect the world over, Birth Control would make possible the growth and intensive development of happy nations. Without it, no League of Nations can ever eliminate contentions and war. Birth Control is the only true foundation of national strength and security.

THE CRITICS OF Birth Control never tire of condemning this doctrine as negative, destructive, dysgenic, and conducive to "race suicide." Statistics prove the contrary. The population of Holland is increasing. The stature is increasing. It is likewise evident that Birth Control is, wherever practised, correlated with personal hygiene and cleanliness, with individual responsibility and intelligence. It awakens a new interest in, and heightens the social and racial value of, fewer but better children. It decreases the infant mortality rate; it increases the survival rate. It is therefore of pivotal importance to the future of the world.

It shows us that the problem of human happiness is composed of three parts to be solved in this order and this order alone: good birth, good education, and good social and international organization. The efforts to solve one of the latter parts of this world problem are futile unless we begin with the basic and fundamental one. The struggle, the servitude, the wars between nations, between societies, between individuals, are the inevitable consequences of this widespread ignorance. Revolutions bring only changes of classes, spoliations of privileged persons for the benefit of newly privileged persons, without any lessening of the sum total of human suffering. The right to live, to work, to mutual aid, to self-expression, are all made impossible through this uncontrolled fertility of the unfit, made void and senseless. Birth Control points, to all peoples under the sun, the one and only way which can lead all nations to well-being, independence, and dignity,—to peace, justice and happiness.

Finis.

BIRTH CONTROL AND WOMAN'S LIBERTY

(Concluded from page 15)

lated. Millions of people are living in over-crowded districts of over-grown towns. Their lives are spent in crowded factories, in crowded streets, in crowded bedrooms. They are for ever jostling one another, with insufficient elbow-room for the movement of their bodies, and no chance of solitude for the development of their minds. Under such conditions our race may, indeed, continue to increase for a time in numbers, but it will certainly decline in greatness. Nor can we avoid these evils, as is often thoughtlessly suggested, by means of emigration to the colonies. The people who have been born and bred in the crowded districts of our great towns will not emigrate, and most of them would be useless if they did. In that direction there is no hope. If we wish to raise the average standard of our race, and to enlarge the opportunities of life for all the inhabitants of our island, we must induce the masses of our town-bred people to cease from multiplying their numbers. The first step to that end is to spread the knowledge which gives to women power to avoid unwanted pregnancies.

A DRAMATIC LETTER

(Concluded from page 10)

baby was older, and when she was born I was torn very badly and had to be sewn.

Kindly excuse me for taking so much of your time as perhaps you won't be interested in my affairs but I thought you would understand better if I told you everything. I don't think I am capable of having a large family as I am not strong enough to do what is right by them. I suffer from severe headaches and I was anaemic before I was married. So if there is any advice you can give me will you kindly do so.

Mrs. —

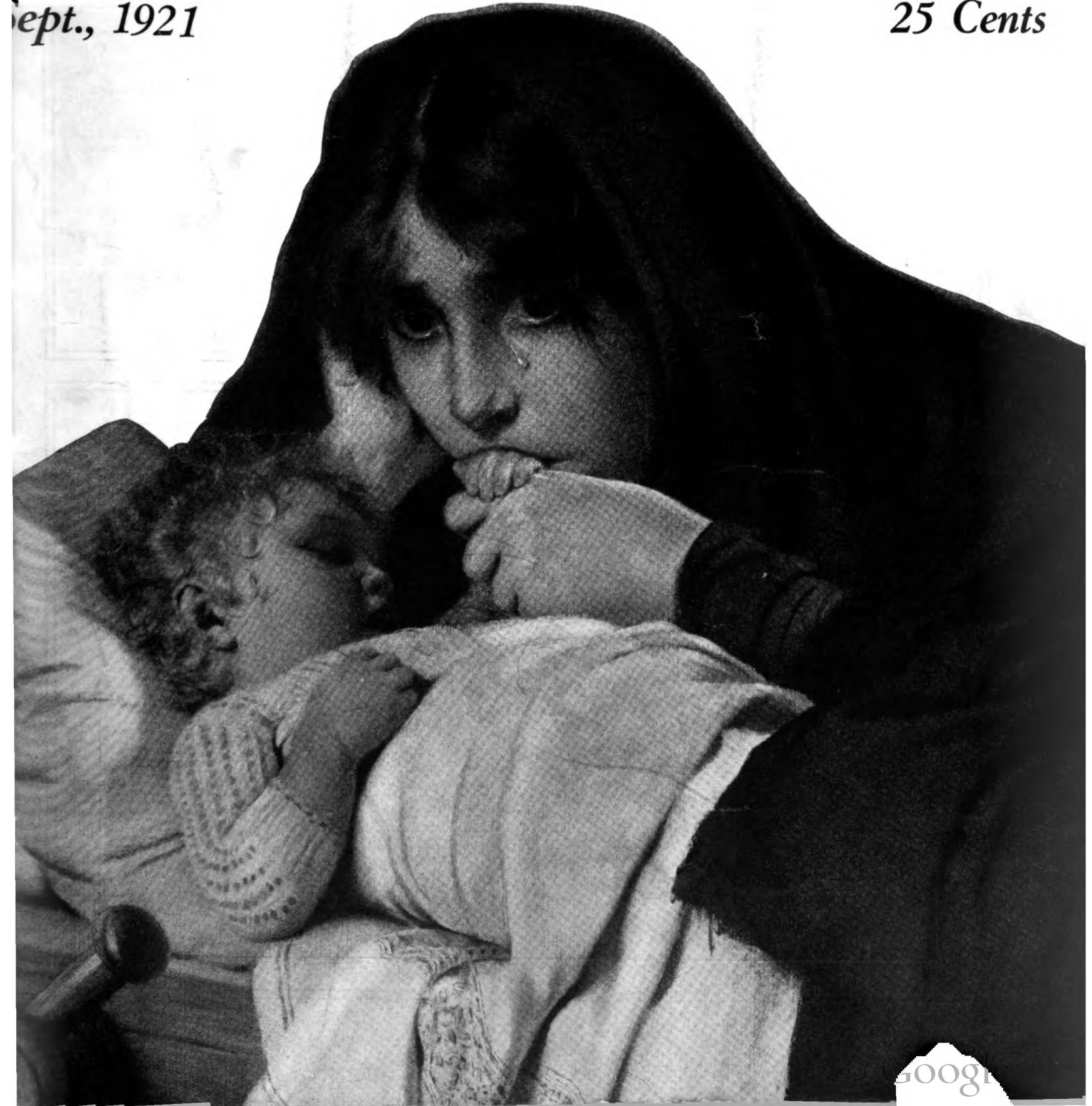
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FIRST AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE NUMBER

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Sept., 1921

25 Cents



BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
- GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
- FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
- SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
- BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
- AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janeiro.
- CUBA AVTJGQ.—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWEDEN (1911).—Sallskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
- MEXICO, (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

IN THE UNITED STATES:

Notice

The list of organizations has been left out until the Conference meets when the various leagues will be reorganized.

An Appeal

In order to make the coming American Birth Control Conference—November 11th—13th, a success, we need your help!

Could you send a donation toward the expenses? If you have \$100.00 send us that. If you have \$50.00 or \$25.00 to help insure success, send it, or even a smaller amount—send that!

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

SEPTEMBER, 1921

No. 9

The Leaders and the Cause

CENTURIES DRAG with leaden feet to certain elements of humanity who ardently desire the accomplishment of ideals.

Looking back, it all appears to have taken only a short while.

Yet in the midst of the milling of the process of time, it was as though nothing moved, nothing happened.

Far ahead, the slender few grouped about the tattered standards, see Victory written clearly across the future.

They fight on, and in falling, hand the guerdons of battle to more capable hands—hands that have become dexterous by their teaching. Even then the war seems lethargic in the light of their enthusiasm.

Suddenly, acting as the result of some unexplained manifestation of Destiny, the right leaders come forth—one of those too pitifully few Joan of Arcs of life—and straightway the battle is carried into the enemy's territory and the war is won.

Without these years of preparation the leaders could not have hoped for success.

Without the leaders, the long years of struggle could not have culminated in decisive victory.

And without the patient work of those patient workers who achieve under the cloak of silence, and only for the good of the cause, the leaders would have been helpless.

All have been necessary—each to the other.

The pity is that many great movements have failed because either one or the other of these great necessities to human progress, was lacking.

Without a foundation, no building can stand.

We are all familiar with the old story of the builder who erected his home upon sand.

Without the brain and the will that conceived and carried the architectural plans into execution and adapted them not only to the future but to the exigencies of the present, the building would not have been erected.

AND THE ARCHITECT would have been left only with the plans had there not been the workers who gave themselves up to the ideals embodied in the house.

Birth Control has been one of those movements that has been fortunate both in its workers and its leaders.

To those who have struggled during the past, future success has ever seemed certain, though far off. There was no diminution of effort because of delays or apathy on the part of the world at large.

To such loyal workers as the Drysdales in England, and the little knot of enthusiasts in America, toiling on in silence year after year, there has only been one desire—the ultimate adoption of Birth Control as a deterrent to overcrowding of the earth, with the resultants of war, famine, disease and poverty.

Here and there in other countries, little groups have done what they could.

Now leaders have come forward everywhere and gathered together the loose materials, raised the standard of revolt in the very face of fury, entered the enemy's camp with fearless faith in truth, and the battle has been started on the way to victory.

Today Birth Control stands at the doorway of humanity's future.

To refuse recognition of the truth now that it has been laid bare, will do no good.

It has culminated in the demand that a conference of doctors, scientists and social workers be called where the subject may be discussed from every angle. Likewise, when these delegates have come together from all over the United States, there will be ample opportunity to form a Birth Control League—a definite co-operation of those minds in America best fitted for carrying on this great work.

The dates have been set: November 11th to 13th. The city: New York. It only remains for those who have not already volunteered their services, to do so at once.

H. H.

GOSSIP OF THE CONFERENCE

Mrs. George H. Day, Sr., of Hartford, Conn., is forming a committee for the maintenance of Headquarters. The committee under her direction has located suitable headquarters at 117 West 46th St., New York City. There is a large reception room and three private offices. It is furnished and equipped with telephones (Bryant 0248) with three extensions. These private offices will be used by the three departments:—Organization, Field Extension and Publicity. These Headquarters are to be devoted only to the needs of the Conference. The committee is to be made up by a group of people who will support it. Each member is asked to contribute \$25.00 a year toward the maintenance of Headquarters.

Clara Louise Rowe has become associated with Headquarters as Director of the Field Extension Work.

Anne Kennedy will be the Executive Secretary and is in charge of the general arrangements for the Conference.

In order to facilitate the enormous work of sending delegates from over the country to the Conference, it has been found necessary to divide the organization into State groups under Chairmen.

Mrs. Donald Hooker, of Baltimore, has taken over the responsibility of sending delegates from Maryland. Mrs. Hooker is the former Maryland State Chairman for the National Woman's Party and has devoted a great deal of time to Social Hygiene in her state.

Miss May Windsor of Haverford, Pa., a prominent suffragist, has taken over the Chairmanship for her state.

Mrs. Clara Carter of New Jersey has accepted the Chairmanship of her state.

The Chairmanship of Indiana has been assumed by Mrs. Sara Messing Stein, prominently known through press activities and varied public work.

Mrs. William McGraw of Michigan, well known for her legislative work, has accepted the Chairmanship of her state.

Many other states are being organized under Chairmen. As fast as the organizations are completed they will be listed here under the names of the Chairmen.

FIGURES FROM GERMANY

The latest records from Berlin are:

Year 1920, births 33,469; marriages, 28,369, as against year 1913, births, 40,833; marriages 21,194. Berlin only, suburbs excluded.

A CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

A CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS and specialists met at the Hague, August 28th and 29th where methods of Birth Control were discussed. The notice given to the REVIEW says that arrangements were to be made at this conference for holding a large International Birth Control meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, October, 1922. A more complete report will be given in a forthcoming issue.

IMPORTANT NEWS

HAROLD COX, the editor of the Edinburgh Review, eminent English writer and authority, has agreed to attend the Birth Control Conference.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE LOU ROGERS

ANNE KENNEDY BLANCHE SCHRACK

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A Japanese View of Birth Control

By Baroness S. K. Ishimoto

(An eminent Baroness of the Japanese Empire whose husband's father was the Minister of War during the Russo-Japanese War. She is extensively interested in the Birth Control movement and has formed a League in Tokyo. As she is a woman of great prominence, her writings are widely read and quoted.)

THE MEANING OF BIRTH CONTROL

BIRTH CONTROL IS called *Sanji Seigen* in Japan. This word means limitation of birth. But by Birth Control we mean the ability to have a child when one is desired, and to avoid having one when it is not. Lately, the term Voluntary Motherhood, in the sense of birth restriction, is also widely used. This enlightens the problem of the relationship between the obligation of parents to bring up their children and the income necessary for this duty. In Japan the difference between Birth Control and Eugenics is not as clear as it should be. Eugenics had been advocated in ancient Greece. Its object is to improve the quality of the children by the mating of the finer types of men and women. However, it is true that by Birth Control, a finer type of child is produced than the children of chance, where Birth Control methods are not used. But this is not the principal object of Birth Control.

NECESSITY OF BIRTH CONTROL

To promote the civilized life of Mankind, the necessity of Birth Control is now universally recognized. And especially so in Japan. Let us observe this question from two standpoints: First, from the viewpoint of mankind at large; then from that of the Japanese.

a) *Birth Control is necessary to civilization.* Hasn't the Great War shaken human civilization to its very foundations? The young men lost in that war numbered about nine millions. The money spent only for direct war purposes is estimated at about 360,000,000,000 Yen (\$180,000,000,000). The time for the restoration of the devastated regions will be at least ten years.

BUT WHAT WAS the real cause of this Great War? It was neither the ambition of the Kaiser, nor the skilful diplomatic aim of Great Britain to dominate the world. It was the mutual economic oppression of the peoples of Central Europe. They had simply grown into a mutual menace, by the uncontrolled increase of population. Within the last fifty years, more than 100,000,000 people were added to Germany, Austria, Russia, and the other countries of Central Europe. And yet, before the war, the Governments of these countries severely prohibited the propaganda of Birth Control. Every one who visits Europe can understand that if Columbus had not discovered America, the Great War of 1914 would have occurred 200 years previously—in the seventeenth century, by reason of the unlimited increase of population without the possibility of emigration to the new world. Really the discovery of America played the most important part in solving many of the disastrous problems arising out of the unlimited increase in population.

Therefore, if there were conscious Birth Control practised in the countries of Central Europe, as well as in others, each nation in the effort to find an outlet for its surplus population would not be forced into competition with its neighbors. It is war that destroys so much of our civilization. And war is mostly the outcome of the unlimited increase of people upon a limited area of land. So to prevent this unconscious increase in all countries is the most certain way of putting a stop to war and of promoting human civilization.

But we should explain, at the same time, that the practice of Birth Control does not lessen the strength of the young men on the battlefield, especially in the case of provoked war. We have seen a good example of this in the Great War. France had been well-known as a country practicing Birth Control; yet French soldiers developed endurance, physique, and sticking powers. They won, from the strategic point of view, the final military victory. Everybody who visited the western front attests to this fact. Moreover, it is worth while to recall that the French soldiers were superior in physical strength to those of Germany where Birth Control was looked upon by the imperial government as illegal.

IN THE NEXT place, Birth Control is especially necessary to promote civilized life, because we live in a society of Capitalism: that is, a society in which the majority of people are concerned with the problem of getting food enough to live on.

To take the example of Japan: the majority of our people expend 53.30% of their total income for food (according to the report of the Tokyo Engineering Association, August, 1919) When it is a family of eight—man, wife and six children—the cost of food amounts to 65% of the total cost of living. A truly civilized life depends upon a surplus of time and money, to assure proper education, recreation, etc. Taking the American middle class as a contrasting standard, a report on American middle class living gives us these figures:—

40 per cent. for food; 25 per cent. for dwelling and clothes; 35 per cent. for education, recreation, etc. Therefore the problem for the Japanese family is: How can we provide 35 per cent. of our income for education, recreation, culture, and not for immediate living necessities? The most practical way would be, evidently, to cut down the amount spent for food, because that consumes more than half the income. But to do this it is necessary to limit the number of children.

A few years ago in England, a *questionnaire* was sent to many homes, asking whether Birth Control was practiced, and if so, for what reason. Ninety per cent. of the answers were in the affirmative, and economic oppression was given as the cause in eighty per cent. of these answers. This indicates then that Birth Control must be the most convenient and practical

way to promote living conditions;—in such a world as ours, in which men are obliged not merely to work for their daily bread, but to bring up their children as well.

IN THE THIRD place we understand that the labor problem, one of the greatest of world questions, has risen out of the claim of labor, comprising the great majority of mankind, for its share of civilization, its right to enjoy. One key to the solution, as Malthus explained, is to limit the number of children. That is why we cannot pass lightly over the question of Birth Control, whenever the labor problem is discussed.

b) The Reason, Especially for Japan.

The present condition of Japan, no less than England, Holland, or Belgium, is a good example of the Malthusian theory. England, Holland and Belgium have even a little greater population per unit area than Japan. These countries, however, are not as hilly, and have immense natural resources, like coal and iron, to support many industrial workers. As Japan is quite the opposite in topography and natural resources, compared to these countries, she may be in fact the most densely populated country in the world. The Japanese population has already reached its maximum in food crops. The yield of rice in the normal crop is scarcely enough to feed the whole nation. There is a sharp fluctuation in the price of rice according to the expected and the actual crop. This fluctuation has always undesirable effects upon the economic life of the Japanese people. To adjust the proportion between the population and the food supplies, there are two methods. One is to send people abroad; the other is to limit the increasing population within a country. The first method has been one of the vital policies of Japanese statesmen for the past fifty years. The Chinese-Japanese war, the Russo-Japanese war, the emigration to North and South America, and to Australia, are all the results of this policy. The results have been less than was expected. The problem has become more complex than ever before. To speak without reserve;—the quality of Japanese men and women has declined by too rapid an increase of the birth rate. No wonder that such men and women cannot be welcomed any place in the world. Judging from the present social organization of Japan, it will be difficult to improve the quality of our men and women without resorting to the method of Birth Control. It is therefore necessary to adopt Birth Control—even if only to solve the problem of Japanese immigration in California, a problem too great for our Japanese statesmen. But they did not believe in Birth Control.

AS FOR THE latter problem—to adjust the proportion of food to the population—this seems too evident to demand an explanation. People are now beginning to recognize that many of the important problems that confront Japan are bound up with that of an overcrowded population. Is it not the time for far-seeing statesmen of Japan to adopt Birth Control as a national creed? Moreover, a scholar has recently attempted to show that the relation of the population to the world supply of food has already reached a crisis. One evidence of this is said to be the Great War. And how otherwise can we explain the fact that there are great famines in India, China and Russia every year, with such disastrous results to

the humans involved, morally as well as physically? We see now that there is no necessity to increase the number of men in the whole world. This fact should be pointed out to those of my country who speak of the necessity for Japanese emigration overseas.

The second reason for the necessity of Birth Control in Japan is as a method to improve the standard of living. This is emphatically necessary in a country when this standard is so low.

The third reason for Birth Control in Japan is to effect the emancipation of women. In Europe and America, this propaganda is chiefly in the hands of women. It has a special importance in the life of women. It is even more so in Japan, because the social position of woman is so low. The material and spiritual independence of the Japanese woman is far below that of women in Europe and America. One must travel abroad to realize this inferiority. The Japanese woman must be liberated to develop freely. Finer children are possible only through this development of women; since children reflect the characters of their parents.

HOW THEN CAN women be emancipated to obtain this development? The fundamental solution of a problem can only be obtained internally, by itself. So this question must be solved by women themselves. Japanese women must have time and money to seek self-development. But in the present condition of Japan, how are they to obtain the necessary time and money? Before answering this question, let us look at the life of Japanese women.

In Japan today, women spend their time mostly in pregnancy, in delivering children and in incessant household cares. The time and money spent in bearing children is too evident a fact to dwell upon here. As for household cares, the women of Japan are accustomed to serve their parents-in-law, preparing clothes according to the seasons and cooking for them as well as her children. Not less than two-thirds of the mother's time is devoted to the children when young. This time varies with the number of children. But even the unmarried woman cannot escape the care of children, for there are always boys and girls in the house in which she lives. We may say, roughly, that Japanese women sacrifice half of their lifetime in the care of children. But besides this, they are called upon to attend the parents-in-law, to serve their ignorant husbands, and even boarders. It is not too much to say that they spend their lives for others, not for themselves. In such conditions, the development of women can be helped only by the adoption of Birth Control.

Next: Birth Control has an intimate connection with money, which is so necessary for emancipation. The women sacrifice their time when the children are infants; they give money as the children become of school age. For instance: The boy goes to a middle-school, the girl to a girls' school. Each costs about *thirty yen* a month. This is about, together, \$30 a month. The father's income, in a middle class family is about 200 *yen* a month. It is therefore impossible for the mother to buy books or magazines or spend money on education or culture for herself.

(Concluded on page 17)

Reverence and Greatness

By Hugh de Sélincourt

Impressions and Comments. Second Series. 1914-1920. By Havelock Ellis. (Constable 12/net).

THERE IS SOMETHING firm and formidable, ponderous and unswerving in the customary idea of a great man; and certainly there is something loud and unsparing in the notorious figures of the moment, be they politicians, journalists, generals, publicists or what not; one raucous voice after another is raised above the general din and attracts its moment of attention, to crack and break and be forgotten. The sense of human greatness is blurred by much imposture and we are left starving for the rich nourishment which reverence alone yields and without which we are inclined to become wary, unkind and suspicious, and so naturally to find our wariness and suspicion justified. The noise and hubbub deafens our ears and distracts our vision; we spin round like sticks in an eddy until we touch some personality strong enough to lead the way once more into the course of life which lies between eternity and eternity, where the sun shines, the clouds move, the flowers bloom, the birds sing and a man can feel his place in this marvellous setting for his brief days on earth.

Havelock Ellis is such a man. When a few decades have put these troubled noisy times into perspective, his work will stand out, quietly living and deeply revered, as a contribution to that knowledge which will lead Man into his kingdom, the knowledge of Himself. Other exhaustive treatises on sex have been written; but none which, combining like his, the vision of the poet with the exact accuracy of the scientist, treats sex not as a curse from which knowledge may free a man or a woman, but as a beautiful instrument which knowledge may fit a man or woman to use for personal growth and the enrichment of the human race. He substantiates with ample detail the vision of Shelley and Blake and Whitman.

IT IS FORTUNATE to have lived in the same time as such a man and to have been aware of his beneficent presence. One good man, we are told, saved a doomed city from destruction; for one good man attracts and bears the light of wisdom without which a generation may wander in darkness and stumbling confusion. The nearer one is allowed to approach this supreme source of life, a good man's heart, the more richly does the spirit thrive. In the First Series of Impressions and Comments we were brought to the threshold of this holy place: In the Second Series we are allowed to enter. But without reverence we see nothing and we hear nothing: without reverence we are like the boy in the fairy tale who entered the Chamber of the Princess and saw nothing but a cobwebbed attic and could not believe his little attendant who saw a beautiful room and a shining woman. It is well to remember that a book says two things: the usual one to which long years of patronage have accustomed us is: "Reader, how likest thou me?"; but the other no less true of a live book is proud and challenging: it is "Reader, how like I thee?" The

more love we have in our hearts, the keener is our vision of greatness and beauty where these life-giving forces exist in others.

Let us enter then with reverence this holy place and learn what it is in the life around us and within us, to which this great man responds with pleasure or with disdain or with sadness, and notice how often the response is tinged with the fine smile of pity or delicate irony, the smile of understanding. Let us in this way learn to appreciate what greatness in a human being is, coming in the first instance speedily to realise that the common notion of bulk and weight and immobility is false, and that sensitiveness, simplicity and honesty are the distinctive qualities which an immense scope of learning serves only to make more prominent and more lovely.

IF I WERE ambitious," he writes on page 203, "I would desire no finer epitaph than that it should be said of me 'He has added a little to the sweetness of the world and a little to its light'." He has done so permanently: for wherever there is a genuine search for truth and wisdom, there will his work come to encourage to sustain and to enlighten.

He is listening to a young couple playing a duet in the flat above his (he reaches the sublime always through the homely affairs of existence) and writes (page 212):

"Dear presences out of the past are in the air, wafted on by the waves of that melody, and their soft wings once again touch me tenderly with long echoes through the inner chambers of my heart. I feel that it is worth while to have lived since I carry within these lovely presences, loving and beloved, out of the past separated by Life or by Death, yet always within, ready to drop once again the soft petals of their kisses on my lips while my unknown friends upstairs exert the magic of their strings and wires."

Two passages, which I like to put side by side indicate his attitude to the church and to religion.

"The pious devotees of Faith have clung to the conception of inspiration and they made it meaningless or even ridiculous. Yet the most fantastic vagaries of Religion, when we can penetrate to the roots of them, are based firmly on the solid foundations of Nature. The breath of God may help us to realize the intoxicating breath of the sea." (page 163).

"- - - the Church is now the plaything of antiquaries, and our Archbishop of Canterbury was the inventor of that formula so religiously, morally, even casuistically unsound, of 'regrettable necessities'." (page 108).

Hear now how mighty popular illusions fare at his hands: "Patriotism' and 'War' are not human facts. They are merely abstractions; they belong to the sphere of metaphysics, just as much as those ancient theological conceptions of Godhead and the Trinity, with their minute variations, for the sake of which once Catholics and Arians so glady slew and tor-

tured each other. But as soon as the sunshine of real humanity makes itself felt the metaphysics of Patriotism and War are dissipated as surely as those of theology. When you have reckoned that your enemy is not an abstraction but a human being, as real a human being as you are yourself, why want to kill him any more than you want to kill yourself? Patriotism and War are seen for what they are, insubstantial figments of fancy which it is absurd to materialise and seriously accept."

ONE LONGS TO follow with quotation upon quotation from the store of beauty in this lovely book.

"As the mystic vision pierces deeper into the mystery of the world, it is seen that the Divine is more truly manifested in the falsely so-called humble human things; the winds and the waters of the world are all passed through the human form and cannot be less admirable for their association with that exquisite mechanism. So it is, we see, that to the Mystic the Human becomes Divine, and the voice of winds and streams, here as elsewhere, is the Voice of God."

"One day, by no conscious effort of my own . . . I saw that empty and ugly Universe as Beauty, and was joined to it in an embrace of spirit. The joy of that Beauty has been with me ever since and will remain with me till I die. All my life has been the successive quiet realizations in the small things of the world of that primary realization in the greatest thing of the world."

And finally let me give this beautiful comment which should put new heart and strength into every worker in the great movement, raising the standard on which is written Birth Control:

"It sometimes seems to me that one may regard a man's attitude towards the movement of the birth-rate as a test of his relationship to Nature, and a criterion of his right to live in the world. There is nothing so natural as natality, nothing that is so intimately connected with the physical and the psychic mystery of life. The man who places himself in opposition to its manifestations is a disturbing cog in the mechanism of

the world's wheels. At the present moment all the great live communities of men all over the world are concerned in regulating and ordering more reasonably, if not more eugenically, the output of babies which once was left, not to Nature, which is Order, but to the fate of Chance which is Disorder. Civilization is bound up with the success of that movement. The man who rejoices in it and strives to further it is alive; the man who shudders and raises impotent hands against it is merely dead, even though the grave yet yawns for him in vain. He may make dead laws and preach dead sermons and his sermons may be great and his laws may be rigid. But as the wisest of men saw twenty-five centuries ago, the things that are great and strong and rigid are the things that stay below in the grave. It is the things that are delicate and tender and supple that stay above. At no point is life so tender and delicate and supple as at the point of sex. There is the Triumph of Life."

LET US THEN close, with the description of the world of which this great man dreams and which his work is helping to create. It is written on reading of a nurse who stripped and dived into the sea to save drowning soldiers.

"That woman belongs to my world. Now and then I have come across the like, sweet and feminine and daring women, who have done things as brave as that, and even much braver because more completely difficult, and always I feel my heart swinging like a censor before them, going up in a perpetual fragrance of love and adoration.

"I dream of a world in which the spirits of women are flames stronger than fire, a world in which modesty has become courage and yet remains modesty, a world in which women are as unlike men as ever they were in the world I sought to destroy, a world in which women shine with a loveliness of self-revelation as enchanting as ever the old legends told, and yet a world which would immeasurably transcend the old world in the self-sacrificing passion of human service. I have dreamed of that world ever since I began to dream at all."

One of the Thousands of Letters

DEAR MRS. SANGER:

Am writing you to see if you will please try to do something for me. I have been in the family way for 3 months now and I don't want any more children if possible as I have 3 small children 1, 2½, 4 years and I am only 23 years, kind of young to carry children every year. I always said I was not going to have more than 1 child, but I have to take them when they come. I was the oldest one of 14 children. I had to do the heavy work until I was 17 years as my mother wasn't very strong but then I had to go to America as they could not afford to have me home any longer as we were very poor, but it seems as if I am going just as far as my mother if I don't know how to prevent them from coming. I have been to different doctors but they say they have no right to fix anybody. Another one told me if he could charge 200 or 300 dollars every time, he would soon ride around in a big automobile, but I said I could not possibly pay that money and he said he would

not do anything for me. I think that a woman should know how to prevent children from coming when they possibly can't afford to have them. Please Mrs. Sanger try and see if you can do something for me as I am very much run down from worrying. I am getting so I don't care about anything. I am very much in favor of your work. I am telling it to every woman that comes to my house and they too think it is wonderful that it is a place where you can find out how to prevent children from coming. Please let me know what to do, it is kind of a bloody discharge running 3 or 4 times a day, and every time that runs, my stomach aches as if I had my sickness. Mrs. Sanger, if you think it is impossible for me to get help, please let me know any way as I don't want any more after this it certainly must be the last one or else I don't want to live if I am made to carry children all the time and not get any fun out of life. Hope to hear from you as soon as possible.

Truly yours,

Eugenics and Birth Control

A Review by Havelock Ellis

The Law of Births and Deaths. By C. E. Pell. (Fisher Unwin, 12/6 net.)

The Eugenic Prospect: National and Racial. By C. W. Saleeby, M.D. (Fisher Unwin, 12/6 net.)

WHAT CONTROLS THE birth rate? In ancient days the solemn reply was: God. But in course of time it began to be felt that, as Johnny Dunn put the matter, "it is a hard thing for a man that has a house full of children to be left to the mercy of Almighty God." It was realized that God could act through Man, and so was established that voluntary and deliberate control which in recent times has been accepted (and notably by the National Birth Rate Commission) as the supreme factor in the birth rate. But now Mr. Pell comes along and declares that the supreme factor is neither God nor Man but Nature: the birth rate, he believes, is regulated by a natural law which is associated with the death rate, both being alike dependent on the environment, and he seeks to trace this law throughout life generally. The result is a discussion so fresh and so challenging, though not at every point convincing, that it cannot fail to help in elucidating the most fundamental of all problems affecting the welfare of the race.

Mr. Pell does not claim that his view is entirely novel; he finds a suggestion of it in the old writer Doubleday, and he might have added that more recent authorities (like Sir Shirley Murphy and Mr. Sidney Yule) believe that the variations in the birth rate are largely natural rather than deliberate. But no one has put forth so systematic an explanation as Mr. Pell. Nervous energy, he argues, under the influence of a favorable environment, is the moving force; it leads to intelligence, to education, to social well-being and prosperity, to all the things which cause a low death rate, and to this the degree of fertility bears an inverse ratio. This is seen throughout nature, and within single species, notably in the horse, which tends to become sterile with high breeding.

MR. PELL BELIEVES that his arguments render Malthus's conclusions "futile." That is scarcely so. They qualify, they do not overthrow, Malthus, and Mr. Pell would have carried more weight if he had not claimed quite so much for his theory. We find, even here, the common confusion between a low birth rate and a low rate of increase in the population. Mr. Pell realizes the evils of a rapid rate of increase, but deplores the present low birth rate. He fails to realize that, as more careful investigators have pointed out, even at the present rate of increase the white races must in less than a century enter on a struggle for existence which imagination cannot conceive. But in the end he calls in that factor which he had thrown aside as an agent in the past, and insists on deliberate and selective birth regulation.

Dr. Saleeby, as he often reminds us, was Chairman of the Commission on which Mr. Pell cast contempt as formed of totally incompetent people, and "fifty indifferent cooks will

not make one good cook." It is an unkind remark, especially as Dr. Saleeby rightly attaches much importance to dietetics. Here indeed it is as health reformer that he appears rather than as eugenicist, and he never once refers to the value of Birth Control, though, as even Mr. Pell sees, without it we cannot improve the race. He is an accomplished lecturer and journalist, and in these miscellaneous papers, slight in substance and popular in form, he touches on many questions which bear on the public health: war, alcoholism, venereal disease, consumption, coal smoke, dietary, care of the teeth, health centres, etc. Over the surface of all these topics he glides in an easy and vivacious way, not always correct in details, but always insisting on practical points of general concern.

DR. SALEEBY HAS lately visited America, and, like many other visitors, he has been carried away by the generosity and enthusiasm of his hosts, and inspired by much that he has seen. They do these things, he feels, better in America. So they often do, but Dr. Saleeby is sometimes uncritical. Thus he is impressed by the great superiority of American to English teeth. But Americans themselves find that among their

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Quality vs. Quantity

By *Walter Merchant*

WOMEN AT LAST have an opportunity to express themselves in matters of government; the while the human race continues suffering because of poorly cooked and badly chosen food. Many babies are yet to be born with starvation as a recompense and reared without proper care. Yes, the placing of strips of paper in a box is a wonderful diversion for those who have nothing else to do.

I am downcast when I think of the mass of mankind; the major portion so inane; no good for themselves, not even good slaves. Few seem to think of a race of people where this wreckage may be eliminated; the present slogan of quantity reversed to that of quality; fewer people and better people is my prayer.

In theory, I do not know if matter and energy are indestructible; from a practical viewpoint, I know they can be destroyed. The world's resources are limited; let us conserve them and regard those as the greatest enemies of mankind who wantonly destroy or unnecessarily use up Nature's store house of coal, oil, iron, timber, land, food and clothing, not to mention the many other conveniences that tend to make us comfortable.

Woman lives for home, children, love, convention, humanity, God; no time to devote to herself.

The word wife comes with bad grace; a low connotation supplanting the highest emotions of the human family; the unfortunate and vulgar console themselves by soiling man's noblest relationships.

Children must be hushed, reprimanded and flogged; a daily sequence for many years before they learn there are many things that will not bear the mentioning.

IGNORANT OF THINGS, we are afraid of them. A coarse Puritan mind eschews the highest and noblest aspects of life.

Woman in politics will sometimes—seldom however—look after the welfare of the child. She will help the capitalist in his wrangling with labor. The politician and clergyman have an ardent votary in foisting nefarious legislation on an unsuspecting public. One with an insidious device will do well to venerate his wares for their specious inspection. Oh, fair damsels not yet learned in caring for babies, ye masters of destiny! The flies are more numerous.

The more intelligent people refrain from matrimonial alliances and the intelligent married folk are not raising large families. The care of the children is left in the hands of the people who are the least fitted for this responsible task. Our future generation has some very serious obstacles in the way. Church, state, school are quite representative of these world replenishers not of the discerning fruitless vagabonds in this quantitative society that cares nothing for quality.

The population of the world is increasing out of proportion to the amount of land and available food. We must have wars and pestilences or starvation. Oh, you say that with the improvement of machinery and a better knowledge of the cul-

tivation of the soil a much larger population is not only possible but highly desirable; perhaps you are right in theory but not in reality and the world will have no more resources than it has now.

May we have a Plentitude of:—

Subjects for the State—Members for Society—Citizens for Democracy—Communicants for the Church—Soldiers for the Army—Cattle for the Butcher—Rabbits for the Dogs—Rats for the Cats—Slaves for the Factory—Tenants for the Landlord—Sheep for the Parasites and Grafters—Proletarians for the Socialists—Hang the Traitor who would surmise that quality is needed when there is such a scramble for the Rubbish!

IF THERE IS any awakening in this Twentieth Century, it must be the sly domesticated cat of a woman who dares to open her eyes.

Young man get married! Any kind of a marriage is better than no marriage at all. You will have the law and the myrmidon on your side. Cease this constant courtship and love making; settle down and live with your woman of chance whom you can keep in your home awaiting your return. You can take your joys instead of being forced to compete with other men for the possession of those who are left free to choose for themselves.

When the social life of any people will not bear an intelligent introspection; the ratio of intelligence is in the ebbing. Ye conservators of our morals, beloved jackals adieu!

Despite our walk—backwardness; woman is gradually throwing off some of her shackles.

More and more do I conclude there are too many people in the world; too much rubbish. We must put stress on quality, without which quantity is superfluous.

There are so many avenues of sex expression, it is with difficulty that two people can travel through each of these stages in mutual appreciation; the acceleration concomitant with the desires of each.

Radicals and revolutionaries are continually declaiming against evils they cannot correct and forget to do the things within their powers. Instead of looking after certain alleged social injustices they could confine their criticisms and their attention to the welfare of their own selves and take care of their æsthetics and the health of their bodies and brains with much profit.

EUGENICS AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Concluded from page 9)

school children considerably less than a quarter of one per cent. have good teeth, and that for the population generally the average is five bad teeth, not less than 500,000,000 altogether in the United States. Dr. Saleeby, in the fervour of his reforming mission, would beat us with any old stick. But the reforms he desires are, mostly, vital to the public health, and we can but wish success to his propaganda.

Scattered Memories

By Kitty Marion

Kitty Marion has been selling the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW on the streets and her experiences make very interesting reading. We plan to publish experiences of others who sell the REVIEW in forthcoming issues.

I LEARNED THE art of "paper selling" in the dim and distant days of suffrage militancy in England, when every good suffragette whether woman of title, wealth, position, leisure, professional or working woman, gave as much time as she could by selling "Votes for Women" and later "The Suffragette" at the busiest time of day in the busiest parts of the streets.

Every evening and many an afternoon, weather permitting, finds me outdoors doing "my bit" for Birth Control and enjoying the most interesting, thrilling, tragic and comic living movie at the same time. There is a stream of constant variation of surprise, disgust, approval, scorn, amusement, contempt and sympathy from the passers-by.

I have met all the old "suffrage friends." "You ought to be ashamed of yourself"; "You ought to be in jail"; "You ought to be arrested"; "You ought to be hanged"; "You ought to be shot"; "It's disgraceful, disgusting, scandalous, etc., etc." But there are others.

"Good for you"; "I admire your pluck"; "Doesn't it take some courage to do this?"; "If you have the courage to stand here and sell the paper I'll have the courage to buy it"; "Some good work you are doing"; "Bravo, I quite approve of it"; "Well, of all the sensible things."

ALL SORTS OF people buy the paper. There are the old friends of the Birth Control movement, radicals and otherwise, who know, or know of Margaret Sanger and are delighted to see and hear that the movement is progressing. Then there are the curious who have read about it in the press and want to know what we have to say. Some buy it on the principal of trying everything once. Some are highly amused and buy it as a great joke. Others buy it with much seriousness, in fact, some look quite desperate, as if they had reached the most important crisis in their lives, and it was a case of death or glory, kill or cure. Some look and look and look again as if fascinated, and pass on without a twitch of an eyelid. Some pass by and return with the money ready, take the papers and walk on trying to look unconcerned, while others appear as proud as if they had just done the bravest deed ever heard of. The majority buy it as if they had bought it all their lives.

Many social workers and nurses buy it and tell me of the misery, poverty and overcrowding in the districts where they work. Physicians buy and express their approval. One told me that he had always given the information to his patients who needed it. He had had no idea that it was illegal until he heard of Mrs. Sanger being arrested. Another said quite vehemently that if he had his way there would not be another child born into this world until it had been made fit for all children to live in. The conditions on the East Side made him

perfectly sick. And it makes me perfectly sick to listen to the pitiful tales of ill health and poverty of some people, all on account of too many children.

I wish no harm to any legislators but I do wish they were obliged to listen to the stories I hear; they would hang their heads in shame and pass a law legalizing Birth Control in sheer self-defense as quickly as possible.

WELL, IF I AM choking with tears or thinking deeply and seriously one moment I am left speechless with laughter, the next. One moment some one will fairly hiss, or snort their disapproval while the next someone will buy a paper and hand me a large verbal bouquet, and the next someone will say "Birth Control" in a surprised tone of voice and explode in the heartiest peal of infectious laughter imaginable, while to others Birth Control seems as ancient as Queen Anne's death and appear quite bored and supercilious about it and still others welcome it as a weary traveller would an oasis in the wilderness.

One evening I noticed a young girl in company of an elderly lady coming out of the Theatre. She looked as pretty as a picture and innocent as a saint in her white fur coat and hat. Suddenly she saw me and the REVIEW and promptly turned into an infuriated spit-fire, amusing the passing crowd and me with her exhibition of angry disapproval. How different to the man who came up and most earnestly said, "Madame, allow me to present to you my compliments and wish you success and good luck. Some of us understand and appreciate the good work you are doing."

Another time a group of women were glaring at and talking about me, and I heard one say, "A woman like that ought to be taken off the street," and I thought of the thousands, nay millions of women who ought to be taken off the street and who ought never to have been driven into the street. Another group of women passed, and one came back and said in an indignant tone, "She wants a paper but is ashamed to be seen buying one, a woman with two grown-up daughters, too. Give me two, please."

TWO CLERGYMEN BOUGHT the paper without any remark, while a theosophist believed in people controlling birth in the material and wrong way until they had learned to control it the spiritual and right way. For some time I had noticed two men, who impressed me as being religious, pass nightly with shocked and disapproving glances. At last one came to me and sneered "Birth Control—the devil controls everything now-a-days." I smiled and said, "Why do you let him, why don't you let God control, let science and christianity

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Opinions of the Conference by Members

NOTE:—Table prepared by H. H. from answers to questionnaire sent to members of various Boards of Health and other officials. In forthcoming issues we will publish further compilations from universities, various institutions, and people in the public eye. The answers to this questionnaire have been most gratifying. The reader is asked to note the practical unanimity of the answer "yes" to the question: "Would you like any literature on this subject (Birth Control)?" whereas the replies vary to the question: "Do you believe in a controlled Birth-rate?" These two questions have shown that whether or not a given individual believes in Birth Control, he is open-minded and glad of an opportunity to examine material bearing on the subject.*

NAMES OF CITIES AND BOARDS OF HEALTH INDIVIDUALS OF WHICH ANSWERED THE QUESTIONNAIRE	THREE QUESTIONS ASKED ON QUESTIONNAIRE		
	WILL YOU ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE?	WOULD YOU LIKE ANY LITERATURE ON THIS SUBJECT?	DO YOU BELIEVE IN A CONTROLLED BIRTH RATE?
Indianapolis, Ind., Dept. of Health and Charities	Quite probably	Yes	Yes
Ontario, Canada, Provincial Board of Health	Yes	Yes	Yes
Buffalo, N. Y., Dept. of Health	Yes	Yes	Yes
Montreal, Canada, Conseil Supérieur D'Hygiene de la Province de Quebec	I do not expect to be able to attend	Yes	No
East Lansing, Mich., Bacteriological Laboratory	Impossible	Yes	Yes
Madison, Wis., State Laboratory of Hygiene	I cannot count on plans	Yes	Opinion reserved
West New York, N. J., Board of Health	Expect to attend	Yes	Yes
Vicksburg, Miss., Sanitarium and Crawford Street Hospital	If possible—cannot say now	Yes	Under certain conditions
Cristobal, Canal Zone	No	Yes	Yes
Ithaca, N. Y., a Doctor	I will try	Yes	Yes
Harvard University Medical School, Dept. of Preventive Medicine and Hygiene	Duties at school prevent me from attending	Would appreciate your kind offer to send me any available literature	Greatly interested, however, in the thorough discussion of the subject
Freeport, N. Y., H. O.	Probably	Yes	Yes
New York City—A Director of a pathological and X-ray laboratory, M.D., Ph.D.	Thank you for the invitation. It is accepted and wish you success	Yes	Will tell you later on
Washington, D. C., U. S. P. H. S.	No	Yes	Yes—most decidedly
New York City—member	Yes	Yes—any you publish and if possible all that you have been distributing	Yes
Dover, Del., State Board of Health	Not likely	Yes	Open to conviction
Aberdeen, S. D.—member	No—too distant and busy	Yes	No
Milwaukee, Wis., Health Dept.	Vitaly interested in the subject. Inasmuch as I have a paper to read before the American Public Health Convention who meet in New York City about the same time. I expect that I shall be able to arrange also for this conference. If, in the meantime, you will send me such literature as you have on the subject, I shall greatly appreciate it. I am, of course, familiar with the work that has been done in Holland.	Yes	Yes
Ames, Iowa, State College, Dept. of Bacteriology and Hygiene	Probably	Yes	Yes
Detroit, Mich., Justices' Courts	Will not be able to do so.	Yes	Yes
Victoria, B.C., Canada, Health Office	No	Yes	Yes
Columbia, Mo., School of Eng. Univ. of Mo.	I shall hope to do so	Yes	Yes
Detroit, Mich., Society of American Bacteriologists, Research Council	Can't intelligently answer your questionnaire because I don't know what your campaign aims at as its ultimate goal, nor how you are going about it. The matter has of course, great potential importance and much scientific interest. You might try and make me a convert. I shall be glad to be informed as to the campaign at any rate.	Yes	Would wish to consider data re same
Vancouver, Canada, University of British Columbia	Not able	Yes	Yes
Carroll, Iowa—member	I do not expect to	Yes	Yes
Laurel, Mont., a doctor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reading, Pa., member	Probably not	Yes	Yes
Harrisburg, Pa., Dept. of Health	Impossible	Yes	Yes
New Haven, Conn., Visiting Nurse Assn.	Some of it	Yes	We are ready to hear the arguments
New York City, a Consulting Engineer	I shall try to	All you have	Assuredly
London, Canada, Institute of Public Health	Impossible on these dates	Yes	Feebleminded should not be permitted any birth-rate
State College, Pa., Dept. of Dairy Husbandry	Will if I can arrange it	Yes, I would	Yes, I do
Austin, Tex., State Board of Health	Yes	Yes	No
Ann Arbor, Mich., Univ. of Michigan Civil Eng.	No	No	No
Pittsburg, Pa., a doctor	No	No	Yes
Minneapolis, Minn., Filtrations	Cannot	No	Absolutely no
Devils Lake, N. D., a doctor	No	No	Yes
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, Dept. of Public Health	No	Yes	Yes
Delaware, Ohio, Ohio Wesleyan University	I cannot do so	Yes	Yes
Bon Air, Va., Virginia Industrial School	Will be unable to do so	Yes	Emphatically yes
Gainesville, Fla., Univ. of Florida, Dept. of Hygiene	If possible. Cannot say now	Yes	Under certain conditions of control
St. Louis, Mo., a laboratory of pathology and bacteriology	No	Yes	Yes
East Lansing, Mich., Michigan Agricultural College	No	Yes	Yes

of the American Public Health Association

NAMES OF CITIES AND BOARDS OF HEALTH INDIVIDUALS OF WHICH ANSWERED THE QUESTIONNAIRE	THREE QUESTIONS ASKED ON QUESTIONNAIRE		
	WILL YOU ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE?	WOULD YOU LIKE ANY LITERATURE ON THIS SUBJECT?	DO YOU BELIEVE IN A CONTROLLED BIRTH RATE?
Geneseo, Ill., a doctor	No—cannot afford it	Yes	Yes
Washington, N. J., a doctor	I hope I can—I will try to be present	Yes	I do not understand this subject from your point of view
Columbus, Ohio, State Dept. of Health	No	Yes	Yes
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, Health Dept.	If possible	Yes	Am firmly convinced of the urgent necessity for a controlled birth rate
Seattle, Wash., King County Health Dept.	Am not sure at the present time	Yes	Yes
Salt Lake City, Utah, State Board of Health	No	Yes	Yes—by educational methods
Madison, Wis., U. S. Public Health Service	No	Always open to reason	"There ain't no such animal."
Norwalk, Ohio, Board of Health	I shall not be present	Yes	Under certain conditions and proper methods and upon certain classes of people
Stillwater, Okla., Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College	Yes	Yes	Yes
Boulder, Colo., Health Dept.	No	Yes	Yes
San Francisco, Cal., U. S. Public Health Service	No	Yes	Yes
Springfield, Ill., member	(?) Will attend A. P. H. Ass'n	Yes	(?)
Montreal, Canada, member	Cannot promise attendance—though would like to be there	Any literature will be appreciated	Yes—depending on methods used
Pittsburgh, Pa., a surgeon	No	In ninety days	Am a strong advocate of Birth Control and help it along as much as possible. Of course, within the law
Charleston, W. Va., Health Dept.	No	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., member, doctor	No	Very much	Yes
Los Angeles, Cal., Health Office, Hall of Records	No	Yes	No
Portland, Me., Board of Health	Think it will not be possible	Yes	Yes
Winston-Salem, N. C., City Health Dept.	No	Yes	(?)
Jacksonville, Fla., State Board of Health	No	Yes	Have not formed an opinion
Columbus, Ohio, Water Works	I don't think I will be able to get away	Yes	I should like to give the matter some study
Plant City, Fla., State Board of Health	I expect to	Yes	Yes
Charleston, W. Va., State Dept. of Health	No	Yes	Have insufficient information to base opinion
Memphis, Tenn., Health Dept.	Yes	Yes	Yes
St. Augustine, Fla., Health Office	No	Yes	I do not
Worcester, Mass., Board of Health	Yes	Yes	No—on the basis of present information
New York City, a chemical company	I may be there for the 13th	Yes	Yes
Richmond, Va., State Board of Health	No	No	No—but will do my best honestly and honorably to defeat you
Des Moines, Iowa, Dept. of Public Safety, Div. of Public Health	If possible	Please send literature on this subject	Only under extreme conditions of unfitness
Adams, N. Y., research laboratory of a dry milk company	Hope to	Yes	Yes
Philadelphia, Pa., a manufacturing and biological chemists concern	I believe that a conference for the discussion of Birth Control in its relation to health, economy, and the quality of the coming race is desirable.	Yes	No
Fairfield, Iowa, Parsons College	Regret this will be impossible	Yes	Yes
Harrisburg, Pa., Dept. of Health	Unable to attend	Yes	I do
Nova Scotia, Dept. of Public Health	Canot say at this time	I would	Undecided
St. Paul, Minn., State Dairy and Food Comm.	No—as Department has insufficient funds for travel	Yes	Yes
New Rochelle, N. Y., Dept. of Health	I am sorry I cannot	Yes	No
Seattle, Wash., State Board of Health	No	No	No
Ponce, Porto Rico, doctor	I shall attend this conference in November if I can arrange to do so. I should like any literature available on this subject which you can furnish. I certainly believe in a controlled birth-rate just as I hold that the comfort and well being of the world would be conserved by control of any important factor which affects the whole, for example, agricultural production.	Yes	Yes
Patchogue, N. Y. State Dept. of Health	If possible	Yes	Yes
Ottawa, Canada, Dept. of Health			
Grand Rapids, Mich., Dept. of Public Welfare			

*Further Notes: (a) Needless to say, all requests for literature have been complied with promptly.
 (b) The originals of the answers and letters quoted above are held in the Birth Control Review Office.
 (c) Whereas the names of those who answered the questionnaire have been of a necessity left out, it in no sense implies that their answers are official. They are only the expressed opinions of individuals connected with the boards and institutions given above.
 (d) This questionnaire was sent out by the Conference Committee.
 (e) These answers emphasize the interest taken in Birth Control by important members of the American Public Health Associations.

SCATTERED MEMORIES

(Continued from page 11)

control?" His next remark, all of which I did not catch, ended with, "You know Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt?" "Yes," I said, "she got that through looking backwards—we are looking forward."

Since then his friend has bought the paper, and passes me with a friendly smile instead of a scowl.

Once a young woman bought the paper and told me she was a Catholic and that her church was against Birth Control, but when she got married she didn't intend to have as many children as her mother, who had had seven and died giving birth to the seventh. Her father could not earn enough to bring up a large family and they had had a hard, poverty-stricken existence until the older ones could go to work.

A man came along and said "BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, that sounds like a nasty publication." I replied there is nothing nasty in birth nor in control and before he had gone, another came and said, "Birth Control, good, that's what the people need."

A WOMAN BOUGHT a paper saying, "My husband would not let me buy one the other night. He said it was none of my business, but I think it's every woman's business."

Another one said, "Have you no better employment than this?" I said, "not for the moment." She walked on with a threat to fetch a policeman.

If there were any justification in the argument of young girls getting hold of Birth Control information and becoming immoral, the majority of my purchasers would be young girls of a thoughtless, careless, frivolous, irresponsible sort, but that is far from the truth. Most of the young girls who do buy it are exceedingly level headed, mostly suffragists who take a keen interest in the topics of the day, and if an occasional flighty Miss does buy it she gets food for thought, CLEAN thought. One evening the "young girl" did appear, two of them in fact, the youngest who have ever bought it. They could not have been more than sixteen. One of a group of men nearby called out, "They are too young to read that." I called back, "No they are not, that will do them more good than anything you can tell them."

A few nights later their male prototypes appeared. Two boys, who in England would be called "young gentlemen." One wanted to come toward me but the smaller and apparently younger held him back and led him past me. However, they returned with their money ready, and the smaller being spokesman said, "Do you think we are too young to read that?" I replied, "No, you could not read anything better." With a "p'rhaps, p'rhaps not" and a REVIEW they departed.

It is mostly men who express their fear of young girls becoming immoral and I always tell them to leave the young girls alone and they would be perfectly safe. The young girl does not bother about Birth Control, she dreams of her ideal, her hero, who would rather die than hurt a hair on her head and who unfortunately often proves unworthy of her love and trust. If after that she should resort to Birth Control who dares to throw the first stone at her.

DURING THE THIRD Liberty Bond Drive a man came up and said, "You ought to be selling Liberty Bonds." I replied, "I am, these are Liberty Bonds for woman's personal freedom," whereupon one of two men who had been watching me for sometime came and asked what that paper was all about. I explained to him that it was Birth Control propaganda and told him all about Margaret Sanger and her fight and that Birth Control was legal in Europe but not in America. He was deeply interested and insisted that anything that was legal in England should be legal here. To him the Revolution was forgotten. America and Great Britain were one nation again, fighting side by side to kill Kaiserism and Prussianism, to win democracy and eventually universal brotherhood for the world. He was of Scotch descent. His home was in North Carolina. He was here on business and pleasure combined and last night had been to see Harry Lauder at the Metropolitan. Had I seen Harry Lauder? I had, many a time. I saw him on his opening night at the Metropolitan and enjoyed his performance a great deal more than I ever had in the old country when as a member of the same profession I had performed at the same theatre with him. We discussed all sorts of topics including the Liberty Loan and although he had bought I forget how many thousand dollars worth of bonds, he could not resist the lady who pleaded so eloquently for help for Uncle Sam at the Metropolitan, and so had bought more. Though just past middle age, he was as happy as a sand boy and promised to do all he could to help Birth Control when he got home.

MANY SOLDIERS AND SAILORS buy it. One night two lieutenants, a soldier and a sailor came along. The sailor suddenly saw me and made a dash toward me. His chum tried to hold him back, but the sailor man won. I asked him if his friend was shy or anti. "Oh, he is an unbeliever," he replied. "Personally, I prefer Birth Control to a lot of weaklings." A good many of the boys in uniform have heard Mrs. Sanger speak in different parts of the country and wish her and the movement every success.

Recently two chubby baby faced sailor boys stopped, and one said, "How much?" "25 cents," I replied. With an "Oh, that's easy, I bet there's something hot in it," he walked off with the paper leaving me chuckling at the thought of the "hot" he would find in it.

I have found the police exceedingly kind and courteous. The first night the officer on duty wanted to know if the paper was "legal, no information in it." I reassured him on those points and gave him a copy to read. A few nights later he told me he had read it through. It was fine and he guessed he would have to "watch his step." The second night I was very busy with people coming from the theatres when two men came up and wanted to know what the paper was all about, at the same time taking one and looking through it while I went on selling. They were anxious to know if there was any "information" in it. I told them there was not. it was merely propaganda to get the law altered making it legal to give information. Just as it dawned on me that they might be detectives, one of them said, "You know we are police

officers." I told them I was glad to hear that and hoped they would accept the paper and read it. However, they "knew all about it" and needed no propaganda.

SOME OF THEM are evidently doing their bit for Birth Control with people who complain to them. An indignant lady came up one afternoon and said it was a disgrace my standing there publicly advocating immorality. I asked her if she had ever read the paper. She replied, "No, but I am going to. I have just complained to the policeman and he advised me to buy one and read it." So she bought one and threatened to send it to Mayor Hylan.

Crowds went to Fifth Avenue to see the parade given to aid underfed babies. Mrs. Morgan, Miss Dastre and myself sold the REVIEW and told the people that it was time to instruct the poor mothers of underfed babies how not have any more to be underfed. To this even the police lining the route cheerfully and sympathetically agreed, though two jovial sergeants feared that we should not have any parades like this one then and were told that we could have parades for something more cheerful than the tragedy of collecting money to buy milk for underfed babies in the richest city in the world, upon which their faces registered sudden deep and serious thought. With

exception of a few jeers from the ignorant and prejudiced all went well until I had mingled with the crowds outside the Library and was questioned by a man accompanied by a policeman as to my right to sell that paper on the streets. While explaining that the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW had second class mailing rights and had been sold on the streets for the last five years, several people bought the REVIEW with an air of defiance toward the man who had questioned. After which I was hustled by a typical "crucify him" mob, led and incited by one of the charitable collectors down Fifth Avenue jeered at as a "socialist" and "English."

When suddenly a young man came to my rescue with an offer to help me sell the REVIEW after which the mob turned their attention toward him while I continued down Fifth Avenue unmolested.

A Police Lieutenant came along looked at the paper and smilingly said, "Anarchist?" I replied, "No. 100 per cent. American! !"

This is but a one per cent. very imperfect account of all I could tell but I am limited to time and space.

A Connecticut Physician's Letter

Every person who shall use any drug, medicine, article or instrument for the purpose of preventing conception shall be fined not less than \$50 or imprisoned from 60 days to one year or both.—Gen. Stat. 1902, Connecticut; Section 1327, being act of 1879, revision of 1888, §1539.

December 20, 1920.

DEAR MRS. SANGER:

I have read your book, "Woman and the New Race," and it was indeed very interesting. You brought forth facts which I see every day in my practice. During the past year I can recall of bringing but two or three babies into the world that were really wanted. The rest received their babies in a matter of fact way and as the majority of these babies were born, the common expression of mothers was heard, "Never again."

I knew that, "never again, in reality meant soon again but I knew of no way to help them out. I know of families with several children who cannot scrape together enough money to buy the vital necessities of life. Is there not some way that you can tell me of your contraceptives? Some of my patients who are at the present time physically unfit to bear children would be greatly benefited if you could tell me something about contraceptives.

Medical schools will not tell their students of these methods,

at least they did not, when I attended them.

I can recall a case that I delivered almost a year ago. It was the first baby and at the time she said she would not have any more for some time. A few months ago she came to me in tears begging that I should do something for her for she said she would rather die than have another baby so soon. You can believe me when I tell you that it was with sincere regret that I told her it was a criminal act to do such a thing and also told her of the danger which she would go thru. And in a few days I learned that she had travelled miles to see another doctor who granted her earnest request. She returned home and in a few days I was called to see her. The diagnosis was incomplete abortion with septisaemia. I sent her to the hospital and when she came back with her child, not a year old, was motherless. I need not tell you of any more cases for you see them every day just the same as I do.

I realize how many more happy homes there would be if there were less children so if you can give me any information, you can be sure that it will be greatly appreciated.

I believe the time is coming when you will be able to give your views to the entire world unmolested by any legal action. Trusting to hear from you soon, I am,

Respectfully,

A Physician Practicing in Connecticut.

A Financial Statement

For the year ending December 31, 1920

Mrs. Frances B. Ackerman, *Treas.*,
New York Women's Publishing Co., Inc.
New York City.

June 25, 1921.

Expense—Publication

Printing and Paper ----	\$4,770.50	
Folding and Mailing ---	108.74	\$4,879.24

Dear Madam:

We have made a detailed cash audit of the books and records of the New York Women's Publishing Co., Inc., for the year ended December 31, 1920, and submit the results in the accompanying statements.

It is our opinion that the statements presented herewith reflect the true financial condition at December 31, 1920, and the results of operations for the year ended at that date.

Respectfully submitted,
HURDMAN & CRANSTOUN,
Certified Public Accountants.

NEW YORK WOMEN'S PUBLISHING CO., INC.

EXHIBIT "A"

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

December 31, 1920

ASSETS

Cash -----	\$176.47	
Due from Subscribers to Capital Stock -----	14.00	
Furniture and Fixtures -----	61.50	
Goodwill -----	182.37	

TOTAL ASSETS \$434.34

LIABILITIES

Kitty Marion Fund -----	25.00	
<i>Capital</i>		
Capital Stock Outstanding (Authorized \$10,000) ---	\$7,260.00	
Capital Stock Subscriptions	20.00	
	7,280.00	

Less Deficit

Deficit, January 1, 1920 ---	\$3,417.10	
Add Net Loss, Year Ended December 31, 1920		
(Exhibit "B") -----	3,453.56	6,870.66

Equity, Dec. 31, 1920 -- 409.34

\$434.34

NEW YORK WOMEN'S PUBLISHING CO., INC.

EXHIBIT "B"

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE

Year Ended December 31, 1920

Income

Subscriptions and Office Sales	\$3,502.76	
Street Sales -----	1,737.03	
Sales of Literature -----	27.25	
Advertising -----	301.75	
	5,568.79	
Total Income -----		\$5,568.79

General

Office Salaries -----	\$4,771.00	
Rent -----	334.96	
Printing and Stationery--	177.75	
Advertising -----	283.28	
Delivery Service -----	151.64	
Cost of Literature Sold--	45.20	
Taxes -----	10.00	
Office and General Exp.--	737.27	\$6,511.10

Total Expense ----- \$11,390.34

NET LOSS ON OPERATIONS \$ 5,821.55

Other Income

Donations -----	\$478.15	
Pledges -----	843.00	
Profit on Colony Club Luncheon -----	161.50	
Profit—Provincetown Players -----	222.50	
Profit Commodore Luncheon -----	565.00	
Miscellaneous Income ---	97.84	\$2,367.99

NET LOSS, Year Ended December 31, 1920

(Exhibit "A") ---- \$3,453.56

TWO CONFERENCE LETTERS

Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Zumbrota, Minn., July 30, 1921.
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dear Friend:

Yours received and contents noted.

Am sending the requested contribution and am heartily in accord with the movement. As situated cannot do much in League work, but am hoping to see it a success for the betterment of humanity.

Yours respectfully,

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

Your letter asking for a contribution, in order to make your Conference in New York City, November 11th, 12th and 13th, a success, has been received.

I shall gladly contribute and you will find my check enclosed. Also wish you the best of success in your efforts to form an American Birth Control League that will take in all the states.

With my best wishes and hoping I may be in a position to attend the Conference in November, I am

Respectfully yours,

A JAPANESE VIEW OF BIRTH CONTROL

(Concluded from page 6)

THERE IS A positive side to Birth Control as well. For by this method, women can gain time for education and can thus secure her independence. Through Birth Control, women are removed from the position of being a slave to men, in these times of Capitalism. Birth Control is of course necessary for the perfection of man as well as woman, because it will give men no less than women a surplus of time and money for education and development.

Statistics show that Japan with its very high birth rate has the highest infant mortality rate in the world. The Japanese mother is thus sacrificing her health, time and money in vain. If, in practising Birth Control, she bears only children who may survive it will increase the riches of her home and enhance the whole nation. From the spiritual point of view we may say that heretofore Japanese parents have brought forth the new generation without perfecting their individuality. In other words, for generation after generation, they are giving and being given in marriage without consciousness, without progressive perfection of civilization. How can we hope to have a man who understands real life and who is strong in action and belief, as the product of such procreation. If the object of human life is to perfect the Self, even at times not considering the next generation—isn't the practice of Birth Control a wise step in this direction?

THE RESULT OF BIRTH CONTROL

By Birth Control, men and women awaken spiritually to their independence. They improve physically by themselves; have those robust children described by Dr. Knopf, born in Holland under the regime of Birth Control. Common sense alone shows us that Birth Control produces good results spiritually and physically both for parents and children. Spiritually men and women will certainly progress by Birth Control, for it will give them time and money for self-development. Physically the mother will no longer exhaust her body by frequent pregnancies. The children will obtain more care and protection. It is a fact that first children are generally stronger in body than the youngest. A strong boy can only be born of a strong mother. It is therefore evident that children born by choice are superior to those born by chance.

TO IMPROVE SPIRIT and body is to improve mankind.

This is the only way to solve the population problem of Japan. The population problem is the cornerstone of Japanese policy at home and abroad. Again I say: Birth Control can be effectively carried out by women, not by men. All the various questions concerning Birth Control can be solved only by the earnest initiative of women. It is no wonder such difficult questions—emigration, labor, famines and food—can be met successfully only with the conscious co-operation of women. For the human race is made half of men and half of women; and we can never neglect one half of any problem.

It is not difficult to answer the conservative and reactionaries who consider Birth Control immoral. Human morality is always changing. At the present time, it does more harm

to society to have too many underdeveloped children and too few well developed. Morality demands that we act with less harm to the next generation. Moreover, Birth Control is a check before conception; and such a practice existed widely even in times of older moralities.

THE MEANS OF BIRTH CONTROL

Birth Control preceeds conception. We have no freedom to explain it in detail, by law. Roughly speaking there are two methods; physical and chemical. Doctors today claim that neither method is harmful, but on the contrary beneficial to the health of women.

THE LIGHT DAWNS

By Ruth Anna Fisher

POVERTY HAD THEM in its grip. Merely to exist was a struggle. Try as they would they could not keep up with the demands made upon them simply to live. With four children to feed life had no pleasant places for them.

Then the fifth child came, and they found themselves more discouraged than ever in their lame attempt to provide for another mouth.

In spite of their efforts, his working in the mill daily and doing overtime whenever he could, and her labor as a janitress with its meagre pay, wearing herself out as she vainly tried to please the grumbling tenants, they were still in debt.

Then the sixth child came. God, how they hated it! Was it not enough for seven of them to suffer! But they had no choice save to go on living.

One day the mother went around the corner to buy a head of cabbage for their dinner, leaving the children at home. The eldest was only ten.

On returning, from the distance, she saw a fire engine with its ever present crowd gathered in her street. It seemed as if it might be in front of her house. Yes, it was. Hurrying up she heard children's terrified cries and saw a little cloud of smoke. In the direct fashion of simple folk a friendly neighbor who was waiting to see the last of the fire told her that the sleeping baby had fallen out of his carriage which had been too near the fire and had been burned to death. An ambulance had just taken the dead child away.

She rushed to her five frightened children who flung themselves upon her. She gathered them in her arms. And even in her stupefied agony she thanked God!

NOTICE

The Birth Control Conference to be held November 11th, 12th and 13th, needs every kind of helper. It is a good opportunity for those who have long been interested in the movement. Write at once to

MRS. ANNE KENNEDY
117 West 46th Street New York City

SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY

\$ 2

Every married man or woman or those intending to be married must read this remarkable new book on the sex problem.

"SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY" is written by Dr. William J. Robinson of New York, a scientist of worldwide reputation and the foremost authority on sex problems in all its phases. In this book, "Sexual Problems of Today," he answers the intimate sex questions that at one time or another confront every man or woman. This book by Dr. Robinson will give you information that has never been publicly printed before.

One person writes: "If I had this book before I was married it would have saved me a lifetime of misery."

PART OF CONTENTS

The Relations Between the Sexes and Man's Inhumanity to Woman	The Wife
The Double Standard of Morality and the Effects of Continence on Each Sex	No Danger of Race Suicide
The Psychology of Sex	Four Absolutely Infallible Means for the Prevention of Conception
The Woman at Forty and After	Women Defending Their Honor
The Limitation of Offspring	A Wife and Her Husband
What to Do with the Prostitute, and How to Abolish Venereal Disease	The Dangerous Age
The Woman Pays	My Sex Propaganda
The Question of Abortion	Barrie, Unfaithfulness and Forgiveness
The Wrecking of Human Life and Happiness	Contraception and Abortion
For Young Men	The Gospel of Happiness
The Price of a Kiss	The Duration of Our Passions
Torturing the Wife When the Husband Is At Fault	To Lighten the Burden of the Illegitimate Mother
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City or State _____

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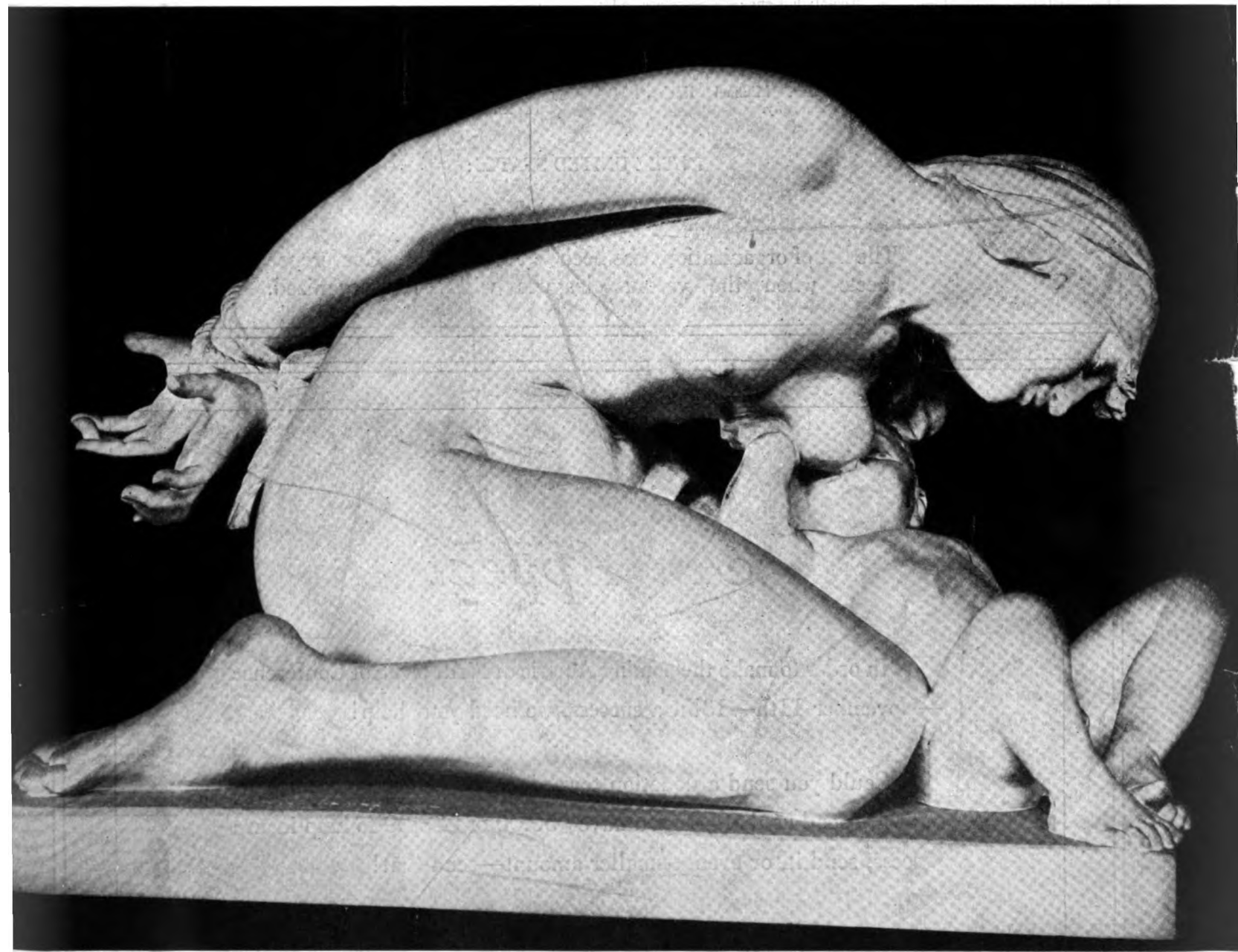
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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW



OCTOBER, 1921

25 CENTS

BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gelukkig Huisgezin*.
- GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
- FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. 1a, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
- SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
- BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
- AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
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IN THE UNITED STATES:

Notice

The list of organizations has been left out until the Conference meets when the various leagues will be reorganized.

An Appeal

In order to make the coming American Birth Control Conference—November 11th—13th, a success, we need your help!

Could you send a donation toward the expenses? If you have \$100.00 send us that. If you have \$50.00 or \$25.00 to help insure success, send it, or even a smaller amount—send that!

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

OCTOBER, 1921

No. 10

The Aim of the Conference

A MOST ENCOURAGING sign of the times is the great change that has swept over Great Britain in this matter of Birth Control. After forty years of indomitable courage and ceaseless effort, the pioneers of the Neo-Malthusian League have broken through the walls of silence, suppression and prejudice. Against the most tremendous odds, in the face of discouragement and opposition, they kept up their brave battle. Representative opinion has at last been awakened. The war brutally and perhaps cruelly tore asunder the veils of stupidity and ignorance that kept concealed the disastrous folly of dysgenic breeding. Today in the British press Birth Control is frankly, honestly and intelligently discussed. Intellectual leaders of the calibre of Bernard Shaw, Dean Inge, H. G. Wells, Havelock Ellis, William Archer, William Bateson, and others hardly less distinguished lend to the cause of Birth Control all the prestige and influence their integrity and intellectual brilliance can bring to this great idea. Taboo and prejudice have been broken down. The press, even the most conservative section of the press, has opened its columns to the frank discussion of the problem of population and Birth Control. Birth Control clinics are established as necessary in the new campaign against the waste of womanhood and childhood. The recently published census has been interpreted in sane and sound fashion as a vindication of practical Birth Control. The declining birth-rate is considered as an optimistic sign for the health of the next generation.

What is happening in Great Britain is the surest sign of what must inevitably happen in our own country. Already America is waking up to the importance of Birth Control. And no better time than the present could have been chosen for the First American Birth Control Conference. All that we now need triumphantly to break through the barriers of prejudice and ignorance is to crystallize into a strongly welded central movement all the various and independent strands of opinion that each may be immeasurably strengthened and directed toward the liberation of American womanhood and childhood.

IT SHALL BE the aim—and one of the most important aims—of this First American Birth Control Conference to show how deeprooted in the social, the national and the international organization of human society and human institutions lies the whole problem of Birth Control; how closely bound up it is with every phase of human health and happiness; how

disaster and defeat are inevitable if as a national unit the United States of America is not brought to an immediate realization that it can no longer ignore a matter of such primary and vital importance to every man, woman and child of the country. More and more, from a hundred different sources, is emphasized and reiterated the truth that dysgenic breeding—*i.e.*, uncontrolled childbearing—is the most certain route to racial decay and national degeneration. As Mr. Macdougall pointed out, the most tragic spectacle in the world today is the foolhardy and carefree manner in which the American democracy is “joyriding” to biological destruction.

To health officers, to social workers, to scientific investigators and family physicians, as well as to all serious students of national and international affairs, it shall be our aim to point out that there is no phase of human activity, no vital problem of the date, no economic question that is not directly and intimately connected with this great primary problem of Birth Control.

The problems of Child Labor, of feeble-mindedness, of maternity conditions in industrial centers, of working conditions for women and children, of industrial fatigue and occupational maladies, have in the past been investigated without any attempt to coordinate or to correlate the facts obtained with those concerning the incessant pregnancies and unrelieved child-bearing of working class mothers. Of what value are statistical results which have been obtained by a complete ignoring or ignorance of the crucial point of the whole problem?

IF OUR Conference can succeed in awakening intelligent Americans to that all important fact that in matters of population and parenthood we can expect exactly the same results that prevail in every other country it will more than justify the long and hard work of organization. If we have not as yet attained to the desperate conditions that prevail in China and Japan, it is through no fault of our own. The United States has passed laws declaring the practice of Birth Control illegal. These laws were passed not upon the sound basis of scientific verification of fact, but upon the unsound and shifting sands of moral stupidity and ignorance. The biological chaos, the tragic human waste and misery that have resulted by this stupid refusal to face facts, can no longer be tolerated. We can no longer afford to squander our treasury of human life. To persist in the face of the enlightened moral and scientific opinion of civilization in a

suppressive policy that is not merely costing millions of lives and dollars but is in addition actually contributing to the psychic and physical decay of the race is to invite certain disaster.

The aim of our Conference is in whatever manner practical and possible to arouse the American people, and especially representative intelligent men and women, out of that mental lethargy and self-satisfaction which is the almost inevitable outcome of a widespread failure to recognize or to realize the root of social evils. Superficial remedies may be for a short time ameliorative. But unless we exercise the courage and honesty to study all the neglected factors which are contributing to widespread misery and poverty, until we establish a program that can prevent instead of merely attempting to cure these evils, our humanitarian and philanthropic efforts can never become truly beneficial to the nation or the world.

It is the duty, therefore, of that ever growing number of enlightened men and women who in the past have so courageously aided misunderstood and maligned causes, to throw all the weight of their influence and high intelligence in support of this crucial effort to lay the foundation of an era of human health and strength.

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The present membership of the Conference Committee is as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Winston Churchill | William J. Fielding |
| Lydia Allen DeVilbis, M. D. | Bernarr Macfadden |
| Harriet M. Dilla, Ph. D., LL. D. | Virginia Young |
| Professor Irving Fisher | Mary Shaw |
| Mrs. Donald Hooker | Mrs. Dexter Blagden |
| Mrs. allace Irwin | Sara Messing Stern |
| Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw | Mary Winsor |
| Mrs. Donn Barbour | Kate W. Baldwin, M. D. |
| Mrs. Ernest Adee | Mary Halton, M. D. |
| Dr. and Mrs. Fredk. Peterson | Clara W. Carter |
| Dr. and Mrs. L. Emmett Holt | Rev. Arthur E. Whatham |
| Mrs. Maxfield Parrish | Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee, Ph. D. |
| Mrs. Homer St. Gaudens | Lowell Brentano |
| Juliet Barrett Rublee | Mrs. George H. Day, Sr. |
| Andrew H. Green | Mrs. William Spinney |
| Edith Swift, M. D. | Mrs. Charles Tiffany |
| Mrs. Lewis Delafield | Mrs. Ernest Poole |
| Professor Walter B. Pitkin | Florence Bayard Hilles |
| W. F. Robie, M. D. | Florence Hickcox Young |
| Florence Guertin Tuttle | John C. Vaughan, M. D. |
| Mrs. William A. McGraw | Mrs. Simeon Ford |

SARA E. NIEMAN will be chairman of the Committee on Hospitality. Margaret Sanger is chairman of the Conference Committee and Frances H. Ackermann is treasurer.

The Committee for the Maintenance of Headquarters, under the direction of Mrs. George H. Day, Sr., of Hartford, Conn., has been increased. Conference Headquarters are already equipped with furnishings and all activities are under way. Much of the furniture has been donated. The telephone number is Bryant 0248 (with three extensions).

Margaret Sanger has returned from her trip to Europe and has brought a report of the Conference of experts and specialists who met at The Hague, August 28th and 29th, where methods of Birth Control were discussed.

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker of Baltimore, Chairman for Maryland, has accepted the chairmanship of the Conference. From time to time, during the sessions, Mrs. Hooker will invite others to preside.

Joseph Dunn has assumed charge of the giving out of all information to the press.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW


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Editor
MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors
FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE LOU ROGERS
ANNE KENNEDY BLANCHE SCHRACK

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The Eugenic Value of Birth Control Propaganda

By Margaret Sanger

[The following brief statement of the dependence of any sound and effective program of Eugenics upon Birth Control, in view of the Second International Congress of Eugenics, recently held in New York at the Museum of Natural History, assumes a peculiar timeliness.]

SEEMINGLY EVERY new approach to the great problem of the human race must manifest its vitality by running the gauntlet of prejudice, ridicule and misinterpretation. Eugenists may remember that not many years ago this program for race regeneration was subjected to the cruel ridicule of stupidity and ignorance. Today Eugenics is suggested by the most diverse minds as the most adequate and thorough avenue to the solution of racial, political and social problems. The most intransigent and daring teachers and scientists have lent their support to this great biological interpretation of the human race. The war has emphasized its necessity.

The doctrine of Birth Control is now passing through the stage of ridicule, prejudice and misunderstanding. A few years ago this new weapon of civilization and freedom was condemned as immoral, destructive, obscene. Gradually the criticisms are lessening—understanding is taking the place of misunderstanding. The eugenic and civilizational value of Birth Control is becoming apparent to the enlightened and the intelligent.

In the limited space of the present paper, I have time only to touch upon some of the fundamental convictions that form the basis of our Birth Control propaganda, and which, as I think you must agree, indicate that the campaign for Birth Control is not merely of eugenic value, but is practically identical in ideal with the final aims of Eugenics.

FIRST: WE ARE convinced that racial regeneration, like individual regeneration, must come "from within." That is, it must be autonomous, self-directive, and not imposed from without. In other words, every potential parent, and especially every potential mother, must be brought to an acute realization of the primary and central responsibility of bringing children into this world.

Secondly: Not until the parents of the world are thus given control over their reproductive faculties will it ever be possible not alone to improve the quality of the generations of the future, but even to maintain civilization even at its present level. Only by self-control of this type, only by intelligent mastery of the procreative powers can the great mass of humanity be awakened to the great responsibility of parenthood.

Thirdly: We have come to the conclusion, based on widespread investigation and experience, that this education for parenthood must be based upon the needs and demands of the people themselves. An idealistic code of sexual ethics, imposed from above, a set of rules devised by high-minded theorists who fail to take into account the living conditions and desires of the submerged masses, can never be of the slightest value in effecting any changes in the *mores* of the

people. Such systems have in the past revealed their woeful inability to prevent the sexual and racial chaos into which the world has today drifted.

THE ALMOST UNIVERSAL demand for practical education in Birth Control is one of the most hopeful signs that the masses themselves today possess the divine spark of regeneration. It remains for the courageous and the enlightened to answer this demand, to kindle the spark, to direct a thorough education in Eugenics based upon this intense interest.

Birth Control propaganda is thus the entering wedge for the Eugenic educator. In answering the needs of these thousands upon thousands of submerged mothers, it is possible to use this interest as the foundation for education in prophylaxis, sexual hygiene, and infant welfare. The potential mother is to be shown that maternity need not be slavery but the most effective avenue toward self-development and self-realization. Upon this basis only may we improve the quality of the race.

As an advocate of Birth Control, I wish to take advantage of the present opportunity to point out that the unbalance between the birth rate of the "unfit" and the "fit," admittedly the greatest present menace to civilization, can never be rectified by the inauguration of a cradle competition between these two classes. In this matter, the example of the inferior classes, the fertility of the feeble-minded, the mentally defective, the poverty-stricken classes, should not be held up for emulation to the mentally and physically fit though less fertile parents of the educated and well-to-do classes. On the contrary, the most urgent problem today is how to limit and discourage the overfertility of the mentally and physically defective.

BIRTH CONTROL is not advanced as a panacea by which past and present evils of dysgenic breeding can be magically eliminated. Possibly drastic and Spartan methods may be forced upon society if it continues complacently to encourage the chance and chaotic breeding that has resulted from our stupidly cruel sentimentalism.

But to prevent the repetition, to effect the salvation of the generations of the future—nay of the generations of today—our greatest need is first of all the ability to face the situation without flinching, and to cooperate in the formation of a code of sexual ethics based upon a thorough biological and psychological understanding of human nature; and then to answer the questions and the needs of the people with all the intelligence and honesty at our command. If we can summon the bravery to do this, we shall best be serving the true interests of Eugenics, because our work will then have a practical and pragmatic value.

Families and Famines in China

By Helen Ward Bromfield

[China has for centuries been the country of unrestricted over-population. The author of this authentic article shows conclusively how large families are there bound up with famine and misery.]

TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO, before China's teeming hordes had reached the pinnacle of excessive millions, they rivalled the Romans in road-building. Remaining miles of ancient highways still exist, sufficient to show the dextrous and remarkable workmanship with which they were constructed. Particularly in the Ming dynasty was road-building an art in the Celestial Kingdom, when transportation by highway and water routes was at its zenith. Today, the roads are little more than trails, broken, dismembered and unserviceable, impassable for vehicles, pedestrians or beasts, except where foreign pressure has taken a hand and foreign capital and interests demanded the establishment of communication.

Of course, China is the oldest race of which we have authentic record. Her folk-lore has penetrated every corner of the globe in some distorted form. Chinese ancestral worship—the veneration for a father or ancestor, preferably remote—has laid the foundation for all succeeding religions, each group inventing a superlative being and endowing it with a character most suitable for its particular needs, defending its propaganda and doctrines by sword, crucifixion, machine-gun, liquid fire, poison, or starvation according to the prevailing popular ideas for most effectively eliminating dissenting opinions and destroying competitive creeds.

The Moors believe the world rests on the horns of a mighty bull, and that when his burden becomes irksome, it requires but the toss of his haughty head to dispose of the encumbrance.

China is fortunate in the provision of numerous avenues through which the strain of over-population is relieved, however drastic the means may seem to western minds. This frequent adjustment of China's criminal weakness by the exactions of nature in her ruthless demands of those who violate her codes, is momentarily painful but wholly essential. Plague, cholera, civil war, earthquake, famine and flood have taken their steady toll without perceptibly lessening the dominating evil.

WHEN THE TAIPING REBELLION occurred, little was heard about it in America because it coincided with our own great struggle between the North and the South in 1860-63 to the almost entire exclusion of foreign topics; yet the Taiping Rebellion was responsible for the loss of approximately thirty million lives by massacre, disease and starvation. An entire province was depopulated, but so congested were the adjoining provinces that within twenty years the overflow left little or no trace of the disaster which befell the stricken area; and when the recent famine of 1920-21 occurred this province was one of the five faced with grim starvation. The Chinese quiver is filled to capacity; but the granaries are yawning and empty.

Centuries before the Christian era arrived and biblical chroniclers had compiled their ancient tales of traveller and caravan and folk-lore gossip, and the love-song of a desert Arab had been woven into the Psalms, the Yellow River—"The Sorrow of China"—had devastated an area so vast and appalling that it is not astonishing to find the event recorded with slightly inaccurate geographical specifications as a catastrophe of universal proportion, for many times, at intervals of a few centuries, the Yellow River has accounted for untold millions of the Yellow race.

Were the Asiatic people permitted to swarm into the United States, in two generations our cities would be as congested as theirs and the standard of living lowered to an unimaginable degree—not that the Asiatic is incapable of cleanliness where hygienic surroundings prevail—but because of his unquenchable desire to reproduce his species as frequently as possible. When excess in population occurs the standard of comfort is proportionately lowered, and in its wake follows the inevitable growth of vice and immorality. In evidence of this is early marriage and excessive infant mortality amongst the lower classes where physical indulgence predominates over athletics and intellectual occupation.

IN ADDITION TO EARLY marriage, China tolerates polygamy, which again stimulates the creation of predestined hungry offspring who arrive unheralded and undesired, and from whose restless ranks the piratical element is recruited and the lawless millions upon which the military draw for troops.

In parts of the Chinese Republic, in populous cities as well as isolated countrysides, "baby-towers" are maintained for the reception of unwelcome infants. A partition separates the compartment for girls from the compartment provided for boys, that the morals of these unwanted children may not be contaminated by association. Certainly if they are not immune from evil in death itself a wall must be necessary for the preservation of their innocence. Such fastidious discrimination, however, is not always observed, as holes in a city wall serve equally well as a receptacle where unwelcome infants may be cast to perish or take the scant chance of being rescued—but for what? Usually the girl babies are condemned to such a fate, the boys being destroyed only when deformities or their physical condition renders them unable to earn a livelihood in any capacity whatsoever. Particularly repulsive specimens are led about the streets to solicit alms for themselves and their families—families? Certainly! These unfit, tuberculous, leprous, syphilitic, vermin-infested mendicants produce their kind as eagerly and as profusely as the rich merchant whose egotism demands prolific progeny to worship at his tomb.

It brings no blush to our psalm-singing, self-satisfied righteousness to be told that one-fourth the world's inhabitants exists in abject misery, unnourished, unwashed, uneducated, possessing the gift of articulation without the power of reason and thought, differing only from lower animals in that animals in a natural state select clean habitations and frequently bathe, possess the ability to think and are endowed with a normal sense of justice, so noticeably absent from our incipient state of civilization through which we are slowly struggling toward the light.

THE 1920-21 FAMINE spread over the greater part of five densely populated provinces—390,000 square miles containing 110,000,000 persons. The extent of this famine's destructiveness will never be known. Perhaps twelve millions would be a conservative estimate of deaths resulting. The small field which comfortably provides sufficient grain for three mouths in productive years, may consistently demand economy when the rain god has not been generous, but it is not equal to the occasion when called upon to supply the requirements of the rice-bowls of a baker's dozen.

For the months of April and May six millions of people were fed by the United International Famine Relief Committee with headquarters in Peking, this in addition to the multitudes who had been maintained in rations and clothing throughout the previous autumn and winter. Sixteen million Mexican dollars were expended for necessities the chief of which was *kiaoliang* (coarse Manchurian millet). One Mexican dollar per month was the estimated cost of feeding a famine refugee.

The Chinese Government, being too busy with a Civil War in the continuation of which Japan is instrumental, had no funds to contribute to their destitute civilians; but the Government and Ministry of Communications were generous in the donation of transportation facilities and telegraphic requirements.

Of the millions saved through the indefatigable energy of foreigners with the co-operation of the Chinese themselves to some extent, what will be the outcome? No measure for limiting birth rate will be effected, and when the next famine comes as it surely will, for each survivor of the famine this year

there will be four demanding subsistence a generation hence. Even though the Chinese Government applied itself energetically to the restoration of highways and lanes of travel; to the reopening of her sluggish canals; to the reforestation of her barren plains and hillsides; to the elimination of her incompetent military forces, still the demand would exceed the supply for a population so impetuously rushing into a whirlpool.

IN THE FAMINE areas the magistrates posted notices prohibiting the sale of children, and dealers engaged in this human traffic were arrested when apprehended and thrown into prison; but comparatively few were ensnared in the meshes of the law, the dealers resorting to many ways of evading the injunctions of authority, some using regular marriage papers; others protecting themselves by preparing contracts calling for sale for life or for a term of years; money was loaned and upon demanding payment, children were substituted; in many instances the little ones were stolen outright. In one district in South Chihli not a great distance from Peking, the Catholic sisters during the summer picked up more than five hundred abandoned waifs. In Shuntetu there were approximately five thousand persons sold, the sales being confined not only to children but to adults as well.

Reported by an investigator in Tze-chow: 112 persons known to have been sold in thirty-three villages:

41 girls	-----	25	under	\$ 3	Mex.
21 wives	-----	38	under	7	Mex.
40 boys	-----	36	under	12	Mex.
10 daughters-in-law	-----	9	under	20	Mex.
		4	under	32	Mex.

The uses to which these persons were put were: Adopted children, wives, concubines, actors, slaves and prostitutes.

In 1877-8 there were approximately nine million lives snuffed out by famine in the same general district, but the warning was unheeded and the mad man-making competition went on.

Verily, the bull upon whose neck ancestral worship rests, must earn his board and keep, in China.

BABIES

... A few blocks away I saw one of the poorest quarters of the city. Consequently the streets swarmed with children. I do not know whether it is true that most of these people are illiterate and deficient in their three R's. But they have certainly learned somewhere to multiply. Babies, babies everywhere! Creeping, crying, running, laughing, jumping, fighting. All dirty, none pretty, many sick, crippled, deformed, bow-legged.

The ash collector was there busy showering his gray dust over the whole block and into everybody's throat. Suddenly he cried out:

—By Gosh, I got a baby!

He had found a baby in an ash can. A premature baby, now dead, not yet entirely cold. In a jiffy a hundred children

were there, punching each other to gain access to the scene. They had become grave and vociferated nervously:

—I wanna see the baby!

—Let me!

—Let me!

A policeman elbowed his way to the can, wrapped the little corpse in a paper, put it in a large oatmeal box, saying:

—There is so many of 'em, one more or less!

But the romantic sentiment of the children was hurt and they shouted in a chorus:

—Oh, not in paper! Not in paper! You must bury it!

Tired with my head bent down, I went further, stopping at all the ash cans and looking inside.—THE WALKER, in *Rational Living*.

Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G. Punke

Fellow and Assistant in Sociology, University of Michigan.

ADVOCATES OF unrestricted race fecundity are quite emphatic in their belief that what they menacingly call "race suicide" is a recent invention of the devil, an effete institution, spreading from Paris over the world, and particularly into America. They would place its invention somewhere contemporaneous with that of the aeroplane or the motion picture.

Perhaps it will not add any ethical merit to the practice of race limitation to trace its anthropological and historical existence, but the fact remains that population limitation, either by infanticide or by the practice of premature still-birth is and has been employed all over the globe,—among all primitive, medieval and more recent people. Race limitation is not modern. The recent element in this movement is merely the discussion of whether or not mature persons should know contraceptives, whether race limitation might not be practiced without child murder or criminal practice.

In any consideration of the modern Birth Control movement a brief historical perspective is necessary.

First, however, a summary of the conclusions to be reached will be given.

By such a summary it is seen that some form of family or population limitation is as old as the human race, and has accompanied it during the whole of its long journey from the Trinil man of Java to the present-day apartment house dweller.

Still, despite such restrictions of race fecundity, the number of inhabitants of the world has increased stupendously during the past century, making the population problem one of great significance.

THE PROSPECT OF overcrowding, due to this enormous growth in the number of the inhabitants of the world, has come to be met today by the modern scientific form of family limitation, the use of contraceptives. Their use does not affect necessarily—though it may and often does—the survival rate, but merely controls the birth rate. Moreover, their employment does not lower the moral tone or impair the health of the nations and classes making a wide use of them; on the contrary, their utilization may raise the moral tone and improve the health of the people resorting to them.

Another point to recognize is that a diminution of the rate of increase among the poverty classes is a prime necessity for the elevation of the standards of those classes, and for their ultimate abolition. The extirpation of those classes is the immediate goal of all socially-minded people.

Furthermore, the free dissemination of contraceptive information and materials to the poverty group will help to lessen its rate of increase, but such measures alone will not accomplish that result to a sufficient degree for rapid social progress.

Finally, in addition to the free dissemination of contraceptive information and materials, other means are required.

They are to be found in such measures as the strict enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws, the discouragement of irresponsible procreation, and the like. The rate of increase of the poverty group will be diminished to a salutary point by these various activities coupled with the free dissemination of contraceptics and instruction in their use.

WE MUST NOT be led into the belief that family limitation, "race suicide," is new, or confined to cultural groups of an effete society. The limitation of population has been in vogue throughout the entire span of human existence. Among the primitive and semi-civilized peoples this takes the form of infanticide, and abortion or feticide.

The Australian aborigines practiced infanticide almost universally, since they were nomadic and the women could not carry two children. Then, too, male jealousy coming in, the native men destroyed all half-white children. The war-like natives of New Zealand, on the contrary, seldom indulged in infanticide; they wanted the boys for warriors and the girls as breeders. Among these belligerent Maori the decimation of war acted as a sufficient populational check. The Papuans of Geelvink Bay, New Guinea, keep down the number of children by abortion, while throughout Dutch New Guinea the women will not rear more than two or three offsprings. They fear the food supply will be too scanty. On the New Britain islands the women generally prevent the birth of children until subsequent to the second or fourth year after marriage, while New Hebrides women resort to abortion for egoistic reasons—very similar to present-day cultured women,—often procuring miscarriage by climbing trees or by carrying heavy loads.

Very similar conditions prevail among the aborigines of Africa. Fritsch remarks that feticide is a common custom in South Africa; likewise, the Bondei of West Africa strangle an infant at birth if the signs are unfavorable. Most of the portents refer to the prospect of a good or bad season for food. On the Zanzibar coast the weak and deformed children are exposed to death. The Hottentots of the south do away with female twins thru privation and neglect; the Kabyls of the north kill all illegitimate, incestuous, or adulterine children; and the Malagassans of Madagascar destroy all children born on unlucky days. While the practice mentioned among the Kabyls and Malagassans is chiefly one of tabu, doubtless it had its origin in the desire to limit the number of offsprings.

IN ASIA conditions are scarcely different. Until very recently the Chinese practiced female infanticide,—a custom partly the hangover from barbarian days, and partly the outcome of ancestor worship. The Khonds of India kill certain female infants. Says Westermarck:

"The murder of female infants, whether by the direct employment of homicidal means, or exposure to privation and

neglect, has for ages been a common practice or even a genuine custom among various Hindu castes."

Nor is the Western Hemisphere an exception in the employment of population limitation. Oviedo says that when South America was first discovered, the women of the mainland "practiced abortion in order not to spoil their bodies by child bearing,"—a stratagem of vanity which many of their effete sisters today employ assiduously. Spix and Martius, during their travels in Brazil, found that the women "until they are thirty, procure abortion, to free themselves from the privations of pregnancy and the trouble of bringing up children." Today American women may do the same thing to uphold their part in dancing clubs. The South American plains Indian women, living much on horseback, limited their families so as not to be hindered in travelling with their husbands. When a traveller reproached a woman of one of the South American Indian tribes for the practice of infanticide, McLennan says he received the retort, "Men have no business to meddle in women's affairs." Do modern, cultured women have spunk enough to insist upon the management of their own affairs?

Similarly the Indians of North America habitually employed family limitation. The plains Indians of this continent restricted the number of their offsprings, while the Pimas of Arizona and the Hyperboreans of the frozen northland still resort to infanticide and feticide.

Much more evidence showing the extent and variety of infant-murder and abortion among primitive and semi-civilized peoples might be adduced. However, it is thought the foregoing will suffice. It is seen Professor W. G. Sumner was justified in concluding "abortion and infanticide are so nearly universal in savage life, either as egoistic or group policy, that exceptions to the practice of these vices are noteworthy phenomena."

NOR WERE THE primitive folk alone in those customs. Those practices were more or less prevalent among the peoples of antique civilization and during the civilizational swingback denominated "The Middle Ages."

Thus in ancient Greece and Rome the employment of infant-murder and feticide were common and often enjoined by law. Such methods of family limitation were a part of the mores. Westermarck remarks of Greece:

"The exposure of deformed and sickly infants was undoubtedly an ancient custom in Greece; in Sparta, at least, it was

enjoined by law. It was also approved by the most enlighteneu among the Greek philosophers. Plato condemned to death all those children who are imperfect in limbs as well as those who are born of depraved citizens."

Says Aristotle:

"It is necessary to take care that the increase of the people should not exceed a certain number in order to avoid poverty and its concomitants, sedition and other evils."

Of Rome Seneca observes: "We destroy monstrous births, and we drown unnaturally formed."

Ovid, Seneca, Plutarck, Favorinus and Juvenal speak of abortion as general and notorious in ancient Rome. During the latter years of the Republic and early years of the Empire infanticide merged largely into feticide, which floursihed among certain classes of the Roman population.

The waning Republic and early Empire saw the advent and growth of Christianity. The religion of Jesus, taking its ethics from the Jewish moral code, condemned infanticide and abortion alike. The Christian doctrine maintained and still claims that the soul or spirit enters the child immediately upon conception, differing therein from the tenets of Islam, which aver the soul comes after the fifth month of pregnancy. From the time of its advent and early growth in Rome to the present day, Christianity has used every power in its hands to extirpate infanticide and feticide. Under its influence the most repressive laws have been enacted,—laws punishing with death and excommunication those practicing those vices. Its efforts have been, however, in the main unsuccessful.

PARTIALLY AT LEAST was Christianity responsible for the severe penalties indicated in the first of the following quotations:

"In 374 infanticide," remarks Sumner, "was made a crime punishable by death. Justinian provided that foundlings should be free. Infanticide continued to be customary." Sumner says further: "When the Icelanders accepted Christianity a minority stipulated they should still be allowed to eat horse-flesh and to practice exposure of infants."

Similarly, in the old German law infanticide was severely punished. The guilty mother was buried alive in a sack, the law prescribing, with the ingenious fiendishness of the age, that a dog, a cat, a rooster and a viper should also be placed in the sack. Mrs. Margaret Sanger remarks that in Germany one sovereign alone condemned 20,000 women to death for infant-killing without noticeably lessening the practice.

(To be continued.)

THE LOST CHILD

By May Hunter

Dear little heart that beat against mine,
Oh dream for a while so near,
And now I'm afraid of the cold little heart,
The cold and the stillness here.

The warmth and the glow of the sunshine you brought
Withheld little heart so soon—

Now life must seem dreary and chill henceforth
As seen by the light of the moon.

What life did I bring you to share, little heart?
How could I feel it was good?
I'll think of the sadness you're spared, little heart,
And my lost dream of motherhood.

Opinions of the Conference by Members of the American Public Health Association

NOTE:—Second table by H. H. from answers to questionnaire sent to members and other officials. In forthcoming issues we will publish further compilations from universities, various institutions, and people in the public eye. The answers to this questionnaire have been most gratifying. The reader is asked to note the practical unanimity of the answer "yes" to the question: "ould you like any literature on this subject (Birth Control)?"; whereas the replies vary to the question: "Do you believe in a controlled birth-rate?" These two questions have shown that whether or not a given individual believes in Birth Control, he is open-minded and glad of an opportunity to examine material bearing on the subject.

NAMES OF CITIES AND BOARDS OF HEALTH INDIVIDUALS OF WHICH ANSWERED THE QUESTIONNAIRE	THREE QUESTIONS ASKED ON QUESTIONNAIRE		
	WILL YOU ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE	WOULD YOU LIKE ANY LITERA- TURE ON THIS SUBJECT	DO YOU BELIEVE IN A CON- TROLLED BIRTH-RATE
University of Wisconsin, Pathological Dept., Madison, Wis.	No	Yes	Most certainly
Richland, Wis., a doctor	No	Yes	Yes
University of Missouri, School of Engineering, Columbia, Mo.	I shall hope to do so.	Yes	Yes
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.	If held in Chicago will attend	Yes	Heartily in accord
St. Joseph, Mo., a doctor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fowlerville, Mich., a Banker	Business conditions make it impossible	Truly yes	My business now being more commercial than for past years I believe I can see great need from both the physical and economic basis.
Detroit, Mich., a member	No, I regret to say	No	Have not made up my mind
Jackson, Mich., Health Dept.	Yes	Yes	Yes
University Health Service, Ann Arbor, Mich.	Yes, if possible	Yes	Yes, favorably
Washington, D. C., a member	No	Yes	Yes
Washington, D. C., a member	Doubtful	Yes	No
Auburn, Mass., a member	Doubtful	Yes	Yes
Freeport, N. Y., a doctor	Probably	Yes	Yes
Newark, N. J., statistician	Yes	Yes	Have not definitely decided. Believe there is some merit in it.
Simmons College	Desire to, probably unable	Yes	Unprepared to answer
Chicago, Ill., Health Dept. of large newspaper	Yes	Yes	Yes
Philadelphia, Pa., a doctor	Shall try	Yes	Yes
Erie, Pa., a doctor	Expect to	Yes	Yes
Harrisburg, Pa., doctor Health Dept.	Impossible	Yes	Yes
Cincinnati, Ohio, doctor	Uncertain	Yes	Yes
Columbus, Ohio, Health Dept.	No	Yes	Yes
Delaware, Ohio, Ohio Wesleyan University	Cannot	Yes	Yes
Raleigh, doctor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Raleigh, N. C., three doctors	No	Yes	Yes
Buffalo, N. Y., Health Dept.	Yes	Yes	Only under advice of family physician
Brooklyn, N. Y., member	Yes	Yes	Yes
New York, N. Y., doctor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cambridge, Mass., School of Public Health, Harvard Univ. and Massachusetts Institute of Technology	If possible	Yes	I do
Amesbury, Mass, member	Yes	Yes	Certainly
Salem, Mass, member	Unable	Yes	Yes
Baltimore, Md., John Hopkins Univ., School of Hygiene and Public Health	Shall try	Yes	Yes
Fairfield, Iowa, Parsons Colleke	Hope so	Yes	Yes
Ames, Iowa, Iowa State College, Dept. of Bac- teriology and Hygiene	Probably	Yes	Yes
Des Moines, Iowa, U. S. Public Health Service	Doubtful, as have other meet- ings conflicting with this	Yes	Can give you no opinion at present
Carroll, Iowa, doctor	Do not expect to	Yes	
University of Iowa, Dept. of Sociology	Impossible, date is at time when cannot leave	Yes, indeed	Very strongly
Richmond, Ind., member	Yes, if possible	Yes	Yes
Springfield, Ill., registrar	Uncertain at this time	Yes	Not competent to state at this date
Chicago, Ill., doctor	Uncertain at this time	Yes, with thanks	Yes, with restrictions
Chicago, Ill., doctor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., doctor	Shall be unable to attend	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., doctor	Sorry, cannot	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., doctor	No	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., doctor	No	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., member	No	Yes	Yes
Chicago, Ill., doctor	No	Yes	Yes
Boulder, Colo., Health Dept.	No	Yes	Yes
Coronado, Cal., doctor	No	Yes	Yes
Kentfield, Calif., member	No	Yes	Yes
Reading, Pa., member	Probably not	Yes	Yes

A Distinguished Champion of Birth Control

THIS DISTINGUISHER Englishman, who is to speak publicly for the first time in America at the Birth Control Conference, is one of the most unflinching and clear-sighted of European publicists. His championship of Birth Control as the most fundamental necessity of modern society is based upon a prolonged study of social and economic problems. Harold Cox brings to this great question not the fiery enthusiasm of youth—such enthusiasm is too apt to flare up suddenly and as suddenly die down. On the contrary; Harold Cox's conviction is based upon thorough and widespread study and investigation. As the *Yorkshire Post* once wrote: "The whole science of figures is an open book to him." A brief sketch of his career may indicate the solid foundations of his convictions concerning Birth Control.

Born in 1859, educated at Tonbridge School, Harold Cox entered Jesus College, Cambridge, where he became president of the Cambridge Union—Mathematical Tripos in 1882. Subsequently he lectured for the Cambridge University Extension. To acquire first hand knowledge of working class conditions he worked for an entire year in Kent and Surrey as an agricultural laborer. Followed two years in the teaching of mathematics in a Mohammedan College in India. Mr. Cox returned to England in 1887, and read for the bar. But he finally decided to enter journalism. From 1889 to 1904 he was secretary of the Cobden Club. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament as member from Preston.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS he won an enviable record for truth and honesty and outright speaking. His brilliant lucidity, his mastery of fact compactly marshalled, irrefutably presented and skilfully illuminated by quiet flashes of humor, all made him an outstanding figure in the House. He had the power of holding his audience spellbound; and this led the *Manchester Dispatch* to name him as "one of the finest speakers of the present generation." The *Standard* also spoke of this gift of commanding attention:

"The dramatic speech of the night was by Harold Cox. When he first rose few men were in the House. But as the signal ran through the lobby, reading rooms and smoking rooms 'Cox is up' the House began to fill. He gripped the assembly into attention, and won a triumph not only by the courageous individuality of his views, but by the way in which he got all men to listen to him."

On another occasion the *Daily Telegraph* confessed that Harold Cox quite took the debating honors away from Lloyd George. It describes this occasion:

"The debating triumph of the day belonged, not to Mr. Lloyd George, but to Mr. Harold Cox. And surely few private members have ever had such a striking tribute paid to their intellectual powers as that silently paid to the member from Preston by the crowded state of the House of Commons at the beginning of the sitting when he rose to continue the debate. The Chamber was as full as it is when some great measure is about to be introduced. Hardly a minister or ex-

minister was absent from his place, and the Premier and his colleagues listened with close attention while their brilliant follower analyzed their land taxes with merciless sarcasm and sharp incisive comment. It was done in perfect temper, and it was immensely admired."

FROM 1910 to 1912 Mr. Cox was an Alderman of the London County Council, an office that gave him splendid opportunity to study the questions of poverty and over-population. In 1912 he assumed the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*, a position he has held ever since. Many valuable papers on Birth Control have appeared in its pages, including those of that brilliant churchman Dean Inge.

In the pages of prominent London dailies Harold Cox misses no opportunity to point out the Birth Control aspects of the problems that confront Great Britain and the world. A skilled and honest dialectician, he is as energetic in his attacks upon such reactionary bodies as the Bishops of the Church of England as upon unthinking and superficial reformers.

Harold Cox rightly looks upon this great problem not as a theoretical and prospective one. "It is actual and practical. The inherent power of increase in our population is today being checked, and always has been checked. Both the prudential check of a controlled birth rate and the punitive check of an exaggerated death-rate are today operative . . ."

His travels in the Orient showed Harold Cox that in "these great hives of humanity the masses of the population—partly as from a childlike obedience to religious dogma—pour children into the world without the slightest regard for their prospects of maintenance. As a necessary consequence the children die like flies." From the point of view of the woman, Mr. Cox also emphasizes the importance of Birth Control: "If a woman is called upon to have children as often as is physically possible, her life is one long illness, and her children are denied that individual motherly care which is one of the most valuable elements in the rearing of fine types of manhood and womanhood."

AS FOR THE opposition from certain physicians and the so-called moral opposition of the clergy, Harold Cox has pertinently remarked, first of these "medical men": "Their condemnation of Birth Control carries little weight in the face of the statistical fact that the birth-rate among medical men is lower than that in any other class in the community." The clergy likewise has a low birth-rate: "The real weight of the opposition to Birth Control comes from a section of the clergy of the established Church of England, and from practically all the clergy of the Church of Rome. Both these groups preach the duty of unlimited procreation. Yet the clergy of the Church of England have ceased to have the large families for which they were once famous, and now rival the doctors in their low-birth-rate; the clergy of the Church of Rome are celibate."

Two Illuminating Books

THE NEXT WAR, by Will Irwin.

A Review by Florence Guertin Tuttle

EVERY INTELLIGENT American should read Will Irwin's book, *The Next War*, a work written not to suggest the next war but to counteract the crime of jingoism and munition makers who are already preparing for "the next war."

By luck rather than by foresight, Mr. Irwin claims, Americans have been given the dominating position in the world in the next quarter of a century. What the United States chooses will largely be the course of the other nations. Now is the appointed time to begin action against these self-interested patriots. Mr. Irwin affirms, and we are the appointed people.

Can Americans hope that their example will influence war to pass as a human institution? Mr. Irwin shows us how strongly Monarchism was once imbedded in the warp and loom of human activities and slavery in the economic life of nations. Today monarchism has fallen and slavery is the brand of a backward race. A few strong nations may put the taboo upon future wars if behind them is the popular urge.

Every woman in particular should read *The Next War* and especially Chapter VI. "War and the Race" to glimpse her individual role in establishing peace. When enough women have really awakened to a full sense of their own power and a full realization of their collective responsibility to the human race, there will be no more wars. The conserving feminist principle will balance and guide the destructive and combative male. A woman who will then permit war, who will cooperate in war, will be more of a disgrace than a pacifist in the last war. The real patriotism will be to the human race.

WE WISH THAT Mr. Irwin had seen fit to make more of an appeal to emancipated women to realize their own moral laxity in failing to grasp the fact that their mission is not only to give life but to guard it. But it is something to have the "Ace of War Correspondents" point out to women the effect of wholesale slaughter upon the life-stream, to locate the real Race Suicide of human life. Rome and Spain declined because perpetual wars killed the strong youth, the potential fathers of the future. Evolution was reversed by the selection of the unfitest, the perpetuation of the weak, the crippled and the undersized. It is something for an expert on war to recommend Dr. David Starr Jordan's "War and the Breed." Something immeasurable will be gained if this book becomes popular among women, a kind of fundamental of What Every Woman Should Know.

Every youth also should read this book, and kindred books, until he learns the true causes of war—the economic rivalries of states, the exploitation of undeveloped peoples, the mad race for low rates of labor and high rates of interest upon foreign investments, and every phase of that "financial imperialism" that statesmen and economists acknowledge to be one of the two chief causes of modern warfare. The second cause is unfortunately by Mr. Irwin in his analysis of the occasions of

war—the accumulation of surplus populations. Scientists and sociologists alike today are acknowledging that "explosive populations—such as Germany possessed in 1914 and Japan is piling up today—are danger signals for war and that control of the birth-rate is a footpath to peace. Appeals to nationalism and perverted patriotism will have less effect in inflaming the youth of a nation where the cold truth as to these two causes of war are included in the curriculum of the land.

FINALLY, MR. IRWIN'S book is of value because he does not merely show the irrefutable destructiveness of the next war—the Lewisite gas that can be dropped from airplanes to wipe out whole civilian populations, the germs that can spread disease, the plant pests that may be loosened upon the enemies' grain crop to produce a rust which will starve him out. Constructive methods of peace are also outlined—the organization of fifty sovereign states to provide a machinery of international cooperation, as the League of Nations is now functioning; a collective force to punish the violation of international law; limitation in armament by international agreement, with the United States leading, since "we have as much economic and industrial power to manufacture navies and munitions as any three European nations," international agreement concerning the distribution of raw materials, the internationalization of export capital and the abolition of secret diplomacy are some of the practical and constructive channels of organized world peace.

The Next War is a small book. But it is so packed with facts, so pregnant with truth that it should become a dynamic force in silencing those militarists who have learned nothing from the recent collapse of civilization, and who would continue the mad competition in armaments and the madder taxation of people already bent earthward with the military burdens of the past.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF FEMINISM, by Aaron Barnett.

A Review by Blanche Schrack

WE HOPE Mr. Avrom Barnett is resigned to the fact that he will have to face the opposition of many of the most prominent Feminists of our day to his iconoclastic book on Feminism—"The Foundations of Feminism." Able writers who have built up their case for feminine superiority on Lester Ward's Gynaecocentric Theory of Life, or on the conviction that in the coming together of the reproductive cells the male cellule becomes fused and loses its individuality in the female cellule, will not take kindly to Mr. Barnett's biological evidence that these things are not so.

But neither is Mr. Barnett anti-feministic. His proof of the greater variability of women—that is, of their greater possibilities for attaining genius, will please the Feminists, but will doubtless arouse the ire of all the Sir Almroth Wrights and the whole camp of the anti-Feminists.

The value of Mr. Barnett's biological argument lies precisely

in the fact that it favors neither one side nor the other. It clears the air, and proves only one thing—that, in his own words, “Feminism neither has, nor requires biological justification.” Biology may prove the greater variability of women, but what society wants, after all, is not to know whether more women than men are potential geniuses, but how to develop genius in the greatest number of individuals, both men and women.

The point at issue is not the superiority or inferiority of woman to man. “Woman’s sphere” is obviously comprised in those activities in society which will enable her to develop the richest personality, to contribute to the greatest extent to the progress of civilization, and to give birth to the best possible race.

INSOFAR AS Mr. Barnett’s arguments prove that in the sphere of motherhood woman can best accomplish these things, so far his arguments are sound. Regarding their entrance into the sphere of industry he says: “The economic stress which forces women into unlimited competition with men is, I am certain, harmful,” but he realizes here that the woman problem becomes identical with the labor problem. The fact that industry is crippling women is not in itself any evidence of their unfitness for it. The fault lies in the hard conditions of the industrial system itself, which cripples men as well as women.

But he misunderstands Olive Schreiner in quoting her sen-

tence—“We claim all labor for our province,” as evidence that women claim all the hard, monotonous work of the world as their sphere. What Olive Schreiner was here contending for was the removal of artificial restrictions which excluded woman from certain fields of activity on the ground of her sex alone. We do not all want to be deep-sea divers or cotton mill operatives, but we claim the right to these activities if one of our sex desires to do such work.

In spite of the fact, however, that Mr. Barnett thinks the entrance of women in industry has had a harmful effect on them physically, he realizes it has had a real educational value.

“Confined to the home and home industries, as they had been in the past, the worldly experience that is necessary to an intelligent understanding of life was unknown to them. With their entrance into modern industry the great forces in our modern complex civilization have become part of their everyday life; and this invaluable education has brought an enlightenment to woman that no end of preaching or exhortation could impress upon her. The disillusionment that labor brings is known to her; and the ideal of an enlightened career of motherhood beckons to her.”

Mr. Barnett’s book is a valuable addition to the literature of Feminism, and if much of his criticism seems destructive it is because he is convinced that “Feminism has now reached the stage when a strong and vigorous catharsis is the only thing that will energize it” and we agree with him.

Sidelights on Selling “The Review”

By May Morgan

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW was sold on Fifth Ave. during the Milk Fund Drive. The hostile reception given to the magazine and its sellers along the route of sale was illuminating. It would seem that anyone on the streets that day should have grasped the fact that if parents knew how to limit the number of their children to those they could support, such gigantic charities as a tag day Milk Fund for undernourished babies would be unnecessary.

It is pathetic that what is for the advantage of the people often has to be so patiently and laboriously instilled. Conservatism has been said to be the “governor” of the human race or otherwise we would be going off at a tangent or whirling around in our opinions like a weather cock in a strong breeze. But if conservatism is a regulator of customs and beliefs, then the best that can be said of it, is that it is often so choked up by the cold accumulated oils of prejudice that it retards progress by the slowness of its revolutions as much as it steadies it. The time will come when voluntary motherhood will be recognized as the most civilizing influence that has been brought before the world since christianity struggled its way into the intelligence and hearts of the people. But at present it is taking tons of energy in its behalf to get ounces of results.

FOR ALMOST SUPERHUMAN courage and persistence is required in educating people to what is so plainly obvious to the progressive thinker. And always acute psychological finesse must be exercised in leading your public up to the idea, and in patient waiting for the subsidence of the shock to the ignorant or prejudiced mind before advancing forward on another step. If you have ever seen a fractious horse broken, you will understand somewhat the policies followed in accustoming the mind of the populace to a new idea. Over and over again the idea must be brought before it and held there steadily and persistently as a trainer leads a green horse, which is to be broken to city uses, up and down busy streets and beside running electric cars until the horse learns he has a place in the streets and ceases to rear and plunge and tremble at the moving cars and clanging gongs.

And on this particular tag day, into the crowd that had collected on the sidewalks to watch the circus parade came we with our BIRTH CONTROL REVIEWS. We all had experiences and one in relating hers said that one woman told her that she would like to shoot her for selling the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. A white haired refined looking old lady who was collecting money for the Milk Fund, and who had certainly reached the age when acting well-bred should have been second nature to her, but evidently was not, hysterically tried to make her give herself up to the police for arrest and being

unsuccessful persisted in standing in front of her and clamoring "WE want to SAVE the babies, not KILL them." A little later on a man became rabid at the sight of her magazine and announced to the crowd as well as to her, that he knew a Christian woman who had given birth to fifteen children. Our volunteer could not resist snapping back that she did not think the Lord would seriously object if the woman were to hold off having the sixteenth for a while. Occasionally our sellers were bombarded with such epithets as "absurd, ridiculous" and such like. But to compensate for these they frequently saw both men and women look at them with wistful expression, but such is the cowardness of human nature that these men and women often had not the moral courage to buy before the crowd. Many times men stepped unobtrusively up to our seller and passing correct change would simultaneously take the paper displayed in their hand and disappear. Perhaps the time will come when, thanks to Margaret Sanger and her persistent courage, to discuss sex matters will not be considered a venial sin.

AT THE PUBLIC LIBRARY those who were selling the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW were subjected to quite a humiliating experience. There three or four women who were actively interested in the Milk Fund demonstration accosted them about the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW in quite an abusive and personal manner.

At the time our women came in front of the Library there were no demonstrations of any kind going on, and they could

not see why the presence of the paper should arouse such antagonism, even though the Milk Fund ladies did not agree with its policies. There are perhaps many things of which these unduly excited ladies do not approve, but we doubt if they are as hysterical about all their aversions as they are about Birth Control. If a recognized murderer had come among them, instead of our propaganda journal, it is a question if they would have been aroused to such expressions of outraged feelings.

There is no doubt that the vehement antagonism that is often shown towards Birth Control is psychological, some stirring of unconscious or subconscious sex emotion. Sex relations indulged in is one thing; but sex relations discussed is quite another. From childhood, as we all know, we are taught that sex relations and all correlatives are something to be tabooed, especially in conversation. As the child is the father of the man, it is inherent in the adult to revolt when confronted with discussion of the question. And the big work of the cohorts of the Birth Control movement is to wear away this prurient repugnance to discussion of sex questions. People must become accustomed to it so that they will quit shying at its approach and use that energy to think, and it will then be found that voluntary motherhood has been accepted at its face value. Therefore Birth Control propaganda and the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW must be brought before the public at every opportunity, and so it behooves you to pass along the magazine and to bring the subject before your own small audiences at every opportunity. In other words: "do your bit!"

"Increase and Multiply"

[DEDICATED TO BRE'R RABBIT]

WASHINGTON, AUG. 30.—Some weeks ago President Harding, glancing through the rotogravure section of a Sunday newspaper, noted the picture of Mr. and Mrs. Domenico Zaccאה of New York City and their sixteen children, whereupon he wrote Mrs. Zaccאה, congratulating her on being the mother of such a splendid brood and at the same time stating that he himself was one of eight children.

In mentioning the latter fact, he recalled that his mother in her declining years had once said that she would have been happy to have been the mother of eight more little Hardings "if she had her life to live over again."—*Special to the New York Times.*

Wife: Eight dear ones I bore
I'd welcome eight more.
Husband: I earn ten a week,
It just makes me sore,
I'd like twenty more.
Landlord: I'd like twenty more.
Ten Years Later
Wife: Sixteen dear ones I bore,
I'd like sixteen more.

Husband: Now twenty I get
For my little chore.
I'd like twenty more.
Landlord: I want twenty more.
Ten Years Later
Wife: Thirty-two kids I bore,
Give me thirty-two more.
Husband: My wages are fifteen,
The older the lower.
I'd like twenty more.
Landlord: I want twenty more.
Ten Years Later
Wife: I've had sixty-four,
Doctor, *can't* I have more?
Husband: I am nearing my end
If my life I had o'er,
I'd learn to talk English,
Earn two dollars more,
And so try to keep
The old wolf from the door.
Landlord: I want twenty more.

—*The New Republic.*

November, 1921

329.25 B6

Twenty-Five Cents

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

IS
BIRTH CONTROL
MORAL?

Bring Your Answer

TO

Town Hall

NEW YORK

Mass Meeting

November 13th, 1921

AT EIGHT P. M.

BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gelukkig Huisgezin*.
- GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
- FRANCE (1895).—C. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
- SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
- BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
- AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Liabon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasilena de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscota, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janeiro.
- CUBA AVTJGQ.—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWEDEN (1911).—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
- MEXICO, (1918).—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries, Mr. and Mrs. Linn A. E. Gale, P. O. Box 518, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish).

NOTICE

The new and final list of organizations has been left out until the Conference meets when the various leagues will be reorganized.

An Appeal

In order to make the coming American Birth Control Conference
—November 11th—13th, a success, we need your help!

Could you send a donation toward the expenses? If you have \$100.00 send us that. If you have \$50.00 or \$25.00 to help insure success, send it, or even a smaller amount—send that!

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. V.

NOVEMBER, 1921

No. 11

Birth Control: To create a race of thoroughbreds.

Unity!

FROM THE VERY beginning of human history, programs for progress and regeneration have been characterized by internal conflicts and discords. Usually, in their first stages, such movements are forced to withstand only attacks from external enemies. But as soon as the group or movement demonstrates its value and vitality by surviving these attacks, it finds itself confronted by another problem. This is the growing complexity of the social organism or body, by the appearance of internal differences, by the appearance of conflicting issues. The moment any movement begins to grow "wings"—left wing, right wing, and centre, these are usually termed—it begins to exhibit something closely approaching the phenomenon of cell-division in biology.

The Birth Control movement is no exception to this great historical and biological fact. It is showing signs of this radiant vitality, this life, this growth. But instead of bemoaning this polarization of thought, this division of effort, we delight in it as one of the surest signs of strength, of the invincible and conquering power of the parent cell. No vigorous social movement ever remains in the single-cell state. Vigorous growth means that it is sending its roots deep into the social consciousness, and that with this growth, it must develop internal differentiation.

The unity of the Birth Control movement is not, and should not be, the dead unity of unthinking unanimity, but the living unity of differentiated activity, the unity, in short, of the healthy organism. If our idea is to be of any practical influence upon humanity, it must exert its appeal to every shade of thought. It must awaken interest and discussion. It must come to men and women with all the freshness and splendor of a new discovery. They must assimilate all that they can of its stimulating truth. So that each novice in turn, may himself, by word of mouth, arouse fresh interest, stir latent thoughts into keen activity.

ON THE OTHER hand, the most detrimental thing that could happen to the movement would be a flat, monotonous, lifeless agreement—the unthinking and unhealthful submission to a fixed idea like a band of narrow sectarians or religious fanatics. Fortunately for the Birth Control movement, it is not made up of a servile, submissive, passive body of unthinking followers, who having parrot-like learnt a few elementary truths, might feel that their duty ended there. No: our movement is made up in all countries of the finest, the

most fearless and independent minds of the age. It is this self-reliance, this glorious freedom and independence of thought, that keeps the movement, unlike modern reforms, from sinking to the state of innocuous lethargy and living death.

We do not desire the unity of death or hypocrisy.

Our unity is the unity of life. It is the great central truth, the glowing vision, that holds us, despite all our differences and disagreements, together. This unity is great enough to hold us together despite conflicts, despite all our variance, despite the clashing contrast in the colors of our thought.

Having recognized, early in the history of the Birth Control movement, that controversies and dissension would be inevitable concerning the aims and objects of the movement, the editor decided, due to the need for a strict economy of time and space, to refrain from editorial participation in the exchange of personal opinion or discussion with agitated adherents of the same cause or leaders of subsidiary agencies. It has been her fundamental conviction that it would be disastrous if not fatal to such a young and rapidly growing movement to deviate from the straightforward path toward liberation. We must move neither to left nor right, but straight ahead. In this directness, this unflinching purpose, lies our great strength. It would be fatal for us to step aside into the morass of controversy. Impelled by the dynamic truth of our fundamental conviction, it is our bounden duty to move, slowly and surely, forward. We must conserve all our strength and grit for our real enemies, the forces of corruption and reaction. Nothing could be, we honestly believe, more debilitating to our concerted effort than to engage in or publish petty discussions, acrimonious debates, generated by those who disagree with ways and means. To those who, while sharing our convictions concerning the necessity for universal education in Birth Control, and yet who are in disagreement with the means and methods we use, we have never advised a servile submission nor suggested a retirement from activity. Those who have watched the birth, rise and downfall of other social movements,—downfalls due to internecine strife, must agree with us in the wisdom of this policy.

TO THOSE WHO cannot bring themselves into agreement with our methods and principles, let us repeat what we have before pointed out in these pages: there is always room for independent and autonomous activity along independent lines, in a rich and varied field of endeavor. Such activity

might possess the great and invaluable merit of being constructive and positive, instead of tending to hinder the progress and forward march of the great central, historical movement.

Thus, while we welcome difference and differentiation in idea and policy, as the finest and surest sign of health and growth, we have always tried, and we shall continue in our attempt, never to lose sight of the great central truth of Birth Control. It is this spirit that should unite us, rather than an artificial organization—the great unifying truth that should bind scientists, thinkers, idealists—so that we may carry the torch of truth toward the goal of human freedom and happiness.

Conference Delegates

A LREADY DELEGATES representing the following States have written that they would attend the Conference:—California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont.

The following organizations and their respective delegates have announced their co-operation and representation at the various sessions:

Connecticut: Bridgeport Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. F. H. Levy; Mrs. S. Capitman; Mrs. H. Walder. New Haven Section Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. Jacob N. Wolodarsky.

New Jersey: Monday Afternoon Club, Passaic, N. J., Mrs. W. M. Barclay. Montclair Federation of Women's Organizations, Mrs. Alfred W. Diller; Mrs. Louis Hinrichs; Mrs. Viola Warren. Newark Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. Freda Blumenthal; Mrs. Wm. Finger; Mrs. Leo Stein. Woman's Club of Cliffside Park, Grantwood, N. J., Mrs. James A. Mileham. Woman's League of North Hudson, Mrs. H. W. Wahlert.

New York: Albany County Section of Jewish Women, Mrs. Wm. G. Lewi; American Society of Reconstruction, Mrs. David Lopes Cardoza. Bronx Woman's Club, Mrs. M. Bowen; Mrs. Alfred H. Hausrath; Mrs. William W. Niles. Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. H. M. Stark. Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. Chas. H. Chapman. Monticello Suffrage Club, Mrs. Elisabeth Worth Muller. Philemon, E. Evans. Rutgers Alumnae Ass'n. of N. Y., Mrs. Clora C. Kennedy. Syracuse Woman's Congress, Mrs. W. W. Knapp. Urban League of Brooklyn, Mrs. Fred Z. Lewis; Mrs. John Brant.

Illinois: Chicago Woman's Aid, Frances Taussing; (New York City.)

The principle of Birth Control offers:

A New Approach.

A New Diagnosis.

A Fundamental Solution.

The First American Birth Control Conference will aim to show that the conclusions attained by scientists and social authorities indicate Birth Control is the first and fundamental step toward

National and Racial Health.

The Abolition of Poverty.

Disarmament and World Peace.

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE LOU ROGERS

ANNE KENNEDY

BLANCHE SCHRACK

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THE VOLUNTARY Parenthood League announces that Dr. Marie C. Stopes, of London, is coming to America for the purpose of delivering an address on the social and human values of Birth Control, as expressed in her Motherhood Clinic, recently established in London. The meeting will be held in the Town Hall, New York City, at 8.20, on the evening of October 27th. Dr. Stopes is the author of "Married Love," "Radiant Motherhood," "Wise Parenthood." Beside these works on marriage and parenthood, Dr. Stopes has written various notable books and articles on biological subjects, as well as several plays and poems.

Birth Control and Child Welfare

By Mrs. How-Martyn

MARRIAGE and sex relations are at the root of the woman's movement, and until we find courage to deal with them frankly, fully, and openly, "the world's attitude towards sex relations" will continue to be "wrong." Until women face the problems involved, and solve them, we shall only be tinkering with the problem of how to establish "a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women."

If men and women were hermaphrodite like the earthworms, and the consequence of sexual intercourse was motherhood for both partners, does anyone imagine for a moment that there would be any need for a struggle to obtain equality? It would not have been possible to establish masculine dominance but for the handicap which uncontrolled motherhood has imposed on women.

Mr. Harold Cox has stated clearly and conclusively the intimate and inevitable connection between Birth Control and woman's liberty, and from my experience on County Council Committees for Child Welfare, for Mental Defectives, for the Insane, for the Tubercular, I am astonished at the stupidity and the prudery which have prevented the teaching of Birth Control to poor mothers worn out with repeated pregnancies, to persons discharged from mental hospitals, to those suffering from tuberculosis, epilepsy, venereal and other diseases so miserable for the sufferer and so weakening for the race.

THE WELFARE of the child is also to be considered, and to the nation this aspect is of supreme importance. In 1859 John Stuart Mill, writing on the applications of liberty, said: "It still remains unrecognized, that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime both against the unfortunate offspring and against society." The upper and middle classes are, to-day, rarely guilty of this moral crime, and again and again parents of one or two children state quite frankly that it is impossible to educate properly more than two or three children.

In the sixty-two years since John Stuart Mill enunciated this fundamental right of the child, something has been done towards securing proper nurture to every child, but we are still far from the goal. What has been achieved is the result of the steadily declining birth-rate, and is largely due to the fear that, if the decline be allowed to continue, England will fail to retain her important world position. I am firmly convinced that the birth-rate must continue to fall if all children are to obtain their birth-right; no other spur will be effective in pressing their claims on the attention of the public and the politicians.

It was soon recognized as hopeless to urge people to produce plenty of children when once Birth Control measures had become even partially known to them, and attention was

concentrated on attempts to save the lives of the hundreds of thousands of babies who would otherwise perish in the first five years of life. Such efforts can only be successful when the births do not exceed the number that the resources of the parents can feed, clothe, educate, and train.

INDIVIDUAL Parents have been acknowledging this more and more, until in the better-off classes parental prudence based on the highest ideals for the welfare of their children, is almost universal in this country. It is now our duty to extend an understanding of these high ideals of parenthood to those less fortunately placed. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, in the United States, and here Dr. Marie Stopes, by her books, and now by her Mothers' Clinic, have given us a lead which makes the task a comparatively easy one.

It is significant, and very promising, that these outspoken and high souled leaders are women, are married women, and are mothers. We have become accustomed to the statistician's view of rates per thousand, but we have not yet learned to think of the problem from the point of view of the individual baby. In the words of Walt Whitman—"it is also good to reduce the whole matter to the consideration of a single self. . . . Even for the treatment of the universal, in politics, metaphysics, or anything, sooner or later we come down to one single, solitary soul."

What consolation is it to a poor mother who has lost the ardently desired baby to know that the infant death-rate is lower than ever, if through ignorance on her part her particular baby died? What consolation can it be to a young man or woman, blind from birth, to learn that the parents, through lack of knowledge and mental vision, thoughtlessly contracted one of the venereal diseases which caused blindness in their child?

HOW CAN society fail to see that our workhouses, reformatory schools, prisons, hospitals, and slums, are filled mostly by people who never enjoyed the rights of children, whom as children the community failed to protect, and who as adults are paying the penalty of that failure while also exacting a penalty from the community. Now women have a voice in politics, we may hope to see a change. The helpless baby citizen will assume the importance due to him. He cannot protect himself, but his claim to protection will surely be the first responsibility of women citizens. What are the rights of every child? As I see them they are:—

To be a wanted baby, born of healthy parents.

To have a home where he is loved, adequately fed, clothed, and housed.

To be educated and trained for life, and for earning a livelihood according to his abilities.

Thus equipped, the adult citizen can serve the community

(Continued on page 13)

Birth Control in the Press

THE CONSPIRACY OF silence has been destroyed. Even the daily press is awakening to the importance of Birth Control. Birth Control is openly and seriously discussed. It can no longer be dismissed as a mere idealistic scheme, a short cut to Utopia. At least two New York newspapers, the *Times* and the *Tribune* gave short but prominent notice to Professor Ross' address before the student body of the University of Wisconsin, in which the distinguished inventor of that wornout catchword "race suicide" announced his mature conviction in favor of smaller families. The *Tribune* printed this dispatch:

Madison, Wis., Oct. 7—Neither the present nor future generations would benefit by an increased birth rate, E. A. Ross, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, said in an address before a students' body last night

"Increased birth rate is accompanied without exception by an increased death rate," Professor Ross said. He asserted that the population of the United States was increasing rapidly due to reduction in the death rate rather than to an increase in the birth rate."

"Twenty years ago when I coined that grossly misused phrase 'race suicide' I believed in large families; today, with changed conditions and years of deeper study of the subject, I have changed my mind."

He declared that child labor laws, advances in medical science, and paternalistic legislation had given the white race a "longevity unequaled through the ages."

A CONSERVATIVE DAILY like the New York *Sun*, in commenting on the decreasing families of intelligent Americans, as indicated by the figures of the last Federal Census, reveals a sense of the importance of the quality of human life as opposed to mere numbers. In an editorial devoted to this subject, the *Sun* indicates some of the disastrous effects of current racial and social standards:

"In the latter half of the last century the tide turned fast from farm to manufacturing. Great cities sprang up in places that before the Civil War had been new farm land. The population passed gradually to the towns, so that by 1920 there were actually more people living in towns than on farms—for the first time in the nation's history. All this time the pressure of population on resources became greater, the country became more nearly filled, the cost of living (even before stimulated by the war) steadily rose.

"But it was not the people with the lowest incomes that reared the fewest children; it was those with the keenest desire to conform to a 'high' standard of living. To enjoy the luxury of a large family, with reasonable prospects of giving one's children an education, requires nowadays a much greater economic endowment than in our grandfathers' time. So those who value such opportunities are inclined more and more to concentrate their attention and limited possessions on fewer children. This is what sociologists have in mind when they say that the birth rate tends to decrease as the rate of individual evolution increases. . . .

THOSE WITH EXACTING standards and good educational equipment are the very ones best fitted to be parents; and yet they themselves seem to feel that maintenance of their present level of living requires them to be content with small families.

"How much does the community really value the types which most highly embody the very ideals it has intended to materialize? It pays a single movie actor, for instance, as much in a year as it gives the entire teaching staff of a town of 50,000 people. The groups of high mentality and low income die off in unconscious, unstudied protest against a civilization that in some cases neglects the cultivation of intelligence and its works. As generations go on a nation acquires the types of humanity that it pays for."

IT IS A strange and striking coincidence that many of the press comments on the decreasing birth rate in Great Britain are made in much the same spirit—indicating that current consciousness is gradually being awakened to the central importance of Birth Control as the method for improving the quality of human life and thereby of society at large. Thus we find a writer on the London *Daily Mirror* offering the following census reflections:

On the whole, we note with satisfaction that the foolish clamor for more people to starve, and be unemployed, is fainter.

True, one paper talks about the "grim" fact that the increase over 1911 is "less than half the smallest increase since censuses were taken in this country."

Why "grim"?

We cannot explain. Presumably the writer wishes to bring us to social and industrial disaster by a continual uneconomic increase in numbers which would give us a population of about 100 millions by the time of the next census.

Another utters the half-truth that "population is a national asset."

So it may be, if the population does not outstrip the means of subsistence. So it is *not*, if the population is an underfed, ill-educated, and therefore dangerously discontented multitude For the rest, many papers usually conventionally minded on this vital subject agree that the "scare" of "race suicide" is groundless.

It is indeed! And to us it seems that the enormous figures of the latest census give cause for anxiety rather than self-satisfied congratulation.

Also it seems to us that mere figures like these tell us little about national prosperity.

What we want to know is not *how many* millions of toiling and struggling people we possess, but *what sort of people* these are. Are they healthy? Are they happy? Are they able to make a living here?

These are the things that matter—not mere numbers paraded with a flourish of false pride that blinds the public to their true significance.

Likewise the *Westminster Gazette* points out the fallacy of judging human values by mere numbers, and the sinister relation of large populations to war. Let the delegates to the Disarmament Conference consider this weighty problem, as the English paper suggests:

"From the year 1870 onwards the whole of Europe has been dominated by the military theory of numbers. If compulsory military service was to be the rule, and if, as the German militarists said, the wars of the future were to be wars of the peoples, then clearly there could be

no safety except in numbers. And so long as this idea prevails, the Birth Control which aims at a high standard of life at the expense of numbers must be a pestilent national heresy. If our politics and our ideas of social reform are to be founded, as they should be, on some rational idea of the proper aim in bringing mankind to birth, we must clear our ideas on this subject. It is evident that a nation like France, which sets before itself a high standard of living for a comparatively small and self-contained population, and which adjusts its law of property and its way of life to that ideal, can never be in a position of security if the military theory of numbers prevails. It will be pursu-

ing fatally conflicting ideas if with this theory of life it entertains military ambitions and hopes of glory. But the same question is posed, if in a less acute form, for all the civilized nations. They can cultivate the quantity required for cannon fodder or the quality required for the civilized life, but they cannot do both. It is, therefore, fundamental to the question and to the whole course of the civilized life whether the nations are going to persist in the military idea of numbers or the civilized idea of quality of population; and they will have that question seriously posed for them when they go into the Disarmament Conference at Washington."

The Eugenics Congress

ON ANOTHER PAGE, in a review of "*The Racial Prospect*," Mr. William J. Fielding brings up the interesting problem of the relation of Birth Control to Eugenics. There is a good deal of confusion on this point; and it should be one of the questions of theory that should be completely cleared up in the near future. Birth Control is generally described as negative Eugenics, as opposed to positive Eugenics. We have also heard the recent use of the term "Constructive Birth Control," a descriptive term used by a group of workers in London. These expressions reveal mental confusion. We claim that Birth Control is constructive and is positive in its program. If Eugenics is to exert any beneficial influence upon racial and human health it must resort to a full and complete acceptance of Birth Control. Scientists like William Bateson, thinkers like Dean Inge, penetrating students of human nature like Havelock Ellis all see this. It is grateful to report that a strong feeling for Birth Control was made evident at the Second International Congress of Eugenics. As reported in the daily press, this was quite apparent. Thus, at one session:

Birth control to prevent the transmission of disease and constitutional defects and the birth of too many children in families of small income where the latest-born are likely to be neglected, was urged by speakers at the Second International Congress of Eugenics in the American Museum of Natural History. Others deplored the failure of college-bred women to raise more children.

The subject of Birth Control has been kept in the background, but among the scientists who met, speaker after speaker attacked the laws forbidding physicians to impart information on this subject, and urged family limitation meant that additional children would have to grow up in sickness or squalor.

Dr. Harriette A. Dilla of Smith College was applauded when she reproached the medical profession for submitting passively to laws of this kind. She said that the denial of scientific information resulted in crimes and tragedies where women, turned away by medical men, resorted to expedients suggested by despair.

Dr. Irving Fisher of Yale, who was presiding, said that care had been taken to avoid identifying the congress with "protagonists of Birth Control," but that the subject was one which could not be ignored.

"I think that without question," he said, "Birth Control is today the great new factor affecting the future character of the human race. Birth Control has in its power the determination of the future of the human race."

Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf, whose subject was "Eugenics in its Relation to the Tuberculosis Problem," discussed Birth Control as a means of preventing the transmission of the disease or of a strong predisposition to it.

Dr. Knopf said that the healthiest children as a rule were those of a young couple who married at a comparatively early age, so that family limitation by postponement of marriage was not a good solution. He urged early marriages and a limitation of families to the number for which the parents could well provide.

"Even in our well-to-do and healthy families, considered our best American stock," he continued, "and where larger families would be no burden, early marriages are unfortunately not encouraged. The opponents of Birth Control love to dwell on the theme of so-called race suicide. If this is applicable, it should only be spoken of in such instances where health, wealth and culture abound and still family limitation is practised to a very appreciable and deplorable degree.

Dr. Knopf favored the establishment of public Birth Control clinics in this country, as in Holland and England.

WE ARE GLAD to report that the influential weekly the *Nation* has editorially recognized that the science of Eugenics must be dismissed as vague and Victorian in spirit if it fails to recognize the central and fundamental importance of Birth Control.

"From the proceedings of the Second International Congress of Eugenics the newspaper reading public gathers chiefly that the American 'melting pot' is a failure, and the differentiation between 'superior' and 'inferior' racial stocks immutable and unsurmountable. Eugenics," declares the *Nation* "being still young as a field for research and offering delightful speculative possibilities, has attracted to itself both scientists and propagandists. The propagandists plead that families of better stock must procreate more to save the race from deterioration. They overlook, these protagonists of the 'Nordic' school of anthropology, that the so-called 'better people' have largely attained their eminence through economic emancipation. Subject them for a few generations to the disintegrating pressure under which nine-tenths of the world labors, and many of them will be scarce distinguishable in the submerged mass. This truth may be painful to those to whom eugenics is not science but cult or dogma. The fact remains that the path to a better human race lies through fewer and better children. The First American Birth Control Conference which is to be held in New York next month should do much to make clear the relationship between family limitation and a healthier and happier humanity. Over few subjects has the veil of obscurantism and prejudice been more closely drawn—many even of the eugenists, while tacitly approving the doctrine, shy a bit from endorsing it publicly."

Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G. Punke

Fellow and Assistant in Sociology, University of Michigan

(Continued from last issue.)

IN MORE RECENT times the practices have shifted in a large degree from infanticide and exposure to abortion. It is extremely difficult to get figures as to the number of criminal abortions performed annually. To get accurate data is impossible, altho some idea of the extent of these vices in modern times can be obtained by the consideration of various estimates.

With regard to abortions Dr. Max Hirsch placed the number at 2,000,000 annually in the United States, 80 per cent. of which were of criminal origin. Dr. William J. Robinson estimated the number at 1,000,000 yearly in this country. Dr. Molius found that 19.2 per cent of the pregnancies of 2,000 patients ended in abortion; Dr. Franz states that abortion occurred in 15.4 per cent. of the cases admitted to the lying in hospital in Halle, Germany; while Tausig calculated that one abortion occurs in every 2.3 labors, and says further that one fourth of all abortions are criminally induced. Dr. J. W. Williams, Professor of Obstetrics at Johns Hopkins University, believes that every fifth or sixth pregnancy in private practice ends in abortion, and the percentage would be increased considerably were the very early cases taken into account. He says further, "it is generally admitted that the practice is becoming more frequent in all strata of civilized society thruout the civilized world."

In modern Hungary abortion is indulged in by women of all the varied nationalities. Women rejoice to be barren, and it is not thought creditable to have an infant within two or three years of marriage, according to Temesvary. Says Westermarck:

"Among the Hindus and Mohammedans artificial abortion is extremely common. In Persia every illegitimate pregnancy ends with abortion. In Turkey, both among the rich and the poor, even married women very commonly procure abortion after they have given birth to two children, one of which is a boy."

In 1872 in Constantinople more than 3,000 cases of criminal feticide were brought before the courts in a period of ten months. In Germany the following number of persons were convicted of criminal abortion: From 1882 to 1886, 389; from 1897 to 1901, 1902; and from 1902 to 1906, 22,236.

THE UNITED STATES, however, it seems, holds first place for abortions among modern nations. August Bebel places the United States and Turkey foremost in this vice, giving our country the "palm."

"In all the large cities of the union," remarks Bebel, "institutions exist where women and girls can go to bring about premature birth. Many American newspapers contain advertisements of such places."

Dr. Ira B. Hopkins gives the following figures for abortion in New York to population during the first three-quarters of

the nineteenth century: 1805, 1 to 1663; 1849, 1 to 340; 1856, 1 to 10; and 1870, 1 to 4. It is probable that the figures of Dr. Hopkins are somewhat high. However, various indications show there are plenty of places in the United States where women, married and single, may get rid of unwanted children in strict secrecy. Undoubtedly most American cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants have institutions where children may be delivered secretly and prematurely.

LITTLE EFFORT WOULD be required to adduce much more evidence of the prevalence of abortion in the modern world. It is felt, however, that the foregoing will be sufficient to indicate the wide extent and international character of this present-day vice. Feticide is to be looked upon, in part at least, as the more modern, more refined method of family limitation, displacing infanticide and child exposure of primitive, ancient and medieval peoples.

DIFFERING FROM THE urban, the rural population of this country has heretofore indulged in family limitation but little. In recent years, however, especially among the native born and older immigrant portions of the rural inhabitants, there has been a marked tendency to limit the size of the families. This is attributable to several factors, some of the most important of which are the raising of the educational standards for the children, higher status of women, spread of knowledge and increased facilities for travel and communication, a desire not to divide up the property too much, the increases in land values and therewith the greater difficulty of young people becoming independent landowners, and finally a general elevation of the plans of life among country folk. Notwithstanding this recent tendency, it must be observed that the rural population practice less family limitation than does the urban.

In Europe, both urban and rural, family limitation is in vogue much the same as in the United States, but is more openly discussed. Certain countries, however, indulge in it much more widely than others. In France, for instance, nearly all classes have practiced family limitation for at least half a century. In England it has been much in use since the famous Bradlaugh trial in 1876, when it was decided that the dissemination to 1888 Birth Control clinics have given free instruction in family limitation to all people desiring it. Thruout the remainder of Europe the dissemination of voluntary parenthood knowledge is legal, but religious, moral and military sentiments have prevented such information from being widely used by the great mass of the population. Nonetheless, the upper classes in all European countries use family limitation almost universally. An important cause of this is the emancipation of women and their effective protest against the labors and pains of giving birth to and rearing of numerous progeny.

Alice Drysdale Vickery on Disarmament

[The valiant veteran of feminism and Birth Control, late president of the Malthusian League, has sent the following letter to the chairman of the Disarmament Committee, Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. So clearly does this letter state the relation of Birth Control to Disarmament that it should be read with care by everyone.]

Dear Madam:

I am, indeed, glad to know that a Disarmament Committee has been formed, and I trust that this Committee will make an earnest and reasoned investigation of those underlying causes of war as well as of those which are more superficial.

Unhappily, it is an indisputable fact that women themselves, through their fertility as race mothers are the principal, though hitherto unrecognized, cause of war. It is the undue increase of populations, struggling for possession of the most desirable portions of the earth's surface, that has been the cause of war from time immemorial.

The underlying causes of the late disastrous war was the enormous increase of the German people during the last fifty years. Indeed, the Kaiser in a speech made on the eve of the Declaration of War declared its imperative necessity on that ground alone. He said "You are now sixty million people. In twenty-five years you will have doubled your numbers. You will then be one hundred and twenty millions. Can one hundred and twenty million people obtain the necessaries and comforts of life within German borders? You know that is not possible. You must therefore pass beyond your own borders and take possession of the lands beyond." This speech is on record, and its consequences we know. Could the German mothers have foreseen the horrible consequences of the war—the consequence of their large families—is it believable that they would have been thus blindly and passively submissive? I cannot believe it.

Women, in future, must exercise their own judgment on these matters. Nature and Science have given them the power to regulate conception, and the responsibility of the rational exercise of that power rests with them.

They must realize that the number of inhabitants any coun-

try can support depends on its agricultural and mineral resources, and the possibility of exchanging the produce of their industries for food produced in other countries.

Then when women have collectively qualified themselves to be judges and regulators of the next generation, they can say to the governments of the globe "There is no longer any need to make provision for the destruction of an overplus of human beings, since women will no longer consent to produce that overplus."

The time is ripe. Birth Control, that is, the regulation of conception is now practicable and is being practised. It is therefore, now the duty of the world's inhabitants to insist on disarmament, and on the settlement of such minor disputes as may arise, by an organized League of Nations.

Human labor, then, being no longer needed to produce instruments of destruction, can be utilized to contribute to a more ample supply of necessaries and comforts for humanity. The slums of great cities will disappear. Human life will become more beautiful, more elevated, more noble.

Art, literature, and science will flourish. Sympathy and kindness will take the place of the rancour and jealousies of the past and present.

But all this depends upon woman.

Will they refuse to remain longer ignorant of the greatest instrument of human welfare, the Regulation of Conception, which ought to govern the reproduction of succeeding generations? if the world is to be freed from the three great evils of War, Disease and Poverty.

Very sincerely yours,

DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY,

Late President of the Malthusian League.

124 Victoria Street, London, S. W.

Immigration and Birth Control

By Herbert R. Simonds

WHATEVER ONE'S VIEWS on the immigration question it is doubtful if any intelligent person would advocate letting the whole matter slide and trusting to luck. Yet that is in effect what we have been doing. If it is to the best interests of this country to have an unrestricted open door policy, then by all means we should achieve this condition with our eyes open and constructively rather than through neglect. If we are to restrict immigration we should do so in consequence of a well studied plan for world betterment and not because of the immediate advantage accruing to manufacturers.

In approaching any question it is necessary to have some basis to work on—some preconceived idea of the results desired. Thus with the immigration question we must know

what we are ultimately after or our attempts at solving the problem are absurd. Do we want to raise the average physical and mental status of the people of the United States? Certainly there are few who will deny that we do. Yet how strongly do we desire it and is this the result to be aimed at in considering our immigration policy or any other public question?

For years legislation aiming at general mental and physical improvement has been defeated in almost every case where it has come up. The big movements toward betterment are, education, Birth Control, eugenics, selective immigration and selective child raising. But what progress has been made in

(Continued on page 14)

Is It Moral?

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION?

They say that Birth Control is immoral. The conservatives, the reactionaries, the militarists, as well as a number of other men and women. This is the one aspect of the most burning economic and social problem of the day that has aroused the bitterest and most persistent objections.

Many of our opponents agree that the universal practice of Birth Control would be a good thing for the health of the individual and of the race. They agree that it seems necessary to solve the problems of disarmament and labor troubles. But they claim—*it is immoral!*

What is your opinion. Your honest, frank, personal opinion, uninfluenced by the newspapers, the preachers, the movies.

Would the practice of Birth Control lead to general promiscuity?

Will it change the whole attitude of men and women toward the marriage relation?

Will it lessen self-control and self-restraint which is said to be imposed by the fear of pregnancy in cases when Birth Control is not practiced.

Would it lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?

Our opponents answer these questions in the affirmative. "Yes," they say. "Birth Control would bring about moral and spiritual decay."

HELP US TO find out what the honest men and women of the country really believe. Help us to clear away the clouds of moral confusion by a little honest thinking and open speaking.

Give us *your* opinion. Write down your own fearless, honest thoughts on this great moral issue.

Write us briefly, concisely to the point. Write in as clear and certain a manner as possible—if possible not more than three hundred words.

Our great First American Birth Control Conferences are to close with a great mass meeting at Town Hall, Sunday, November 13, 8 p. m., at which the morality of Birth Control is to be discussed. If you cannot attend, send in your answer as early as possible. If you can, bring it to this meeting.

Take part in this great historic meeting. It may be the turning of the tide in our civilization.

Read this before you write your opinion!

It throws a new light on the relation of Birth Control to human happiness. The following dispatch, indicating that the greatest authorities are giving thought to Birth Control, was recently published in the *New York World*, a cablegram from London:

Frankly sensational remarks on "sex love" by Baron Bertrand Dawson, at the Church Congress in Birmingham, has set the whole medical and clerical world to talking on this controversial subject. Not only Lord Dawson's professional standing in the medical world but also his social position as physician-in-ordinary to King George, gives more than ordinary prominence and importance to his views.

Salient points in his address at the Congress were: "Sex love between husband and wife—apart from parenthood—is something to prize and cherish for its own sake. Reciprocity in it is a physical counterpart of intellectual sympathy. Romance and deliberate self-control don't rhyme very well together. It is as important to give sex love its place in life as to avoid its over emphasis.

"Birth Control by abstention is either ineffective or if effective is pernicious to health and happiness. Excessive birth control is an evil because maternity gives to woman her most beautiful attributes."

Lord Dawson's general attitude was in opposition to the resolution passed at the last Lambeth conference—the triennial convocation of the Anglican communion throughout the world—which condemned sex love except for the procreation of children.

Several leading specialists in Harley and Wimpole Streets—the centre of Great Britain's medical experts—indorsed Lord Dawson's opinions.

"I cordially agree with every word," said Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, one of the greatest surgeons in the country. "I congratulate Dawson on telling truths that badly needed telling in the open, although all reasonable people have accepted them in private. The times are favorable for such a pronouncement, as since the war the public has become much more broadminded and more and more the veil of hypocrisy is being rent. I do not think, however, that the average man realizes even yet how vast a part is played by sex in everyday life.

"There will be, of course, much opposition to recognition of birth control. It will come from many who honestly but wrongly do not believe in such recognition, from many to whom humbug has become almost instinctive from men who are sexually subnormal—remember civilization tends to destroy natural impulses—and from men who have forgotten earlier vitality."

Dr. Bernard Hollander, one of the leading British specialists in mental and nervous diseases, is also in sympathy with Dawson's speech, saying "where there is true love, union is not actively sought but follows naturally. Nature has so ordained it. Conditions must depend very much on individual health and temperament. The husband and wife must study each other, for when one partner thinks only of his or her gratification the other is sometimes consigned to an early grave. Our knowledge of sex is still very limited, but both excess and deficiency of its fulfilment affects the mentality of the individual. As for birth control, it is an economic necessity. The church is out of date on this subject."

Mass Meeting

Sunday, November 13

8:00 P. M.

AT TOWN HALL

"BIRTH CONTROL: IS IT MORAL?"

Discussion led by Margaret Sanger and
Harold Cox, of London, Engand

(Former Member of Parliament and Editor of
Edinburgh Review.)

Impressions of the Amsterdam Conference

By Margaret Sanger

THE FIRST great truth that I bring home from the international congress on contraceptives, held in Amsterdam August 29-30, is this: that our movement in the theoretical aspects is far in advance of the practical phase. There was unanimous agreement upon principles,—upon the economic, the social and the hygienic, the political and international necessity for Birth Control. But the practical methods and devices offered by the various delegates from practically every country in Europe were new and untried by other delegates, and questioned by them. Each country offered its individual method which was unknown to the rest of the delegates.

One of the most instructive and enlightening phases of the conference was the opportunity it offered to delegates to visit the clinics, where demonstrations of the various methods were given under the auspices of the Dutch League and proved of practical value. They vindicate our claim for clinics in all countries.

The conference took place in the Hotel Hollandia, in Amsterdam, on Aug. 29th and 30th, and was attended by Dr. and Mrs. Drysdale and Dr. Haire (England), Mme. de Beer-Meijers, Mynheer and Mme. Kiersch de Jung, Mr. de Vries, Mr. S. Ten Cate and Dr. Risselada (Holland), and Dr. E. Goldstein (Germany). Mr. G. Hardy (France, treasurer of the Bureau, and Dr. Rutgers (late hon. sec.), wrote expressing regret at being unable to come, and others were prevented from doing so by various engagements.

A VERY useful and full discussion on all the best known preventive devices took place, and decisions were arrived

at concerning the most effective devices and the technique connected with them. Demonstrations were kindly given by Mme. Kiersch de Jung and Mme. van Huevel, two of the ladies trained by Dr. Rutgers and on the Dutch League's list of helpers, to the medical and lady members of the conference on the fitting of certain preventive devices. A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mme. de Beer-Meijers at the conclusion of the conference, for her greatly appreciated arrangements, and it was decided that a full International Neo-Malthusian Congress should be held in the last week of August in next year.

The following resolution was unanimously passed at the conference, at the instance of M. G. Hardy:

This Conference of the International Neo-Malthusian Bureau of Correspondence and Defence wishes to register a strong protest against the laws and measures repressing neo-Malthusian or Birth Control propaganda which have existed or recently been enacted in various countries, and against the prosecutions which have been instituted against such propagandists. It wishes to point out that such propaganda, provided that it is carried out with due regard to public decency and on eugenic lines, is of the utmost value to every nation as a means of reducing poverty and social unrest, and of improving the quality and virility of the race.

It was felt that the conclusions arrived at would be of great service in the preparation of practical handbooks or leaflets, but that several points needed further study and settlement, and various members undertook to obtain information on these points with the view of bringing them before a committee on contraceptive devices, which it was decided should meet at the time of the International Congress.

Living for Posterity

THE RACIAL PROSPECT. By Seth K. Humphrey. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The present volume deals with the problems and prospects of the race from the viewpoint of a eugenicist. Notwithstanding that the proponents of eugenics, and the followers of Galton generally, have rendered a valuable service in their contributions to the racial question in certain of its phases, there is almost invariably a one-sidedness in their attitude that is exasperating to the student who is not a simon-pure follower of any school or cult. Mr. Humphrey exemplifies the usual lack of balance that is characteristic of this group of writers.

The first part of the book, giving an anthropological sketch and outline of the race's heritage, conforms to the findings of the recognized authorities, Osborn, Grant, Conklin, Jordan, Goddard, Bateson, and others well known in this field. It is, however, when the author comes down to a discussion of present-day genetic problems, and their relation to the individual's life and to social conditions, that we find so much lamentable short-sightedness.

Mr. Humphrey states that controversies over the relative importance of heredity and environment are pointless, since the two factors are so essentially unlike that comparison is impossible. This may be true. But apparently he thinks that this settles the whole question of environment, because, for all practical purposes, there is no consideration given

to environmental problems. He not only minimizes them, but disposes of them by the magic of this utterance: "A mentally strong man in an unfortunate environment is self-impelled to get out of it and into one which matches his powers."

If a "strong mind" were some diincarnated mechanism, there might be some merit to this contention. But may we not remind Mr. Humphrey that a strong, brilliant mind makes its advent into this world in a mortal body that is subject to all the warping, twisting and degrading influences of a pernicious environment. And as the "mind" is no less a part of the human organism than the "body," they are equally influenced, for good or bad, by environmental factors. The "mind" that is most responsive to sensory stimuli and capable of higher development is a plastic material that may also be worked upon by the blighting agencies of a perverse environment. Prof. Lester Ward had this in mind when he said that the master criminal and clever crook were the "geniuses of the slums."

The writer of this book is fearful for the future and clamors for a survival of racial strength by the dual method of stimulating the birth-rate of the "fit" and ending the propagation of the "unfit." There are two practical things that Mr. Humphrey can do to accomplish something toward this aim of racial improvement. In the first place it will mean
(Continued on page 14)

The Church Changes

THERE WAS NOT long ago a tremendous outcry against Birth Control and the voluntary restriction of families on religious grounds. A book on this subject was published with a prefatory letter from a Roman Catholic priest, setting forth the view of the church that for parents to refuse to give life as often as nature permitted was a course of conduct almost blasphemous, says the *London Spectator*, one of the most conservative of British weeklies, in a recent number. "It did not apparently strike the writer that the whole argument came a little oddly, in the first place from a man, from whom the agony of bringing forth could never be demanded; and, secondly, from a celibate, who did not undertake even the lesser responsibilities and anxieties of fatherhood. The question of Birth Control is not an easy one; the knowledge of its possibility is, no doubt, like many of man's increases of power over his own destiny, a two-edged weapon, but we have most of us begun to realize from what horrors of unwanted life it can save the world, from what a horrible waste of human energy, from what nightmares or futile and abortive effort it can save women. Even when it is used for what we must call, for lack of space to refine our meaning, a bad purpose, we have probably begun to realize that it at last takes away one of the worst of the old evils of vice—*i. e.*, the production of innocent, unwanted children, infected perhaps from their birth, and in any case brought up in surroundings so bad as almost to preclude a virtuous adult life."

The following article, written by C. V. Drysdale, which we reprint from the *Malthusian*, indicates an interesting and significant change of front on the part of a certain section of the Roman Catholic clergy.

By Dr. C. V. Drysdale

ALL WORKERS IN the Birth Control cause have had good occasion to be aware of the implacable hostility which the Roman Catholic Church has always shown towards it, and although there have been signs that a change was to be expected, notably by the concession made by the Rev. Monsignor Brown at the Birth-Rate Commission, to the effect that the Roman Catholic Church now recognizes the right of married couples to avoid parenthood either by recourse to continence or to a supposed "safe period," the latter of which really concedes the whole principle of gratification of the sex impulse when its consequences are not desired. The rank and file of the Romish priests have, still continued to denounce family limitation as being subversive of the whole ideal of marriage and the family, and a characteristic denunciation of this type recently appeared in the *Catholic Herald*.

But now a new note has been struck. The Church, while continuing to denounce, is beginning to admit its futility. In the South London Roman Catholic paper, *Blackfriars*, the Rev. Father McNabb, in writing of "The Crime of Birth Control," makes the following significant statements:

The Church's teaching on Birth Control may be summarized thus:—"The only Birth Control which is not sinful is that in which both husband and wife willingly agree to abstain from marital intercourse. This voluntary and agreed abstention may be temporary, as in so many wedded lives of today; or it may be perpetual as in the case of St. Edward the Confessor."

The Church does not teach that all wedded folk must beget children; nor that all must beget as many as possible. She wisely leaves this matter to be decided by the mutual agreement of husband and wife, who by their wedlock have given to their partner power over their body. But she promulgates, as a divine law, the absolute prohibition of any intercourse which is voluntarily robbed of its relationship to begetting offspring.

THIS STATEMENT OF COURSE, hides the fact that until about ten years ago all abstention from parenthood by continence or otherwise was denounced by the Church as grievously sinful and it also conceals the permission to employ the so-called "safe period" mentioned by the Rev. Monsignor Brown at the Birth-Rate Commission. But now comes the note of surrender:

The present writer is amongst those who feel that in this land for the moment the victory is, and for some time will be, with the neo-Malthusians. Birth Control is not a passing fashion. It has come to stay; and it will stay until it has brought upon the country some great national hurt which will arouse the nation to a sense of national sin.

Father McNabb then gives the reasons for thinking that Birth Control has come to stay. First, because the richer classes having adopted it for themselves became alarmed at the high birth-rate of other classes and therefore began to promulgate their neo-Malthusianism. (This is, of course, untrue, as the movement has been carried on by people of very moderate means.) Secondly, because "the intellectual propaganda is almost irresistibly recommended by modern conditions. Under modern town conditions, birth control seems the one thing possible and necessary . . ."

The breakdown of the housing system in the modern town is making it impossible for even the middle classes to find room for a large family. Birth Control comes to such people almost with the call and sanctity of a gospel.

Moreover, under modern town conditions the confinements of poor mothers are almost impossible in the one, two or three rooms which are called a home. To a degree, which has now become a national danger, the mothers of the poor have their confinements in an institution. Under the steady, well-directed and heavily financed propaganda of the eugenicists, these institutions are becoming more and more open in their profession of neo-Malthusianism. This spirit is seen in the following quotation from the monthly periodical, *Maternity and Child Welfare*: "A resolution has recently been passed by the Herefordshire County War Pensions Committee to prevent the issue of treatment allowances for the children of neurasthenic or tuberculous pensioners if the children are born during the time when the parents are undergoing a prolonged course of treatment. So, evidently, Hereford does not believe in the survival of the unfit." (March, p. 92.)

The modern growth of Medical Centers for the poor is likely to make neo-Malthusian Birth Control stable. The ruin wrought in France, where there was nothing but personal propagation behind the movement, has become a length of national concern. But almost everything in England points to the fact that what in France was individual propaganda will be with us a national concern, through the network of Maternity Centers, Infant Welfare Centers, Infants' Clinics, etc., which are now so powerful amongst the poor by their doles of medicine and baby foods.

Father McNabb's words are of good omen. May they be speedily fulfilled.

Conference Letters

My Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I herewith send you a check of \$25, towards the plan of a conference concerning Birth Control. The problem is so involved that I should like to see it made clear that the movement is not merely one of propaganda for contraceptive sex relations. On the other hand, it is of importance to emphasize that every educated adult considers it a matter of conscience to see that pregnancies are not merely a matter of chance and that a frank and free discussion of the problem should be one of the privileges in a democratic country. It should, moreover, be the duty of any movement in this direction to collect facts of the actual status of things and the results of such movements in various communities. It also should be the goal to implant more and more a conviction that a sensible restriction of fecundity was largely opposed by *militarism*, but would be a great step towards the solution of the problems of such nations as the Japanese, Chinese, etc., where numbers make necessary and furnish the excuse for a policy of expansion and encroachment upon neighbors. On the other hand, there also should be a frank and outspoken demonstration that the movement is thoughtful of means to obviate the fostering of sex license and active in the study of a less sensualistic policy in human life and of an approach to a sensibly conceived monogamous organization of human existence. We may safely state that the haphazard type of monogamy of the past and present may well be open to very much safer and constructive advantageous standards.

It may be too bad to have so many clauses and conditions to a movement of propaganda, but I feel that a great deal of harm can be avoided and many unnecessary obstacles overcome by a frank and comprehensive statement. Of course, if the movement should evade the constructive part of the program, one's attitude towards it would necessarily be changed; but it would be, to my mind, just this goal of arriving at a broadly acceptable program that would justify the getting together of the thoughtful elements of the community.

Believe me

Very truly yours,

ADOLF MEYER.

Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md.

September 30, 1921.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am much obliged to you for your courteous invitation to attend the Birth Control Conference. It will, however, be impossible for me to attend as I am returning to England next week.

I am glad to hear that my friend, Mr. Harold Cox, is coming over from England and I am sure that all he says will deserve great attention.

Again thanking you

Yours very sincerely,

LEONARD DARWIN.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have carefully read and considered your interesting and courteous letter of September 16 inviting me to become a member of the Conference Committee on Birth Control.

While I sympathize very thoroughly with the objects of your movement, and firmly believe that you are doing good work and deserve every encouragement, it is physically beyond my power to join in as an active worker.

Regretting the circumstances that compel me to pass your call for co-operation, and wishing you unlimited success, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

WM. T. HORNADAY, Sc. D.,

Director New York Zoological Park.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

I shall be very glad to have my name used in connection with the call for a National Conference on Birth Control which you plan to hold in New York City in November. I am, as you know, in entire sympathy with the cause in whose behalf the meeting is to be held.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE HAMILTON.

BIRTH CONTROL AND CHILD WELFARE

(Continued from page 5)

with whole-hearted devotion and repay in a noble life and work the services of the community to him when he was unable to look after himself.

FORTUNATELY, AN ENLIGHTENED public opinion will secure these necessary preliminaries to a full life in the large majority of cases, and society will have little to do but to co-operate with the parents where needed. Public opinion has still to be enlightened, and the need for Birth Control to be properly taught. Then, and not before, can we expect all parents to fulfil the conditions of what Dr. Marie Stopes has so happily termed "radiant" parenthood. Again, to quote Walt Whitman, it is only on these lines that we can expect "to supply a race of superb men and women, cheerful, religious, ahead of any yet known."—*The Woman's Leader*.

IMMIGRATION AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 9)

these? We still let inexperienced and underpaid teachers look after a large part of the nation's education. We still let the least fit give birth to the bulk of the nation's children. We still let syphilitics marry and still shut our eyes to the fate of the hordes of foreigners which land each day at our ports. From this it seems as if we cared but little for the betterment of the people of the United States. There are those who feel we should adopt a larger horizon than the national boundary

in basing our opinions. We are citizens of the world and should consider equally those of all countries, they say.

This is undoubtedly an excellent theory but let's see how it works out. The unfit in Italy, Poland and the Balkans who would be eliminated by natural laws if allowed to stay in their own countries are gathered together by exploiters and brought to this country, where they are promptly forgotten. It is more than likely that those loudest in acclaiming an unrestricted open door immigration policy are the ones first to forget them.

But even though they are forgotten they do not die. They live somehow. Packed together in the tenement districts of our large cities they live long enough to bring thousands of undesired and handicapped children into the world. The immigration question of this country has changed in the last decade. Formerly we got the ambitious and adventurous element of foreign countries. Now we get a large percentage of exploited culls. We may be temporarily benefiting some countries by relieving them of these culls, but are we benefiting the culls themselves and the world at large?

The immigration question is not simple and it is not the present purpose to discuss it except in its relation to Birth Control. In this relation the question is not how many we admit but how many will those who we admit reproduce?

THE BIRTH RATE among immigrants is very much higher than the average birth rate of the country as a whole so that we magnify in succeeding generations whatever results of immigration we get today.

It comes back to the question of "what do we want?" There seems little doubt but that continuing along present lines will mean a gradual lowering of the physical and mental average of the country. This is principally because of two things—blindness toward the Birth Control movement which results in an increase of the drunken, shiftless, and feeble minded classes, and blindness toward the immigration question which has eventually the same result. The two subjects—immigration and Birth Control—are so closely related that our attitude toward either one must in a measure be dependent upon our attitude upon the other.

If we could have proper rural distribution of our immigrants and then could be sure of sane birth limitation among the newcomers, there is little doubt but that our open door policy could be adopted to advantage. Without these, however, we must admit only selected foreigners in an attempt to correct the evils at home.

The increases in population through births and through immigration are in their effect on future generations practically identical. We have the means of selective improvement in either case. Are we going to continue to ignore them?

LIVING FOR POSTERITY

(Continued from page 11)

abandoning an interesting career of pure theorizing and doing much hard work and meeting the rebuffs alike of the ignorant and those who hold themselves critically aloof (like the typical eugenist.)

The first suggestion that comes to our mind is to take some immediate action that will tend to assure every child that is born into the world

"fit", a chance to develop into a racial asset, before agitating the proposition of bringing even one more child into a society that crushes indiscriminately the fit and unfit, unless a kindly fate drops them into a favorable environment.

The second suggestion, closely allied with the first, is to *permit* the multitude of less promising subjects to have the means to accomplish the purpose which Mr. Humphrey so ardently desires. From the seclusion of his sanctum, he criticizes the prolific breeding of the lower strata of society, but not once does he intimate that the popularizing of contraceptive information among the masses might do much to achieve his end. He seems to believe that the excessive birth rate among the less fortunately situated is due to carelessness, or even desire. As a matter of fact, everyone who has had the least contact with this situation knows that in the overwhelming majority of cases it is *helplessness*, which may eventually sink into the inertia of hopelessness. The burden of excessive progeny among those economically handicapped, is in itself conducive to "unfitness," and so, for this reason, the evil of racial degeneration has one very material abettor in this source. Will the theoretical eugenicists show a practical frame of mind by turning some of their enthusiasm into the movement for the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge where it is so urgently needed? This is a fair question.

It cannot be that the author is too prudish to consider this means, because, in his Utopia (which, however, he denies is a Utopia), he offers the interesting suggestion whereby certain unmarried women of good racial timber may be impregnated by some "impersonal, scientific method" for the glory of the race. Maybe this will appeal more strongly to Mr. Humphrey than to the mateless maidens of the future.

Such a trivial matter as Love, and all the spiritual factors that are bound up in its ramifications, do not deter Mr. Humphrey from his main objective—the assurance of a worthy racial future. When Mark Twain asked: "Why worry about posterity! What has posterity ever done for us?" we laughed at his characteristic joke. But when certain advocates of eugenics, apparently in all seriousness, demand that we go to the other extreme and sacrifice all individuality and all our human feelings in the alleged interest of the race's future, we are moved to ask: "What is life for?" After all, is it not possible that posterity may best be served by assuring every individual an opportunity for the fullest development and expression of his innate human qualities—spiritual, intellectual and physical?

WILLIAM J. FIELDING.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, Of The Birth Control Review, published monthly, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1921, State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Margaret Sanger, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of the Birth Control Review and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912 embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, New York Women's Publishing Co., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Editor Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Managing Editor Harold Hersey, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Business Manager Anne Kennedy, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owners are: New York Women's Publishing Co., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Mrs. Juliet B. Rublee, 242 East 149th Street, New York City; Mrs. Mary Knoblauch, Seventh Avenue and 55th Street, New York City; Mrs. Frances B. Ackerman, Bronxville, N. Y.

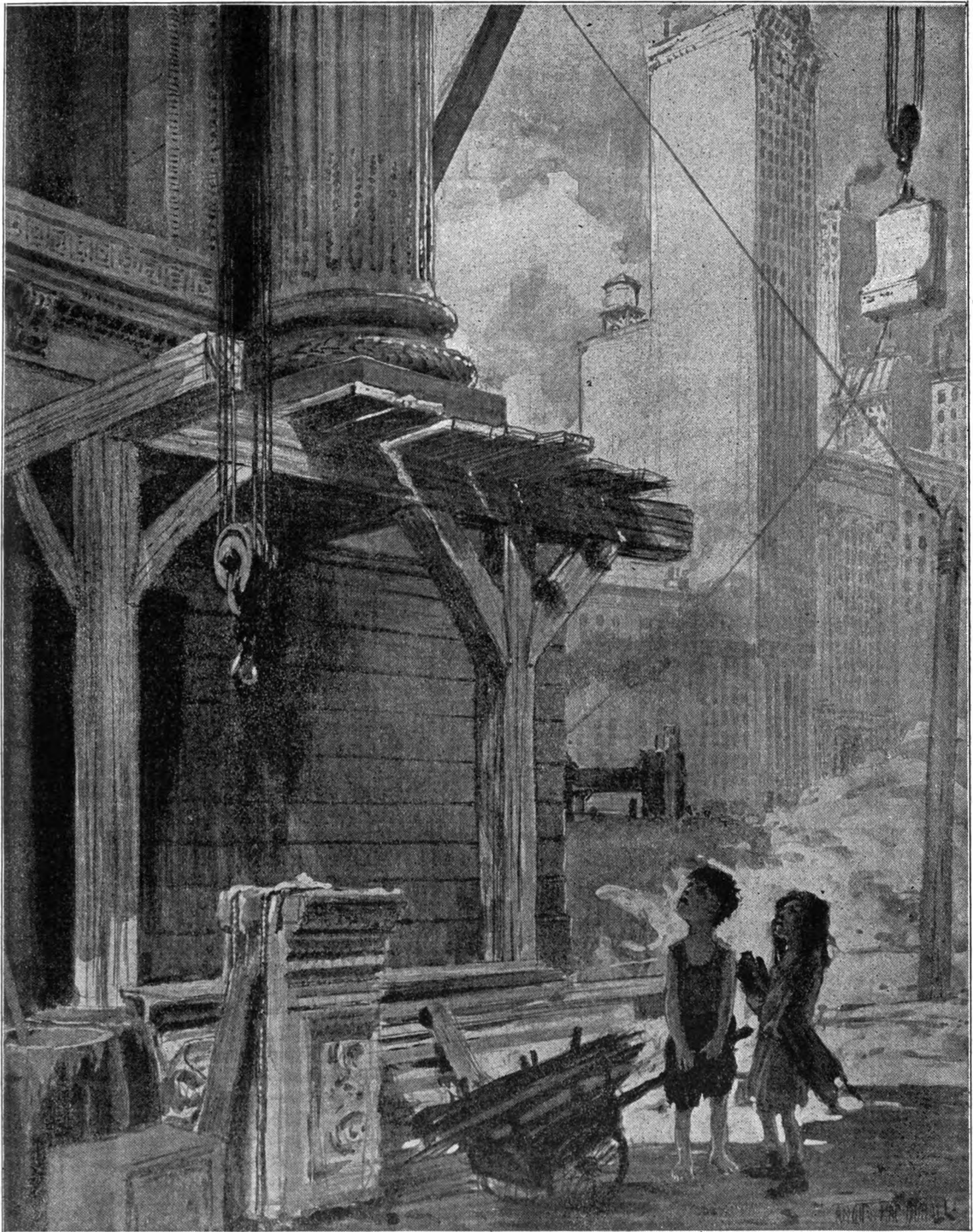
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

(Signed) MARGARET SANGER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1921.
(Seal) JACK G. KARPF.

(My commission expires March 31, 1923.)



Courtesy of Life

BUILDING

Great Care is Taken in Making This Property, While Little Care is Given to Human Life

First American Birth Control Conference

WILL BE HELD IN THE BALL ROOM OF THE HOTEL PLAZA, FIFTY-NINTH ST. AND FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK, FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11 and 12, 1921.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11th

- 9:30 A. M. HEALTH SESSION
Psychic Suppression—its results.
Individual and Racial Health—
Eugenics.
- 2:30 P. M. SOCIAL PROBLEMS
TO-DAY
Human Waste.
Delinquency.
Labor.
- 8:00 P. M. Private Contraceptive
Session for members of Medical
Profession by invitation only.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12th

- 9:30 A. M. OVERPOPULATION AND
WAR
World Food Problem.
Disarmament and Defense.
- 2:30 P. M. LEGAL ASPECTS IN
AMERICA
ORGANIZATION
- 7:30 P. M. DINNER—
Hotel Plaza Ball Room.
- SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13th, 8 P. M.
TOWN HALL: MASS MEETING
"Birth Control: Is It Moral?"

The First American Birth Control Conference

MARGARET SANGER, *Chairman*
JULIET BARRETT RUBLEE, *Vice Chairman*
ANNE KENNEDY, *Executive Secretary*
CLARA LOUISE ROWE, *Extension Secretary*
FRANCES B. ACKERMAN, *Treasurer*
MRS. DONALD R. HOOKER, *Chairman of Sessions*
HARRIETT E. DILLA, Ph.D., L.L.B., *Chairman of Exhibits*
SARA E. NIEMAN, *Chairman Hospitality*

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Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
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DECEMBER, 1921

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

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THE PRESS PROTESTS AGAINST THE TOWN HALL RAID

Official Organ of
THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gelukkig Huisgezin*.

GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hauameister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.

FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.

SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. 1a, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.

BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.

SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.

BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zimhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.

AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.

PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA AVTJCO.—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.

SWEDEN (1911).—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.

ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.

AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE

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VOL. V.

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No. 12

Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE LOU ROGERS

ANNE KENNEDY

BLANCHE SCHRACK

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. V.

DECEMBER, 1921

No. 12

Birth Control: To create a race of thoroughbreds.

Church Control?

THE SUPPRESSION of the Town Hall meeting on November 13th by the New York Police, acting, according to our evidence, under the direct orders of Patrick J. Hayes, archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, has had the invaluable effect of revealing and exposing the source of the opposition to the Birth Control movement in this country. It has, to a certain extent at any rate, brought the battle into the open. It has shown up the sinister control of the Roman Catholic Church, which attempts—and to a great extent succeeds—to control all questions of public and private morality in these United States. This accusation has been made against the church thousands of times—but not until the eventful night of November 13, 1921, have these sinister and unscrupulous powers been “caught in the act.”

All who resent this sinister Church Control of life and conduct—this interference of the Roman Church in attempting to dictate the conduct and behavior of non-Catholics, must now choose between Church Control or Birth Control. You can no longer remain neutral. You must make a declaration of independence, of self-reliance, or submit to the dictatorship of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This is a dictatorship of celibates who presume to decide on the morality of a question upon which they professedly have had and cannot have any basis of experience.

The public of New York and of the whole country deeply resent this dictatorship, now exposed to the full light of day by the clumsy and stupid tactics of Hayes and Dineen. In so undignified and reprehensible a light did the distinguished archbishop find himself by the frank exposure of the newspapers, by letters and editorial protest, that he was forced to make an open statement.

IT IS NOT mere conjecture, this underhand assumption of authority on the part of the church officials. In a news story printed after the collapse of the case against Mrs. Sanger and Miss Window, The New York Times made the flat and unqualified statement that Archbishop Hayes had instigated the disgraceful raid on the Town Hall.

“The police suppression of the Birth Control meeting at the Town Hall Sunday night, which culminated in the arrest of two of the speakers after they had refused to leave the stage, was brought about at the instance of Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes of this Roman Catholic diocese,” asserted the Times.

“The first complaint about the meeting, it was admitted at

the archepiscopal residence in Madison Avenue, was made at the Archbishop's direction to Police Headquarters by telephone some time before the meeting, and Mgr. Joseph P. Dineen, the Archbishop's secretary, went to the Town Hall before the meeting to meet Police Captain Thomas Donohue of the West Forty-seventh Street station. Captain Donohue, it was learned, did not know why he had been sent to the Town Hall until he met the Monsignor there.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger and Mary Winsor, who were arrested at the meeting when they attempted to speak, by the order of Captain Donohue, were discharged by Magistrate Joseph E. Corrigan for lack of evidence.

When Mgr. Dineen was told by reporters that persons who had attended the meeting had recognized him he said: “I was present from the start. The Archbishop had received an invitation from Mrs. Margaret Sanger to attend the meeting and I went there as his representative. The Archbishop is delighted and pleased at the action of the police, as am I, because it was no meeting to be held publicly and without restrictions.

“I need not tell you what the attitude of the Catholic Church is toward so-called ‘Birth Control.’ What particularly aroused me, when I entered the hall, was the presence there of four children. I think any one will admit that a meeting of that character is no place for growing children.

“Decent and clean-minded people would not discuss a subject such as Birth Control in public before children or at all. The police had been informed in advance of the character of the meeting. They were told that this subject—this plan which attacks the very foundations of human society—was again being dragged before the public in a public hall. The presence of these four children at least was a reason for police action.”

Mgr. Dineen was asked whether or not the Archbishop would personally discuss his reasons for urging police intervention. He replied: “The Archbishop may make a statement setting forth his attitude in the near future. I repeat that the attitude of the Catholic Church is well known, through pamphlets and brochures made public when this matter came up before. These were written by eminent theologians, who set forth the age-old doctrine of the Church, explaining fully that the Roman Catholic Church could have no sympathy with this so-called movement, so similar as it is to a practice which is against the law of every civilized country.”

Asked whether representatives of the Archbishop had got in touch with Commissioner Enright direct, Mgr. Dineen said: “The proper police officials were informed.” The instructions from Police Headquarters to Captain Donohue, it was learned from another source, were merely to go to the Town Hall and “look for Mgr. Dineen, who had made a complaint about a Birth Control meeting.”

DESPITE MGR. DINEEN'S statement that "decent and clean-minded people" would not discuss Birth Control in public, Archbishop Hayes made a public statement for the press, a statement too stereotyped in its mildewed argument to bear repetition. Its weakness was pointed out in the *New York World*, which editorially added its voice to the universal protest against "Church Control" of morality:

Archbishop Hayes' protest against the discussion of Birth Control consists of two paragraphs of protest followed by a column-long presentation of his own side of the case. This is as it should be in a democracy. Birth Control is an issue like any other issue and an Archbishop has the same right possessed by other citizens of the community to state his view of the matter. He has placed his opinions, his authorities and his arguments fairly before the people of the city, and it is the right of those who agree with him to say so, the right of those who disagree to reply.

"My protest," says Archbishop Hayes, "is made in the name of ten national organizations of women with a combined membership of nearly a million, as well as in the interest of thousands of other indignant women and distressed mothers who are alarmed at the daring of the advocates of Birth Control in bringing out into an open, unrestricted, free meeting a discussion of a subject that simple prudence and decency, if not the spirit of the law, should keep within the walls of a clinic or only for the ears of the mature and the experienced." But Archbishop Hayes is not a clinic, nor will his argument against Birth Control be read only by the mature and experienced. By making a public appeal he has himself recognized that the morality of Birth Control must be settled in the open.

In the long run there is but one way to settle any question of morality, and that is by public opinion formed through honest discussion. Birth Control will stand or fall not by the word of one man or one organization but by the consensus of belief at which the country arrives after threshing over the arguments of both sides.

It might be asked in the first place who ordered the raid. Somebody now in office has taken it upon himself to revoke the Constitution in this city. The act is sufficiently important to warrant a demand for his name.

"Free speech has its dangers," says an editorial in *America*, a leading Catholic review, "but its alternative is fraud, plunder and oppression." This does not mean free speech that can pass a censorship of patrolmen and municipal officers, but free speech as it comes from the mouths of people who have something to say. There are certain legal limits to what may be legally said in public. The police should know them and stick to them, or take the consequences of their own lawlessness.

THE THEOLOGICAL argument on sex made by this powerful Catholic celibate was answered immediately. Quoted by the *Tribune*, Mrs. Sanger pointed out:

"I agree with the Archbishop that a clinic is the proper place to give information on Birth Control. I wish, however, to point out the fact that there are two sides to the subject under consideration—the practical information as distinct from a theoretical discussion. The latter rightly may be discussed on the public platform and in the press, as the Archbishop, himself, has taken the opportunity to do. The object of the American Birth Control League is twofold—to arouse public discussion on the theoretical issue as well as to establish clinics where practical information may be given to mothers through the medical profession.

"I agree with Archbishop Hayes when he states that the feeble-minded and physically and mentally unfit should not be allowed to propagate their kind. The laws of this country do not permit of such restrictions. The enormous amount spent by private and public charities to take care of those unfit is a tremendous indorsement for Birth Control and the statement of the Archbishop.

"The inference is often made by our opponents that the genius is born at the end of a large family, usually the eleventh or twelfth, or, as quoted by the Archbishop, the fifteenth child (Franklin). If the Archbishop will recall his Bible history he will find that some of the most remarkable characters were the first children, and often the only child, as well. For instance:

"Isaac, in whose seed all the nations were to be blessed, was an only child, born after long years of preparation. Sarah, his mother, was a beautiful, talented woman, whose counsel was highly valued. Isaac's only children were twins—Jacob, the father of all Israel, and Esau. Isaac's wife, Rebecca, was also a lovely woman of fine character. Joseph, the child of Rachel, was born late in her life, and she had but one other child. Samuel, who judged Israel for forty years, was an only child, born after years of prayer and supplication on the part of Hannah. John the Baptist was an only child and his parents were well along in years when he was born."

Officers of the American Birth-Control League said: "Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by church and state to produce large families. Many of the Children thus begotten are diseased and feeble minded; many become criminals."

IN LETTERS published by the *Evening Post* and the *Globe*, Henry T. Price pointed out the insult offered to the entire American public by this insolent and arrogant dictatorship of the Roman Catholic Church.

New York newspapers seem to be almost a unit in the belief that freedom of speech is a myth in this city, and that constitutional safeguards are a delusion.

But why pick on the police? Every tree brings forth fruit after his kind. And is it not a bit inconsistent for a newspaper to deplore an effort to interfere with a free expression of opinion while carefully protecting by its silence the authority that applies the gag?

There is not a newspaper sanctum in New York the personnel of which is so ignorant that it does not know Police Captain Donoghue acted Sunday night in response not to an order from the police authority of New York, but in response to a request from the Cathedral at Fiftieth Street and Fifth Avenue.

The archbishop of this archdiocese has become not only a volunteer administrator of civil law but a legislator as well, for that he had decreed an inhibition against the open discussion of a question of morals.

"The ecclesiastic himself from the very nature of his office discusses questions of morals without let or hindrance. Does the incident at the town hall indicate that there can no longer be a question when the Catholic Church has made a dogma of one end of the argument? And by what right is discussion limited only to those academic subjects which do not question one way or another the teachings of the church? This polyglot of many nationalities and many religions is shamed when it permits the representative of a particular sect to direct its social and civic activities.

THE *NEW REPUBLIC* likewise recognizes the sinister influence of the officials of the Roman Catholic Church in instigating the illegal raid on Town Hall.

Once more the present administration of New York has arbitrarily withdrawn the right of assembly, affirms the *New Republic*. A group of citizens had engaged the Town Hall for the evening of November 13th, for the purpose of hearing a distinguished English publicist and others discuss the subject of Birth Control. Under orders from police headquarters the speakers were not allowed to enter the hall, and when after a considerable time it was opened to them they were forbidden to speak, hustled from the platform, and haled before a police magistrate on the charge of disorderly conduct. Such disorder as occurred was of course excited by the police themselves. Apparently the battle for free speech on Birth Control, so bravely won by Margaret Sanger, has to be fought over again. The New York papers generally attribute the present interference with civic rights to the Roman Catholic Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes. It is hoped that sponsors for the meeting will take steps to make public the secret influence in response to which the police acted, and further to make their behavior a case of civil suit for false arrest.

IS THIS CHURCH CONTROL to be extended in all directions? This is the suggestion that alarms another correspondent of the *Times*:

Upon what authority can the police come into a peaceable and orderly meeting and order it to disperse, when nothing, absolutely nothing, had been said or done against the law? Are we to be subject to the whims and fancies, to the arbitrary opinion of a policeman or an Archbishop's secretary as to what we may talk about or discuss? It seems some Monsignor telephoned to the police "to go and stop the meeting," and so they went. Does that mean that the opinions of New Yorkers

are to be censored by any church or by any group of people who are especially sensitive and positive about what's "right" and "wrong"?

Another protest, voicing the spirit of millions of citizens of a country founded upon the belief in religious, political and moral freedom, is printed by the *Times*:

I notice in this morning's *Times* that the police raid on the Birth Control meeting in the Town Hall was on the "Archbishop's order." I desire respectfully to protest against this reported action of the Roman Catholic Archbishop in using the city police to break up a meeting. I express no opinion of the merits of Birth Control or of its public discussion. I only know that before the meeting had come to order it was ruthlessly broken in upon by an ecclesiastical order. That it should be done by a Church authority is so subversive of the independence of Church and State in this country as to be absolutely intolerable.

This protest is not in any sense against any particular religious body. It would be the same if it had been a Presbyterian or a Methodist body.

AN OFFICIAL resolution of protest,—proposed by Robert McC. Marsh was only passed by the conference committee of the American Birth Control League:

"Resolved, That this meeting expresses, in the most emphatic terms, indignation at the outrageous action of the police in closing the mass meeting on Sunday night, especially in view of the statements that the action of the police was taken at the direction of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. It was the unanimous sentiment of the meeting that every possible step ought to be taken to obtain redress for what occurred and to insure against its repetition, so that lawful and proper discussion of the Birth Control movement may proceed unhampered."

An Explanation

By Arthur Guiterman

WHEN I WAS a boy and I went to school
They learned me the words of the Gilded Rule:
"Remember your manners and always do
What People of Consequence tell you to."
A college professor has brains to spare
(Though hardly as much as a millionaire),
And sure, when his backing is good and strong,
A clergyman never would guide you wrong;
So what should I do when I'm just a cop
And he is a Reverend Archbishop?

Enough: 'Tis the word of a Grand Bashaw;
You needn't to bother about the law.
He knows what is black and he knows what's white;
Whatever he wants you to do is right.
He told me they wasn't to speak at all.

You don't need a warrant to clear a hall.
He told me to tell them to stir their stumps;
When "Clubs!" is the order, then clubs is trumps.
What else would it be when I'm just a cop
And he is a Reverend Archbishop?

And oh, 'tis a blessing to know the whim
Of wise and infallible folks like him!
And if he should tell me to take and go
And shut up a play or a movie show,
To break up a dance or perhaps a strike
Or burn a few books that he failed to like,
To lock a few lads in a dungeon cell
And smash a few heads in the bargain—well,
What else would I do when I'm just a cop
And he is a Reverend Archbishop?

—New York Tribune.

Sex and Marriage

By Lord Bertrand Dawson

One of the most notable features of the Church Congress at Birmingham was a frank and emphatic address by Lord Dawson on the relationship of the sexes. Lord Dawson, who is the King's physician, analysed the grave problems arising out of love and marriage, and expressed his conviction that Birth Control had come to stay. He suggested that there should be added to the causes of marriage in the Prayer Book "the complete realisation of the love of this man and this woman one for another," and in support of his contention declared that sex love between husband and wife—apart from parenthood—was something to prize and cherish for its own sake. The Lambeth Conference, he remarked, "envisaged a love invertebrate and joyless," whereas, in his view, natural passion in wedlock was not a thing to be ashamed of, or unduly repressed. Lord Dawson's speech, which we publish in full below, proved to be the prevailing topic of discussion in the subsequent proceedings at the Congress. The Bishop of Birmingham, who, in addition to presiding over the Congress, is president of the National Council of Public Morals, stated, in an interview, that "there is in the physical union of the married couple who are one before God a spiritual side which should spring from the perfect oneness, and that perfect oneness is not only a spiritual oneness; it is a oneness also in the expression of a pure passion, which is quite distinct from sensuality. In these ways I think Lord Dawson and I have travelled on the same road and have worked together, and I could not find anything with which I was in conflict in the matter. The Church really, I think, feels the same thing as Lord Dawson, but what the Church is afraid of is making the marriage tie omit the consideration of the procreation of children, and simply living only for the other side. That is what the Church has been fighting against. It is a matter that is still considerably sub judice, but the Church is quite satisfied that certain means are wrong, and ought not to be used."—Dr. R. J. Campbell, the well-known divine, also urged before the Congress the need for a revision of the marriage service, which, he declared, "contains expressions and things which are offensive to modern delicacy of feeling." These, he submitted, should be removed, and the Prayer Book thoroughly revised.

LORD DAWSON'S speech was as follows:—May I make certain preliminary observations? Painters and poets depict Love to us in golden hues and arouse in us happy and sympathetic, and, I trust, reminiscent response, helping us to realise that life without the love of man and woman would be like the world without sunshine. Though therefore, the social student in his approach to the subject is not helped by the beauties of colour and song, it behooves him to avoid undue solemnity and still more an air of portentous foreboding. One of the difficulties of this subject is that those who are called upon to give counsel are apt to forget the strength of

the forces to be dealt with, for it is during youth especially that sex attractions are so powerful, and may I add, so delightful. Middle-aged people may be divided into three classes.

Those who were never young.

Those who have forgotten they were young.

Those who never were young.

And it is with the first class before my eyes that I am privileged to address this audience. The real problems before us are those of sex love and child love; and by sex love I mean that love which involves intercourse or the desire for such. It is necessary to my argument to emphasize that sex love is one of the clamant dominating forces of the world. Not only does history show the destinies of nations and dynasties determined by its sway—but here in our every-day life we see its influence, direct or indirect, forceful and ubiquitous beyond aught else. Any statesmanlike review, therefore, will recognize that here we have an instinct so fundamental, so imperious, that its influence is a fact which has to be accepted: suppress it you cannot. You may guide it into healthy channels, but an outlet it will have, and if that outlet is inadequate or unduly obstructed irregular channels will be forced. We uphold the control of sex love outside marriage by the individual, and that we are right in so doing is incontestable. But let us realize that in practice self-control has a breaking point, and that if in any community marriage is difficult or late of attainment, an increase of irregular unions will inevitably result. That the Church recognizes this is shown by the statement that marriage was instituted to prevent sin. In considering the problem of illicit intercourse and its attendant evils, the social conditions that make for a wholesome life are of more efficiency than Acts of Parliament to suppress vice. My desire, however, on this occasion is rather to consider sex love in relation to marriage.

THE FIRST POINT I wish to make is that people need more knowledge of the scientific bearings of sex relations and more clearly defined guidance of their rightful purport and practice. They are imperfectly provided with both. We talk about instructing the young when we are neither clear nor agreed amongst ourselves. All are agreed that union of body should be in association with union of mind and soul; all are agreed that the rearing of children is a pre-eminent purpose. But what purport is there beyond these? Here there is a lack of precision. What does the Church service say? It says, 'Marriage was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.' Now this is a very negative blessing. It implies that where unfortunately people cannot be continent that marriage gives the best way out—enables them to get relief within the pale of virtue. This attitude affords to sex love no positive purport or merit of its own, and is in striking conflict with the

facts of life through the ages—facts which carry social approval. The recent pronouncement of the Church as set forth in Resolution 68 of the Lambeth Conference seems to imply condemnation of sex love as such, and to imply sanction of sex love only as a means to an end—namely, procreation, though it must be admitted it lacks that clearness of direction which in so vital a matter one would have expected. It almost reminds me of one of those diplomatic formulæ which is not intended to be too clear. Allow me to quote from it:—

In opposition to the teaching which under the name of science and religion encourages married people in the deliberate cultivation of sexual union as an end in itself, we steadfastly uphold what must always be regarded as the governing consideration of Christian marriage. One is the primary purpose for which marriage exists—namely, the continuation of the race through the gift and heritage of children; the other is the paramount importance in married life of deliberate and thoughtful self-control.

Now the plain meaning of this statement is that sexual union should take place for the sole purpose of procreation, that sexual union as an end in itself—not, mind you, the only end—(there we should all agree), but sexual union as an end in itself is to be condemned. That means that sexual intercourse should rightly take place only for the purpose of procreation. Quite a large family could easily result from quite a few sexual unions. For the rest the couple should be celibate. Any intercourse not having procreation as its intention is 'sexual union as an end in itself,' and, therefore, by inference condemned by the Lambeth Conference.

THINK OF THE FACTS of life. Let us recall our own love —our marriage, our honeymoon. Has not sexual union over and over again been the physical expression of our love without thought or intention of procreation? Have we all been wrong? Or is it that the Church lacks that vital contact with the realities of life which accounts for the gulf between her and the people? The love envisaged by the Lambeth Conference is an invertebrate, joyless thing—not worth the having. Fortunately, it is in contrast to the real thing as practised by clergy and laity. Fancy an ardent lover (and what respect have you for a lover who is not ardent)—the type you would like your daughter to marry—virile, ambitious, chivalrous—a man who means to work hard and love hard. Fancy putting before these lovers—eager and expectant of the joys before them—the Lambeth picture of marriage. Do you expect to gain their confidence? Authority, and I include under authority the Churches, will never gain the allegiance of the young unless their attitude is more frank, more courageous, and more in accordance with realities. And, to tell you the truth, I am not sure that too much prudent self-restraint suits love and its purport.

Romance and deliberate self-control do not, to my mind, rhyme very well together. A touch of madness to begin with does no harm. Heaven knows, life sobers it soon enough. If you don't start life with a head of steam you won't get far. Sex love has, apart from parenthood, a purport of its own. It is something to prize and to cherish for its own sake. It is an essential part of health and happiness in marriage. And now, if you will allow me, I will carry this argument a step further. If sexual union is a gift of God it is worth learning

how to use it. Within its own sphere it should be cultivated so as to bring physical satisfaction to both, not merely to one.

The attainment of mutual and reciprocal joy in their relations constitutes a firm bond between two people, and makes for durability of the Marriage tie. Reciprocity in sex love is the physical counterpart of sympathy. More marriages fail from inadequate and clumsy sex love than from too much sex love. The lack of proper understanding is in no small measure responsible for the unfulfilment of connubial happiness, and every degree of discontent and unhappiness may, from this cause, occur, leading to rupture of the marriage bond itself. How often do medical men have to deal with these difficulties, and how fortunate if such difficulties are disclosed early enough in married life to be rectified. Otherwise how tragic may be their consequences, and many a case in the Divorce Court has thus had its origin. To the foregoing contentions, it might be objected, you are encouraging passion. My reply would be, passion is a worthy possession—most men, who are any good, are capable of passion. You all enjoy ardent and passionate love in art and literature. Why not give it a place in real life? Why some people look askance at passion is because they are confusing it with sensuality. Sex love without passion is a poor, lifeless thing. Sensuality, on the other hand, is on a level with gluttony—a physical excess—detached from sentiment, chivalry, or tenderness. It is just as important to give sex love its place as to avoid its over-emphasis. Its real and effective restraints are those imposed by a loving and sympathetic companionship, by the privileges of parenthood, the exacting claims of career and that civic sense which prompts men to do social service. Now that the revision of the Prayer Book is receiving consideration, I should like to suggest with great respect an addition made to the objects of marriage in the Marriage Service, in these terms 'The complete realization of the love of this man and this woman, the one for the other.'

And now, if you will permit, I will pass on to consider the all important question of Birth Control. First, I will put forward with confidence the view that Birth Control is here to stay. It is an established fact, and for good or evil has to be accepted. Although the extent of its application can be and is being modified, no denunciations will abolish it. Despite the influence and condemnations of the Church, it has been practised in France for well over half a century, and in Belgium and other Roman Catholic countries is extending. And if the Roman Catholic Church, with its compact organization, its power of authority, and its disciplines, cannot check this procedure, is it likely that Protestant Churches will be able to do so, for Protestant religions depend for their strength on the conviction and esteem they establish in the heads and hearts of their people. The reasons which lead parents to limit their offspring are sometimes selfish, but more often honorable and cogent.

The desire to marry and to rear children well equipped for life's struggle, limited incomes, the cost of living, burdensome taxation, are forcible motives and further, amongst the educated classes there is the desire of women to take a part in life and their husbands' careers, which is incompatible with oft-

recurring children. It is idle to decry illicit intercourse and interpose obstacles to marriage at one and the same time. But, say many whose opinions are entitled to our respect: 'Yes—Birth Control may be necessary, but the only Birth Control which is justifiable is voluntary abstention from connubial relations.' Such abstention would be either ineffective, or, if effective, unpracticable, and harmful to health and happiness. To limit the size of a family to, say four children during a child-bearing period of 20-25 years, would be to impose on a married couple an amount of abstention which, for long periods, would almost be equivalent to celibacy, and when one remembers that owing to economic reasons the abstention would have to be almost strict during the earlier years of married life, when desires are strongest, I maintain a demand is being made which, for the mass of people, it is impossible to meet; that the endeavors to meet it would impose a strain hostile to health and happiness, and carry with them grave dangers to morals.

Imagine a young married couple in love with each other—the parents, say, of one child, who feel they cannot afford another child, for, say, three years, being expected to occupy the same room and to abstain for two years. The thing is preposterous. You might as well put water by the side of a man suffering from thirst, and tell him not to drink it. And, further than that, if the efforts to abstain are seriously made, the strain involved is harmful to the health and temper—if the efforts do not succeed, the minds of husband and wife are troubled by doubts and anxieties, which are damaging to their intimate relationships.

NO—BIRTH CONTROL by abstention is either ineffective, or, if effective, is pernicious. I will next consider Artificial Control. The forces in modern life which make for Birth Control are so strong that only convincing reasons will make people desist from it. It is said to be unnatural and intrinsically immoral. This word unnatural perplexes me. Why? Civilisation involves the chaining of natural forces and their conversion to man's will and uses. Much of medicine and surgery consist of means to overcome nature. When anæsthetics were first used at childbirth there was an outcry on the part of many worthy and religious people that their use under such circumstances was unnatural and wicked, because God meant woman to suffer the struggles and pains of childbirth. Now we all admit it is right to control the process of childbirth, and to save the mother as much pains as possible. It is no more unnatural to control conception by artificial means than to control childbirth by artificial means. Surely the whole question turns on whether these artificial means are for the good or harm of the individual and the community. Generally speaking, Birth Control before the first child is in-

advisable. On the other hand, the justifiable use of Birth Control would seem to be the limit the number of children when such is desirable, and to spread out their arrival in such a way as to serve their true interests and those of their home. Once more, careful distinction needs to be made between the use and the bad effect of the abuse of Birth Control. That its abuse produces grave harm I fully agree—harm to parents, to families, and to the nation. But abuse is not a just condemnation of legitimate use. Over-eating, over-drinking, over-smoking, over-sleeping, over-work do not carry condemnation of eating, drinking, smoking, sleeping, work. But the evils of excessive Birth Control are very real. Maternity gives to woman her most beautiful attributes.

Fancy being made enough to suppress it. If one watches the woman with one child and all maternity finished before 30 and compare her at 40 with the woman of the same age who has had, say, four children at proper intervals, who usually has the advantage in preservation of youth and beauty? Not the former. On the other hand, it must be admitted that baby after baby every year or 18 months wears and often exhausts a woman's strength. The inference is that the use of Birth Control is good, its abuse bad. Next, the children. Is it even necessary to refer to the failure of the single-child household? Poor little thing! Surrounded by over-anxious parents, spoiled, no children to play with, bored stiff by adults. And then, perhaps, illness, and it may be death—and when it is too late to produce another. Of the many tragedies I met in the war none exceeded the attaching to the loss of only children. It often means the end of all things; nothing to live for—just blank despair. The parents and the home both need children of varying ages. That is the way of happiness and enduring youth. And, lastly, the national aspect may be stated very briefly. If England is not to lose her place in the world, her population must be maintained and increased. Unless fathers and mothers produce an average of over three children, that population will not be maintained. If you say to a young husband and wife with their one or two children, 'Do you like to contemplate that when you both leave life your country will, through your action, be worse off than when you entered life?' that is an appeal to patriotism, and likely to be a successful appeal. There are signs of a public opinion forming which will condemn the selfishness of marriages without their proper heritage of children, but such public opinion will not be strengthened by an indiscriminate condemnation of Birth Control. May I end my speech with an appeal that the Church approach this question, in common with certain others, in the light of modern knowledge and the needs of a new world, and unhampered by traditions which have outworn their usefulness.

NEXT MONTH: read Dean Inge's commentary on Lord Dawson's speech, which has created a controversy in Great Britain!

First American Birth Control Conference

NOVEMBER 11TH—18TH, 1921

SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11

9:30 A. M. Registration of Delegates and Guests.

10:00 A. M. Opening Session.

Address of Welcome

Edith Houghton Hooker, *Chairman of the Sessions*

Opening Address

Margaret Sanger,

Chairman First American Birth Control Conference

PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Dr. John C. Vaughan, New York City—“*Birth Control Not Abortion.*”

Dr. A. B. Wolfe, University of Texas, Austin, Texas—“*Sources of Opposition to Birth Control.*”

Dr. Reynold A. Spaeth, School of Hygiene and Public Health, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland—“*Birth Control as a Public Health Measure.*”

Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf, University of New York and University of Paris, New York City—“*Eugenics and Birth Control in Their Relation to Tuberculosis and Other Med-*

Dr. Alice Butler, Cleveland, Ohio—“*Individual Woman's ico-social Diseases.*”

Need of Birth Control.”

Dr. Frederick C. Haeckel, New York City—“*Evil Results to Motherhood Through Lack of Birth Control Information.*”

Dr. Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, Washington, D. C.—“*Medical Aspects of Birth Control.*”

Dr. Abraham Myerson, 483 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.—“*The Inheritance of Mental Disease.*”

Discussion.

2:30 P. M. PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Dr. Aaron J. Rosanoff, Chemical Director, Kings Park State Hospital, Kings Park, Long Island, New York—“*The Question of Birth Control Discussed from a Psychiatric Standpoint.*”

Dr. Roswell H. Johnson, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.—“*The Eugenic Aspect of Birth Control.*”

Dr. C. C. Little, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N. Y.—“*Order of Birth and the Sex Ratio.*”

Miss Virginia C. Young, 17 Beekman Place, Inc., New York City—“*The Problem of the Delinquent Girl.*”

Prof. E. C. Lindeman, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina—“*Birth Control and Rural Social Progress.*”

Dr. Harriette A. Dilla, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.—“*The Greater Freedom by Birth Control.*”

Mr. J. O. P. Bland, London, England—“*The Population Question as Illustrated by Asia.*”

Discussion.

8:00 P. M. Private Session on Contraceptives for Members of the Medical Profession by invitation only.

Dr. Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, *Chairman.*

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12

9:30 A. M. PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Dr. Lothrop Stoddard, Brookline, Mass.—“*The Population Problem in Asia.*”

Mr. James Maurer, President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa.—“*Birth Control and Infant Mortality: an Economic Problem.*”

Mr. Harold Cox, London, England—“*War and Population.*” Discussion.

2:30 P. M. PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

C. V. Drysdale, O. B. E., S. C., F. R. S. E., London, England, President of the Malthusian League—“*National Security and Peace.*”

Dr. W. F. Robie, Baldwinville, Mass.—“*Some Thoughts on the Medical Aspects of Birth Control.*”

Dr. William J. Robinson, New York City—“*Infanticide, Abortion and Birth Control, the Three Stages in the Limitation of Offspring and Control of Population.*”

Mr. André Tridon, New York City—“*Birth Control and Psycho-analysis.*”

Professor Herman M. Bernelot Moens, Holland—“*Dutch Opinions.*”

Miss Mary Winsor, Haverford, Pa.—“*The Birth Control Movement in Europe.*”

Discussion.

Reports and Resolutions—American Birth Control League.

Adjournment.

7:30 P. M. Dinner—Hotel Plaza Ball Room.

NOVEMBER 13

5:00 P. M. Tea at the home of Mrs. Ernest R. Adee, 161 East 70th Street, for Delegates and Guests.

8:00 P. M. Public Mass Meeting, Town Hall.

“BIRTH CONTROL—IS IT MORAL?”

NOVEMBER 18: PARK THEATRE

(Meeting held, after raid on Town Hall by police.)

SPECIAL EXHIBITS OF THE CONFERENCE

Hotel Plaza, Room 134

Pictorial Appeal for the Motherhood of America

By Lewis W. Hine, New York City.

Preliminary Exhibit showing Biological, Economic, Sociological Foundations of Birth Control.

Harriette A. Dilla, Ph.D., L.L.B., *Chairman of Exhibits.*

Dr. Stoddard's and Dr. De Vilbiss' papers read at the Conference are published in full in this number. Others will appear in subsequent numbers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW.

Population Problems in Asia

By Lothrop Stoddard

(Contributed to the First American Birth Control Conference)

OF ALL EARTH'S regions cursed by the blight of over-population, Asia stands forth as the "horrible example." For ages the teeming populations of the East have been proverbial. Today Asia contains not less than 900,000,000 people, while China and India are the two greatest human hives the world has ever known. These Asiatic societies display the melancholy corollaries of over-population: congestion, low living-standards, and the prevalence of cruel "natural" checks on increase like famine and disease.

However, these stern lessons of Mother Nature seem thus far to have taught the Asiatic nothing. Generation after generation he has gone on blindly breeding beyond the limits of available subsistence. Save for a very few and very recent pioneer efforts (to be discussed later) Asia has not considered even the idea of Birth Control. In fact, the whole social and religious atmosphere of the Orient favors reckless procreation and is hostile to the concept of voluntary limitation of births. It would be a mistake to ascribe Oriental fecundity solely to climate or strong sexual appetities. These, of course, play their part; but they are powerfully re-enforced by economic reasons like the harsh exploitation of women and children, by social reasons like female subjection, and perhaps most of all by religious doctrines enjoining early marriage and the begetting of numerous sons. The upshot has been, as already stated, chronic over-population.

IN THE PAST, to be sure, Asia's over-population was more or less a local issue, its evil consequences, however painful, being confined to the Asiatic peoples themselves. Indeed, these evils never went beyond a certain intensity, because population-pressure was continually and automatically lightened by factors like war, misgovernment, pestilence, and famine, which constantly swept off such multitudes of people that, despite high birth rates, population remained at substantially a fixed level.

During the past century, however, the situation has radically altered. Most of Asia has fallen under European political control, and Western colonial government has meant the putting down of internal war, the diminution of governmental abuses, the decrease of disease, and the lessening of the blight of famine. In other words, those "natural" checks which previously kept down Asiatic populations have been diminished or abolished, and in response to the life-saving activities of the West, the enormous death-rate which in the past has kept Oriental populations from excessive multiplication is falling to proportions comparable with the low death-rate of Western nations. But to lower the Orient's prodigious birth-rate is quite another matter. As a matter of fact, that birth-rate keeps up with undiminished vigor, and the consequence has been a portentous increase of population in nearly every portion of the Orient under Western political control. In fact, even those

Oriental countries which have maintained their independence have more or less adopted Western life-conserving methods, and have experienced in greater or less degree an accelerated increase of population. This is notably true of Japan.

JAPAN AND INDIA are, in fact the two countries where Asia's problem of increasing congestion are best exemplified. China, the greatest human ganglion of them all, is still so much affected by natural checks (famine, pestilence, misgovernment, etc.) that her teeming population, estimated at from 325,000,000 to 450,000,000, seems to keep at about a stationary level. That China's population would, however, shoot upward by leaps and bounds if those natural checks were removed cannot be doubted. For example; one of China's provinces was almost depopulated during the great Taiping Rebellion of half a century ago. Yet within twenty years the gaps had been practically filled, and in the recent famine this province was so over-populated that it was one of the worst sufferers.

The story of Japan's recent growth in population is most significant. During the long centuries of her isolation from the outer world, Japan's population remained at a virtually constant level. The limits of subsistence under the then existing conditions having been reached, further increase was prevented by natural checks such as internecine war, the prevalence of epidemics, and, in certain sections, by the practice of infanticide. When Japan emerged from her isolation about the middle of the last century, her population was about 27,000,000—only 900,000 in excess of what it had been a century and a half before. But no sooner had modern ideas like sanitation and efficient government been introduced than a momentous increase of population ensued. By 1872, the population had risen to 33,000,000; in 1898 it had risen to 44,000,000; while the census of 1920 gave approximately 56,000,000. Thus, in about half a century, Japan's population had more than doubled, while an analysis of the various censuses shows that this increase has been cumulative, the birth-rate rising steadily, the death-rate falling rapidly, and the net increase showing no signs of decline.

THE RESULT HAS been, of course, acute congestion. Japan is a poor country. Her total area is less than that of the state of California, while most of her territory is mountainous and unfit for cultivation. So great is the congestion in the relatively small productive areas that therein the density of population has been recently estimated at 2,688 per square mile—more than four times the density of Belgium, the most densely populated country of Europe.

As for India, the story is strikingly similar. At the beginning of the Nineteenth century, the population of India is roughly estimated to have been 100,000,000. Even at that

time the country was considered to have been over-populated. Yet the result of a century of British rule has been a further increase (in 1911) to 315,000,000. In other words, the Indian people have employed the material benefits of British rule, not to raise their living-standards, but to breed right up to new margin of subsistence until they are as badly off (perhaps worse off) than before. And the most discouraging feature of the situation is that Indian public opinion shows virtually no recognition of the matter, ascribing their misfortunes almost exclusively to political factors, especially European political control. In fact, the only case that I know of where an Indian thinker has bodily faced the problem and has courageously advocated Birth Control is in the book published five years ago by P. K. Wattal, a native official of the Indian Finance Department, entitled *The Population Problem in India*. This pioneer volume is written with such ability and is of such apparent significance as an indication of the awakening of at least a few Indians to a more rational attitude, that it merits special attention.

MR. WATTAL BEGINS his book by a plea to his fellow countrymen to look at the problem rationally and without prejudice. "This essay," he says, "should not be construed into an attack on the spiritual civilization of our country, or even indirectly into a glorification of the materialism of the West. The object in view is that we should take a somewhat more matter-of-fact view of the main problem of life, viz., how to live in this world. We are a poor people; the fact is indisputable. Our poverty, is, perhaps, due to a great many causes. But I put it to every one of us whether he has not at some of the most momentous periods of his life been handicapped by having to support a large family, and whether this encumbrance has not seriously affected the chances of advancement warranted by early promise and exceptional endowment. This question should be viewed by itself. It is a physical fact, and has nothing to do with political environment or religious obligation. If we have suffered from the consequences of that mistake, is it not a duty that we owe ourselves and to our progeny that its evil effects shall be mitigated as far as possible? There is no greater curse than poverty—I say this with due respect to our spiritualism."

After this appeal to reason in his readers, Mr. Wattal develops his thesis. The first prime cause of over-population in India, he asserts, is early marriage. Contrary to Western lands, where population is kept down by prudential marriages and by Birth Control, "for the Hindus marriage is a sacrament which must be performed, regardless of the fitness of the parties to bear the responsibilities of a mated existence. A Hindu male must marry and beget children—sons if you please—to perform his funeral rites lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. The very name of son "putra," means one who saves his father's soul from the hell called Puta. A Hindu maiden unmarried at puberty is a source of social obloquy to her family and of damnation to her ancestors. Among the Mohammedans, who are not handicapped by such penalties, the married state is equally common, partly owing to Hindu example and partly to the general conditions

of primitive society, where a wife is almost a necessity both as a domestic drudge and as a helpmate in field work." The worst of the matter is that, despite the efforts of social reformers, child-marriage seems to be increasing. The census of 1911 showed that during the decade 1901-10 the numbers of married females per 1,000 of ages 0-5 years rose from 13 to 14; of ages 5-10 years from 102 to 105; of 10-15 years from 423 to 430; and of 15-20 years from 770 to 800. In other words, in the year 1911, out of every 1,000 Indian girls, over one-tenth were married before then were 10 years old, nearly one-half before they were 15, and four-fifths before they were 20.

THE RESULT OF all this is a tremendous birth-rate, but is "no matter for congratulation. We have heard so often of our high death-rate and the means for combating it, but can it be seriously believed that with a birth-rate of 30 per 1,000 it is possible to go on with the death-rate brought down to the level of England or Scotland? Is there room enough in the country for the population to increase as fast as 20 per 1,000 every year? We are paying the inevitable penalty of bringing into this world more persons than can be properly cared for, and therefore if we wish fewer deaths to occur in this country the births must be reduced to the level of the countries where the death-rate is low. It is, therefore, our high birth-rate that is the social danger; the high death-rate, however regrettable, is merely an incident of our high birth-rate."

Mr. Wattal then describes the cruel items in India's death-rate: the tremendous female mortality due largely to too early childbirth, and the equally terrible infant mortality, nearly 50 per cent. of infant deaths being due to premature birth or debility at birth. These are the inevitable penalties of early and universal marriage. For, in India, "everybody marries, fit or unfit, and is a parent at the earliest possible age permitted by nature." This process is highly disgenic; it is plainly lowering the quality and sapping the vigor of the race. It is the lower elements of the population, the negroid aboriginal tribes and the Pariahs or Outcasts, who are gaining the fastest. Also the vitality of the whole population seems to be lowering. The census figures show that the number of elderly persons is decreasing, and that the average statistical expectation of life is falling. And unless Indian public opinion speedily awakens to the situations, the evils just described will go on with ever-increasing intensity.

SUCH IS THE warning thesis of Mr. Wattal's book. It should be remarked that he does note a few dim fore-shadowings of Birth Control in India. For example, he quotes from the census report for 1901 this official explanation of a slight drop in the birth-rate of Bengal: "The deliberate avoidance of child-bearing must be partly responsible . . . It is a matter of common belief that among the tea-garden coolies of Assam means are frequently taken to prevent conception, or to procure abortion." And the report of the Sanitary Commissioner of Assam for 1913 states: "An important factor in

producing the defective birth-rate appears to be due to voluntary limitation of births."

However, these beginnings of Birth Control are too local and partial to afford any immediate relief to India's growing over-population, and Mr. Wattal himself is not very hopeful of a rapid breaking down of the traditional factors favoring reckless procreation.

In Japan, as in India, the beginnings of a Birth Control movement have appeared. In fact, the Japanese Government is investigating the problem, and within the past year a number of representatives of the Ministry of the Interior have been travelling through America and Europe, studying conditions and formulating reports on how Birth Control may be applied to Japan. In Japan, however, the Birth Control movement is bitterly opposed by the militarist and imperialist elements who still sway Japan's political life. To them increasing congestion is the best argument for their policies. A vast human surplus is the ideal material for rapid colonization, for a desperate nationalism ready for risky ventures, and for abundant cannon-fodder in the wars which aggressive foreign policies may bring about.

THUS THROUGHOUT THE vast continent of Asia, there is occurring a race between procreation and Birth Control: a race momentous, not merely for Asia, but for the whole world, since upon its outcome world-peace or world-ruin may depend. And let us face facts bravely—the omens for world peace are not bright. It is true that a conscious Birth Control movement has started in Asia's most advanced portions—India and Japan,—and that we may hope for its rapid spread in the near future. It is true that the rapid rise in living costs and living standards throughout the East must involve conscious or unconscious checks on the growth of population. Lastly, the industrialization of many parts of the Orient will afford a livelihood to many millions of persons.

But these limiting factors, however potent they may ultimately become, cannot at once counteract the factors making for excessive multiplication. Apparently, for the next generation at least, Asia is going to keep on piling up excess people. And this, in turn, means an increasingly prodigious outward

thrust of surplus Asiatics from congested centers toward regions emptier, richer, or with higher standards of living. But will these emigrants be admitted? To the emptier parts of Asia, perhaps. To Western lands like America, Australia and Canada, assuredly no.

Here is a problem which only Asia can solve, by raising her living-standards and by rational Birth Control. Asia cannot expect any Western nation to jeopardize its whole social and racial future by becoming a dumping ground for Asia's boundless spawning. Some Asiatics, alive to the realities of the situation, recognize the truth of this. Mr. Wattal, for example, warns his fellow countrymen that they cannot hope to shift their human surplus to other lands; while only a fortnight ago the well-known Japanese liberal, Yukio Ozaki, said in a public address: "Some Japanese insist upon the open door principle in the Pacific generally, including the other side of the ocean, to facilitate the solution of the emigration question. They must be reminded that this policy during twenty years has been advocated in a commercial sense alone. The emigration question is serious, no doubt, but it should not outweigh consideration for other nations' convenience and rights—circumstances which could easily be realized by assuming an influx, for instance, of Indians into this country. Japan ought to be grateful to the Powers for their sympathy in the matter of surplus population, but we should not forget that this requires solution from within. There is nothing to be proud of in causing a nuisance to others through failure to control population."

SOME ASIATICS THUS see things clearly. Theirs is the spirit which, if it prevails, will get Asia peacefully over the critical period, now upon her; the critical period between the advent of a civilized death-rate and a civilized birth-rate; between the laying of drain pipes and the practice of Birth Control.

But will this spirit prevail? Will the voice of liberal understanding persuade hungry myriads or silence the sinister harangues of designing militarists and ignorant demagogues? On the answer to that question hangs peace or war. As Professor Ross well says: "The real enemy of the dove of peace is not the eagle of pride nor the vulture of greed but the stork!"

Medical Aspects of Birth Control

By Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, M. D.

Washington, D. C.

A SHORT TIME AGO an unusual article appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association in which the writer stated in substance that "when it was discovered that a little crude oil properly applied to the surface of stagnant water prevented the development of the malarial and the yellow fever mosquitoes, the etiology and pathology of these diseases, for all practical purposes become subjects of mere academic interest."

Those who love mankind must hope for the time when

horticulturists cut it off. When an animal exhibits atavistic contraceptive prophylactics which will reduce the appearance of the syphilitic foetus, now so common that they do not excite our interest, until they will be sought after as specimens for the scientific museums. And along with the syphilitic foetus we hope will go into the category of rare specimens of human physical life, the diseased, deformed and ill begotten offspring of diseased, deformed and ill begotten ancestors.

When a limb of a tree becomes diseased and withers, the

horticulturists cut it off. When an animal exhibits atavistic tendencies, the stockman sends it to market. When a human family breeds diseased, feeble-minded or otherwise defective offspring, society feeds, houses, clothes and provides free medical succor for them with the result that their offspring continues to reproduce themselves indisputedly and interminably.

It should not be inferred that there is any disposition to find fault with society for any kindly consideration it may sow its unfortunate members. If society should surround them with every convenience, every luxury, every environment conducive to human happiness that wealth, intelligence and imagination can conceive, society has not then paid back these unfortunate the debt it owes them for having permitted them to be born.

NOT ONE OF US would care to accept all the wealth of the world and exchange places with the congenital idiot, or the congenital incurably physical and moral defective. Few of us would want to come into the world into a family in which our coming was regarded as a tragedy; few of us would want to be born of a woman already depleted with too frequent child bearing and consequently not able to furnish us with the sinews of a good physical body; few of us would want even to be born into a family where our coming meant partial starvation for the other already too many mouths to be fed and where our life would be condemned to one long struggle for the merest physical existence. We cannot of course altogether judge what another might want or be happy with according to our own standard. However, the Golden Rule is still the highest known standard of ethical conduct.

An this much we know: That if America is appreciably to raise the standard of human physical and mental fitness then it is essential that every child born on her soil shall be born of parents at least free from serious inheritable and communicable diseases who are essentially sound in mind and body, and for whose children the necessary creature requirements may be procured. When children are born into families deprived of one or more of these essentials, it is America who must pay the penalty along with the unfortunate ones. It is not, therefore, merely in the interests of the unborn that we give this subject our consideration—however highly commendable that altruistic impulse might be—but it is of paramount importance in the interests of our own self protection and preservation.

In America in spite of severe laws and penalties for infanticide and abortion, and for the dissemination of information concerning the prevention of conception, a considerable practice of family limitation has developed as is evidenced by the indisputedly large number of abortions and the steadily declining birth rate over a considerable period of time. This reduction of the birth rate has been illegal, undirected and unintelligent. It has been severely selective, operating chiefly in the best American stock resulting in the so-called American family. At the same time there has been no such appreciable decline in the birth rate among those living in extreme poverty, which is likely to be closely associated with degeneracy,

and among the feeble-minded and other undesirable strains which are increasing at a rate faster than it is possible to build asylums, institutions and jails for them. In other words *in America, there has been Birth Control with a vengeance.*

THIS BIRTH CONTROL is bound up with medical, sociological, religious, racial, ethical and almost every other division of human thought and activities. It is a matter which concerns every human being as he develops into adult life. It shapes human destinies and the destinies of nations. Handled rightly, it can be the one greatest factor in the alleviation of human misery. Abused or handled wrongly it precedes destruction. It is therefore highly important that we assume a scientific study of the principles underlying the control of the birth rate and apply these principles for the improvement of instead of for the destruction of humanity.

The most sensitive index we possess to the social welfare of a community is the infant mortality rate. The analysis of the causes of death of babies under one year of age shows that one-third of the deaths occur at about the first month of life and are directly chargeable to influences operating before birth. Another third of these deaths occur in the first three months of life and are due to causes to which parental influences are responsible or are largely contributory. In other words the deaths of two-thirds of the babies who die under one year of age are due generally to prenatal causes and one-third only to *all other causes combined*. Infant mortality rates generally do not include the deaths from abortions and stillbirths. If these were added, it might be easily assumed that half or more than half of the babies who die under one year of age *never had a chance to live*.

From this analysis it will be easily seen that the usual and popular methods of reducing the infant mortality rates, baby weeks, health centers, milk stations, etc., etc., are devoted almost exclusively to the one-third who have survived the period of adverse prenatal conditions. The exceptions to this are the comparatively few maternal health clinics where proper prenatal and obstetrical supervision is available; and these are still for a large part limited to the out-patient departments of charity clinics, medical college hospitals and to that class of society which are better adapted for teaching purposes than for strong and intelligent parenthood.

THE GREAT WASTAGE of human life recorded by the infant mortality rates cannot be computed in terms of the suffering, misery and ill health caused the mothers, but its relation to the maternal death rate may be approximately known. The deaths of women from diseases and accidents of pregnancy and labor, if computed for the numbers of women of child-bearing age, is found to be several times greater than death from any other cause. The tragedy of this high maternal mortality rate is that diseases and accidents of pregnancy and labor are classed as preventable causes of death; and that their rate has not shown any appreciable decrease in the last several decades. So that for every thousand women who give birth to a child, a certain number which may be computed die from causes which are classed as preventable—and those who

give birth to a child only to have it die before it reaches its first birthday—have faced this risk wholly unnecessarily.

With a reasonable degree of certainty, it can be predicted that the offspring of certain parents are likely to be born dead or die soon thereafter; or living they will not increase the healthy population, but are born to join the ranks of the incurables. And of the maternal deaths from diseases and accidents of pregnancy and labor, there is a certain percentage of women, so far as medical science is able to prognosticate, for whom pregnancy and labor means certain death. In fact, so dangerous are certain diseased conditions to the life of the pregnant woman and her baby that obstetric authorities unhesitatingly recommend that an abortion be performed, but these same authorities do not discuss the desirability of preventing the conception.

In addition to the list of undoubted causes of great danger to the life of the pregnant woman and her baby, there is a much larger list of diseases and disorders of function where pregnancy is undesirable until the immediate condition is remedied, or the danger removed. The soldier is not permitted to go into battle if his physical and mental conditions do not seem likely to withstand the strain. *But the woman goes into the valley of the shadow to produce the soldier without regard to the life or health of either.*

RACES ARE NOT improved, humanity is not uplifted, great changes are not effected *en masse*. It has to be a matter of reaching the individual units of the race and through improving them, the mass is leavened. And in anything which so peculiarly and intimately concerns the most private personal matters of an individual, as the limitation of procreation, he must be approached by someone in whom he would most naturally repose his confidence in such matters—his family physician, the public health doctor and nurse, his minister, the social workers, his druggist, and maybe his friend and benefactor. And for conveying personal information and obtaining response from a national population, large organizations, national in their scope and already possessing the avenue of approach to the individual are essential for continued operation.

It is a common occurrence for a couple to consult their doctor, the public health nurse, or social worker when they are aware that a pregnancy is existing. Sometimes the consultation is regarding the health of the mother and child that the best conditions for the life and health of both may be maintained. Ofttimes it is for the purpose of finding a physician whom they may request to produce an environment in which the already fecundated cell may not further develop—in other words perform an abortion. If the exigencies of the situation warrant, the physician may do so with considerable cost of suffering to the mother and even the risk of her life and health, and at considerable professional risk to himself. From this consultation in a pregnancy already existing it is but a step further to a consultation of their physician by potential parents before rather than after the die of a future human being is cast. And it is to the credit of the intelligence and awakening conscience of increasing numbers of parents

that they are questioning their physician as to their physical and mental fitness for becoming responsible ancestors. And for those who lack the mental capacity or the conscience so to question for themselves, society for its own preservation must do it for them.

FOR THIS NEXT step in the progress of human society, the medical and the public health professions must prepare themselves. The young men and women in many colleges will not likely get preparation. They will likely learn no further than how most skilfully to perform abortion. Of the possibilities and methods of preventing conception, the students will likely continue to be kept in blissful ignorance by their professors. In fact the subject seems about as taboo in many medical colleges elsewhere. That physicians do obtain contraceptive information would seem to be a warranted conclusion which may be drawn from the small numbers of children that are customary in doctor's families. The next step is to free this information from harmful legal restrictions so that the doctor may make it freely available for his patients.

There is no panacea for Birth Control. There is no one simple safe infallible preventive. Those agents which under given conditions may act as contraceptives are likely to fail when the necessary conditions are not met. In other words contraceptive agents require an intelligent selection for their use and a common sense understanding of their application in order to be efficacious.

These factors are likely to prove constant and constitute the chief reason why contraceptive agents as such are not likely ever to be advertised and sold openly as are some simple remedies; but are likely to have placed about them the same kind of restrictions as are now placed about certain other so-called cures and preventives whose advertisements and open sale are prohibited by law because they delude the public into a safety which is not warranted. If there has not yet been discovered a safe, simple, reliable, contraceptive which may be successfully depended upon under widely varying conditions, any advertisement which conveyed such statement, and purported that such agent be efficacious for the purpose so stated would be fraud and deceit, and by creating a false sense of security would lead their victim to tragedy and misery and even to their destruction.

THE PUBLIC MUST then perforce look largely to the medical and the public health profession to take the lead in the discovery and the application of contraceptive information. This is at once a big responsibility and a big opportunity which a few most courageous of both professions are trying to discharge quietly, unobtrusively and to the best of their ability—but not nearly so efficaciously as though they were permitted to do it openly. In only a few states are there laws which would prevent a physician from prescribing for his patient. But so long as the whole subject matter is under the ban of federal statutes relating to obscenity and criminal abortion, the average physician will hesitate to become associated with what may be construed as an illegal or an unclean thing.

The medical and the public health professions cannot be

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Messages to the Conference

From Havelock Ellis

IT SEEMS to me that Birth Control is now itself becoming a part of our morality, an element in our moral ideal, capable, as has been well said, "of being found with us at each moment of our moral life, concentrated and fully felt in every beat and rhythm of desire and action."

It is, therefore, idle to discuss whether or not it sometimes produces minor evils. No doubt it does. The moral ideal always does. Every line of moral action sometimes produces minor evils. It would be unreasonable to expect that Birth Control should be an exception to this universal rule. No one can look at the matter in a calm, broad and unprejudiced manner, and fail to see that the reckless disregard of Birth Control produces evils that are vastly greater than those produced by its observance.

Only those persons who hold we should always strain at gnats but try to swallow camels, can venture to maintain that Birth Control is immoral.

From Edward Carpenter

I FEEL NO DOUBT that the Birth Control movement is one of the most important of the present day. If Humanity is ever to rise out of the swamp of unlimited race-propagation in which it wallows at present, it must be by deliberate control of its powers of breeding. This control may reasonably be effected in two ways: (1) by wise abstinence and choice of times and seasons for intercourse, or (2) by artificial (but sanitary) devices to prevent conception.

It may fairly be said that *eûher* of these methods is better than that of leaving the question of population to chance and the arbitrary decrees of lust. To interfere, even in an artificial way, with an age-long animal habit, is surely less harmful and immoral than to produce unwanted children, destined in most cases to poverty and neglect.

But granted so much as that, there still remain certain questions, indicated in your circular as likely to be discussed in the New York Conference of November 11, 12 and 13, and which I may for a moment consider here:

(1) *Does the spread of Birth Control involve a loss to the youth of the country of a valuable safeguard?* It is clear, I think that Birth Control methods, by guarding against the arrival of unwanted children, may and will in some degree diminish the sense of responsibility attaching to sexual intercourse. At the same time it should be said that either of the above methods brings in and encourages forethought, which is better than a mere casual subjection to chance; and by the first method, the sense of responsibility is decidedly increased.

(2) *Would the knowledge of the methods of Birth Control lead to the reign of promiscuity?* Personally, I do not think that promiscuity would by any means necessarily follow. At the same time, I think that a certain increase of latitude in sex-relations *would* be likely to follow—but this on the whole (and in view of the evils and falsity of the present system), I regard as not such a very great evil, perhaps in some respects a gain, rather than a loss.

(3) *Would it encourage the husband to impose himself on the wife?* For answer to this, we have to look to the growing power of woman which necessarily will come, and is coming with Birth Control. Under the new order of things, it will daily become more unusual and more inadmissible for the man to impose himself on the woman; and Woman will therefore enter into a state of freedom and self-determination hitherto unknown to and inexperienced by her sex. Millthorpe, Holmesfield, Derbyshire.

From Dean Inge

YOU ARE KIND enough to ask me to send a message in view of the approaching Birth Control Conference in New York.

There can be no doubt that if the world is to be saved from devastating wars and revolutions, with their accompaniments of pestilence and famine, the natural increase of population must be held in check by prudential restrictions. The old countries are for the most part fully peopled, and any discoveries which may in the future increase food-production, ought to be applied to raising the standard of living, not to augmenting the population.

Already far too large a part of the population lives in large industrial centres, under conditions which are neither natural nor wholesome, and these centres are everywhere foci of anti-social and destructive propaganda.

Emigration is only a palliative, and the new countries will not in the future be willing to admit the overflow of the teeming population of the old world.

The tendency is at present for the better stocks to restrict their numbers, while the half-civilized proletariat, especially in countries like Russia and Ireland, multiply unrestrained. The evil effects of this tendency are nowhere more manifest than in the New England states, formerly the home of a singularly fine and virile stock.

America and Europe are both threatened with progressive barbarisation.

It is useless to preach either celibacy or abstinence in marriage. These counsels will never be acted on by those whose fecundity it is desired to restrain.

The only remedy is to legalize and popularize those methods of control which are medically unobjectionable, and which do not involve the destruction of life which has begun to exist.

Experience shows that abortion is rife precisely in those countries where the prevention is condemned by law or public opinion.

At the same time we have to face the fact that we are threatened with a great outbreak of sexual license, and that acquaintance with means of preventing conception has already increased these irregularities, and is likely to increase them still more in the future. Those who accept the Christian law of purity must watch with grave anxiety the progress of doctrines which cut at the root of morality, as they understood it.

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The Press Protests

NEVER BEFORE in the history of the Birth Control movement has the issue been more clearly cut than in the dramatic raiding by the police, at the instigation of concealed and illegal orders, of the mass meeting at the New York Town Hall, on Sunday evening, November 13, 1921. This date will become celebrated in history as the great turning point of public opinion. It was a case of American citizens gathering legally and peaceably to listen to a discussion of the morality of Birth Control, a subject of the most tremendous private and public importance. It was a case of the representatives of a great and powerful organization, the Roman Catholic church, assuming the sinister and entirely criminal authority of giving orders to the police to prevent this meeting. It was a case of New York "officers of the law" casting all regard for public duty to the winds cravenly and servilely following these orders that emanated from this mysterious source. They broke up the meeting. But in taking this rash and criminal step, they let loose a furious tempest of protest. It was brought home to the American public, that certain reactionary forces were attempting to settle in advance what they should discuss and what they should not. It was made clear once and for all, that the Roman Catholic Church could with intolerable insolence and arrogance, command the police of New York City to break up with their clubs and under the cloak of authority any peaceable assembly which disagreed with the tenets of its code.

The outrage was the more dastardly in view of the fact that courteous invitations to attend the mass meeting had been sent to representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and to present the views of the church upon this all important question. The only answer was the action of the policeman's club. But even the good-natured, patient American public cannot stand for this infamy. Even the New York newspapers, to which no intelligent student could possibly attribute any bias in favor of Birth Control, could not ignore this sinister, this menacing disregard of constitutional right, this violation of all public decency, this exposure of dynastic and unscrupulous power. As we hurry to press, we are flooded with indignant protests from the American press which indicate that the current of public opinion in our country is at last recognizing the necessity of free speech and open discussion of a subject of such vital importance to American as to world civilization as Birth Control.

ONE OF THE first newspapers to protest against the criminal and outrageous action of the police was the New York *Evening Post*, which in an editorial the day after the historic event, declared:

The action of the police last night in breaking up a meeting at the Town Hall must make every liberty-loving citizen of New York hot with indignation. The meeting was called to discuss the question: "Birth Control: It It Moral?" There is nothing in this question to warrant Police Headquarters in

prohibiting its discussion. If people cannot come together in a perfectly orderly and open way to debate whether or not a matter is moral, then our boasted freedom of speech is a mockery. What was there in the question to be discussed at the Town Hall or in any circumstance connected with the discussion which so aroused the apprehensions of "one of the Commissioners" that he could not allow a single speech to be delivered, even though a hundred bluecoats were on hand to suppress any violation of law?

Last night's action is not an isolated instance of police interference with citizens who were acting within their well established rights. The refusal a few months ago to permit Mr. Ledoux to hold a meeting for the unemployed in a hall which he had hired is still fresh in the public mind. The only serious disorder upon that occasion was the disorder created by the police in their impatient and awkward efforts to avert a riot of which there was not the slightest sign. Is this sort of thing to become a regular part of our civic liberties?

It would be interesting to know the reason for the giving of last night's order. No citizen, of course, will be so impertinent as to ask for the reason. Anybody who was guilty of such disrespect would deserve to be gagged for the rest of his life. Let it be understood that any Police Commissioner in New York may prohibit any public meeting which he does not fancy. That at least tells us where we are.

THE NEW YORK *Tribune*, in a strong condemnation of the raid, described the stupid action of the authorities as "Police Prussianism." The editorial follows:

Police interference with the meeting of members of the American Birth Control Conference at the Town Hall on Sunday evening raises the question whether or not freedom of speech and assembly exists any longer in this city. Police Captain Donohue entered the hall before the meeting had begun and announced that it could not be held. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, who arrived later with the speaker of the evening, a former member of the British Parliament, attempted to make a statement from the platform. She and Miss Mary Windsor, a writer and lecturer of Haverford, Penn., were subsequently arrested for "disorderly conduct." They were discharged in the Magistrates' Court because there was no material whatever to make a case against them.

The police broke up the meeting without waiting for any expressions of opinion which would warrant repression. They had earlier tried to intimidate the lessor into closing the hall. Their attitude was one of persecution, not of orderly vindication of any local ordinances which might in their opinion be infringed. It was arbitrary and Prussian to the last degree.

Free speech within the limitations of public order and propriety is supposed to be the right of every American citizen. Censorship may be exercised under the police power, but there is no warrant for censorship of utterances still undelivered. People may differ about the questions raised by the advocates of Birth Control. The subject is one, however, for serious public discussion. It is discussed in books. If it is conducted within the spirit and letter of the law it is wrong to try to shut it off. If the police deny even the right of assemblage to one group of citizens, what is to stop them from denying it to any other group against which they or their advisers have a personal prejudice?

The doings of the police at the Town Hall were a clear violation of recognized civil rights.

THE NEW YORK Herald, in an editorial entitled "Wholly Inexcusable," pointed out the violation of the constitution by the police:

The incident of Sunday night at Town Hall is best described as an illegal raid by a police mob.

A mass meeting had gathered in the hall to listen to a discussion. The subject happened to be "Birth Control." But the meeting heard no speeches, for the police seized the speakers and prevented them from uttering a word.

By what mental process, we venture to ask Mayor Hylan's Mr. Enright, did the police arrive at the conclusion that the law had been violated? Or, if they merely suspected that the law was going to be violated, what was their justification for raiding the meeting? The Constitution of the State of New York is perfectly plain:

"Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press."

Even Congress is forbidden by the Federal Constitution from making a law to abridge freedom of speech. Are the police above the constitutions of the nation and the State?

We wonder what Mr. Harold Cox, the distinguished editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who was in the swirl of the riot made by the raiders and was to speak, thought of the police methods in the Land of the Free.

PRAISING THE undaunted courage of the committee in losing no time in arranging the second meeting at the Park Theatre (Friday, November 18th) the *Evening World* asserted in an editorial:

The Birth Control advocates have taken precisely the right course in arranging another meeting similar to that raided by the police last Sunday.

For all the public has been privileged to learn, the suppression of the meeting and the arrest of the speakers at the Town Hall Sunday was a thoroughly disgraceful and lawless affair.

At the hearing yesterday the police made no serious effort to establish a case. Officials in the department passed the buck and the Police Commissioner was "out of town."

Who in the Police Department is responsible for this breach of the law and the invasion of the Constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly in a lawful manner?

If the Police Department is not responsible, who is? Any citizen may make a complaint or cause an arrest. If the police acted on this sort of authority, why did they not make sure that the complaining witness was at the trial to press the case, thereby becoming responsible for the false arrest?

The police did not wait until the speakers had made a fair start. The latter had no opportunity to disseminate unlawful information. The police seem to have banned the meeting and arrested the speakers on the suspicion that something unlawful might occur if the meeting proceeded.

This is an intolerable doctrine. One need not indorse the cause for which this meeting was held to condemn most vigorously the unwarranted action of the police.

The issue Sunday evening was bigger than the right to advocate Birth Control. It is a part of the eternal fight for free speech, free assembly and democratic government. It is a principle which must always find defenders if democracy is to survive.

THE TRIBUNE, THE EVENING POST, and other papers, published numerous letters protesting against the sinister assumption of authority by those who attempted to break upon our meeting. There was no question in the mind of the intelligent public to determine the source of the mysterious "higher-ups" who gave orders to stop the mass meeting. "G. H.," for instance, writes in the *Evening Post*:

Has all sense of civil liberty and freedom of speech died out in New York? I am referring to the meeting at the Town Hall on Sunday, November 13th, with which the police so wantonly interfered. Upon what authority can the police come into a peaceful and orderly meeting and order it to disperse, when nothing absolutely nothing, had been said or done against the law? Are we to be subject to the whims and fancies, to the arbitrary opinion of a policeman or an archbishop's secretary as to what we may talk about or discuss?

It seems Mgr. "Somebody" telephoned to the police to "go and stop the meeting," and so they went. Does that mean that the opinions of New Yorkers are to be censored by the Catholic Church or by any church or by any group of people who are especially sensitive and positive about what's "right" and "wrong"?

ANOTHER PHASE of the question of Church Control is brought out in still another letter. That is the inert passivity of the American public toward every vital problem of the day. It is this dull apathy, this fear of "what will people say," that makes possible the arrogant seizure of authority by the wily politician-theologians of the church. Says this writer in the *Globe*:

The arrest of Mrs. Sanger for attempting to discuss in public the question of Birth Control involves not only "a question of civil rights," as claimed in your editorial of Nov. 14, but reveals a chronic attitude of stupidity on the part of the Police Department toward all enlightened and orderly protests against laws which no longer represent the community sense of justice.

This latest assault on free speech is only one in a long and cumulative series of super-Prussian atrocities against our constitutional guarantees in a country made safe for democracy. And the most deplorable aspect of the situation is the spiritual callousness of the American people. There is no such thing as public opinion in this country and no encouraging signs of any organized and sustained protest against the flagrant abuses and misinterpretations of the law by its appointed guardians. The polite, pale pink liberals make a feeble and timid gesture of protest, while the disagreeable radical who dares to act upon his beliefs is soon crushed under the patriotic steam roller of the 100 per centers. And so proceeds the merry round of invasions against the sovereign rights of a people too grossly steeped in materials pursuits to give a thought to the vital social problems of the day.

Messages to the Conference

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The advocacy of Birth Control, which I consider to be absolutely necessary, must go hand in hand with increased insistence on the sanctity of the marriage-vow, and on the obligation of continence which Christianity imposes on all unmarried persons.

My hope is that the new knowledge may encourage early marriages, and so diminish the temptation to form irregular connections.

The American Birth Control League

MARGARET SANGER, *President*
 JULIET BARRETT RUBLEE, *Vice-President*
 ANNE KENNEDY, *Secretary*
 CLARA LOUISE ROWE, *Corresponding Secretary*
 FRANCES B. ACKERMAN, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD BILLINGS, *Assistant Treasurer*

Executive Committee:

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT DR. LYDIA DE VILBISS
 DR. JOHN C. VAUGHN MRS. PIERRE JAY

AND OFFICERS OF LEAGUE

Speakers: Will be announced later.

Headquarters: 104 FIFTH AVENUE

PRINCIPLES:

The complex problems now confronting America as the result of the practice of reckless procreation are fast threatening to grow beyond human control.

Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by Church and State to produce large families. Many of the children thus begotten are diseased or feeble-minded; many become criminals. The burden of supporting these unwanted types has to be borne by the healthy elements of the nation. Funds that should be used to raise the standard of our civilization are diverted to the maintenance of those who should never have been born.

In addition to this grave evil we witness the appalling waste of women's health and women's lives by too frequent pregnancies. These unwanted pregnancies often provoke the crime of abortion, or alternatively multiply the number of child workers and lower the standard of living.

To create a race of well born children it is essential that the function of motherhood should be elevated to a position of dignity, and this is impossible as long as conception remains a matter of chance.

We hold that children should be

1. Conceived in love;
2. Born of the mother's conscious desire;
3. And only begotten under conditions which render possible the heritage of health.

Therefore we hold that every woman must possess the power and freedom to prevent conception except when these conditions can be satisfied.

Every mother must realize her basic position in human society. She must be conscious of her responsibility to the race in bringing children into the world.

Instead of being a blind and haphazard consequence of uncontrolled instinct, motherhood must be made the responsible and self-directed means of human expression and regeneration.

These purposes, which are of fundamental importance to the whole of our nation and to the future of mankind, can only be attained if women first receive practical scientific education in the means of Birth Control. That, therefore, is the first object to which the efforts of this League will be directed.

AIMS:

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE aims to enlighten and educate all sections of the American public in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation and the imperative necessity of a world program of Birth Control.

The League aims to correlate the findings of scientists, statisticians, investigators and social agencies in all fields. To make this possible, it is necessary to organize various departments:

RESEARCH: To collect the findings of scientists, concerning the relation of reckless breeding to delinquency, defect and dependence.

INVESTIGATION: To derive from these scientifically ascertained facts and figures, conclusions which may aid all public health and social agencies in the study of problems of maternal and infant mortality, child-labor, mental and physical defects and delinquency in relation to the practice of reckless parentage.

HYGIENIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL instruction by the Medical pro-

fession to mothers and potential mothers in harmless and reliable methods of Birth Control in answer to their requests for such knowledge.

STERILIZATION of the insane and feeble minded and the encouragement of this operation upon those afflicted with inherited or transmissible diseases, with the understanding that sterilization does not deprive the individual of his or her sex expression, but merely renders him incapable of producing children.

EDUCATIONAL: The program of education includes: The enlightenment of the public at large, mainly through the education of leaders of thought and opinion—teachers, ministers, editors and writers—to the moral and scientific soundness of the principles of Birth Control and the imperative necessity of its adoption as the basis of national and racial progress.

POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE: To enlist the support and co-operation of legal advisors, statesmen and legislators in effecting the removal of state and federal statutes which encourage dysgenic breeding, increase the sum total of disease, misery and poverty and prevent the establishment of a policy of national health and strength.

ORGANIZATION: To send into the various States of the Union field workers to enlist the support and arouse the interest of the masses, to the importance of Birth Control so that laws may be changed and the establishment of clinics made possible in every State.

INTERNATIONAL: This department aims to co-operate with similar organizations in other countries to study Birth Control in its relations to the world population problem, food supplies, national and racial conflicts, and to urge upon all international bodies organized to promote world peace, the consideration of these aspects of international amity.

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE proposes to publish in its official organ THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, reports and studies on the relationship of controlled and uncontrolled populations to National and world problems.

The American Birth Control League also proposes to hold an annual Conference to bring together the workers of the various departments so that each worker may realize the interrelationship of all the various phases of the problem to the end that National education will tend to encourage and develop the powers of self direction, self-reliance, and independence in the individuals of the community instead of dependence upon public or private relief of charities.

WHAT YOU CAN DO IN YOUR STATE TODAY

TENTATIVE COMPILATION of the Laws in the United States and Canada relative to imparting information on prevention of Conception (Birth Control), compiled and prepared by Hon. J. C. Ruppenthal, Russel, Kansas, brought up to date, October, 1921, for the First American Birth Control Conference.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given by physicians lawfully practicing for the cure or prevention of disease: Minnesota, Mississippi, New York.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given by regular practitioners of medicine: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Nevada, Ohio, Wyoming.

States which forbids the circulation or publishing of printed or written contraceptive information, oral information not expressly mentioned: Arizona, California, Canal Zone, Connecticut*, Idaho, Massachusetts, Montana, Ontario, Can., Porto Rico.

States in which the words "prevention of conception" are not included in the obscenity laws: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

State in which the laws forbid the dissemination either orally, or

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*Connecticut is the one state in which the laws makes it a crime to USE any article or instrument, drug or medicine to prevent conception.

Order of Birth and the Sex Ratio

By C. C. Little

Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

(Contributed to First American Birth Control Conference)

IN ANY biological problem dealing with population, the ratio of males to females at birth is a matter of considerable interest. Many statistical investigations of this question have been made and it will not, at this time, be profitable to attempt to discuss most of them. I shall try to bring out only three points. Data unless otherwise stated, are from the Sloane Maternity Hospital Records, and I am glad to acknowledge at this time, my indebtedness to the officers of that institution.

1. When both parents are of the same nationality the ratio of males to 100 females at birth is $104.54 + 0.97$ (6,000 individuals). When one parent is of one nationality and the other from another, the sex ration is $122.86 + 2.14$. The difference is significant, and when thousands of cases are summed up would be economically of interest. For reference the first category may be called "pure," and the second "hybrid." It will be noted that the latter gives a higher proportion of males.

2. The above ratios result when *all* births are massed, but when first births are considered separately and are contrasted in each group with subsequent births and interesting fact is brought out.

In the "pure" matings, the sex ratio of first births is $115.5 + 1.5$ and of subsequent births is $97.3 + 1.2$. The difference is significant. In the "hybrid" matings, however, no such difference exists.

IT APPEARS that in any selected population where a higher number of one child families exists than in a normal population, a greater *excess of males* should be born than in a population where the "subsequent" children are a higher proportion of the total number. The economic application of this question is obvious.

3. The work of King with white rats shows that the sex ratio of first litters differs clearly from that of subsequent litters. The case is closely parallel to that in man and the difference is qualitatively similar to that given above.

This brings us to the all-important conclusion that experimental studies with laboratory mammals are the most rapid and economical means by which a body of evidence can be built up to provide adequate information concerning matters of the greatest interest and importance to man.

"Why should men and women have children that they cannot take care of, children that are burdens and curses? Because they have more passion than intelligence, more passion than conscience, more passion than reason. You cannot reform these people with tracts and talk. Religion is helpless. There is but one hope. Ignorance, poverty and vice must stop populating the world. This cannot be done by moral suasion. This cannot be done by talk or example. To accomplish this there is but one way. Science must make woman the owner, the master of herself. Science, the only possible savior of mankind, must put it in the power of a woman to decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother. This is the solution of the whole question. This frees woman. The babes that are born will then be welcome."—ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

One has but to read the recent work on Population by Pearl of John Hopkins to see how well evidence obtained from the fruit fly *Drosophila* has been applied to the problems of human increase. In a similar way today we are attacking the cancer problem from a new angle that offers great opportunity. In no less a degree may we expect that investigation of the effects of Birth Control on rats, rabbits, and other laboratory mammals, might do much to determine the merits or demerits of a somewhat similar situation in man.

The biologist has come to demand this experimental method in his own problems and his support to any viewpoint or issue is more readily obtained, after these methods have been critically and extensively applied to the problems under consideration.

What You Can Do In Your State Today

(Continued from page 18)

printed of information to prevent conception. Under the laws in this state there is no exception made for physicians: New Jersey.

States which seem to have no obscenity laws: Alaska, New Mexico, Canada, all except Ontario.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given in chartered medical colleges: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wyoming.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given in the standard medical works: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wyoming.

United States mails—United States Territories and the District of Columbia. (U. S. Statues sec. 10485. Compact edition, West Publishing Company.) Federal law prohibits the MAILING of printed or written matter which gives information to prevent conception, this also refers to express companies and common carriers.

Medical Aspects of Birth Control

(Continued from page 14)

held wholly accountable for the condition of affairs. They are dependent on the public, not alone for the appropriation and the income for the support of their activities, but quite as much on the public for that cooperation and assistance which will make their activities effective. When the public makes it possible for the medical and the public health professions to carry out what they know so well should be done, and indeed when they *demand* that the profession do what they know how to do, the whole question will be satisfactorily in process of solution in a decade.

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

SEX AND REPRODUCTION

By DEAN INGE

THE MORALITY OF BIRTH CONTROL

A SYMPOSIUM

HAROLD COX

JUDGE LINDSEY

KATHERINE ANTHONY

WARNER FITE

JOHN SUMNER

MARY JOHNSTON

Official Organ of
THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

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IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 124 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.

GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.

FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.

SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bullfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.

BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcellea.

SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.

BOHEMIA-CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.

AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.

PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasilena de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapex 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.

SWEDEN (1911).—Sallakapet for Humanitar Bernalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.

ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.

AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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JANUARY, 1922

No. 1

Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Associate Editors

FLORENCE GUERTIN TUTTLE LOU ROGERS

ANNE KENNEDY

BLANCHE SCHRACK

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI.

JANUARY, 1922

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Notes For The New Year

THE NEW YEAR reaches us at the moment when, as never before in its history, the Birth Control movement in America has asserted its tremendous vitality. We must look forward to a year of increased activity, a year of hopes—and also a year of great dangers. Events of the past two months have succeeded triumphantly in bringing this question to the attention of the thinking public. Efforts to suppress and to kill this great effort of civilization have had just the opposite effect. A flood of protest and of publicity has surprised and overwhelmed our enemies. The story of the underhanded and treacherous attempt to kill liberty has been published broadcast in America, and sent by the news cables to Europe. We face a new year during which we must take advantage of the unprecedented opportunities offered for our cause. To all of us who believe that education in Birth Control is the first essential for the future of civilization and racial progress the great duty for each one is faithfully and loyally to do his and her part. The fight is now in the open. We know the source of the opposition to our movement. Our enemies have openly declared themselves. An even more desperate battle confronts us—not merely the fight against stupidity and prejudice and reaction, but the battle for free speech and honest expression. Already we are launched in that battle. Stand with us. Back up all of us who are on the fighting front!

THE POLICE HEARING or “investigation” of the illegitimate suppression of the Town Hall meeting was a ludicrous farce, an insult to every citizen of the United States. What should have been a fair and impartial hearing was perverted into an inquisition. Every subject irrelevant to the issue at hand was dragged in for discussion. Thus was dust thrown into our eyes. The question of determining who gave orders to close our meeting was confused and kept in the background. The crowning outrage was the unwarranted, the ludicrous arrest of Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee. This bungling attempt to intimidate fearless advocates and supporters of the movement was promptly exposed and a countrywide protest arose, even from many who had hitherto been indifferent to the propaganda for Birth Control. The inspector and the Corporation Counsel did not even attempt to conceal their

bitter malice, their prejudice being perfectly obvious from their conduct and their questions. What should have been a defence was turned into an offensive campaign. Nevertheless we shall proceed unflinchingly to assert our right to constitutional freedom of speech and press, our right to discuss the vital question of Birth Control from the public platform. In this we are answering a great and growing public demand. The American Birth Control League is growing steadily. And there is such a widespread request for speakers in all parts of the country that we need ten times the number available to supply this ever increasing demand.

IN THIS PERIOD of growth and expansion we need support of all kinds. We need members and supporters of the League. We need both subscribers and sustaining contributors for the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. Moreover, we have leased headquarters for a “clinic” in New York City, and have placed an application for a license before the State Board of Charities. We are now with great patience awaiting an answer to this request. This “clinic” or health center would aim to supply a long-felt need in providing a place where physicians may aid diseased mothers by giving them adequate information to prevent bringing into the world congenitally impaired children. In accordance with the decision handed down by the Court of Appeals in the Sanger case, such a procedure is perfectly practical, legitimate, and legal.

THE WORLD IMPORTANCE of the Birth Control movement has been emphasized anew in the invitations extended to Margaret Sanger to visit Japan in the near future to speak on the economic phases of Birth Control before students of the Japanese universities and other selected groups. This invitation follows closely upon the publication of a series of articles by Mrs. Sanger published in the *Reconstruction*, a magazine of Tokio. It is another manifestation of the new international spirit now making itself felt in world civilization. That Margaret Sanger follows so closely in the footsteps of the distinguished Bertrand Russell and John Dewey is another proof that prophets are not without honor—save in their own countries!

Sex and Reproduction

By *W. R. Inge*

[Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London]

(A Comment on Lord Dawson's Paper, Which Was Published in These Pages Last Month.)

IT IS A bad symptom that Lord Dawson's paper at the Birmingham Church Congress, wise and temperate and in perfect taste, should have been received in certain quarters with denunciation. The newspapers which have taken the lead in this agitation have probably mistaken the mind of their public; if not, they cannot be congratulated on their clientele.

In dealing with a subject where so much ignorance and prejudice have been proved to exist, it is best to begin with a dispassionate and colorless statement of elementary facts.

The reproductive capacity of every species is far in excess of the possibility of survival. In some of the lower forms of life the fertility is prodigious. The star-fish (*luida*) has 200 million eggs. "If all the progeny of one oyster survived and multiplied, its great-great-grand-offspring would number 66 with 33 noughts after it and the heap of shells would be eight times the size of our earth."

Fertility and care for offspring usually vary inversely. Sutherland says: "Of species that exhibit no sort of parental care, the average of 49 gives 1,040,000 eggs to a female each year, while among those which make nests or any apology for nests the number is only about 10,000. Among those which have any protective tricks, such as carrying the eggs in pouches, or attached to the body, or in the mouth, the average number is under 1000, while among those which . . . bring the young into the world alive an average of 56 eggs is quite sufficient."

Man is no exception to this rule. Where the natural checks of famine, pestilence, inter-tribal slaughter, and disease operate without hindrance, the equilibrium of population is maintained by a very high birth-rate. In the Middle Ages the births and deaths in the undrained towns were both round about 50 per thousand in each year.

THERE ARE CITIES in Asia where these conditions still survive. Almost everywhere the numbers press constantly upon the means of subsistence, and children can only survive where there is room for them. In many parts of the world, both in the civilized races of antiquity and among barbarous races in our own days, surplus children are gotten rid of by systematic infanticide.

If we look at old pedigrees, or at old tombstones covered with the names of one family, we shall see that a married pair in England, till the nineteenth century, might expect to lose more than half their children in their own lifetime. These children were of course not murdered, but nothing effective was done to keep them alive.

The population of a country is determined by economic laws, not by the will of individuals. Individuals may exercise choice, but numbers, like water, find their own level. Every unwanted

baby, kept alive by humanitarian interference, drives another baby out of the world or prevents him from coming into it.

Depopulation is a somewhat rare phenomenon, and is generally caused by a change in the climate, exhaustion of the soil, or the diversion of trade routes. The depopulation of Mesopotamia followed necessarily on the destruction of the irrigation system by the Mongol hordes. The physiological infertility which is exterminating the physically splendid races in the South Sea Islands is another matter. It is a rare disease, and the causes of it have not been fully cleared up.

It is of course possible for a nation to increase its numbers by expropriating another nation. Merely to subjugate another nation is worse than useless, because the conquered people, being driven to a lower standard of living, will probably multiply faster than their conquerors. It is no use even to massacre all the fighting men. But if the women and children can be driven from their homes, and their lands seized by the invaders, then no doubt the conquerors may multiply up to the limits imposed by the size and fertility of the occupied territory.

THIS IS THE real meaning of "the right to expand," of which we have heard so much. It is a pleasant prospect, if every nation with a high birth-rate has a "right" to exterminate its neighbors. Perhaps a quotation from Prince von Beulow's "Imperial Germany" will bring home to my readers what this claim means, and what calamities it has brought upon the world. "The course of events has driven German policy out from the narrow confines of Europe into the wider world. The nation, as it grew, burst the bounds of its old home, and its policy was dictated by its new needs. The Empire could no longer support the immense mass of humanity within its boundaries. Owing to the enormous increase of population German policy was confronted with a tremendous problem. This had to be solved, if foreign countries were not to profit by the superfluity of German life which the mother country was unable to support." Mr. Harold Cox even says: "In the era upon which we have now entered the one fundamental cause of war is the overgrowth of the world's population."

I do not entirely agree with these two writers because it is impossible for a country to have at any time a much larger population than it can support; but in the main they are right. The supposed duty of multiplication, and the alleged right to expand, are among the chief causes of modern war; and I repeat that if they justify war, it must be a war of extermination, since mere conquest does nothing to solve the problem.

The enormous increase in the population of Europe during the nineteenth century is a phenomenon quite unique in his-

tory. It was the result of the industrial revolution, combined with the opening out of new food-producing areas beyond the seas. The two new conditions reacted upon each other. Vast quantities of commodities could be produced cheaply, and they could be exchanged for food, while the improved methods of transport made the exchange possible and easy.

THE PROCESS went on merrily at first because the new countries produced far more food than they needed for themselves. So there was a demand at home for more labor. The State, as shortsighted as governments usually are, applied an artificial stimulus to the birth-rate by a Poor Law which encouraged irresponsible parentage, and permitted the Poor Law guardians to send wagon-loads of little children to work in the factories of the north. Till about the end of the century every new pair of hands in England paid its way on the average, though the birth-rate began to decline, in response to the falling death-rate, after 1878.

But the new countries are getting filled up. The United States can feed itself, but not much more. Even the wheat-fields of Canada and the Argentine are not unlimited. And we in England have long since lost the privileged position in manufacture which we held for a considerable time after the war with Napoleon.

An abnormal era of expansion has reached its natural end. We cannot support more than our present population, and though there are still a few countries where a young Englishman of the right sort may emigrate with decidedly better prospects than he would have at home, there are no longer any wide empty tracts of good land waiting for occupation. Emi-

gration, in a word, is a palliative only; and before long it will cease to be even a palliative. Maps of the world are very delusive; they do not always mark the deserts, and there are many other unpleasant explanations of the empty spaces which look so alluring.

THESE, then, are the facts. The natural rate of human increase never has been and never can be attained. An equilibrium between births and deaths is the normal state of things; the nineteenth century was not normal, but unique. There are no more empty Americas and Australias, and, equally important, we have no longer any great surplus of manufactured goods, because the producers of those goods have begun to ask why they should not enjoy themselves. The "Expansion of England," over which Sir John Seely gloated so eloquently, was a grand thing while it lasted, except for the barbarians whose lands we took from them, but it has reached its natural and inevitable limit. We must cut our coat according to our cloth and adapt ourselves to changing circumstances.

Till the beginning of the war the birth-rate and death-rate in England declined in parallel lines, the annual increase of population remaining very steady, at about one per cent. per annum. The utter absurdity of talking about "race suicide" is apparent to anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the subject. The decline in the birth-rate was made necessary by the improvements in sanitation and medical science, which increased the average duration of life by about one-third. The birth-rate also declined by about one-third, the maximum in the 'seventies being 36 per thousand, and the minimum before the war just under 24.

Mrs. Rublee's Arrest: A Record and a Protest

GENERATIONS of a future age will undoubtedly find incredible the action of the New York police in arresting Juliet Barrett Rublee on December 2, 1921. This courageous woman was arrested while testifying at a hearing before Chief Inspector Lahey into the causes that led the police to break up the Birth Control meeting at Town Hall, and to arrest two speakers, Mrs. Margaret Sanger and Miss Mary Winsor, of Philadelphia, on charges of disorderly conduct. Mrs. Sanger and Miss Winsor were released without a hearing by Magistrate Corrigan, who ruled the police had failed to submit sufficient evidence even to justify the drawing of a complaint against them.

When Mrs. Rublee appeared before Magistrate Hatting, Mr. Wilson, Assistant District Attorney, moved for her discharge on the ground that there was no legal evidence on which to predicate a charge within the jurisdiction of Tombs Court.

The arrest, however, was of the greatest influence in awakening interest and spreading sympathy in the cause which Mrs. Rublee has so courageously and steadfastly championed for years.

The incredible stupidity of the proceedings was likewise

apparent to the *Evening World*, which exclaimed in an editorial:

THE EFFORT to muzzle the Birth Control propagandists is about as stupid an attempt at obstruction as ever helped a minority movement.

"It is a puzzle how any one can imagine that police abuses, star-chamber sessions, inquisitorial investigations, false arrests, farcical prosecutions that bear all the earmarks of clumsy persecutions, dummy complaints and quick releases when the proceedings come into open court, will suppress the Birth Control advocates.

"The stupidity of the Town Hall proceedings was bad enough. The result of this interference was that the meeting at the Park Theatre was so well advertised that curious and interested crowds were turned away.

"Even this lesson was lost. Acting through the clumsy machinations of the police, the same opposing influence undertook to revive the Inquisition. Fortunately for Mrs. Rublee, the Inquisition in these days has to work through the courts. Mrs. Rublee suffered only a slight inconvenience and enjoyed an

opportunity of setting people to thinking about the movement for which she is a martyr.

"The score to date is all in favor of the Birth Control advocates—not because of the excellence of their case, but because of the sheer stupidity of the opposition. What will be the next move?"

"The arrest of Mrs. Rublee for her part in the Birth Control meeting of several weeks ago adds another chapter to the story of the New York City administration's useless highhandedness," said the *New Republic* editorially. "Even though the official who originally ordered Mrs. Rublee's arrest later disowned his action, even though the complaint against her was immediately dismissed in court, the fact remains that a stupid outrage was committed. What redress has the victim of such false arrest? Very little. A suit for damages would not come up for trial for a year or more, and at best would result in the award of a few dollars. No sense of decency seems to restrain the police from arbitrary arrests, and the law as it exists is too feeble to act as a deterrent. Obviously one remedy is legislation providing swifter justice and a greater penalty for false arrest. Here is a matter which is well worth investigating by the New York Bar Association."

Concerning her arrest Mrs. Rublee made this statement:

MY ARREST is only another example of the unwarranted and malicious interference of the New York police with the exercise of the right of free speech and personal liberty on the part of Birth Control advocates. The hearing before Inspector Lahey, at which Mrs. Sanger and I were examined as witnesses, was to determine whether charges should be made against Captain Donohue for having stopped the Town Hall meeting on November 13th. The proceeding was conducted by Inspector Lahey under the advice and guidance of Assistant Corporation Counsel, Martin Dolphin. They both showed that they felt that the hearing afforded them an opportunity of seeking to embarrass the advocates of Birth Control. This was shown by the mass of irrelevant questions that could have no possible bearing upon the issue before the Inspector. Part of the investigation was conducted in a most brutal fashion savoring more of persecution than of investigation. The questions were clearly framed in the hope of trapping witnesses and with a deliberate purpose of finding an excuse for arresting some advocate of Birth Control.

"Immediately upon the close of my testimony Inspector Lahey left the room, whereupon, in the presence of several witnesses, Mr. Dolphin instructed patrolman Thomas J. Murphy, who is also his secretary and stenographer, to arrest me. Apparently my crime consisted in having read Section 1142 of the Penal Code and having read it, in attending the Town Hall meeting on November 13th; or perhaps my crime lay in expressing the opinion that the Section 1142 is unwise legislation.

"Inspector Lahey and Assistant District Attorney Dolphin knew perfectly well that the Town Hall meeting which was finally held, according to the original program, November 18th without interference by the public authorities was a sci-

entific discussion which could not possibly be twisted into a violation of Section 1142.

"How ridiculous and unwarranted was the action of Mr. Dolphin is shown by the promptness with which the magistrate dismissed the complaint and the public admission of the Assistant District Attorney that there was no ground whatever for the arrest.

THE OUTRAGE was too serious to pass without indignant protest from those in all walks of life. It was not merely a matter of freedom of speech, of Birth Control. It was an outrage against civic decency. The following protest was therefore sent to Mayor Hylan by a number of prominent New Yorkers:

The undersigned, none of whom have taken part in the advocacy of Birth Control, call your attention to the grave and flagrant interference with the right of free speech, which has been recently practiced by the Police Department of this City, and respectfully ask for a public investigation of the causes of this interference to the end that the right of free speech may be safeguarded.

You are doubtless already acquainted with the fact that on the evening of November 13th, the police of the 26th Precinct, acting, we understand, under the direct command of Captain Thomas Donohue, forcibly closed a public meeting which had gathered at the Town Hall, 121 West 43rd Street, Borough of Manhattan, for an oral discussion of a question of public policy and morals. We are advised that without any warrant or legal authority justifying his action, Captain Donohue arrested two ladies and in spite of their protests caused them to be taken to the Police Station and hence to the Magistrates' Court, where they were promptly discharged.

A second offence was of an even more flagrant nature. It occurred on December 2nd, in the unjustifiable and inexcusable arrest of Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee. After having testified as a witness in an inquiry before Chief Inspector Lahey into the action of the Police Department in connection with the Town Hall meeting of November 13th, Mrs. Rublee was arrested by Patrolman Thomas J. Murphy by the direction, we are informed, of Assistant Corporation Counsel, Martin Dolphin, who was present as Inspector Lahey's advisor. The arrest of Mrs. Rublee was so completely without justification or excuse that the Assistant District Attorney acknowledged in open court that there was no evidence to support a charge of any kind and Magistrate Hatting promptly released Mrs. Rublee.

The action of the Police Department above referred to constitutes such a willful violation of the right of free speech as to cause grave alarm to the citizens of New York, who have a right to know why such outrages have taken place, what influences and motives are behind them, and whether any conspiracy exists in the Police Department to deny the right of free speech and the equal protection of the law to citizens of New York. This is obviously a matter of the gravest concern. We, therefore, join in asking a full, immediate and public

investigation of the action of the Police Department in the premises, to be followed, if the evidence warrants, by such disciplinary measures against the officials found to be guilty as will discourage similar offenses hereafter.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY MORCEN THAU	SAMUEL H. ORDWAY
HERBERT L. SATTERLEE	PIERRE JAY
PAUL D. CRAVATH	PAUL H. WARBURG
LEWIS L. DELAFIELD	CHARLES STRAUSS
CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM	MONTGOMERY HARE

MAYOR HYLAN has finally ordered a complete investigation of the action of the Police Department in breaking up a Birth Control meeting in the Town Hall and the arrest of Mrs. Rublee.

The Mayor's decision was made known by David F. Hirshfield, Commissioner of Accounts, who said, in a statement, that he had been given a free hand and directed to be "thorough" in an attempt to establish the motives behind the police action,

and whether there is, as was charged by ten prominent citizens in a letter sent to the Mayor December 9, any "conspiracy" on the part of the police to restrict freedom of speech.

"These gentlemen," said Commissioner Hirshfield, "complained to the Mayor that on the evening of November 13 the police of the Twenty-sixth precinct had forcibly closed a public meeting at the Town Hall, 121 West Forty-third street, Borough of Manhattan, held by certain men and women who advocate the control of the birth of children and asked for a public investigation of the cause of this interference by the police, to the end that the right of free speech may be safeguarded.

"Inasmuch as under the law the Commissioner of Accounts is authorized to make investigations and for that purpose is clothed with the power of compelling the attendance of witnesses and examining them under oath, the Mayor has by letter, dated the 10th instant, directed the Commissioner of Accounts to make a thorough investigation."

There the case at present rests. Further developments will be reported, though from experience we have little faith in official investigations.

Birth Control: Is It Moral?

A Symposium of Representative Opinion

Harold Cox

(Editor "The Edinburgh Review")

At Meeting of First Birth Control Conference at Park Theatre, New York City, November 18, 1921

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I propose, first of all, tonight to make to you exactly the same speech which I had prepared to make last Sunday night (applause), and then I propose to say a word or two about another and even broader subject.

The question I submit to you tonight is this: Is Birth Control Moral? Now, when any problem of morality is put to you or whether any particular action is right or wrong, the first question you have to ask yourselves is, What is the purpose of that action? For, if the purpose be wrong, the thing itself must be wrong. What, then, are the purposes of Birth Control?

The first purpose of birth control is to preserve the health of the mother. (Applause.) If a woman has children as repeatedly as Nature permits, her health cannot be preserved. I have heard of women in our slums in London, married women, who say, "Our lives are one long disease." Is it desirable that that should continue indefinitely? Is it desirable that thousands, even millions, of married women in the poorer quarters of all our towns should not know for 10, 15, 20 years what it is to have a whole year of real health? That, then, is the first purpose, to preserve the health of the mother.

The second purpose is even more important. It is to promote the health of the child, for here you have the new generation involved. The children that are born today make up

the new generation now. If children are born so rapidly in succession to one another that the mother cannot give proper care to each, it is impossible that they should be brought up healthy children. Attempts are made in many countries to escape from that difficulty by establishing public institutions to assist in the nurture of the children; but I contend that no public institution is an adequate substitute for a mother's care. (Applause.) I contend, further, that you can find no higher moral purpose in life than the rearing of healthy children to be the men and women of the next generation, the fathers and mothers of generations to come. (Applause.)

THOSE ARE two purposes which I think you will agree with me are moral purposes.

The third purpose of Birth Control is to raise the general standard of life throughout the whole community. (Applause.) Now, that is impossible as long as the families of the poor continue so large. In the poorer districts in all countries the children are brought up in poverty, without sufficient food, without sufficient training, without sufficient opportunities of play; they are turned out at an early age to earn money, and the absurdity of the thing is that though they go out to earn money in order to assist the family income, their competition in the labor market actually lowers the wages of their own parents.

Again, many people try to escape from this evil of the multiplication of poor children by all sorts of State subsidies, free meals for school children, for example. Again I say that you are doing a thing which produces worse results than you anticipate, for you are destroying the link between parent and child.

Only a little while before I left England a friend told me that she had heard some of the women down in the East End of London—that is our poor quarter there, as here—saying, “Well, our kiddies aren’t our own any longer; they belong to the County Council now.” I contend that you break the most fundamental of human relations if you substitute the charity of the State for the duty of the parent. (Applause.)

What, then, do the advocates of Birth Control propose in order that we may have a higher standard of life throughout the whole community? They propose that exactly similar measures should be taken to improve the standard of the human race that a skillful gardener takes to improve the quality of the flowers that he grows, and sows his seed widely and thinly,—he leaves plenty of space for each seedling to grow, takes care of each plant as it appears above the ground, and the result is the production of a fine flower. But is not the production of fine human beings an even higher moral purpose than the production of fine flowers? (Applause.)

AND THE FOURTH purpose of Birth Control is, from some points of view—especially in view of the present condition of the earth—even more important. The fourth purpose of Birth Control is the prevention of war. (Applause.) The surface of the earth is limited and by no magic can we increase that surface; but the power of multiplying human beings is unlimited,—you can go on multiplying them indefinitely as you can multiply any plant or any race of animals—and if you continue to do so, if you continue to multiply the human race, disarmament agreements will count for nothing, because as the different races continue to multiply they will be brought up against the hard fact that there is not room enough on the earth for all of them and then they will fight for space to live. (Applause.) You may take it as certain that the majority of men would sooner kill one another than starve themselves. And what the opponents of Birth Control, in effect, say is that it is the duty of women to go on breeding the men to kill one another.

Well, that danger of war, I say, is perhaps the most serious of all the questions before us because it is getting progressively more imperative, more dangerous progressively, because the earth is so full that a small rate of increase in any country will give you a large annual increase of population. That is a very simple proposition which a great many people fail at first sight to realize. You can see it in a moment if I put it to you this way: that one per cent. on a million yields a larger income than ten per cent. on a thousand. If you have got a small population, you can have a large birth rate; if you have got a large population, you cannot have a large birth rate because you will have so many millions of children produced that there won’t be room enough for them all. You must reduce the birth rate as the population grows.

How are you to do it? There are only two ways: You can either have fewer marriages—that is what Malthus suggested many years ago, suggested that marriage should be postponed—or you can have fewer children to each marriage,—ask people to marry early and live happy lives together but not to have so many children.

I CONTEND THAT fewer marriages mean, in practise, more prostitution (applause); and fewer children per marriage mean more happy homes. (Applause.)

These, then, are the four purposes of Birth Control: the preservation of the health of the mother, the promotion of the health of the children, the establishment of a higher standard of life for the whole community, and finally, the prevention of war. I venture to say that no one will deny that all these are moral purposes of highest order. (Applause.)

Some people, however, declare that though the purposes are moral the methods proposed are immoral, and they begin by saying that Birth Control is an interference with the processes of Nature. Well, I confess I find it a little difficult to be politely tolerant when that argument is used, for what is the whole of human progress but an interference with the processes of Nature? (Applause.) It is not natural to wear clothes (laughter); it is not natural to live in houses; it is not natural to apply science to cure disease; marriage itself is unnatural (laughter and applause). The truly natural man, the savage in Central Africa, waits for the woman he wants, stuns her with his club, and carries her off to his cave (laughter); that is real Nature. And if these idealists of what they call “the processes of Nature” were true to their own convictions, they would get up and advocate that we should all go back to our primitive nudity and to our primitive savagery—and then there perhaps would be a case for the police to interfere. (Applause and laughter.)

Well, not content with that argument about Nature, they proceed to quote the Bible, and they quote a particular text from the Book of Genesis which enjoins persons to whom the command was given to be “fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth,” and they have gone on quoting that for centuries, and very few people have taken the trouble to look up the circumstances under which that command was given. It was given to Noah (laughter) and his three sons and their four respective wives immediately after the Flood. (Laughter.) Noah, I may remark in passing, was 600 years old at the time and his eldest son was 90. (Laughter.) To these eight people of rather extended age (laughter) the command to be fruitful and multiply was given at a time when all the earth was empty; and yet you have ecclesiastics getting up and quoting that command as if it applied to London and New York today. (Laughter and applause.)

TODAY IT IS not numbers that we want to increase, but quality that we want to improve (applause); and perhaps it may be worth while to remind you that that elementary proposition was understood a great many centuries ago by some of the people who contributed to the Bible. You will find in the 6th Chapter of the Book of Ecclesiastics these words: “Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons; though they multiply, rejoice not in them, for one that is just is better than a thousand.” (Applause.)

But if parents are to have fewer children they must practise Birth Control. I contend that it is impossible to expect healthy young married couples to abstain altogether from the funda-

mental relation of married life, except at intervals of two or three years, and then to live entirely as celibates after they have had two or three children. The thing is utterly inhuman and impossible and it would break the happiness of millions of married couples. I contend that the love of man and woman is one of the most moving and also the most ennobling of human instincts, and I cannot do better at this point than quote the words of the King's physician, one of the most distinguished physicians in London, Lord Dawson, who, speaking recently at a meeting of the Church Congress, said: "Life without the love of man and woman would be like the world without sunshine."

Therefore, I contend that Birth Control is moral because it renders possible the continuation of that sunshine, because it renders possible the attainment of a higher standard of life for mother and for child and of a higher standard of living for the whole community; and finally, it is moral because it prevents the otherwise inevitable recurrence of devastating wars. (Applause.)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, that is the speech which I had intended to make on Sunday night last. (Laughter and applause.) I was prevented from doing so by an incident to which I wish briefly to refer. I am not a citizen of the United States and I have not the right, nor have I the desire, to comment upon or interfere in your purely domestic matters (laughter); but issues are sometimes raised in one country which affect all countries (applause), and among such issues is the issue of freedom of speech. (Applause.) On that issue I feel that I, as an Englishman, am entitled to express my opinion to you as Americans (applause), for we share not only the same language but the same traditions of government and of liberty (applause); we inherit to a large extent the same history. King Henry VIII, who liberated England from the domination of Rome (applause); Queen Elizabeth, in whose glorious reign was first developed that overseas movement of the English race from which your nation sprang; Cromwell, who fought for constitutional liberty; Milton, who defended liberty in words that will live for all time,—all these and countless others whose names may be forgotten but whose works still endure, all these are a part of your history as well as of mine, and in the name of this glorious heritage which we together share, I appeal to you not to permit the great principle of liberty of speech to be trampled under foot in any part of your country. (Great applause.)

I hold that there is no liberty so important to the world as liberty of speech, for without freedom of speech progress is impossible; unless men and women are free to criticize institutions and practises which they hold to be wrong and free to advocate changes which they hold to be desirable, there can be no effective movement for reform or progress of any kind. (Applause.) The incident of last Sunday night shows how easily this fundamental liberty may be imperiled, although it is expressly enshrined in your own constitution, and may be imperiled by the very officials whose duty it is to defend the law and the constitution. (Applause.)

I SPEAK TO you on this subject because it does not affect America only, because what happened the other night is a warning to all nations. Fifty years ago we in England imagined that the battle of liberty had been won for all time. Tennyson wrote, if you remember, of freedom broadened down from precedent to precedent; he may have been right at the time when he wrote, but he was wrong for the future,—he was wrong in assuming that freedom would automatically progress. No progress is automatic. Each advance that the world makes has to be won by fresh effort, by the efforts of those who see ahead, as Mrs. Margaret Sanger has done (applause) and who devote their lives, as she has done, to working for the progress of mankind. (Applause.)

And let me give you one further warning: Not only is it impossible to hope that progress will be automatic, but even the maintenance of the freedom you have won is not automatic. As one of the most brilliant English orators said many years ago, "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance," and he was perfectly right, for in all countries there are enemies of freedom; monarchs, politicians and priests (applause), who for one cause or another wish to deprive their fellowmen and women of liberty of action, of liberty of speech, and even of liberty of conscience. There lurks a danger which, if we shut our eyes to it, may destroy the advance achieved by centuries of effort. I repeat, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

And therefore, to you, as Americans, I, as an Englishman, appeal; I appeal to you to exercise that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty; I appeal to you to defend your liberties by whomsoever they are attacked, and I make this appeal to you not for the sake of your own country only, but for the sake of all mankind. (Prolonged applause.)

IN ORDER TO determine exactly the status of true public opinion concerning the morality of Birth Control as a practice and a program, and in order that every shade of thought pro and contra might be represented at our now historic mass-meeting that concluded, despite the efforts of our enemies, the First American Birth Control Conference, the following letter was sent to representative leaders of thought and opinion:

1. *Is not over-population a menace to the peace of the world?*
2. *Would not the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population?*
3. *Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?*
4. *Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population?*

As a vital part of the constructive effort for future work, it seemed that an open discussion on this subject by men and women of international importance would help to guide the American people to a just decision.

I would greatly appreciate an expressed opinion, if you have

no objections, to be read at the opening meeting, knowing the weight it would have with the intelligent people of this country. I have already received replies from Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, Dean Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the Bishop of London.

May I hope you will seriously consider the importance of this and allow me to express in advance my gratitude for a brief letter covering these points.

The replies have been so varied, so compelling in interest, so stimulating to thought and discussion that THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW will publish the most significant replies, both advocating and opposing our program. This month we begin with the letters of Warner Fite, of the department of philosophy of Princeton; Judge Lindsey; and others equally prominent.

More contributions to this invaluable discussion will be published in subsequent numbers of the REVIEW:

Professor Warner Fite

Department of Philosophy, Princeton

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to reply to the four questions proposed in your letter of October 22nd, as follows:

1. I believe that over-population is the most serious menace to the peace of the world. It furnishes not merely one motive for war, but the motive which, in the end, underlies and sustains all other motives, and the only one which makes war inevitable.

2. I believe that Birth Control based upon scientific investigation and the dissemination of scientific information, is the only logical and, I should add, the only moral and human method of controlling population. The only other method I can think of is to allow war and starvation to produce their natural results.

3. I believe that common knowledge of easy and certain methods of Birth Control could not fail to work some change in the moral attitude of men and women towards the marriage-bond and some change in the moral ideas of the youth—just because the calculation of consequences and the fear of consequences form so large and so corrupting an ingredient in the composition of present sex-morality. With the fear of consequences removed, there would undoubtedly be some increase in the number of illicit sex-relationships. But I cannot see that this would be a moral loss, or that there is a moral advantage in preserving a spurious chastity. On the other hand, there would be a corresponding—perhaps more than corresponding—increase in the number of early marriages and in the marriages now forbidden by economic conditions. This would be a great and important gain in the direction of wholesomeness of life both personal and social. And in the end I think that the moral effect of Birth Control as an established fact would be to sift out and make clear the motives of personal devotion and loyalty which constitute the true marriage-bond; to emphasize the sanctity of these motives; and thus to make the marriage bond stand for a higher conception of life than it does at present.

4. To me the importance of Birth Control as a condition of any advance in cultural (*i.e.*, moral, social, intellectual) life

is simply obvious. Every such advance rests upon the possibility of transforming some part of life from a necessity of nature into a matter of personal choice. It does not follow from this that the choice will be narrow and ignoble. I have no criticism to pass upon those who are voluntarily childless—that is genuinely their own affair,—but I think that few parents really envy them. Yet to make the coming of children worth while, for them, for us, for society generally, we must be able to control their number. And to say that modern life makes children a burden is only to say that today each child is an object of responsible concern and solicitude as he never was before. It matters not what view we take, personal, family or social. If human life is to be more than a feeding of mouths we must control the number of mouths to be fed; if population is to do more than press upon subsistence, we must control the population.

These replies are at your service, to read at the open meeting or not, as you judge worth while.

John S. Sumner

Secretary, The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice

OUR REPLIES to the questions which you propounded follow:

1. Over-population is not a menace to the peace of the world because there is no over-population. It is true that in some countries the density of population exceeds that in other countries, and that in cities there is hurtful congestion of population; but it must be remembered that prior to the World War, Belgium was the most densely populated country in Europe. It was also the most peaceful, prosperous and contented. It is not the physical fact of population but the mental and spiritual condition of a people which determines the question as to a menace to continued peace.

2. If there were general over-population as distinguished from congestion of population in certain limited areas, the logical way to meet the condition would be to check the birth rate or practice euthanasia among the unfit. But we are told by the disciples of Birth Control in Holland, where the doctrine is practiced, that there is no decline in the birth rate and that the period of the individual life has been increased. This would eventually lead to increased density of population and therefore the doctrine of so-called Birth Control, as practiced in the Netherlands, could not be an effective offset to over-population.

3. The knowledge and practice of Birth Control, through the prevention of conception, would and has changed the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond, or preferably the marriage status. This is indicated by divorce statistics. Consider New York City. In 1919 there were 1224 matrimonial actions or 1224 married couples in the Courts seeking to have a complete or partial dissolution of the marriage contract. As issue of these parties there were only 399 minor children. If each child were the issue of different parents that would still leave 825 or 67 per cent of childless married couples seeking to avoid a relation which was entered into for life. In practice so-called Birth Control means birth

prevention and without a child, the climax of the assumption of the obligations of marriage, the parties to a marriage are inclined to regard that status with levity, to be assumed or discarded like a garment.

THE KNOWLEDGE of Birth Control, which is birth prevention, would lower the moral standards of the youth of the country. Anything which tends to encourage the evasion of obligations saps and breaks down moral fibre. The chief obligation of marriage is procreation. The husband and wife are partners in an enterprise, and the crowning glory of that enterprise, the true consummation of marriage, is the child. Unfortunately, the tendency of the day is to devote too much time to frivolous pleasure. This is true of all classes and ages. The result is an inclination to avoid what would interfere with self indulgence. There is no doubt that the bearing and rearing of children is such an interference. It follows that if knowledge for the prevention of conception is imparted to youth with authority and as a desirable thing endorsed by "nice people," that youth will eagerly accept and use that knowledge. At first the idea may be merely to delay procreation, but delays are dangerous and usually result in utter abandonment and as a result life's greatest and most soul-satisfying obligation, the obligation of parenthood, is entirely avoided. That is the story of the increasing divorce rate and the purposeless lives of so many.

Character is built by assuming obligations and overcoming difficulties. If obligations are evaded there is no character. Without character there is no moral standard. If we equip and encourage youth to evade life's greatest obligation, we are going far in the direction of no moral standards and purposeless, disappointed, bitter lives. Our elders did not serve us so.

4. We believe that where there is the probability of *diseased or mentally defective progeny*, or where the *health or life of the mother* would be endangered by child-bearing, *parents* should be advised against further issue and should be informed *personally by a licensed physician* of any known harmless means toward such a result. This can be *legally done* at the present time. It requires no propaganda and no change in the State law.

A correspondence course on the subject or remedies furnished by a mail order house would be neither safe nor useful. There is no need for a change in the Federal law. It would certainly result in a renewal of that situation when the mails were flooded with sealed packages addressed to boys and girls, placing temptation in their way with a promise of safety from unfortunate consequences, for the financial profit of vicious and mercenary interests.

We favor the prevention by *present legal means* of the aggravation or transmittal of either physical or mental disease and believe that it would make for human happiness and would raise the social and intellectual average of the community and probably also the verge of moral conduct.

We can see no reason for any alteration in either Section 1142 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, nor in Sections 211 or 245 of the United States Criminal Law, but rather

the certainty of untold harm should amendments limiting the scope of those laws be enacted.

Katherine Anthony

IT SEEMS VERY appropriate that the first American Birth Control Conference should begin on the same day as the first International Disarmament Conference. For it is undoubtedly true that over-population contributes to war as directly as competition in armament. Probably the reduction of armament means even less for the peace of the world than reduction of surplus population. A world which really wants peace will take as much interest in the control of the birth-rate as in the reduction of armament.

That poverty as well as war thrives on over-population is hardly disputed in academic circles. Economists from John Stuart Mill to the latest experts on American income statistics have repeatedly told us that. One needs to be indifferent to the plainest lessons of history and economics in order to condemn Birth Control or ignore the question.

If family limitation, then, helps to prevent war and poverty, it can scarcely be tabooed on grounds of immorality. For the best that has ever been said on behalf of war and poverty is that they are necessary evils, not that they are moral assets.

From the point of view of society, Birth Control to this extent has its moral uses. And from the point of view of the individual, a moral attitude which is sustained by ignorance and fear is a feeble thing to depend upon. Young people have a right to expect a better ethical nourishment from those who set up moral standards for their education.

Mary Johnston

MY FEELING is that the lasting solution lies in an increasing continence and a sublimation, all along the line, of the sex nature. And I should like to see arise a movement which should directly inculcate this.

But it is likewise my opinion, that pending this slow inner and spontaneous change, there should be available in this and all countries correct instruction in Birth Control.

Judge Ben Lindsey

Juvenile Court, Denver, Colo.

FIRST: I should say that over-population, as the world is now organized and conducted under our present system of civilization, with all of its stupidities, would certainly be a menace to the peace of the world.

Second: Legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession, if not the most logical, would certainly be a very logical method of checking the problem of over-population.

Third: There is nothing in this world that I am more convinced of than that knowledge of Birth Control would positively not change the moral attitude of men and women towards the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country. On the contrary, I am positive it would im-

prove and increase both. Did time permit, from my experience here, I think I could give many reasons for this belief.

Fourth: How any one could doubt that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families could fail to make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population, is more than I can understand. Of course I believe that such knowledge would do all of these things and to my mind it is little short of crime itself that such knowledge is being withheld.

May I say in conclusion that if we squarely faced this issue and had some rules and regulations through which scientific Birth Control information could be disseminated through the proper mediums, it would do much to end the promiscuous and oftentimes misleading information which is positively being circulated quite generally now with reference to Birth Control,—the truth is that no power on earth is going to prevent people from getting knowledge of Birth Control, no matter what one's views may be, but because of a sort of "dog-in-the-manger" attitude of those who oppose Birth Control and because of a very well meaning but I think mistaken attitude of some of our moralists, birth control information—which they are not stopping—is prohibited or adulterated with so much misinfor-

mation that by such attitude, we are prevented from getting real, genuine good, such as would come from a proper dissemination.

Frederick A. Bushee, Ph. D.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

1. If ultimate rather than immediate influences are considered, I believe that over-population should be ranked as the chief cause of war.

2. It would be one important method of controlling population; but it would not by itself suffice for the ends sought by the Eugenists. Other methods would have to be used to control the reproduction of undesirables.

3. In some cases where moral standards are based on fear, it might lower those standards; but I think the possible danger from this source is not comparable to the benefits to be derived from increased knowledge. I do not believe that the attitude towards marriage would be much affected.

4. My opinion is that it would not, and the evidence from Holland seems to confirm this opinion.

Birth Control and Infant Mortality: An Economic Problem

A Contribution to the First American Conference

By James Maurer

President, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa.

DURING THE early history of this Republic, it was quite fashionable, in fact, patriotic, to have large families.

The head of the family wanted plenty of children with which to work the farm. Fixing the minority age at twenty-one years, gave parents the right to exploit their offspring until they arrived at their majority. Another incentive for big families was the new world needed people so much that the birth of a child was looked upon, not only as a family asset, but a patriotic contribution to the Nation. The larger the family, in those days, the greater the opportunity for the head of the family to pay off the mortgage and get rich. Indeed, families with only five or six children were not considered big. Nine and ten children were looked upon as the average family. To boast of being the father of a big family, it was necessary to have from twelve to eighteen children and, to accomplish this, it was often necessary to send two or three wives to their graves. Indeed, it is seldom that living mothers of such large families can be found. When one is discovered, it is such a rare exception that it attracts the attention of the scientific world and public officials, as in the case of Mrs. Domenico Zaccanea, of New York, a living mother of sixteen children, who received a letter of congratulation from President Harding.

Great industrial changes have taken place during the past century. The primitive handicraft methods of production on the farm, gradually, gave way to machine production and agricultural machinery. The farm which formerly required a dozen people to work, can now be worked with three or four.

The blacksmith and wheel-wright shops which were once part of the farm equipment have, long ago, evolved into factories, mills and workshops of towns and cities. The same is true of the textile industry. Even butter- and cheese-making is no longer part of the farmer's work. As this work left the farm, it was quite natural that the workers should also leave. There was no longer any economic need for large families but, due to habit and religious dogma, big families continued to be fashionable and, while it is true that the children of the big family were no longer needed, the greater truth is that the farm could no longer support a big family so the children, naturally, drifted after the jobs in the cities, there to mingle and associate with others who left, not only other farms, but countries, in search of jobs, or the privilege to do the work which once upon a time was done on the farm. There, under a new and strange environment, they hear, from certain physicians, corporation-serving politicians, the clergy and the press, much about the honor and glory of raising big families and Birth Control is damned, not only as unpatriotic, but as an unpardonable sin. And of course, the having of big families goes merrily on. Children are poured into the world without the slightest regard for their prospects of maintenance, health or happiness.

WHEN ON THE farm and exploited by their fathers, the combined family earnings belonged to the family and, in time, through inheritance, each child received its share of the remaining wealth created collectively by the family. There-

fore, from a purely monetary point of view, there really was little, or no exploitation. Not so, however, under the new order. The wage-worker of today, whether minor or adult, works not for the family fund which some day may revert to those who created it, but, on the contrary, every penny, above his, or her, wage, or cost of living and reproduction, goes to the people who own the job and not one cent ever finds its way back to those who created it, unless it is in the form of charity. It is, therefore, quite natural for those who live by exploiting their fellow-men, to favor the raising of big families. The greater the number, the easier the picking. Wages are fixed so that fathers cannot afford to support and educate their children. The children must go to work and become self-sustaining. This often brings the children in direct competition with the parents who suffer wage reductions on account of the competition of their own children.

Every effort to place Child Labor legislation on the statute books of our various States, or Nation, is vigorously opposed by the interests who profit either by exploiting minors directly, or who use children as competitive clubs to beat down the wages of men and women. Of course they want their victims to multiply, no matter how mothers may suffer and die, or whether some of the offspring from underfed, weak, overworked, soul-racked mothers are physically, or mentally, defective. "See," cry the parasites, "we are a Christian and charitable people! We care for these unfortunates. We allow them to display their deformities on the public highways and beg. In the bigness of our hearts, we give some of them jobs, even if we don't pay them very much. We maintain an army of police to protect, not only ourselves, but the workers, as well, against those suffering, not only from mental defects, but rebellious intellects as well. We erect and maintain penal institutions, hospitals and lunatic asylums at an enormous expense to take care of these unfortunates who happen not to die in infancy." And in one grand chorus, the whole outfit sings, "Suffer little workers, let them come. We need them every hour." And yet, it may seem strange to some people that those who cry the loudest for big families, usually have either no families or very small ones, themselves.

PRESIDENT HARDING, who congratulated poor Mrs. Zaccaria because she gave birth to sixteen children, has no children of his own. In fact our three last presidents, all combined, had only five children, less than two to a family. Senator Penrose doesn't have any, while the Governor of Pennsylvania, I understand, has two. As a matter of fact, wealthy men, best able to raise large families, are either bachelors or fathers of small families. Medical men, statistics tell us, have the smallest birth-rate, while the birth-rate among the clergy is almost as low as it is among the medical profession. Yet there was a time when the clergy boasted of their large families. The merchant and professional classes also have very low birth-rates. We also find small families among the fairly well-paid, skilled mechanics. It is the poor, the unskilled, the poorest of the poor, we find, who have the large families, those who, through no fault of their own, live from hand-to-mouth, in rented shanties or vile, disease-breeding tenements, and who

receive a wage scarcely big enough to decently support themselves. Yet, these are the unfortunates who have the largest families. Tens of thousands of these mothers must, besides bearing the children, do all the house-work, cook, wash, sew, nurse the sick and, perhaps, get a job to help her husband earn a few dollars extra to buy bread for the hungry little mouths at home. May I ask, "Can such a mother give birth to a vigorous, healthy, normal child?" Ordinary common sense says, "No." Yet these are the mothers to whom present-day society looks for the perpetuation of the race while the well-to-do, the wealthy, leisure class, with no cares, comfortable homes and assured incomes, refuse to bear children and, in many cases, for no other reason than that to do so might interfere with their life of play and social ambitions.

ON THE OTHER hand, we find a great many of the professional and skilled mechanics raising families within their means. The average among this class of workers are desirous of giving their children every advantage in the struggle for existence possible, education, plenty of good, wholesome food and comfortable homes. And this is only possible where the size of the family is kept within the income of the parents and the health of the mother is carefully guarded.

Although a Federal law prohibits the transportation of any information as to preventing conception and the laws of eighteen states, still more drastic, forbid the giving of information, by any means whatever, verbally or even indirectly, in all other states, except four, they have laws of one kind, or another, prohibiting birth-regulation. But all these laws seem to be "dead letters" in so far as the rich, or middle class, is concerned. The size of their families proves that these more fortunate members of society can, and do, get the information and, most likely, from their family physicians which, of course, is the proper place to get it. But the poor, without influence or money, who need the information most, cannot get it and, as a result, may resort to abortion, amateurish, dangerous, bungling operations.

Almost every young married couple, no matter how poor they may be, dreams of a cozy home and children of their own. The stork's first visit brings joy and the bond of matrimony is welded tighter when the baby that is wanted, comes. How proud the parents are and what dreams both have of the future possibilities of their child! Before baby can walk, or talk, the stork comes again, this time, not with a baby that is really wanted, but with one that is welcome just the same. And so, a third, fourth and fifth, in rapid succession, come. While the parents love them all, the last arrivals were not wanted. The happy, plump, rosy-cheeked bride of a few years ago is now a thin, pale and haggard-looking woman. There was not enough rest for the mother between each birth. As a matter of fact, her responsibilities, household duties and labors increased as her body was drained and her vitality decreased.

IN THE meantime, the father finds the struggle to care for his family is becoming more difficult. His wages do not increase when his family does. Enforced idleness, sickness, increased cost of living, high rents, etc., come. His wages are

not enough to meet the family expenses so the growing family, through force of necessity, moves into a smaller, cheaper and less-desirable place. Unconsciously, perhaps, they also economize on the food and, amidst their struggle to live, comes the mysterious hand of Death. The baby, born from a weak, overworked, underfed mother, dies. Surely now, with one less in the family for which to care, the mother will soon regain her health. But a miscarriage blasts their hopes. Poverty does not permit engaging a nurse so, while the father is at work, ten-year-old Bobbie and eight-year-old Mary try to take care of Mother and baby brother and sister. True, Mrs. McGinnis, a kind-hearted neighbor and mother of eight children herself, drops in now and then to give a helping hand.

So, time passes on, more children, not wanted, come. The father, growing older, finds that the pace demanded to hold his job is getting beyond him. The plant has been Taylorized and speed is what counts. The wife, a mere frame of her former self, sickly and disheartened, collectors everlastingly demanding payment, eviction threatened, another baby dies. Father and husband out of work, or working short time and, amidst all this hell, the stork threatens to come again. "Oh, God," says the mother, "why another one? We can't take care of those we do have and that's why they die, so why send us babies only to die as babies?" And many of these mothers, in sheer desperation, resort to abortion, sometimes without success, with the result that often deformed creatures are ushered into existence. And, if the father, different from many others, does not weaken and, like a coward, desert his family to escape the tortures of misery and poverty, and the mother does not die or go crazy, they may raise, to manhood and womanhood, some of their children, only to see their sons, some day perhaps, taken from them to be used for "cannon-fodder" to feed a war inspired by men of small families or no families at all.

THERE MAY be some who think that this picture is overdrawn, but I assure you that it is not overdrawn. There are millions of such families in the United States and, in some of them, the conditions are far worse than those I just described.

It is obvious, therefore, that the poor cannot afford large families. But, laying aside the question of bread and butter, or the hardships of parents, is it wise for a nation to depend upon weakened, neglected, underfed, overworked, soul-racked mothers for the perpetuation of the race? Is it wise to pauperize a family so that the mother may bring forth children, many of them to die in infancy, others to live as mental defectives to reproduce their kind? Is it wise? Is it just? I dare say, is it human to give to the world the free and unrestricted knowledge of how to breed animals and, at the same time, outlaw the science of human birth-regulation and treat as immoral and indecent the knowledge which surrounds the sacredness of human motherhood?

The home is the place where happiness must dwell and, to be happy, the coming of children must be welcome, but there can be no happiness if the coming of children is at the sacrifice of the wife's health, or life. Neither can there be happi-

ness where the father's wage is insufficient to properly provide for the family.

Government officials define a living-wage for a family of five at thirty-five dollars a week. We know that millions of fathers receive no such wage and it is usually these poorly-paid fathers who have the largest families. In Pennsylvania, a highly-developed industrial State, we find that, during the past four years, out of every thousand babies born, an average of one hundred and nine died before they were a year old. Compare these figures, in "no-birth-control" Pennsylvania, with New Zealand where family regulation is permitted and understood. The baby death-rate there is only fifty per thousand, as against one hundred and nine in Pennsylvania. Astounding and truthful as these figures are, they do, however, not tell the whole truth. We find that, high as the death-rate among babies is, it varies according to the family income. For instance, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, among the employees of the Cambria Plant of the Midvale Steel, where housing conditions are bad and wages low, we find the death-rate, among the first- and second-born, was, when the survey was taken, one hundred and thirty-eight per thousand, while the death-rate of babies under one year of age and among the ninth- or later-born, was two hundred and one per thousand. We further find that, as wages decrease, the baby death-rate increases. Infant mortality, where the family income averages five hundred dollars a year, average one hundred and sixty-five per thousand. Where the income is seven hundred dollars, it drops to one hundred and twenty per thousand. With nine hundred dollars' income, we find the death-rate drops to eighty-five per thousand. At one thousand dollars a year, and over, it drops down to sixty-five per thousand.

IN PITTSBURGH, the heart of the Steel Trust and the cancer spot of the steel belt, where the steel companies profess to have restored pre-war conditions, the hours worked are, nevertheless, pretty much the same. More men are working twelve-hour shifts now than before the war. The annual earnings of over one-third of all productive iron and steel workers are, and have been for years, below the level set by government experts as the minimum of subsistence for families of five, while the annual earnings of seventy-two per cent of all workers were, and still are, below the level set by government experts as the minimum of comfort for families of five.

Pittsburgh lost more babies in 1920, in proportion to its birth, than any other of the large American cities for which reliable records are available. Its wastage of young life, for the year, exceeded that of seventeen cities of more than two hundred and fifty thousand population, in the birth registration area. The measurement of this loss by an infant mortality rate: The number of deaths of infants under one year of age, per thousand, born alive, shows that, for every one thousand babies born in Pittsburgh in 1920, one hundred and ten failed to survive throughout the year. This means a loss, during infancy, of one life out of every nine.

For the same year, Boston had one infant death to ten births; Philadelphia, one to eleven; New York City, one to twelve and Seattle, one to eighteen.

Compare Seattle to Pittsburgh and we find a rate twice as favorable as that for Pittsburgh.

For the past four years, we find the difference still more surprising. Pittsburgh's average for four years was one hundred and twenty-two baby deaths under one year, for every thousand births; Boston, one hundred and three; Philadelphia, one hundred and three; Cincinnati, ninety; New York City, eighty-seven; Portland, Oregon, sixty-eight, and Seattle, fifty-eight. These figures do not tell the whole story, they merely give averages for an entire city.

IN PITTSBURGH, WHERE the workers live, we find infant mortality is more than a hundred per cent. higher than what it is where the well-to-do people live. The twenty-second ward of Pittsburgh is a working-class ward. Here the death-rate for infants under one year of age, during 1920, was one hundred and fifty-seven per thousand live births while, in the fourteenth ward, Schenley Park District, where the upper class lives, the death-rate, per thousand births, was sixty-four. In the first ward, another working-class ward, the death-rate for infants under one year of age is one hundred and fifty-six per thousand live births, while, in the thirteenth ward, a fine residential section, the rate is seventy per thousand.

It is obvious, therefore, that infant mortality is, in a great measure, an economic problem and must be treated as such.

Babies are precious and a joy to the home and are only a source of strength to the Nation when they are, themselves, healthy and when they do not drain and destroy the mother who bears them. But, children, born under the circumstances I have just described, are not a joy to the family, or themselves, and are a liability to the Nation. Of those who live, how few grow to be healthy men and women. The fact that about one out of every four dies from tuberculosis is, in itself, a command for awakening of the social conscience. We must learn to recognize the difference between cause and effect. Today, society is trying to cure effect with charity, insane asylums, poor-houses, jails, clubs and bullets. Why not look for the cause and remedy the evil at its base? Then there will be no effect with which to deal. Let us raise the curtain of false modesty, teach the children sex-hygiene and the mysteries of their own bodies. Let rich and poor alike have free access to the knowledge of Birth Control. Hospitals, clinics and dispensaries must be left free to administer to suffering humanity. To do so means, not race-suicide, but race-preservation.

Notes From The Field

ON TUESDAY NIGHT, December 6th, Mrs. Sanger spoke at a meeting of the New York County Registered Nurses Association, at 132 East 45th Street, New York City.

Mrs. Sanger made an address to 300 graduate registered nurses on the subject of "Birth Control" and she also pointed out its relation to their work and the important part that they play in this vital movement. Mrs. Sanger found a very sympathetic audience awaiting her speech.

After a rising vote of thanks to her and the adjournment of the meeting, she was immediately surrounded by enthusiastic and interested women asking what they could do to further this necessary and fundamental cause.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW and other educational literature on the subject was heartily welcomed and many new members were enrolled to the American Birth Control League.

THE FIRST state to be visited in the national campaign of the new League was Massachusetts. A meeting was held at the Hotel Copley-Plaza for Mrs. Sanger on Thursday, December 15th. Dr. Lothrop Stoddard of Boston, the author of "The Rising Tide of Color" and a member of the National Council, introduced Mrs. Sanger to a meeting which crowded the hall to the doors.

Miss Rose Standish Nichols gave a tea in honor of Mrs.

Sanger's visit to Boston at her home in Mount Vernon Street on Wednesday afternoon, and Mrs. W. B. Cannon opened her home in Cambridge for a meeting Wednesday evening to which were invited a number of Cambridge physicians and the members of the Harvard faculty and their friends. Beside Dr. Stoddard, other prominent Bostonians who joined the National Council of the American Birth Control League are Professor William McDougall and Dr. Alice Hamilton, members of the faculty of Harvard University, Mrs. Oakes Ames and Dr. Abraham Myerson. Mrs. Cannon was chosen temporary chairman of a committee to secure members in the New League for Massachusetts.

Miss Virginia Young and Dr. Lydia Allen DeVilbiss spoke to the members of the Godmothers' League Day Nursery at the Armenia Relief Building on December 20th.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Women's Law Club held at the Hotel McAlpin, December 20th, Mrs. Anne Kennedy presented the aims of the New League.

At the College Club Miss Clara Louise Rowe, the Organization Secretary, met recently the Philadelphia members to arrange for a Pennsylvania State Conference, which will be called at Philadelphia, January 30th and 31st.

LINCOLN'S WARNING

"I do not pretend to be a prophet. But though not a prophet, I see a very dark cloud on our horizon. That dark cloud is coming from Rome. It is filled with tears of blood. It will rise and increase till its flanks will be torn by a flash of lightning, followed by a fearful peal of thunder. Then a cyclone such as the world has never seen will pass over the country, spreading ruin and desolation from north to south. After it is over there will be long days of peace and prosperity; for popery, with its Jesuits and merciless Inquisition, will have been forever swept away from the country. Neither I nor you, but our children, will see these things."—(From page 715, Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, by Rev. Charles Chiniquy.)

Eugenic Aspect of Birth Control

By Roswell H. Johnson

IT IS MY task to contrast the effects on racial progress of (a) a continuation of the presents status in reference to Birth Control with the results that would follow; (b) a repeal of the present laws which purport to suppress it and a constructive effort to influence the distribution of Birth Control instead.

The present condition is one truly appalling. We have an alarmingly low birth rate from intellectually superior persons. We have on the other hand a disproportionate contribution from the inferior.

No problem whatsoever is of more importance than the amelioration of this condition. Men of the future will have the characteristics of the super-fecund and will lack the characteristics of the sterile or sub-fecund. Our most pressing problem is to increase the birth rate from the superior and to decrease that from the inferior. The present laws attempting to suppress Birth Control utterly fail to hold up the birth rate among superiors. When we turn to the inferior, we find it one of the most important means by which their relative super-fecundity is kept up.

The evidence on this point is clear and direct. The reasons which impel the women who clamor for knowledge on Birth Control are poor health, insufficient time for proper recovery since birth of last child, and above all, financial inability to support the additional children.

We find then that economic pressure is the greatest potential force to hold down the birth rate of the relatively inefficient. Its failure to be more effective is the unbidden child. Let all children be bidden children and at once there will be a marked reduction of the children in the harassed homes.

THREE ELEMENTS which tend to interfere with this result are rapidly being reduced: (1) the extreme simplicity of need, such that some individuals of very low earning capacity do not feel their restriction of income. The rapid spread of communication and universalization of similar clothes and manners which replace the old local simplicities and provincialisms is making not only all nations and classes more and more alike in their spending habits, but giving them similar attitudes toward all things including the dislike of very large families; (2) the spread of child labor laws which has gone on very rapidly and is still in progress, together with a marked simultaneous increase in the cost of rearing children are rapidly cutting down the number of families where large families "pay their way"; (3) there is a rapid increase of social capillarity progressing in the world over by which parents know their children can climb out of their own social and financial class if the child possesses the requisite quality individually. Class blocking no longer acts as much as formerly to hold down expenditure standards of the less well paid.

We can confidentially predict therefore, that in countries like Holland, without the objectionable laws, we have less

super-fecundity of inferiors and a lesser gap between the fecundity of various groups. Studies there paralleling those of the United States Children's Bureau, based on size of families in relation to income, are very desirable.

The advocates of Birth Control will not be satisfied with a negative step such as the removal of suppressive laws with reference to contraceptives. They wish to see that Birth Control is wisely distributed. Birth Control is not birth repression, but truly wise control—that is more births from superior and less from inferior.

When the suppressive laws are removed then our task has only begun. We must see to it that the knowledge of means of control are made class and world wide. The Aryan stock is today the most given to Birth Control and it must see that it does not suffer internationally by the relative ignorance of inferior stocks. The medical missionary should be thoroughly equipped and not hampered from spreading Birth Control because his country outlaws it.

In conclusion, the laws suppressing information and means of Birth Control should be removed because by so doing we can to some extent prevent the outbreeding of superiors by inferiors now going on.

Reply by Margaret Sanger to Archbishop Hayes' Statement

I AM GLAD to learn from Archbishop Hayes' Christmas pastoral that the church has a clear understanding of Birth Control separating it definitely from taking life after conception has occurred.

Many people have been of the opinion that the church confused the two ideas and denied vigorously that the church opposed prevention of conception as distinct from interfering with life after conception has occurred. From Archbishop Hayes' statement we at last realize that there is a perfect understanding by the church of what the Birth Control Movement stands for. For this I am grateful.

I do not care to answer the Archbishop's theological statement concerning the will of the Almighty. His arguments are purely those based on assumption and he knows no more about the facts of the immortality of the soul than the rest of us human beings. What he believes concerning the soul after life is based upon theory and he has a perfect right to that belief; but we, who are trying to better humanity fundamentally, believe that a healthy, happy human race is more in keeping with the laws of God than disease, misery and poverty perpetuating itself generation after generation.

There is no objection to the Catholic Church inculcating the theories and doctrines in its own church and to its own people; but when they attempt to make these ideas legislative acts and force their opinions and code of morals upon the Protestant members of this country, then we do consider this an interference with the principles of this Democracy and we have a right to protest.

A Catholic Woman on Birth Control

IT IS extremely discouraging, though not at all surprising, to read in the papers the stand taken by his Grace Archbishop Hayes, in denunciation of the movement for contraception.

Of course, it must be remembered that the Catholic Church is a very old and conservative institution that it is controlled absolutely by men, and that these men are vowed to celibacy. Instead, therefore, of being surprised at this opposition of the Church, it would be astonishing if an institution so controlled, acted otherwise.

Women are relatively unimportant in the Catholic Church though, as in other denominations, they form by far the bulk of its active membership. The Church holds rigidly to the Paulian theory of feminine inferiority, and in the marriage ceremony exhorts the woman "to be subject to your husband in all things; that man is the head of the family, as Christ is the head of the Church, etc."

Catholics are taught never to question a ruling of the Church, and even the wishes of local prelates are supposed to be accepted without question and yet it is plain to be seen that American Catholics are no longer being bound by these things. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons threw the weight of his great office, plus the power of his really charming personality and great learning, against woman suffrage, and tried in every way to discourage the participation of Catholic women therein. Later his Eminence Cardinal O'Connell of Boston (who is much more reactionary than was Cardinal Gibbons) thundered against woman suffrage. Yet thousands of Catholic American women are ardent suffrage workers.

CURIOSLY ENOUGH, the Catholic clergy are amusingly inconsistent on this subject of contraception. They advocate an unrestricted birth rate, and yet they hold up as the model of motherhood, the Blessed Virgin Mary, *who had one child*. The Holy Family is offered as the perfect model of domestic life, and yet if we are to believe the teaching of the Church, St. Joseph was never the husband of the Virgin Mary in the real sense of the word, and I think it highly unlikely that even a Catholic husband would care to maintain such a relationship toward his own wife.

Furthermore, we are taught that when the Angel Gabriel announced to the Virgin Mary that she had been chosen to be the Mother of the Messiah, he asked her consent, and answered her objections, as we find in the New Testament. Yet the Church does not give their Catholic women this same right of choice, but commands them "to be subject to your husband in all things."

I gather from reading the statements of his Grace on this subject, as well as from numerous interviews which I have had with various priests on the same topic, that they believe that the sexual relation should be entered into for *the sole purpose of procreation*. If that is true, why do they not absolutely forbid intercourse once conception has occurred? Why do they sanction the marriage of women past the child-bearing

age. The answer is clear: because the institution of monogamous marriage would go to smash if they did.

FURTHERMORE, since the possibility of the sexual relationship on the part of the human female survives her reproductive capacity, is not this the surest proof that the sex instinct in human beings fills something more than the merely procreative function which it is in the lower animals?

The Church has never come out emphatically against prostitution. Of course, it opposes all immorality, but is it not reasonable to suppose that a Church which, through all the ages, has been powerful enough to prohibit the (civil) relief of divorce, would not be equally powerful to prohibit the *illegal* institution of prostitution? Is not the failure of the Church to do so, the surest proof that this man-controlled institution is still unable to accept the single standard of morals, and to enforce upon its male members a rule which would be so distasteful to them,

Why, if his Grace approved the stand of the Eugenic Congress for a better and healthier race, does he not demand the submission of a health certificate by all desiring to marry, as suggested in the amendment to the Domestic Relations Law, May 16, 1917? Such a progressive step by the Catholic Church would compel other denominations to take similar action, and would be of inestimable value in the fight on venereal disease—the real cause of race suicide in this and other countries.

If the Catholic Church only sanctions the sexual relation for the purposes of begetting offspring, on what ground can they sanction the use, by Catholic American soldiers in France, of venereal prophylaxis?

IF THE answer is "prevention of disease," then surely contraception for the same purpose is doubly excusable, for it has the further merit of protecting society, and unwanted children from physical and economic distress, whereas venereal disease prophylaxis was merely to protect men against the result of their own immorality.

The Catholic Church eventually catches up with the procession, but it will take some time for it to realize and admit that women are people, really entitled to full equality with men. This can hardly be wondered at when one reads that for many centuries, some of the greatest Fathers of the Church debated whether, having been made from a rib of Adam, woman had a soul at all! However, there is comfort in the reflection that in the very beginning of the catechism we are taught that "man is a creature endowed with *understanding and free will*."

Let us hope "man" is intended in the collective sense, and such being the case, perhaps women, *understanding* how many children they can afford (physically and economically) may be permitted to exercise *free will* in having them.

Meanwhile, how many American Catholic families do you know today, with sixteen to twenty children?

An Unpublished Letter to the New York Times

Dear Sir:

November 29, 1921.

The recent discussion between Birth Control advocates on one hand and an Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church on the other prompts me to inquire if events as history has recorded them prove conclusively that the Roman Church has always been so unwilling to have discussed, some things considered by the Archbishop today as fit only for the ears of properly schooled anatomists.

Some two hundred and sixty years ago among Italian artists the popular subject by reason no doubt of current discussions was the Immaculate Conception. Along with twenty others of the same subject Murillo painted what has come down to us as his best known picture. This was in 1660 just when Pope Alexander set forth views which were destined to find acceptance with his Church as Dogma 200 years later. During the interim about the middle of the 18th Century Benedict XIV affirmed that "the Church inclines to the opinion of Immaculate Conception."

About 100 years later, in 1845, Michelet, the great historian of the romantic period, wrote "Strange thing; in the spiritual epoch, a long discussion, public, solemn and European was held in the Schools, Churches and College chairs concerning a subject anatomical, and of which we dare not speak today only in a school of Medicine. What subject? How the Virgin remained Virgin having had a baby. Conceive if you can of Monks, persons vowed to celibacy, Dominicans and Franciscans all racking their brains on the question teaching and preaching anatomy to children, to little girls, occupying their minds with their sex and its most secret mystery."

FOUR YEARS LATER in 1849 Pious IX addressed a circular letter to the Bishops inviting their opinions on the advisability of defining the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. In 1852 the Louvre acquired Murillo's "Immaculate Conception." On December 8, 1854, in view of the generally favorable sentiments expressed by the Bishops, though some in Germany and France feared it inopportune and possibly injurious, Pious IX proceeded to promulgate the dogma. The decree was read in the presence of about 200 Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops assembled in Saint Peters. I translate from G. Bertin's "Histoire des Evenements de Lourdes." Paris 1908.

"About three years from that day when by a solemn act of Pious IX the Holy Virgin, was declared exempt from the stain of original sin, she herself appeared to a humble child of the people and by this child interrogated concerning her identity replied 'I am the Immaculate Conception.' It was the decision from Heaven after that of Earth. Thus a doctrine came to be written for the World by the Church. Go put his signature to it."

Who will say that those controversies did not reach the popular mind? That the circulation of an image which remains yet popular left the laity entirely unacquainted and devoid of curiosity.

Surely the hazard to public morals was none the less be-

cause out of all was to come an ambiguity which in turn was to serve the Church.

Does the Roman Church fear for its power through reduction in numbers? Must Mrs. Sanger to please an Archbishop or perhaps a Pope adopt some emblem or mute sign?

Yours very truly,

M. R. LUKENS.

Resolutions Passed at First American Birth Control Conference

WHILE DESIRING a decrease of the world birth rate in general, this Conference is well aware that this should take place on the part of individuals whose progeny would least contribute to a better race and that indeed on the part of many persons of unusual racial value that their birth rate is now too low.

Therefore, be it Resolved, that we advocate a larger racial contribution from those who are of unusual racial value.

RESOLUTION:

To the Conference on Limitation of Armaments,
Washington, D. C.

THIS CONFERENCE desires to draw attention to the vital importance of the population question from the point of view of national security and world peace.

If ever recurring wars are to be prevented the people in each country must be able to live in reasonable comfort within their own borders. This can only be secured by a well balanced control of the birth rate. In most countries such a control is already being practiced by a minority; but the masses are still continuing to multiply their numbers regardless of their children's prospects in life, regardless of the hideous suffering that must ensue when rival races are driven to fight with one another for room to live.

We therefore urge that all nations should publicly recognize the supreme importance of well distributed Birth Control among all classes as a means of raising the standard of human life and of guaranteeing the peace of the world.

RESOLUTION:

To the Surgeon General Public Health Service,
Washington, D. C.

We, the First American Birth Control Conference do petition the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service to undertake medical research into contraceptive methods for the control of disease and publish such reports for dissemination through constituted health authorities; and

We further petition the Congress of the United States of America to make an appropriation in sufficient amount to undertake such studies and to publish such reports.

PETITION:

To His Excellency Nathan Miller,
Governor of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.

We, the First American Birth Control Conference do petition that:

You will recommend to the next session of the General Assembly of the State of New York that a Commission be appointed to investigate the decline of the birth rate.

A Review by Blanche Schrack

WOMAN FROM BONDAGE TO FREEDOM, by Dr. Ralcy Husted Bell, Published by Critic and Guide, 12 Mt. Morris Park, N. Y.

Everyone who realizes how much women need educating must rejoice that women now have the vote, not only because it gives them equal citizenship with men, but because it frees them from one narrow aim. Now that women have the vote, their real education begins. Woman suffrage as an issue is dead, but Feminism is coming into its own; and the books hereafter written for and about women must give them that intelligent knowledge of their own past which is necessary if their present problems are to be worked out practically and wisely.

In "Woman from Bondage to Freedom," Dr. Bell has traced the history and struggles of woman from prehistoric times to our own. We have gained much, but the end is not yet. "A stage has been reached," says Dr. Bell, "where no one doubts the desirability of equal opportunity and equal responsibility of men and women under the law, and nobody should question the wisdom of their equal moral obligations to society on given conditions." What these 'moral obligations' are women must decide for themselves, and they cannot decide intelligently unless they know what effect sex-disabilities and the economic dependence of women have had on past races and civilizations.

Education is necessary for freedom. As long as women consent to remain ignorant, they are in danger of losing rights they have already gained. It is significant that every right women won under the older civilizations, went down with those civilizations; and with the dawn of each new age in the world, woman has had to struggle up again from complete bondage.

The story of her struggles is told with skill and force in Dr. Bell's book. The first three chapters dealing with the earliest mankind, woman in prehistory and in the borderland of history are perhaps the most significant in the book, for, though these chapters cover much the same ground as the first part of Bebel's book on "Woman, Past, Present and Future," Dr. Bell's account is made more vivid by a rare insight into the manner of life of those most remote ancestors of ours.

The theory that women were the first artists is an interesting contribution to the study of prehistoric life. According to Dr. Bell, primitive woman was probably a keener observer than primitive man; and the periods of solitude enforced on her by maternity were favorable to the development of an artistic temperament. Just as the solitary child today, reproducing the childhood of the race, likes to 'make pictures,' so solitary primitive woman amused herself by 'making pictures' on the walls of her cave, and from such inconspicuous beginnings art emerged.

The two chapters on woman's relation to religion and the law give convincing evidence that these two forces have been used in the past to rob and degrade womanhood; and religion and the law both have denied to the married woman the right of being mistress of her own body.

There is nothing in the chapter on Birth Control which is new, but Margaret Sanger's brilliant work on the subject has exhausted the possibilities of presenting any longer any *new* argument for Birth Control. Nevertheless, as long as Birth Control is not an accomplished fact under the law, this subject rightly has a place in every book on the rights and responsibilities of woman. And Dr. Bell's arguments for Birth Control are sincere and convincing. The ethics of the subject is stated succinctly in one sentence: "If there are any personal rights in this world over which church and state should have no control, it is the sexual right of a woman to say *Yes* and *No*." And until the law and religion give woman this right, it is idle to look for any improvement in the quality of the race.

A Review by William J. Fielding

A CLERGYMAN'S SON AND DAUGHTER, by William J. Robinson. New York, Critic and Guide Co. 170 pp.

Dr. Robinson has dramatized a number of unusual situations into

a gripping story. A strong-willed, arrogant, puritanical clergyman, plagued by his own inner conflicts, resolves to bring up his children in the atmosphere of a cloistered "purity." Son and daughter are carefully screened from any contact with the vital facts of life, even to the extent of being denied the normal, healthy companionship of young members of the opposite sex.

Frank, inherently a wholesome type—though his character was fettered by the repressive environment—passed through a carefully supervised adolescence, and in early manhood found himself in love with a wholesome young girl, the neighboring doctor's daughter. Before the romance, which was approved by both families, developed to a normal conclusion, Frank became vaguely ill, suffering first from insomnia, headaches and, later, eruptions of the skin.

The diagnosis of a specialist finally made known the fact that Frank was suffering from congenital syphilis. It seems, the Reverend John Harding Brompton, in his youth, had once succumbed to the temptations of those two ever-alluring charmers—Bacchus and Venus. As a result, he developed a slight sickness, which, however, soon disappeared under nominal treatment, and he felt apparently no further symptoms.

This blight on Frank's life was a flare-back of the illicit episode in his father's youth. His vision of happiness, which he expected so soon to be realized, proved to be a blasting mockery. His engagement to Helen, of course, was broken off, at his own insistence no less than that of Helen's father.

It is at this point that the really interesting part of the story begins. It would not be fair, either to the author or to the prospective reader, to attempt to outline it here. Frank, deprived of the first real joy that life ever offered him, as it appeared to be within his grasp, decided on the futility of living. Even the fates were against him in his abortive attempts at suicide.

There follows a piece of grim realism in the portrayal of the ghastliness of war, an excursion into the vicissitudes of Russian revolutionary activities—depicting the flights of emotionalism and idealism of youth—and finally the soberer judgment of the more mature mind that has learned to make a practical compromise with reality.

Still, the original romance is not forgotten and it is ingeniously and happily revived toward the end, as well as another romance that also is woven into the threads of this unusual narrative.

A Review by Harold Hersey

TOMORROW'S TOPICS SERIES: 1. Microbes and Men; by Robert T. Morris, M.D. Doubleday Page & Co. 2. A Surgeon's

Philosophy, by Robert T. Morris, M.D. Doubleday Page & Co.

Throughout the reading of these two volumes, and no doubt in the third (Doctors vs. Folks, which the writer has been fortunate enough to read) there is the recurring *motif* of the bonfire. It blazes behind every page. It casts its lurid light over every careful warning, and one becomes intensely conscious of those great bonfires about us into which the careless and unheeded the world over, are casting themselves. It is an excellent *tour de force*; an unusually efficient way to describe the utter lack of care evidenced by the average man and woman for good health.

And what great bonfires they are! Everywhere they blaze in golden fury, consuming human beings as though they were mere sticks of wood. It is only the exceptional spirit that escapes them. Even the wary, the watchful, are now and again slain by the flames. It is the oldest story of the universe. Philosophically speaking, one is inclined to say that it is nature's method of continuing the race; scientifically, one sees clearly that it is needless waste.

If I may venture any one result among the many achieved by these excellent books, I would say that Dr. Morris weds philosophy and science so expertly herein that one is inclined to hope the marriage will have healthy offspring.

Appeals of Mothers

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I sent for and read your wonderful book on "Woman and the New Race" and now I feel I must write you and see if you can help me.

I have been married seven years and have four living children and in a few months I will again be a mother. While carrying my babies I am always very sick with *kidney trouble* and my leftside is very bad. At times I am unable to walk.

We live on a farm and there is always so much work to do that my children are always neglected as it is impossible to get any help if we could afford it. We are very fond of children and love the four we have. The oldest which was four in January and the baby is ten months. I sometimes think I would rather die than bring any more into the world. And I can see no relief unless you give it to me or tell me where to get it. Don't stop your good work, for there are hundreds of women like myself that appreciate you.

Mrs. Mc.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am writing to you to see if you can help me out. I have six children, the youngest is seven months old, and my age is only thirty years old, and have in my system rheumatism which after my last baby was born, I was four months in bed crippled with rheumatism with the small little ones. Many a night my children fell asleep on the oilcloth floor, and had to wait till my husband came home from work to undress them.

I can not even nurse my baby. So I wish you would kindly tell me something and would help me not to have any more for I am in misery. Could hardly get along to support them all.

Your friend

Mrs. V.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

Am a mother of four children and a *nervous wreck*. Am still in my twenties and have seen as much trouble as many women twice my age.

Two years ago I lost my first child who was also very nervous. Have a baby now a year old who seems nervous too. Each one is taking its toll on my health and in order to preserve what I have left so that I may care for the three boys I still have, I am appealing to you for aid. Realizing that I have been an innocent victim as many women are who are married, I feel it time to make up and demand the right to say if I shall have any more children and sacrifice my health entirely as well as pass on to them some ailments too.

I bought your book "Woman and the New Race" and read it carefully. I agree with you that it is a greater crime to bring these innocents to life when you are unable to properly care for them than to prevent conception.

Can and will you enlighten one who needs it badly to save her life and her babies already born? Hoping to receive advice from you, I am, ———

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

HAVELOCK ELLIS: A GREAT HUMANIST

By Hugh De Sèlincourt

THE DELINQUENT WOMAN

By Virginia Young

STERILIZATION OF THE UNFIT

By Norman Haire

CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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| J. O. P. Bland | Samuel Hopkins Adams | Fannie Hurst |
| Ralcy Husted Bell | Franklin H. Giddings | Cosmo Hamilton |
| David Starr Jordan and others | | |

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BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues—DR. ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 124 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gelukkig Huisgezin*.

GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.

FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.

SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Sengr Luis Bullfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.

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AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.

PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Liabon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasilena de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.

SWEDEN (1911).—Sallakapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadsvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.

ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.

AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

NEW BOOKS

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By Margaret Sanger

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By Margaret Sanger

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BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE

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By Genevieve Grandcourt

THE LAWS OF SEX

By Edith Houghton Hooker

MARRIED LOVE

By Lord Dawson

WITH A COMMENTARY BY

Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Eng.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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No. 2

Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor

ANNIE G. PORRITT

Circulation Manager

RUTH ALBERT

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI.

FEBRUARY, 1922

No. 2

Adding Insult to Injury

HIRSHFIELD GAGS Birth Control Police Inquiry” . . . “Gavel abruptly stops witness trying to explain gathering which was prevented by police order.” . . . “Row holds up hearing.” . . . “‘Insulted!’ shrieks commissioner, and flounces out of room in a huff.” These headlines from the *New York Tribune* describe the atmosphere of the “inquiry” into the stopping of the Town Hall meeting last November, and will convey to our readers some of the ludicrous and ridiculous phases of this evasion of a true investigation of that amazing affront on the right of free speech which has never received any serious attention from Mayor Hylan, or his administration. What was so widely heralded as a public investigation of this violation, on the part of public officials acting under the orders of a powerful Church and its prelates, was used, by the political henchmen of these sinister forces, merely as another opportunity to throw dust into the eyes of the public. The investigation, it should be remembered was supposed to have been held in response to a letter to Mayor Hylan from a committee of distinguished citizens who were interested in the high handed official interference with the rights of free speech, which culminated weeks after the arrest of the editor and Mary Winsor in the false arrest of Mrs. Rublee. These gentlemen were not interested in defending the doctrines of Birth Control.

The fight to defend the doctrines of Birth Control is our own particular battle. It was therefore with gratitude and without hesitation that the defense of freedom of speech was turned over to Mr. Paul Cravath and his committee. As it turned out, Commissioner Hirshfield and his advisers apparently decided to turn this inquiry into a Roman holiday. By his decision to divert the inquiry into a discussion of the merits of Birth Control, instead of concentrating on the unwarranted raiding of the Town Hall, it was thought that a clever evasion had been discovered. Instead of which, as the accounts and headlines in the *New York papers* show, the chicanery and colossal stupidity of the city officials has again been exposed. Public indignation in this crucial matter has been too keenly aroused to be calmed by the cheap tricks and tactics revealed in this latest farce. It shows that municipal politics in *New York City*, as everywhere else in the *United States*, is honey-combed with the sinister forces of Catholicism, or the fear of Catholic opinion. But with the exposure of this lamentable condition of things which has been made by the campaign of Birth Control, even the lazy good-natured American public is gradually waking up.

IF THE POLICE had stopped the Birth Control meeting before the last election, Hylan never would have been elected.” We overheard this remark the other day, and its truth is obvious. Quite irrespective of the question of Birth Control our activities have done the immeasurable and invaluable service of exposing, in *New York City*, the stronghold of impudent power, illegally assumed and exercised. But the remark quoted above indicates that to the intelligent section of the public has finally been furnished evidence of the sinister and powerful forces which are making every effort, both above and below board, to crush those who are fighting for the glorious freedom of the women and children of the world.

So many letters have been received asking whether we are not taking legal steps to collect damages for false arrest, that we take this opportunity to publish a statement from Mr. Marsh, who has been handling the legal aspects of the case:

“Friends in great number have been besieging us to learn if any suits for damages are going to be brought against the police officials who caused the arrests of Mrs. Sanger, Miss Winsor and Mrs. Rublee. Counsel have stated that the facts clearly justify actions for false arrest, which may be commenced at any time. It is the unanimous opinion of the three sufferers from police tyranny, however, that their individual wrongs are of less importance than the public principles involved. Their demand is for a vindication of the right of free speech, and in particular the right to hold public discussions of the wisdom and merit of Birth Control in an orderly and decent manner. This was the right that was denied by the illegal action of the police. Representative and public-spirited citizens having taken the matter up, and the Mayor having directed an investigation by the Commissioner of Accounts, it has seemed fitting and appropriate to postpone private litigation until the public authorities have had an opportunity to afford public redress of what is primarily a public wrong. If this public redress is not forthcoming however, the private remedy of suits for damages will still be available.”

MUNICIPAL CLOWNING is the *World's* characterization of Commissioner Hirshfield's behavior. Editorially it declares: “The police . . . did not of their own motion exceed the powers whose limits they well understand. They acted under orders. Who issued those orders, and upon what authority? Let Mr. Hirshfield quit clowning and establish the facts.”

Havelock Ellis: A Great Humanist

A Personal Tribute by Hugh de Sélincourt

Author of "Realms of Day," "A Soldier of Life," "Women and Children," etc.

*"God! Of whom music
And song and blood are pure
The day is never darkened
That had thee here obscure."*

WITHOUT A STERN application to fairy tales in childhood no man is equipped to appreciate to the full the more wonderful happenings of real life in maturity. A lovely mysterious power lies in the written word. One book keeps you awake at night with its horror or excitement; another book sets you shaking with laughter; another rouses tears and laughter. But this power at its gracious plenitude can only be manifested at rare intervals; for a book can have the power to draw a young man nearer to all that is precious and life-giving in his own life; may put him in harmony with the great of Nature without and within; may thus set him on the path to realise his world of dreams, by imparting knowledge, releasing energy, by quickening his self-confidence.

This is a mighty benefit for one man's writing to bestow upon another man's life. Assuredly it is; and nothing exhibits human scope more superbly than the ability to render help of this kind and the ability to receive it. The latter experience resembles that of a man who making his arduous way through desert country (beyond which the land of dreams or the land of deeper reality always lies) finds,—on the moment when hope is leaving him and he feels that he must perish of thirst by the way—finds that someone has journeyed there before him and has left a store of fresh water and a chart. He is given life and proceeds on his way, refreshed and with a keener sense than he could otherwise have possessed, of his direction.

SUCH WAS MY experience when the sixth volume of Havelock Ellis' "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" fell into my hands. It is difficult to contemplate what may be the wonder of the written word without faintness, unless we remember the opening of St. John's gospel where the full majesty of the event is recorded—*In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God*: a truth which in these days of journalism is apt to be overlooked, and to render any contact with the Word an experience too astonishing to be pleasant. Headlines and leaders are safeguards against this mysterious power.

After my rapturous welcome of this book I made it my business to study all the work of Havelock Ellis; and I have continued to do so with growing fervour as my power of appreciation developed. Any opportunity that is offered to me of helping, perchance, to extend the range of his beneficent influence I snatch, greedily as a healthy child a chocolate, eagerly as an alderman a civic honor; the only difference being that my delight and my sense of the honor conferred

on me are even more intense and even more real. I am aware that, from one point of view, all praise is an impertinence; from another, however, it may be that praise is an urgent and exquisite necessity. The alchemy of love, in any of its myriad forms, ordains that recognition of another's quality means greater personal freedom; and not, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, servility or subjection.

NINE OUT OF TEN literary persons in London would dismiss Havelock Ellis, if they knew his name at all (and their ignorance is profound and amazing enough to warrant the hypothesis) as a specialist on the subject of sex and nothing more. Mr. Wells, for example, did not mention his name in his summary of living writers, vented by Boon; and Mr. Arnold Bennett in the introductory chapter to his little book on Woman went out of his way to state that he had not read Havelock Ellis, with the wish presumably of removing from the reader's mind any fear that he was going to mix up his subject with unpleasantness. It is a prevalent misconception; and one which effectively bars all proper understanding of his work, including the Studies in the Psychology of Sex.

The subject of sex is so vast and difficult, so turgid with prejudice and superstition that it took the whole of a specialist's energy and courage to tackle. It was left in the hands of those people whose business it was to deal with disease, moral or physical, priests, that is to say, and doctors. What makes Havelock Ellis' work supreme and individual, like Paradise Lost or the Aeneid, is that it is essentially the work of a great artist. A specialist is apt to think that his subject comprises the whole of life; he sees everything in its peculiar light; and though his contribution may contain what is valuable his perspective being wrong, its value, like that of other raw material, is concealed, until the stuff is refashioned by an artist into relation with the whole of life.

HAVELOCK ELLIS is a doctor and an expert of European reputation in the Psychology of Sex; but he is something more. He is the most sensitive and skilled living critic of literature, with an intimate knowledge and appreciation of the other arts. The combination is rare and beautiful, marking him out as a great humanist. His subject is not any particular manifestation of man's energy, such as sex or art or religion, but human nature in all its complexity; and his work is a comment on man's main activity, the greatest of all arts, the art of living. His attitude is always the same, whether he happens to be recording the aberration of a sick woman from whom he removed the poison of misunderstanding and whose "case," as he reports it, is a beautiful work of art, furthering our knowledge not only of one sick woman but of the human mind; or whether he is treating the work of a genius like Tolstoi or Leonardo—his attitude is one of reverence, the only

creative attitude. It gleams through all his writing. Three passages out of many that might be chosen, illustrate this in a way that is specially attractive to me, and as the point is one of primary importance, I do not hesitate to quote them:

(1) When indeed we survey the brief history or the long history, as we choose to regard it, of the Divine Child in the creation of its infinitely various and endlessly novel playthings, nothing is left to us but wonder and adoration. We can only apply to the Soul of Man—so unfathomable, so mysterious, so disconcerting—the words of the Hebrew Psalmist to his Jahve: “A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past.” (The Philosophy of Conflict and other Essays in War-Time. P. 22. *Civilization.*)

(2) Each new person is a fresh revelation of Nature to be watched quietly and patiently, until its secret is manifested. Men cannot rule Nature, as Bacon long ago declared, except by obeying her. And we cannot guide the struggling human being on his course, unless we realize what that course is, and possess the faith and the insight to discern the meaning of even its most unexpected deviations on the upward path. . . . There are times when it is desirable to let fall a suggestion of what the observer divines, but it must be let fall, as it were casually, as lightly as a rose petal. (The Mechanism of Sexual Deviation. Reprinted from the Psychoanalytic Review, vol. vi, p. 421. July and October, 1919.)

(3) For it is impossible to conceive any impulse in a human heart which cannot be transformed into Truth or into Beauty or into Love. (Impressions and Comments. 2nd Series. p. 145.)

AS A CRITIC Havelock Ellis stands in the great tradition of literature. *Affirmations* and *The New Spirit* are as fine as any critical work in the English language. Johnson seems parochial and pedantic; Hazlitt, for all his wealth of speech, hasty and impulsive; Carlyle for all his ability to praise, touchy and circumscribed; Emerson aloof and magisterial in his height; Matthew Arnold, in spite of his grace and humor, narrow and cold; by the side of this wise and profound humanist, with his sunbright, sunclear, sunwarm faculty of perception. His taste is impeccable; his knowledge vast and accurate; his power of appreciation unrivalled. He is able to appreciate with the same sensitive and supple insight St. Francis and Casanova, Huysmans and Tolstoi, Ibsen and George Chapman, Nietzsche and Herbert Spencer, Rodo, Diderot, Cowley, Hardy, Chaucer, Remy de Gourmont and Walter Pater. Some critics such as Arthur Symons, for example, are able to describe with beautiful precision one leaf on the tree, to appraise the work of one writer or another with delicate sympathy and we are grateful to them. Havelock Ellis does this with consummate grace; but he does incomparably more; without any cumbrous effort, but with the simplicity of mind and purity of phrase which shine in all his writings he shows you the man who wrote the work; not the leaf only, but the branch on the tree of life, and the trunk and the roots in the earth's soil. His study of Nietzsche was the first to appear in England: it remains the best, the most perceptive

and the most judicious: more informing even than the work of George Brandes, Nietzsche's discoverer and friend.

MODERN CRITICS of eminence write for the most part to defend their pet opinions and the respectability from which they draw their modest livelihoods, from the attacks of irresponsible artists. They have their reward; knighthoods, money, librarianships: these mandarins have their place doubtless in the scheme of things; but their work of blunting the lion's paws, however satisfactory to comfort, is negative and valueless their praise brings fame that quickly crumbles. Out of their ranks towers a man like Havelock Ellis, a free man among slaves. His work is scarcely recognized; but it happens to be of permanent value. Wherever a man exists who desires to learn and to grow free, the work of Havelock Ellis will be there waiting to help him towards a better knowledge of himself and of human nature and of the great life which surrounds all mortals; his work will be there, leading him by its lovely intimacy into the mysterious art of life, and graciously introducing him to all the finest spirits who have lived and expressed themselves in art or science or philosophy or religion. His work is a great affirmation of the human spirit. He wrote of St. Francis: “Before the threshold of our modern world was reached Francis sang in the sun and smiled away the spectres that squatted on the beautiful things of the earth.” It is true of St. Francis; it is true today of this man of prodigious learning, whose gentleness and tenderness are of the kind that are supposed to belong to a woman only at her fairest; but are the outcome and the sign, in man or woman, of strength at its most heroic level. “For as” he has said and thereby revealed to the reverent eye the inner secret of his own greatness. “For us there still two wings by which we may raise ourselves above the earth, simplicity, that is to say, and purity.”

Having glanced at his work as a critic of literature, let us now pass on to his other work, never forgetting that the usual watertight compartments in a man's mind have here no existence. It is a whole man who is writing always; animated by the same vision and the same faith and the same sense of beauty.

SHELLEY SANG THE union of science and poetry; Havelock Ellis shows in his monumental study of sex the effect of that union in its gracious plenitude. Shelley said that the aim of his work was to “beacon the rocks on which light hearts are wrecked”: his light forever shines on those rocks, sneered at by those “whose sails were never to the tempest given.” Havelock Ellis with infinite skill and patience has made a chart of the dangerous sea on which the true adventures in life must voyage. Goethe saw human beings like earthenware pots on a stream, meeting only to crack and sink; and declared that the primal need of mankind was education in feeling.

Knowledge helped men to store and use the force of electricity so that its manifestation should not be confined to the destructive lightning flashing in brilliance across the sky, striking to blast and kill, but a clean agent of service, stronger and more beneficial than any force in Nature. Feeling resembles

electricity; but without knowledge its influence is more general and more disastrous, and with knowledge its influence is even stronger and more beneficial. Shelley perceived this in vision with such intensity that he recreated the world as it would be, were this force that lies in every heart, both recognized and used. His vision is still treated with the contempt that would have been poured upon some dreamer in Chaucer's time who foretold the manifold uses to which the force displayed in lightning would in a few centuries be put.

BUT THE OBSTRUCTIONS in the way of this more important knowledge do not lie only or even chiefly in the difficulty of the subject itself, great as this is. It is considered wicked or unpleasant even to think of this power at all. Those who still see in it only a destructive force and wish to protect humanity against it (as conductors protect buildings against lightning), feel under the obligation to apologize for the investigations required and veil them in language which no uninitiated person may understand. Into this welter of obscurity and shame and superstition, Havelock Ellis, with the insight of a poet, the knowledge of a scientist and the simple language of a master in prose, has penetrated and allowed the living truth to emerge in its naked majesty, showing in minute and exquisite detail how this destructive force of feeling may be stored and controlled, and used to sustain and expand the spirit of man. Only a skilled scientist could have marshalled the necessary facts; only a poet could have written the book. Swarms of little works have fallen like sparks from his parent torch, each bringing its modicum of light. The great parent book may be obtained, however, in the country of its origin only by surreptitious means: its civic condemnation has not yet been annulled.

Our extended knowledge of the human mind has been gained largely from the study of criminals and of lunatics, in whom one manifestation of some propensity, common to all, has been developed to the detriment of others. This exaggeration of one propensity has brought the man, indeed, to prison or the asylum and has also brought the propensity from the obscurity where it baffled study. Thus what has ruined an individual man has enriched the stock of human knowledge. The brotherhood of man is proved with terrible precision, from the standpoint of fear; with divine clearness, from the standpoint of love.

THE PSYCHOANALYST is apt to examine the work of some great man and to show that it springs from what he, with ghoulish glee, describes as rottenness. He delights to trace back beauty to some childish perversion; he uses a delicate instrument to force home his bad lesson of shame and disgust. He is a little man, who finds satisfaction in bringing great men down to his own level or beneath it. He is without reverence.

The same instrument in the hands of the artist serves to widen the field of his activity so that he is able to worship the spirit of beauty in its humblest most elemental form. He has no vulgar standard of what is nice and what is nasty; he is not shocked; he does not confuse shame with modesty. He sees

with the fresh eye of a child and looks with reverence and wonder at the secrets of life whether they are manifested in the growth of a primrose, or in the simplest functions of the human body. Above all, he is not horrified at perversion of any kind; he sees in it the divine power of love, stopped by some impediment of ignorance, and thus forced to express itself by one note only of the great orchestra. In the one he sees the whole. He is too wise in the subtle interplay of body and spirit to lay down rules or dogma: lightly as the fall of a rose petal, he lets drop a suggestion, and creates an atmosphere of enlightenment by his understanding. Finally, in the means of communion between man and woman, he sees not a trap or a delusion, but a holy instrument, the pride and glory of man.

Havelock Ellis does not treat his subject daintily or obscurely but proudly and simply, as a man might well do who is aware that he is tracing beauty back to its very source and origin. "But as the mystic vision pierces deeper into the mystery of the world, it is seen that the Divine is more truly manifested in the falsely so-called humble human things; and the winds and the waters of the world are all passed through the human form and cannot be less admirable for their association with that exquisite mechanism. So it is, we see, that to the Mystic the Human becomes Divine, and the voice of winds and streams, here as elsewhere, is the Voice of God."

THIS LITTLE PAPER is only a henchman's salute, as it were, to a King on his birthday: for this man is indeed one of those whom Shelley called—

"The kings of thought
Who waged contention with their times decay
And of the past are all that cannot pass away."

Let us read him and remember the power in this warfare of the smile and of kindness and of understanding; let us remember that "Strength and Hardness are the Companions of Death; Tenderness and Suppleness are the Companions of Life." Looking at the beautiful structure of his life and work (still in the making, still growing in beauty and majesty and light) one is able to recognize what Christ meant when he said that one just man was sufficient to save a city. For out of the harsh clangor of advertisement and politics, out of the hubbub of commerce and journalism and the general market, rises that work like a stately and gracious flower, sweet with the life that is eternal. He has said: "To see the World as Beauty is the Whole End of Living": that is the motto of his work; that, the central point of his great vision; that, the pivot of his faith.

I DO NOT think, however, that the average man realizes even yet how vast a part is played by sex in everyday life. There will be, of course, much opposition to a recognition of Birth Control. It will come from some who honestly but wrongly disbelieve in such recognition; it will come from many to whom humbug has become almost instinctive; it will come from men who sexually are subnormal (remember that civilization tends to destroy natural impulses); it will come from old men who have forgotten their earlier vitality.

—SIR W. ARBUTHNOT LANE.

The Problem of the Delinquent Woman

An Address Before the First American Birth Control Conference

By Virginia C. Young

I AM HERE this afternoon to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. You who are gathered for this Conference are the "illuminati" of this movement; while all around you, outside these walls, lies the great world of everyday men and women who are to furnish the field for your adventure and research. But there is a strata of Society lying still lower and underneath, which has also its importance and significance to you, and of which I would speak.

The problem of the Delinquent Woman—I had almost said of Primitive Woman—Woman in the making. The great resistless, onflowing tide of advancing civilization has what might be called its beaches—our great cities—where the foetus and jetsam of human progress heaps up highest, and where we find, swept up from the deep sea of life, two crude and significant remnants of an unfinished world,—the City Negro and the City Prostitute.

It has often been pointed out to us that the long ages of shelter and seclusion of women in the harem and the home, have bred a good half of the human race singularly unfitted for the struggle of the outside world. Many have noted and stressed the importance of the fact that too often, when women are forced out of the home, they have succumbed, and the dove of the home-nest has become the vulture of the street. This is one of the conditions which have become lamentably noticeable in a world which seems now to have lost itself for a time, to have let go of those lofty ideals which, beautiful in themselves, yet which, based on the quagmire of war, had no enduring foundation, and have been so rudely shaken.

LAST SUMMER I stood on Inspiration Point in the Yellowstone Park, with a group of tourists, who like myself were rendered for the moment dumb by the sumptuous magnificence of that titanic panorama. Some turned away, dazzled by the splendor of the scene and there was a feeling of almost childish relief when the guide pointed out, far below where we stood just high above the river-floor, and safe as Heaven itself, a rude nest filled to overflowing with ugly and squawking young ospreys, with a brooding and anxious mother and a hovering and hard-working father. There was something we could all understand and talk about—that little home, full of noisy busy-ness in the very midst of cosmic grandeur. So, the modern man turns from the fierce competition of the market place to the nest, far up perhaps in one of our modern cliff-dwellings which are reached, not by strong wings, but by the apartment house lift, to enter with his latch-key a little kingdom of peace and love, that inner shrine of the Woman and the Child whose worship has fed the heart-hunger of the world. For, as George Eliot has expressed it for us, "In these delicate vessels have been carried down through the Ages the treasures of men's affections."

But it is the other woman of whom I would speak today, she whose behavior and whose destiny form so large and important a part of this problem of the production of the unfit in which she bears so large and terrible a share; for her power of child-bearing is one of the ugly realities which is stronger than subterfuges or veneer, and has a disconcerting way of breaking through and demanding attention in a Conference like this.

NOW IT HAPPENS that I know this other woman, and some of her offspring, not from report or hearsay, but by daily contact with her in the house where we live together, side by side. I have also had the opportunity of visiting some forty of the State Reformatories and Prisons for Women throughout the country, and have come to know in this way several hundreds of young American women of the so-called delinquent class, all of them potential mothers, many of them already mothers, and most of them so badly-born themselves that they might often be said to have been "damned into the world."

And everywhere throughout this great West of ours, sometimes on the very farms where these girls are incarcerated, I found the most interesting and successful experiments and results based upon careful scientific methods along the lines of bettering both seed and stock in both agriculture and animal-culture. Everywhere in that teeming and abundant land, one finds offered to farmers, their wives and their children, abundant opportunities for information and instruction as to the raising of better and ever better grades of pigs, pigeons and potatoes—of clover, chickens and cheeses—of butter, bulls and bacon—of Belgian hares and Labrador reindeer. On these ranches mongrels are non-existent and their presence would be considered an evidence of reprehensible carelessness. Out there men do not speak of "Cows," but of Jerseys, Guernseys or Holsteins; not of "chickens," but of Plymouth Rocks or Rhode Island Reds. In Nebraska it is against the law to introduce into the herd any but registered bulls.

ONLY THE MOST important of all animals, the crown and flower of all life—only MAN is permitted to follow his own wild and wilful way in the matter of reproducing his kind. It is only the young of the human species which are bred by chance or whim, caprice or accident; which may, as it were, saunter carelessly into a world so desperately needing strong and capable hands, clear and logical brains, warm and unselfish hearts. This most-of-all-needed creature, with the supreme endowment of an immortal soul, may come into being as the result of the wedding of unhealthy, imbecile, intemperate and lustful men and women. Yes, we must dare to put

into words these crude and ugly facts in order to fully realize how monstrous it all is.

We often hear thoughtful people raise the objection that if the prostitute women of the country were given information which would make it possible to follow their hideous career without "the fear of consequences," that there might be more girls tempted to follow this profession. It is necessary for some of us who do not know such ugly facts, to be told that the women of the street are the very first to know all there is to be known as to self-protection. And in addition might it not be urged, degrading and unwomanly as is such a career, at least a woman who deliberately chooses to befoul herself should not be allowed or encouraged to pass on the taint of soul and body to innocent children, unwanted and unfit. Of two serious evils, which is the worse—some increase in the number of existing degenerates, (and we are told that the average life of the prostitute is three years—when disease or death puts an end to her wretched career) or the passing on, for who shall say how many generations, of a heritage of weakness and disease, physical, mental and moral?

OH THE SHAME of it! That we who frame such drastic laws against the entrance, through our National Ports, of undesirable aliens, must yet bear the heavy burden of this continuous and polluted stream, through what Whitman called "the delicate, beautiful gates of life," of the badly born, crowding out, as they most surely do, the better babies which this world so sorely needs. For let me remind you that it is just now the great and vitally important middle-class who are feeling most the economic pressure of the times, and these are they who most need guidance and help as to their part in remaking a world with "not more of us, but a better brand of us."

We are here, surely, to face facts frankly; and we who are guiding the younger ones in what has been described as "both the science and the art of living," must realize that marriage at the mating age is the only safe and normal way for young Americans; that it is equally, if only too sadly true, that the average young man cannot support a too rapidly increasing family.

In our American history we have exalted the large family—and rightly, but the large family which we think, the good old vanishing stocks which furnish the makers of this nation—those sternly-reared but fortunate children were raised in New England farmhouses, or in small conservative towns in which their parents played a leading part in State House and Church and on School-boards and Town Meetings. Those were the days of plenty of good food, of simple wants, and simple living. Who can visualize such a family group transferred to the twentieth floor of a modern flat-house, and gathering around a steam radiator or even saying its prayers beside a folding-bed, already occupied by younger brothers and sisters? What mother of ten or twelve children in a crowded tenement has some for those gentle ministrations which are the very essence of real Mothering? What modern, hard-pressed father can think of supplying any but the bare physi-

cal needs of his brood? What time has either parent to consider the insistent needs of adolescent girls and boys, who find their only mental and spiritual food in the hectic and often unclean movies.

MR. H. G. WELLS was aroused to the point of out-spoken indignation by a caption in an English paper,—“Should Bank Clerks Marry?” “How do we dare,” said he, “to calmly discuss, to weigh and measure the perfectly natural inclinations and behavior of a perfectly normal and natural section of the world in which we live. What have we come to when we say to these young people, ‘not you, but we must decide this.’” But read the article yourselves, dear audience, and ask yourselves whether we are not making marriage practically impossible for many young lovers of our modern world.

I was reminded recently that William James once said that what the world needs most is “a moral equivalent for war”; something equally compelling, equally appealing, demanding equal sacrifices and self-forgetfulness, with banners and oriflammes and leaders, with the same sort of appeal to the highest and noblest in men and women,—but with an End in view which shall be not Death but Life—not the extinction of our best and bravest, but a fostering of all that is beautiful and worthy and precious for the strengthening and enriching and glorifying of human life.

James felt that it must be our own United States which must present this program. May we not feel that this Conference proves that it must be rather a joining of the two groups from both sides of the Atlantic, which must unite for this modern Crusade? For this is surely the driving of the silver spike which marks the coming together of the two gangs of workers from England and America who are met here for the simple yet impressive gestures of sympathetic understanding and co-operation.

AND I WOULD most humbly leave to the specialists whose labors are a most noble kind of consecration, the difficult and important task of meeting and solving the great question of populations which is one of the real questions of the hour among the many which must be solved by those who are seeking the causes and the cure of war and economic disturbance.

It is for the distinctly spiritual values underlying this movement that I would plead. It is not primarily for the emancipation of woman from the age-long bondage of an undirected mothering of mongrels; it is not even the goal of a race of splendid athletes and Amazons that interests me most. But it is the hope which I find in this movement of the possibility of the gradual coming into being of a race loving beauty and the finer things of life, and demanding and claiming them. The coming of a time which John Galsworthy has pictured in his “Green Hill Far Away,” a time when the majority of Mankind shall choose beauty rather than ugliness, the riches of the spirit rather than the piled-up horde in the bank-vault; when men and women shall love each other not less, but more; when they shall be unafraid of love because nobly sure of a life together thoughtout with wise and tender wisdom for

the bearing and rearing of only wanted and planned-for children; when Celibacy shall be no longer exalted and laid as the supreme gift on our churches altars, but when the Fine Art of Parenthood shall be laid there instead and every child shall be, like the Child Samuel, an offering unto the Lord; when every child shall come through those noble gates of life bearing in his hand rich gifts for Life itself.

DOES THIS OFFER a Moral Equivalent for War? Let the Unborn speak,—

“From the Unseen I come to you tonight,
The hope and expectation of your world.
I am Omniscience that seeks of you
A tongue to utter the eternal thought.

I am Omnipotence that claims of you
The tools whereby my power may profit Earth.
All Love am I, that seeks to spend itself
Embodied in a human sacrament.

What welcome will you give to me, O World?
What is the home you have prepared for me?
O man and woman who have fashioned it
Together, is it fine and clean and strong?
Made in such reverence of holy joy,
Of such unsullied substance, that your hearts
Leap with glad awe to see it clothing me?

Thus will I call till all mankind shall heed
And know me, who today am one with God
And whom tomorrow shall behold, your Child.”

The Population Question as Illustrated by Asia

By J. O. P. Bland

An Address Before the First American Birth Control Conference

I MUST ASK your indulgence for not having prepared a paper such as those to which you have listened. I must ask you to excuse me for not having done so, on the ground that I am only here a few days and am leaving for England tomorrow, and such few remarks as I can put before you are necessarily brief and not at all closely reasoned.

The whole question of Birth Control, it seems to me, and looking at this meeting today I am more convinced, is the great question of the immediate future. I think in ten years' time it is absolutely certain that a great many of the economists and the religious bodies of the world will realize that the only means to prevent poverty and prostitution and crime and war, is by the conscientious application of collective wisdom and intelligence of human beings to make their population in some way consistent with the food supply of their country. I look forward and see a tree of human wisdom whose fruit shall make for the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind.

At the same time, I think it is quite obvious that we have to pierce the darkness in high places. I remember a few years ago the Bishop of London deplored the declining birth rate of Great Britain, and wished for the glorious fertility of the East. Last night I received a statement from a friend in London, which contains a curious fact in connection with the remark of the Bishop of London, and that is, that the lowest birth rate in Great Britain today is: first, of the school teacher; second, of the doctor; and third, of the non-conformist and other religious clergymen.

I THINK IT is a matter for very serious consideration. It is, I think, a very serious thing for us to consider, how it comes about that those views can be expressed today; and another thing, that a Conference such as meets in Washington today can ignore the fundamental fact, the war's cause.

How are we going to explain this curious fact, which for instance they explain in a manner which does not explain in England. They assume there is a blind spot. How is it that the human intelligence which has dominated its environment so splendidly in other directions, cannot master this? I believe that collective intelligence will rise superior to this and I regard this meeting as a proof of it.

But to return to “the glorious fertility” of the East. It has been my lot to live for thirty years where I saw it working out. When as a young man I first went to the city of Canton, I used to row around on the river, and I saw the fertility of the east floating around near me in the shape of little corpses. The social system which produced that has also produced a very splendid civilization which is China today. It is China which today offers you a spectacle of a race which has solved the problem of population. It is solved by the doctrine or creed of passive resistance. The Chinese tell us when they have reared a population which they cannot feed, they do not look over their frontiers and see where they can seize on the means of supporting themselves. They have accepted the destinies of man and they recognize that suffering is the lot of every human being. And therefore the Chinese decrease in population has been through disease and famine and internal strife. Look over the history of the great people of China. Take the history of the last thousand years, and one fact stands out. The population reaches to about 350 to 400 millions. When it reaches that point, invariably there occurs one of those three things which check the population. Either there is internal strife, or a famine breaks out which kills millions of them, and lastly there is disease. The religion of the Chinese makes it incumbent upon the Chinese to marry young and leave behind him as many little descendants as possible. It is his duty and he fulfills it to the utmost. There are four generations born in China while three are born in

Europe. You get conditions such as Europe has not dreamed of and such as America cannot imagine. Such conditions produce a terrible death rate. There are no vital statistics in China, but in Hong Kong we have kept them. We know the death rate varies with the harvest and disease. It is 70 to 80%.

I WILL ASK you to consider another fact. We Christians are pleased to regard ourselves in our material and industrial civilization as the last word in progress, and we send missionaries to this country, and among the duties of these missionaries is the highly meritorious work of the medical missionary. But it has always been inconceivable to me that those missionaries can go to China to relieve suffering and leave untouched the fundamental cause of the suffering.

Three years ago there was a mission sent out from the United States, which spent, I think, a million and a half dollars, and they went to China and proclaimed, in the papers of this country and over there, their intention of their so decreasing the mortality that they would in a few years increase the population of over a million. It seems to me that if we

inspect the fact that the social system of the Chinese has lasted for so long, has produced such excellent results, a superior economic man, and a kind, gentle philosopher, we have got to see that we do nothing to upset that culture, and we should only try to remove those causes of misery which are so obvious to us and a disgrace to human intelligence. That our missionaries should go to China and relieve suffering is splendid, but at the same time it should be brought home to the Chinese not to bring into this world a child who is foredoomed to misery. We know the main facts about China. We know that people suffer patiently. We pay instinctive reverence to what has been brought about by suffering. It is a great problem, we know, seeing Nature fulfilling itself through the many centuries in this way, and suffering and producing a nation like the Chinese, it is a problem whether we have the right to interfere with Nature. But I think that those of us who look forward with hope and belief in the future of the human race are not prepared to accept it, and even to advise our older brother to change his habits and even change his ancient beliefs in a matter that affects the whole of humanity.

Sterilization of the Unfit

A Contribution to the First American Birth Control Conference

*By Norman Haire, M.B., Ch.M.
London, England*

ALTHOUGH BIRTH CONTROL is gaining in public favor, it still has many active opponents—really earnest conscientious people, who sincerely believe that it is wrong for averagely healthy men and women to limit their families.

But there are few, I think, who would deny that it is justifiable, and indeed very desirable, to limit or prevent the multiplication of those, who, through either physical or mental disease, are obviously unfit for parenthood.

Especially in cases of mental disease is it necessary that reproduction should be avoided; and it is precisely in these cases that it is most difficult to teach the patient to take regular and adequate precautions. Through indifference, or carelessness, or lack of intelligence, these people generally fail to avoid conception, so that they continue to bring into the world a new generation of human beings handicapped from the beginning by a woefully small mental bank balance, who become bankrupt if too great a demand is made on their poor resources.

I was Resident Physician at three Australian Mental Hospitals and Resident Superintendent of a large Obstetric Hospital, and there I have often seen women who suffered from attacks of Insanity regularly each time they were pregnant. During the pregnancy or at confinement they would become insane, and would be removed to an asylum. If they recovered sufficiently, they would be discharged as cured, to return with a similar attack at the next pregnancy. I have seen women who have had as many as six attacks of this sort, and who nevertheless were not prevented from becoming pregnant again, or even taught to take any contraceptive precautions.

WE INVESTIGATED THE family history of all cases admitted to the asylums, and in a very large proportion of them it was easy to trace further cases of mental disturbance in direct ancestors or in other near relatives. Often we would find insanity in several successive generations, the age of onset becoming earlier in each succeeding generation, showing that each individual tended to begin with less capital than its predecessor, and in the presence of an equal strain to become bankrupt earlier.

At present I am Honorary Physician at a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre in a very poor part of London, where a good many cases show mental disturbance or deficiency, and it is in these cases that I find it most difficult to convince the parents of the necessity for contraception and to teach them properly to use the ordinary simple methods.

In such cases, as also in the presence of Syphilis, Tuberculosis and certain other diseases which may be transmitted to, or may damage, the offspring, sterilization by surgical means seems to me to be clearly indicated. In some of the states of the American Union the compulsory sterilization of lunatics and habitual criminals is prescribed or permitted by law, and I have been informed by the Secretary of the State Board of Health for Indiana that about twelve hundred male criminals have been sterilized in that state, and that sterilization laws exist in New York, Michigan, Oregon, California, Washington, Kansas, Illinois and Iowa.

Public opinion in England is not yet ready to accept the idea of compulsory sterilization, but I think there would be little effective opposition if voluntary sterilization were ad-

vocated for such cases, and its simplicity and harmlessness properly explained. Indeed I believe that soon many men and women suffering from less serious physical or mental disability, or from economic distress and even many who while neither unhealthy nor poor yet desired to limit their families from other motives, would also seek this operative relief; in order to avoid the constant necessity for troublesome temporary precautions, and the anxiety due to the fallibility of all ordinary contraceptive methods.

UNFORTUNATELY, WHEN ONE speaks of sterilization by operation, the average English man or woman thinks that one means the actual removal from the body of the ovaries or testicles, with consequent loss of sexual desire and potency, and subsequent transformation into a neuter sort of person, lacking all interest and joy in life.

This, of course, is not what is meant at all. Sterilization can be safely, easily and efficiently carried out by any com-

petent surgeon. In the female a small incision is made in the abdominal wall, the Fallopian tube is tied in two places and cut in between. In the male the operation is even simpler, because the seminal duct or Vas Deferens is nearer the surface of the body. In this case a small incision is made in each groin and the male duct tied and cut across in a similar manner. In either case, the patient should be quite recovered from the operation in a fortnight.

Surgical sterilization is far less painful and occasions less inconvenience than does a single confinement, to say nothing of the previous nine months of pregnancy. And it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the general health, sexual desire and sexual potency are in no way prejudiced by this operation in man or woman.

Indeed, the recent work of Steinach, of Vienna, and of his co-workers and disciples, goes to show that this operation in the male is often followed by increased sexual desire and potency and by considerable improvement in health.

The Morality of Birth Control

By Margaret Sanger

An Address Delivered at the Park Theatre, New York City, on November 18, 1921

THE MEETING TONIGHT is a postponement of one which was to have taken place at the Town Hall last Sunday evening. It was to be a culmination of a three day conference, two of which were held at the Hotel Plaza, in discussing the Birth Control subject in its various and manifold aspects.

The one issue upon which there seems to be most uncertainty and disagreement exists in the moral side of the subject of Birth Control. It seemed only natural for us to call together scientists, educators, members of the medical profession and the theologians of all denominations to ask their opinion upon this uncertain and important phase of the controversy. Letters were sent to the most eminent men and women in the world. We asked in this letter, the following questions:—

1. Is over-population a menace to the peace of the world?
2. Would the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population?
3. Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?
4. Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit the families will make for human happiness, and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of population?

We sent such a letter not only to those who, we thought, might agree with us, but we sent it also to our known opponents. Most of these people answered. Every one who answered did so with sincerity and courtesy, with the exception of one group whose reply to this important question as demonstrated at the Town Hall last Sunday evening was a

disgrace to liberty-loving people, and to all traditions we hold dear in the United States. (Applause.) I believed that the discussion of the moral issue was one which did not solely belong to theologians and to scientists, but belonged to the people. (Applause.) And because I believed that the people of this country may and can discuss this subject with dignity and with intelligence I desired to bring them together, and to discuss it in the open.

WHEN ONE SPEAKS of morals, one refers to human conduct. This implies action of many kinds, which in turn depends upon the mind and the brain. So that in speaking of morals one must remember that there is a direct connection between morality and brain development. Conduct is said to be action in pursuit of ends, and if this is so, then we must hold that irresponsibility and recklessness in our action is immoral, while responsibility and forethought put into action for the benefit of the individual and the race becomes in the highest sense the finest kind of morality.

We know that every advance that woman has made in the last half century has been made with opposition, all of which has been based upon the grounds of immorality. When women fought for higher education, it was said that this would cause her to become immoral and she would lose her place in the sanctity of the home. When women asked for the franchise it was said that this would lower her standard of morals, that it was not fit that she should meet with and mix with the members of the opposite sex, but we notice that there was no objection to her meeting with the same members of the opposite sex when she went to church. The church has ever opposed the progress of woman on the ground that her freedom would lead to immorality. We ask the church to have more confidence in women. We ask the opponents of this

movement to reverse the methods of the church, which aims to keep women moral by keeping them in fear and in ignorance, and to inculcate into them a higher and truer morality based upon knowledge. (Applause). And ours is the morality of knowledge. If we cannot trust woman with the knowledge of her own body, then I claim that two thousand years of Christian teaching has proved to be a failure. (Applause.)

WE STAND ON the principle that Birth Control should be available to every adult man and woman. We believe that every adult man and woman should be taught the responsibility and the right use of knowledge. We claim that woman should have the right over her own body and to say if she shall or if she shall not be a mother, as she sees fit. (Applause.) We further claim that the first right of a child is to be desired. (Applause). While the second right is that it should be conceived in love, and the third, that it should have a heritage of sound health.

Upon these principles the Birth Control movement in America stands.

When it comes to discussing the methods of Birth Control, that is far more difficult. There are laws in this country which forbid the imparting of practical information to the mothers of the land. We claim that every mother in this country, either sick or well, has the right to the best, the safest, the most scientific information. This information should be disseminated directly to the mothers through clinics by members of the medical profession, registered nurses and registered midwives. (Applause.)

Our first step is to have the backing of the medical profession so that our laws may be changed, so that motherhood may be the function of dignity and choice, rather than one of ignorance and chance. (Applause.) Conscious control of offspring is now becoming the ideal and the custom in all civilized countries.

Those who oppose it claim that however desirable it may be on economic or social grounds, it may be abused and the morals of the youth of the country may be lowered. Such people should be reminded that there are two points to be considered. First, that such control is the inevitable advance in civilization. Every civilization involves an increasing forethought for others, even for those yet unborn. (Applause.) The reckless abandonment of the impulse of the moment and the careless regard for the consequences, is not morality. (Applause). The selfish gratification of temporary desire at the expense of suffering to lives that will come may seem very beautiful to some, but it is not our conception of civilization, or is it our concept of morality. (Applause).

IN THE SECOND place, it is not only inevitable, but it is right to control the size of the family for by this control and adjustment we can raise the level and the standards of the human race. While Nature's way of reducing her numbers is controlled by disease, famine and war, primitive man has achieved the same results by infanticide, exposure of infants, the abandonment of children, and by abortion. But such ways of controlling population is no longer possible for us.

We have attained high standards of life, and along the lines of science must we conduct such control. We must begin farther back and control the beginnings of life. We must control conception. This is a better method, it is a more civilized method, for it involves not only greater forethought for others, but finally a higher sanction for the value of life itself.

Society is divided into three groups. Those intelligent and wealthy members of the upper classes who have obtained knowledge of Birth Control and exercise it in regulating the size of their families. They have already benefited by this knowledge, and are today considered the most respectable and moral members of the community. They have only children when they desire, and all society points to them as types that should perpetuate their kind.

The second group is equally intelligent and responsible. They desire to control the size of their families, but are unable to obtain knowledge or to put such available knowledge into practice.

The third are those irresponsible and reckless ones having little regard for the consequence of their acts, or whose religious scruples prevent their exercising control over their numbers. Many of this group are diseased, feeble-minded, and are of the pauper element dependent entirely upon the normal and fit members of society for their support. There is no doubt in the minds of all thinking people that the procreation of this group should be stopped. (Applause). For if they are not able to support and care for themselves, they should certainly not be allowed to bring offspring into this world for others to look after. (Applause.) We do not believe that filling the earth with misery, poverty and disease is moral. And it is our desire and intention to carry on our crusade until the perpetuation of such conditions has ceased.

We desire to stop at its source the disease, poverty and feeble-mindedness and insanity which exist today, for these lower the standards of civilization and make for race deterioration. We know that the masses of people are growing wiser and are using their own minds to decide their individual conduct. The more people of this kind we have, the less immorality shall exist. For the more responsible people grow, the higher do they and shall they attain real morality. (Applause.)

BIRTH CONTROL is an economic necessity. The Church in reference to this subject is out of date. We are no longer living in the patriarchal age of nomadic agriculture, when the numerous offspring would help in the tilling of the soil, and would increase the strength of the tribe. Under present conditions, the middle class man, whose sons and daughters are expected to study for a career, has to think twice before he indulges in a large family.

DR. BERNARD HOLLANDER.

WHATEVER ANYONE thinks about Birth Control it is certain that the world has arrived at such a position that this is one of the most important subjects of the moment.
—London Evening Standard.

Birth Control: Is It Moral?

A Symposium of Representative Opinion

(Continued from last month.)

The growth of interest in the serious problems of over-population, the increase in defective children and insanity, the rising demands for charity, the heavy burden of the taxes necessary to support prisons, asylums, reformatories and homes for defectives, have aroused in this country an active discussion concerning the alleged advantages of a controlled birth-rate.

In view of this widespread interest, I have been urged by prominent physicians, economists, and social workers, to call together men and women from all parts of the United States, representing various professions and many interests, to hold a Conference on this subject. This Conference will take place in New York, November 11th, 12th and 13th.

One of the meetings of the Conference is to be devoted to the open question of Morality and its relation to Birth Control. We would be glad to have your opinion on the following important questions:

* * *

1. Is not over-population a menace to the peace of the world?
2. Would not the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population?
3. Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?
4. Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social, and intellectual standards of the population?

As a vital part of the constructive effort for future work, it seemed that an open discussion on this subject by men and women of international importance would help to guide the American people to a just decision.

I would greatly appreciate an expressed opinion, if you have no objections, to be read at the open meeting, knowing the weight it would have with the intelligent people of this country. I have already received replies from Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, W. R. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the Bishop of London.

May I hope you will seriously consider the importance of this and allow me to express in advance my gratitude for a brief letter covering these points?

THE ANSWERS:

Franklin H. Giddings

*Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, in the
of New York*

MY ANSWERS to the questions propounded in your letter of October 18th, are as follows:

- 1 and 2. Yes, with a word of explanation.
3. First half of the question, I don't know. Second half of the question, emphatically no. Every vicious use that could be made of such knowledge is made already. It is only the wise use of the knowledge that we lack.
4. Yes.

The word of comment on 1 and 2, and it applies in a measure to 4, is that it is more important to change the quality than limit the quantity of world population. I am strongly in favor of limitation of the families of low-grade intelligence and vitality, and quite as strongly in favor of increasing the birth-rate of the families that are energetic, intelligent and of sound character. You see I am above all things a eugenicist.

Fannie Hurst

REPLYING TO your questionnaire:

1. Yes, I do consider over-population a menace to the peace of the world. War can be said, fundamentally, to be the result of overcrowding.
2. Yes, I emphatically do think that the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession, would be the most logical means of checking the problem of over-population. Much damage is done by careless, ignorant or illegal preventative conception; irreparable damage is done by the involuntary mother, so from both sides of the question, scientific Birth Control information, disseminated through clinics would be of greatest social and pathological value.
3. Yes, I believe that knowledge which enables the parents to limit their offspring will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population. Ignorance of this fundamental knowledge is responsible for much of the human misery in the world.

George Foster Peabody

I DO NOT THINK over-population a menace to the peace of the world. I think a false economic system and the prevalence of privileged interest under all forms of government so far devised the true menace. I think it will continue a menace if the population should be half what it is, as it was some hundreds of years ago. I believe, however, in democratic-republican government with the initiative referendum and recall and not at all in the principles of socialism.

2. I think there should be a check to the over-population in the class of Morons, etc. I am not clear that the legal dissemination of the scientific information you advocate would be effective in that direction.

3. I greatly fear that the vigorous advocacy of the principles you stand for would injuriously affect the moral attitude.

4. I do not believe in limiting scientific knowledge and believe the legal prohibition of the dissemination of any well established scientific propositions harmful.

You will see my objection is purely to the very great damage I fear it would do to the general moral attitude. I think the first essential is to work strongly for the single standard of morality and continue to denounce the prevalent acceptance of the double standard. That seems to me the necessary preliminary step.

I am, of course, not only sorry but somewhat disturbed in my convictions by not being in step with so many of my personal friends and associates in various movements, whom I so greatly admire. Nearly half of the names on your conference committee are people with whom I am in strongest sympathy in many directions and some are my close personal friends whom I profoundly admire.

Virginia Terhune Van der Water

I DO BELIEVE strongly in intelligent Birth Control. But one trouble about this matter is that the better classes know how to control the number of births in their families,—while the uneducated classes seem ignorant of any safe method of preventing large families. Therefore the poor women resort to quacks and to abortionists, and ruin their health. I knew one poor woman who produced eight miscarriages, because she could not afford to have children. Then she wondered that her health was wrecked! Yet had she been instructed in safe and sane methods of prevention of conception she might have continued to be a well, strong, useful person. When I knew her, she was a regular attendant at a free clinic for internal disorders. She was incurably ill.

In answering your numbered questions, I would say,—

1. That over-population certainly seems to be a menace to the peace of the world,—probably one of the big factors in causing the World War.

2. That legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through clinics conducted by reputable physicians would be the wisest and safest way of checking over-population.

3. That knowledge of scientific Birth Control would not change the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond. In fact I fancy it would make them respect marriage more. Nor do I believe that it would lower the moral standards of our young people. They have certainly damage is done by careless, ignorant or illegal preventative been lowered during the past few years without such knowledge of Birth Control as has been suggested. The fear of bringing illegitimate children into the world, or of giving birth to a diseased progeny has not kept the youth of our country moral. Plain speech on such matters would, in my opinion, make vice

less attractive by removing all mystery from it and by showing it in all its hideous features.

4. I believe that knowledge that enables parents to limit their offspring will increase human happiness and raise the standards of the entire population. Fewer and better children are needed,—children that are wanted and planned for instead of unwelcome "accidents."

David Starr Jordan

Chancellor Leland Stanford University

IN ANSWER to your questions, let me say I do not regard the possible over-population of the world as a pressing question now or for centuries to come. The real problem is the over-congestion of certain districts, results of weakness, ignorance, indolence and oppression.

The cost of a few dreadnoughts applied to sanitation of the tropics, to education, industrial and other, and to development of new industries would go far towards relieving this. There are even in Japan and Korea, millions of acres of unoccupied land, fitted for rye, oats, hay and grazing, but which cannot be utilized without capital and without governmental efforts towards establishing markets for cheese and butter, now scarcely used in the Far East, where the people subsist mainly on rice, an unwholesome food when unrelieved. In Japan, only the homeless poor will emigrate, those who have even two acres of good land preferring to stay at home, "where our customs fit us like a garment." The "menace" in the Far East consists not in over-population, but in military coercion with over-population as an excuse. Before the war "over-populated Germany" imported each year from Italy and Poland upwards of a million unskilled laborers to do her heavy work.

Birth Control will not relieve congested districts, for at present, at least, it is likely to reach only those classes which, in general, do not provide for their own continuance. In this connection, however, it must be remembered, that the "upper classes" socially or financially, do not necessarily represent the best race-material, though the slums, as a whole, with individual exceptions, comprise much of the worst.

I do not approve of the paternalism of the laws preventing "dissemination of knowledge of Birth Control." It is probable, however, that lifting the ban would let loose a flood of quack devices and remedies.

I do not believe that genuine knowledge of any sort would lower moral standards of any one who had any. Virtue and vice have deep roots.

I am not convinced that "knowledge which enables parents to limit their families would (appreciably make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population." In this I may be mistaken, but to the present, I find affirmative statements unconvincing.

Those classes who suffer most from congestion are the ones such information and arguments do not reach. It is the weakness of the weak, not the strength of the strong, which lies at the root of oppression.

Setting aside the sterility which springs from vice, the re-

duction in the birth-rate is a result, on the whole beneficent, of the emancipation of woman. A large factor in the change has been the acquisition of separate apartments for the mother of the family.

Samuel Hopkins Adams

OVER-POPULATION is undoubtedly a menace to world peace.

2. Some systematized method under scientific direction, probably medical, of disseminating Birth Control information would be the logical agency for checking over-population.

3. Number three embodies two separate questions. As to the first part, I doubt whether Birth Control knowledge would fundamentally change the attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond. As to the second, I am definitely of the opinion that such knowledge, if it becomes common property, will "lower the moral standards of the youth of the country," at least until such time as society can adjust itself to the new status and perhaps find other safeguards to substitute for the "danger signal" of "results." To assume the contrary is to deny a salient fact of human nature. Say to headlong youth, "You may now adventure in safety," and there will inevitably be a response in the direction of moral laxity. Enthusiasm for the cause should not blind us to this, its chief drawback. That compensating advantages would more than offset it seems to me clearly true. But the fact remains that we must be prepared to accept a measure of harm for the sake of the ultimate and greater measure of good.

To the question of whether knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the general standards of the race, I answer with all possible emphasis, "Yes."

Bernard I. Bell

President, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson

OVER-POPULATION is indeed a menace to the peace of the world. It is only fair to say, however, that Oriental over-population constitutes the major part of this danger. The limitation of population in America and Europe would mean almost certainly a considerable advantage to the yellow races in their overrunning of the world. This phase of the subject needs careful thought. It may be that Occidental brains could overcome and control Oriental hordes of people. I am not sure.

2. I personally believe in the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession.

3. I do not believe that men and women are kept moral through fear and therefore I am under the impression that the giving of information mentioned above would not in any sense lower the standards of the youth of this country. Nor do I believe that it would have any bad effect upon the attitude of men and women toward marriage and divorce.

4. I do believe that small families make for human happiness. Too many children reduce the standard of living below

that where social and intellectual interests can properly be cared for. On the other hand, childlessness makes for an abnormal and unintelligent attitude toward life and for warped and morbid art.

Cosmo Hamilton

OVER-POPULATION is a menace not only to the peace of the world but to the sane conduct of peace, because the health of nations and their standard of intelligence are forever at the mercy of accidental multitudes born into a life in which they are hopelessly superfluous. The question of Birth Control and its legal and scientific information by doctors is, more than ever now, as vitally necessary to the future well-being of the human family as disarmament itself. As every addition to true knowledge is an addition to human power it follows that the moral standard of youth must be raised and the sense of responsibility strengthened and inspired by the proper teaching of the essential and urgent truth.

W. B. Cannon

Department of Physiology, Harvard Medical School

TO THE FIRST, second and fourth questions put to me in your letter of October 20th, I should give an affirmative answer. With reference to the third question, it seems to me that we should have to rely on the evidence of experience. It is my belief that such knowledge would not alter moral standards, but I should prefer to have investigated the effects in countries where such knowledge is widely diffused.

Pierce Butler

H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, The Tulane University of Louisiana

OVER-POPULATION IS quite obviously a relative term; in itself, it is not a menace to the peace of the world. The real problem is to continue and to perfect man's command of the resources enabling life upon the earth. The law of life, for the race as well as for the individual, is *life, more life*, not suicide.

2. Dissemination of Birth Control information would unquestionably be the most *logical* means of checking the growth of population. But the danger of the logical machinery is that it is machinery, and that it operates, necessarily, on data or materials supplied by admittedly imperfect human knowledge. In other words, the premises may be, perhaps must be unsound; yet the machine once started goes ahead.

3. The soundest and most persistent race known to history, the Hebrew, was built upon a code largely of social laws regulating the sexual instincts. And the very names applied in science to certain sexual offenses come from Hebrew history—all condemning evasions or perversions of the law of procreation. Self-control, cultivation of the will, which is given to man that he may avoid all acts likely to be harmful to him, is what must be taught as the basis of sexual or any other morality. Responsibility for one's actions is a basic

condition of society. The dissemination of any information that claims to relieve the individual of his responsibility is bound to lower the standards of men and women.

4. A sufficient answer to this question is implied in the answer to the third query.

Perhaps I might be permitted to add, in view of my reference to the Jews, that I am not a Jew, that I am quite aware

of the many peculiarities of the Jew which are distasteful to me, that I am quite aware of what may be said in regard to the Hebrew codes and the oriental society of a primitive age, and that I am by no means disposed to make a fetish of the Bible. "Morality" is simply an effort to help adjust man to the complex relations with his environment—material, social, spiritual. And, in his essentials, there is no "new" morality.

In the Name of the Babe of Bethlehem

By Ralcy Husted Bell

I HAD SUPPOSED that the last foolish objection to Birth Control long since was a matter of record—that the extreme word had been uttered. It did not seem possible to me for asininity to take another step in that direction. The genius of absurdity, I thought, had passed its apogee. But I was mistaken. Archbishop Hayes has issued his Christmas pastoral "In the name of the Babe of Bethlehem." I owe his Grace an apology: My supposition was wrong—my conclusion hasty. The Archbishop has surpassed all his kind. By the sheer force of his genius he drags us back to the Dark Ages with his Christian sophistry and flowery rhetoric:

"The Christ Child did not stay his own entrance into this mortal life because his mother was poor, roofless, and without provision for the morrow. He knew that the Heavenly Father who cared for the lilies of the fields and the birds of the air loved the children of men more than these."

Laying aside its metaphor, this statement is plain enough, directly and inferentially. It means that the only begotten Son of God did not compel his parents to take any precautions against conception during, or previous to, his begetting. It means that he permitted his father and mother to suit themselves. It means that, whilst still in the unbegotten state, this Son of an infinite God and a poor homeless virgin did not interfere with his own genesis because he knew that the Heavenly Father, who cared for lilies and birds, loved the children of men even more than these.

Assuming that the Archbishop is correct historically and miraculously, it follows by inference that, as the Savior of the World did not prevent his own immaculate conception merely because one of his parents was in poor circumstances, therefore no one else ever should prevent conception for any reason whatever; therefore diseased paupers should beget and conceive perpetually their maculate and festering broods; therefore criminals and lunatics should reproduce their kind; therefore all sorts of moral, mental, and physical monsters should be welcome babes.

BEFORE HE WAS begotten, the Son of God knew that since his father cared for lilies and birds, it was fair to assume that he would provide for his own child. The Archbishop assumes that the Heavenly Father also will provide for the children of disease and filth, of poverty, lunacy and crime. So far at least as this world is concerned, bitter experience tells us that his Grace is in error—except in one particular: these wretched beings are permitted by the Lord to become in their

turn the fond parents of more misery and further misfortune.

The logic of his Grace, only as an article of faith, leaves nothing to be desired. As the incarnation of Medievalism, the master of Early Christian polemics, Archbishop Hayes is without a modern peer, and very few have equalled him even in the darkest ages of mankind. Step by step he astonishes contemporary thought until he reaches the very peak and climax of absurdity. He says:

"Children troop down from Heaven because God wills it. . . Even though some little angels in the flesh, through the moral, mental or physical deformity of parents, may appear to human eyes hideous, misshapen, a blot on civilized society, we must not lose sight of this Christian thought that under and within such visible malformation there lives an immortal soul to be saved and glorified for all eternity among the blessed in Heaven."

"CHILDREN TROOP DOWN from Heaven," is a perfectly good religious phrase, and like all such phrases, perfectly meaningless; but as a poetic expression it is not bad; for the begetting of a babe should occur only during a heavenly state of mind in which both parties equally participate. Therefore, children conceived in this happy state may be said, poetically, to "troop down from Heaven." But how about the children conceived in the Hell of brutality and hatred, of want and woe, of disease and crime? Are they also "little angels?" Are the children begotten in beastly passion by drunken fathers, and conceived by helpless, loathing mothers to be truthfully or even metaphorically described as little angels trooping down from Heaven? It seems rather more fitting to think of them as little imps fished up from perdition. Surely, babes born of ignorance and debauchery, of disease and crime—children conceived in rape, terror, and imbecility—can not be regarded as having issued from Heaven, wherever Heaven is or whatever it may be. Would not the non-existence of such beings be better, all 'round, than their existence? How can the Archbishop be sure that their souls will be "saved and glorified for all eternity among the blessed in Heaven," if he accepts the teachings of his own church which also permit souls to be eternally damned? Is not his Grace running some risk with the souls of such "little angels?" Suppose that only one out of 10,000 happened to be lost or damned, would Christian ethics permit even one soul to suffer eternal damnation for the sake of bringing the other 9,999 safely through mortal life and into immortal bliss? There is something wrong either with the Archbishop's faith or with

the logic of his pastoral, otherwise there must be something wrong with his morals.

STILL MORE ASTONISHING is this, by his Grace: "To take life after its inception is a horrible crime; but to prevent human life that the Creator is about to bring into being is Satanic. In the first instance, the body is killed, while the soul lives on: in the latter, not only a body but an immortal soul is denied existence in time and in eternity."

If the Archbishop is correct, then married persons who fail to make every possible endeavor to bring forth children are worse than murderers. No matter how many children they have had—no matter how unfit they may be for parenthood—

they are "satanic" monsters if they let one single chance go by to get another baby. Think of an immortal soul in the hands of the Creator all ready for launching through mortal into eternal life! All that is needed is the co-operation of a man and a woman duly married by the true Church. Would they dare to refuse the Creator who is patiently waiting to hand over the "little angel" longing for life? For if the married do not keep continually busy, some little angel may be "stayed" and thus the potential parents automatically become guilty of a crime more horrible than murder—a sin satanic!

Some men are impregnable in their wisdom—others in their colossal stupidity. Where does the Most Reverend gentleman stand?

The Sin of Birth Control

(This article, which appeared as an editorial in The New Republic for December 28th, is one of the most stimulating and fearless expressions of dissent from Roman Catholic dictatorship over American morals.)

ARCHBISHOP HAYES of New York has relieved his mind on Birth Control. It is, he says, a more horrible crime than murder. It is the denial of existence to an immortal soul. It is an unclean abomination, a diabolic thing, heinous, satanic. What if "some little angels in the flesh" are born with congenital syphilis or other taint, "through the moral, mental or physical deformity of parents"? They may appear a blot on civilized society, "hideous, misshapen," to our human eyes, but we must not lose sight of the Christian thought that "under and within such visible malformation there lives an immortal soul to be saved and glorified for all eternity among the blessed in heaven." To prevent the birth of the hideous and misshapen is therefore to interfere with "the creative act of God." It is to deny that "children troop from heaven because God wills it." "Woe to those who degrade, pervert, or do violence to the law of nature as fixed by the eternal decree of God Himself."

The Archbishop is, in a sense, eloquent—so eloquent that he almost persuades us to believe that celibates also are criminals because through them, too, immortal souls are denied existence. But before we permit our indignation to mount against those who refuse to propagate the human family, either within or without marriage, we might as well examine the Archbishop's premise as to "the law of nature as fixed by the eternal decree of God Himself." Those "laws of nature," of which the Archbishop speaks so confidently and with such intimate knowledge, are the last resort of authoritarianism, and it is socially insane to give credence to them or to govern conduct by them or to involve one's religion with them as the Archbishop proposes.

THE LORD WILL provide, says the Archbishop. The Heavenly Father, who cares for the lilies of the field and the birds of the air, will make provision for the children of men. This is convenient fatalism for a churchman, but a brief survey of New York's "hundred neediest cases" tells a story tragically different. There are other laws of nature than those cited by Archbishop Hayes, laws concerning the degradation and disaster that come to families too big for the pay-

roll. The greatest heroism in the world will not enable a man to jump forty feet or to support too big a family. To say that "the Lord will provide" is to tell a pretty story.

But behind such stories there is a real policy, the policy of holding men and women inside the Christian church—the Catholic church in particular—by correlating the chances of eternal salvation with a certain course of disciplined sexual behavior. By ruling that it is immoral and unclean to govern the size of one's family, or to live in sexual intimacy without propagating or allowing propagation, the church ensures that men and women under its discipline must automatically enroll an increasing membership for the church or, in case nature fails, must at any rate regulate sex in the name of the religious institution. The sacrament of confession compels the regular Catholic to give an account of his conduct in relation to "the eternal decree of God Himself," and enables the church to hold him tight through this fundamental discipline.

But will it continue to work, as prosperity and education and experiment make men and women feel more autonomous? The probability is that these "eternal decrees" will more and more need to be revised. The church must either work to keep men and women from becoming autonomous—which seems to be Archbishop Hayes's blindly conservative policy—or it will try to retain the autonomous citizen in the interest of religion.

For the sake of religion we hope that the Catholic church will make a place inside its ranks for those who practice and who counsel Birth Control. Voluntary parenthood is, after all, the highest form of parenthood. It is all very well to talk of idiots, imbeciles, the congenitally blind, the defective and the malformed as "little angels in the flesh"—but in the end this is to enslave men to physiological accident and men won't submit to such enslavement once their minds are opened. The Catholic church cannot link its fate with the perpetuation of morons. If it seeks to do this, and to say that the Heavenly Father will provide, it will lose its members automatically with the use of intelligence. And so, unfortunately, religion will once more be sacrificed to the obtuseness of the churchmen.

The Vision of Mary Shaw

MISS MARY SHAW is a woman who sees visions and dreams dreams. More than that she works to realize her visions and to make her dreams come true. In an interview with her when she talked of "Ghosts," which she was about to give as a special matinee performance for the American Birth Control League, she spoke freely of her aspirations. She told of the immense progress already made towards fulfilment, since she first ventured to give the most haunting and poignant of all the plays of Ibsen, the social reformer who through the medium of the drama set the whole world by the ears. Men and women who would not have been affected by propaganda in any other form could not help but hear the message of Ibsen, and however the respectable and the churches might object, the audiences listened and could not forget.

It was in 1900, Miss Shaw stated, that she first ventured to give one special performance of "Ghosts." It was not a new play. Ibsen wrote it in 1887, and Miss Shaw emphasized the prophetic power of the great dramatist who thirty-five years ago gave utterance to a message which only now are people coming to understand and accept. In 1900 there was so great an outcry against staging such an "improper and immoral" play that it was five years before Miss Shaw was able to take it up again and to begin regular performances. In those days there was no general movement for social hygiene, no understanding of the racial importance of venereal disease, and while the churches taught in parrot-like fashion the great truth handed down from the time of Moses, or earlier, that the "sins of the fathers shall be visited on the children unto the third and fourth generation," they did nothing to guard the race against the terrible consequences of these sins, and nothing to give woman her right as guardian of the coming generation.

FOR THIS IS Miss Shaw's vision:—woman as creator, endowed with power most like that of God, guarding the wells-spring of life, and refusing to allow any taint to enter into it. Woman, she says, is the race. The future belongs to her. It is not to men that we can look for hope for the future, although there are many men who do care deeply and earnestly for it. It is to woman, freed from bondage, and put in control of her own body, given full understanding of her rights and power—it is to woman thus emancipated, that the world must look for salvation from the degradation of the human race which is the consequence of our long disregard of the unchangeable laws of God.

Miss Shaw realizes that woman at present is not ready for the full exercise of her power. It is at this point that Miss Shaw becomes the evangelist, and that "Ghosts" becomes her message. The message never fails, she asserts, to reach the women in her audiences. The vision of their destiny opens up before them, as they follow the tragedy of Oswald and his mother, and they realize the responsibility that rests upon them, when Oswald answers his mother's exclamation with the question "What kind of Life did you give me?"

With over twenty years' experience of the response of women to the message of "Ghosts," Mary Shaw was one of the earliest to welcome the movement for Birth Control. The first consideration, in her opinion, is the child. Marriages smiled upon by society and approved by the church are in her opinion sacrilegious, if the result is children foredoomed to disease, mental or physical—to individual failure and race degeneration. To give birth to such children is the unforgivable sin, and Birth Control seems the only feasible method to enable women to control and purify the life stream which has been so terribly polluted.

Notes from the Field

JANUARY 4.—At a meeting of the Woman's Club of Mountain Lakes, N. J., Mrs. Ernest R. Adeo, of New York City, addressed a group of eighty interested women. Mrs. Adeo is a very clear and convincing speaker with a complete knowledge of the history of Birth Control and the great present need for it. This meeting was arranged through the kindness of Madam Belle de Rivera.

January 9.—Everyone is delighted with Mrs. Sanger's meeting at Reading, Pa. The results were such as may be expected when an enthusiastic group of progressive women and men earnestly put their shoulders to the wheel of progress. Mrs. Sanger's speech in Reading was welcomed by a large group of both old and new friends.

The following day a Reading Branch of the American Birth Control League was organized at the home of Miss Mary B. Nelson, Wyomissing, Pa. The Rev. L. Griswold Williams accepted the chairmanship. The Mayor of Reading was present at the meeting and gave his hearty approval. We wish

to congratulate Reading on having for its Mayor a man who is a thinker and leader.

January 13.—Mrs. Sanger spoke at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, New York City, to an audience of 150 people. By the questions asked it was plain that this had been to them a vital and perplexing problem.

January 16.—Mrs. Sanger spoke to the Women Undergraduate Medical Students of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., and she was again greeted by an enthusiastic audience. The students readily recognized the fact that Birth Control is an important study and matter for investigation to the medical profession.

January 18.—Mrs. Lewis L. Delafield gave a large luncheon in honor of Mrs. Sanger at her home in New York City. A number of very prominent women were present and were extremely interested in Mrs. Sanger's departure for the Far East on a matter so vital to the future of the orient.

January 18.—Deaconess Young spoke before the members of

the Mothers Club at the Meinhard Memorial. Deaconess Young, through her great understanding of human life and of the necessity for Birth Control, brought the message of this vital and fundamental subject to the heart of every one.

January 20.—Mrs. Richard Billings of New York City gave a large farewell dinner to Mrs. Sanger at her home in New York City. Mrs. Billings and her guests were greatly interested in Mrs. Sanger's coming trip to Japan and China.

January 22.—Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein spoke in the morning at Carnegie Hall on Birth Control as a moral problem. Dr. Goldstein held his interested congregation with the high and vital message that he gave on Birth Control. Dr. Goldstein will speak again on this subject on the 5th of February.

January 23.—Mrs. J. P. Vandever of Kew Gardens, Long Island, N. Y., arranged a meeting at which Mrs. Sanger spoke and gave her house as the meeting place.

January 27.—Miss Mary Shaw played the leading role in Ibsen's "Ghosts" at the Broadhurst Theatre, 44th Street West of Broadway. This was a special benefit matinee for the American Birth Control League.

January 30.—The First Pennsylvania State Conference on Birth Control was held at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, Philadelphia. Luncheon, 1 P. M. A farewell to Mrs. Margaret Sanger, on leaving for China and Japan.

First Session, Junior Ball Room, 2:30 P. M.—Presentation of Papers. "The Relation Between Family Limitation and Child Welfare"—Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, The Children's Bureau, Philadelphia. "Advantages of Birth Control to the Physically Handicapped"—Dr. Lida-Stewart Cogill, Philadelphia.—Dr. Catharine Macfarlane, Philadelphia. "The Eu-

genic Aspect of Birth Control,"—Dr. Roswell H. Johnson, University of Pittsburg, Pittsburg, Pa. "Some Medical Aspects of Birth Control,"—Dr. Kate W. Baldwin, Philadelphia. "Birth Control as a Public Health Measure,"—Dr. Reynold A. Spaeth, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Second Session, Junior Ball Room, 8 P. M. Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Philadelphia, Chairman. "The Ethical Aspect of Birth Control,"—Rev. Frederick R. Griffin, Philadelphia. "Birth Control—Is It Moral?"—Mrs. Margaret Sanger.

January 30.—Deaconess Virginia Young spoke before the Council of Jewish Women, New Haven, Conn. Miss Young's subject was "Birth Control and Social Welfare."

February 5.—A large Farewell Mass Meeting in the honor of Mrs. Sanger's departure to Japan will be held by the American Birth Control League at the Lexington Opera House, New York City.

February 5.—Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein of the Free Synagogue will speak again on Birth Control at the Community Church, New York City. Dr. Goldstein clearly and scientifically brings the fundamental subject of Birth Control in its high spiritual sense to all who attend.

February 7.—Mrs. J. T. Swanton, of Rochester, N. Y., is arranging for a Mass Meeting in Rochester for Mrs. Sanger. On the following day it is planned to form the Rochester branch organization of the American Birth Control League.

February 10.—Under the direction of Mrs. Wm. A. McGraw who is acting as chairman for Michigan, and Miss Agnes Inglis, a large meeting will be held in Detroit. This mass meeting is to be preceded by a farewell luncheon to be given in honor of Mrs. Sanger's departure to Japan.

H. G. Wells on Birth Control

BUT THERE IS one fact, and one only, that militates against this idea of a pacific progressive Japan, a splendid leader in civilization amid the brotherhood of nations, and that is this, that Japan is already over-populated. She has to import not only food, but also industrial raw materials, and her population increases now by the tremendous figure of half a million every year. That reality gives substance to the aggressive imperialism of Japan. That is why she casts about for such regions for expansion as Eastern Siberia—the region not represented at the Conference, and so beyond its purview—and that is why she covets some preferential control in Chinese metals, minerals and food. Were it not for this steady invasion of the world by hungry lives, the principle of Japan for the Japanese, China for the Chinese, England for the English, and Eastern Siberia for its own people, would give us the simplest and most satisfactory principle of peace. But Japan teems.

Has any country the right to stop its population over and beyond its boundaries, or to claim trade and food because of its heedless self-congestion? Diplomacy is curiously mealy-

mouthed about many things. I have made a British official here blush at the words "Birth Control," but it is a fact that this aggressive fecundity of peoples is something that can be changed and restrained within a country, and that this sort of modesty that leads to the morbid development of population, and so to great wars, calls for intelligent discouragement in international relations.

Japan has modernized herself in many respects, but its social organization, its family system, is a very ancient and primitive one, involving an extreme domesticity of woman, and the maximum of babies. While sanitation and hygiene in Japan are still mediaeval, a sufficient proportion of these babies died soon, and prevented any over-pressure of population. But now that Japan has modernized itself in many respects, it needs to modernise itself in this respect also.

I submit that the troubles arising from excessive fecundity within a country justify, not aggressive imperialism on the part of that country, but a sufficient amount of Birth Control within its proper boundaries.—From the New York World.

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Long Live "The New Generation"

AFTER AN UNINTERRUPTED existence of forty-four years from its inception, the London *Malthusian* has terminates its appearance. But it is only to rise, like the phoenix, from its ashes into new life. For some time past the question of issuing a more popular paper has been earnestly considered by the council, and now that Lord Dawson's address, and the opening of the press to the subject of Birth Control has taken place it is felt that the psychological moment has arrived, and that the sooner the new paper is launched the better. Mrs. Bessie Drysdale, secretary and treasurer of the Malthusian League, set to work to prepare the ground for the new venture, with the result that arrangements were made for its publication, and with the principal newsagents for its sale on the bookstalls. The title of the paper is *The New Generation*. The first number which appeared early in January, contained articles by Miss Maude Royden, Mr. Harold Cox, Dr. Bernard Hollander and Cicely Hamilton, as well as greetings from many prominent journalists who have also kindly consented to act on the Editorial Council, and with their help it is hoped to make the new paper bright and attractive to all classes of readers, while preserving the most important features of the *Malthusian*.

We have received the following letter from Dr. C. V. Drysdale, president of the British League, concerning the *New Generation*:

As a sympathizer with the Birth Control cause, you will be glad to hear that arrangements have been completed with a publisher and the leading newsagents for the issue of a monthly paper on the subject. It has been suggested in many quarters that the subject matter dealt with in *The Malthusian* is deserving of a wider publicity than is afforded it in a private paper of a society. Lord Dawson's recent pronouncement and the wide interest it evoked, clearly indicates that the time has arrived for a popular journal on Birth Control to be launched.

The paper will be entitled *The New Generation* and be priced at 6d. It will deal with all aspects of the Birth Control question, both at home and abroad, and will not be committed to any special economic doctrine.

May I ask if you will co-operate in the new venture by kindly contributing an article in support of the above, during the first 12 months, on any aspect of the question.

We specially ask you to send us as soon as possible a short message of encouragement to appear in the first issue.

In order to assist in the task of launching this new paper, we hope you will be willing to let us have the first article without payment, but it is hoped that we shall be in a position to pay for any future contributions.

An editorial committee has been formed, including several well-known journalists, and it is intended that the *form* and style of the new journal will be a great improvement on that of the *Malthusian*.

A very early reply will greatly oblige as we intend to bring out our first number early in January, 1922.

MANY OF OUR readers will, we are sure, feel a pang of regret with ourselves at the passing of a journal which has kept the flag of truth flying through so many years of adversity and seemingly hopeless struggle. We sincerely hope and believe the new title will commend itself to all, and that the new paper will both fulfill the objects of the *Malthusian*, and satisfy the more popular demand for Birth Control literature. *Le Roi est mort! Vive le Roi!*

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Edited by Margaret Sanger

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BIRTH CONTROL

By Dr. Harriette M. Dilla

BACK OF BIRTH CONTROL

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

BIRTH CONTROL AND SEX PSYCHOLOGY

A Reply by Stella W. Browne

“W E E D S”

By Richard Connell

The First Pennsylvania Birth Control Conference

By Mary Winsor

Official Organ of
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- ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 124 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gelukkig Huisgezin*.
- GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
- FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bullfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
- SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
- BOHEMIA-CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
- AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscoss, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Morangapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.
- CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWEDEN (1911).—Sallakapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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Editor
MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor
ANNIE G. PORRITT

Circulation Manager
RUTH ALBERT

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DR. BERNARD HOLLANDER HAROLD COX
DR. NORMAN HAIRE

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. VI.

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Editorial

THE TIME MAY not be far distant when the invitation to Mrs. Sanger to visit Japan, China and India, in the interest of the Birth Control movement may be recognized as an event of first-class political and sociological importance—of more importance to the fate of civilization than all the deliberations of statesmen at the Disarmament Conference at Washington which has just come to an end. The greatest threat to the peace of the world is to be found in the teeming populations of Asia. During the nineteenth century Japan more than doubled her population. She has now reached the limit of her resources and the pressure on means of subsistence is so great that she is obliged to find some outlet for her superfluous numbers. China is in the grip of one of the periodic famines which are nature's cruel method of balancing food supplies and mouths that want feeding. India is seething with discontent, but no political revolution will relieve the distress of the people so long as the birth rate remains so high and the masses of the people multiply so much faster than the means of feeding and clothing them.

The Japanese are clear thinkers, and they realize the dilemma in which their country is placed. On the one hand they may remain within their own borders and starve; on the other they may overrun the countries belonging to other nations and subject themselves to the enmity and suspicion of the rest of the world. Only by one method can they keep the peace and yet live; and that method is by Birth Control—by bringing about in each individual family a balance between food and the number of mouths to eat it. The eagerness of the progressive Japanese to study the question of Birth Control is a guarantee of their desire to be at peace with the world, and to preserve their own nation intact and prosperous without interfering with the integrity and prosperity of other nations. The question is equally important for China. But in the case of China it is the Chinese people themselves who suffer most from over-population. Owing to their peaceful and more inert character as a nation, they accept their own fate without threatening the safety of other nations. But the world can no longer sit by in comfort and see any nation perishing from starvation, and nature's method of keeping the balance in China is angrily rejected as cruel and barbarous by the civilized world. It is but a very small beginning on a tremendous problem that one single individual can make. But the fact that Mrs. Sanger has been invited to speak to the thinking men and women of these three nations shows that the opening has come, and that a little ray of light and hope is stealing through

into the darkness of those untold multitudes of sufferers in the Orient.

NOTHING BUT GOOD to the Birth Control movement has come of the attempt to stop public discussion of the question in New York, of the outpourings from Roman Catholic sources, and of all the investigating by the New York City officials. The friends of the movement rejoice in the enormous amount of publicity which has been given to Birth Control. An expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars would not have secured the wide-spread advertising of their cause which has been effected through the action of its enemies. The fact that there was interference with the right of free speech brought to the aid of Mrs. Sanger and her associates men and women of high standing who were in no way connected with the Birth Control movement, and the absurd conduct of the city officials was too good an opening for attack to be allowed to pass by the large and influential newspapers of New York who are opposed to the present administration. Each adjournment of the hearing before Commissioner Hirshfield made more news for the papers, and kept Birth Control longer in the public eye. The movement is indeed fortunate in the enemies that it has made.

As regards the opposition on the part of certain dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, it must not be overlooked that the Church itself has not yet spoken authoritatively on the question; and that therefore the opposition of priests and bishops is only a matter of individual opinion. The individuals may be for the present exceedingly influential, but they have not enunciated finally the doctrine of the Church on the question. That the Church will probably be wiser than any of these noisy opponents is indicated by the fact that it has already moved some distance towards Birth Control. The fact that it is generally conceded even by these opponents that Birth Control through abstinence is not wrong, in reality gives the whole case away. It concedes the principle that parents have a right to limit the number of their children. The means by which this limitation may be secured is after all secondary to the principle of limitation, and when the medical profession is free to take up the subject and to make a real scientific study of its possibilities, there may be discoveries made which will greatly alter the attitude of men and women towards the use of contraceptives. The Roman Catholic Church has continually moved forward. It has accepted scientific facts and theories after having made martyrs of their discoveries. We

may expect noisy and energetic opposition from the Roman Catholics for a long time to come, but we may also expect that when Birth Control is generally adopted as a national policy by the more enlightened countries of the world, the Roman Catholic Church will give it its blessing, and perhaps insist on the responsibility of parents as earnestly as it now insists on their entire irresponsibility as regards the number of their offspring.

THE BIRTH CONTROL Movement in the United States passed another milestone last November when the American Birth Control League was formed. The League was necessary to show the strength of the Movement and the support that will be given to the demand for the legalization of Birth Control knowledge. Mrs. Sanger and her friends feel that the first step is the creation of a great body of public opinion in favor of the right of human beings to exercise reason and choice in regard to bringing new human beings into existence

and against applying the rule of chance to this stupendously important matter. Perhaps the public opinion already exists. If so, it needs to be demonstrated. The only way to force upon our representatives and legislators the conviction that the laws need to be changed is to show them that the demand from the people who elect them is so strong that it cannot be denied. Such a demand can only come through organization. If, within a few months of its formation, the Birth Control League can show a membership of a million men and women throughout the forty-eight states, the days of persecution will be over, and the hour of triumph will be at hand. To bring this about and thus shorten our fight, we are asking each reader of the REVIEW to secure ten new members for the League, ten people, each willing to give name and dollar to help to insure the permanence of our civilization and the prosperity of our Nation. Birth Control is the greatest hope that at the present moment can be offered to humanity. Will you not help to roll up our membership to the million mark?

News Notes

Under this heading it is our intention to keep track of developments, month by month, in the movement for Birth Control, both here and abroad. We ask our readers to cooperate by sending us information, from newspaper or other sources of anything that goes on in their home districts—especially when these districts are away from New York, where this REVIEW is published.

BEFORE THIS ISSUE of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW is in the hands of our readers, Margaret Sanger will be approaching Japan. She expects to remain there for at least two months, during which time she will give several series of lectures, and will get into touch with all the forward-looking organizations of thinkers in that country. The invitation to her came from a group of progressives who publish "Kaizo," a magazine devoted to the interests of the country and of humanity. While in Japan, Mrs. Sanger will be the guest of Baroness Ishimoto, daughter-in-law of the former Secretary of State for War. Difficulties were placed in her way by delay in granting her passport; and then by a refusal on the part of the Japanese to vize it. These difficulties were, however, eventually overcome.

On her way to Japan, Mrs. Sanger stopped over at Honolulu, where she had an invitation conveyed by Mr. Ulrick Thompson to speak before meetings arranged by the women's clubs of Hawaii. The women of Honolulu are taking a great interest in Mrs. Sanger's coming, and have assured her of a good reception and large audiences.

After leaving Japan, it is planned that Mrs. Sanger will visit both China and India, taking her message into both of these over-populated countries. The invitation to China comes through some Chinese gentlemen who were in Washington for the Disarmament Conference.

The weeks before leaving for Japan were busy weeks for Mrs. Sanger—so busy and so fatiguing that she was obliged to cancel the mass meeting which had been arranged for February 5th, at the Lexington Opera House, New York City. In place of this meeting it is planned to hold a huge meeting on her return from the Orient—a return that will be made by

way of London, where she will attend the International Birth Control Congress in July.

THE FOLLOWING MEETINGS and conferences, held since the January REVIEW went to press are worthy of mention here:

January 23.—At Kew Gardens, L. I. Mrs. Sanger spoke at a meeting at the home of Mrs. J. P. Vandever; the attendance included a large number of women from Flushing.

January 30.—The first Pennsylvania State Conference on Birth Control held at the Hotel Ritz Carlton. A description of this Conference written by Miss Mary Winsor, is given elsewhere in our pages.

February 5.—A dinner in honor of Mrs. Sanger was given at the Cosmopolitan Club, New York City, by a group of friends who are closely associated with her in the Birth Control League. Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee acted as toast-mistress.

February 6.—A meeting of the Lenox Hill Hospital Alumni was held with forty members present. Mrs. Kennedy gave an address on the "Fundamental Principle of Birth Control." Thirty persons joined the League.

February 7, 8.—Two meetings were held at Rochester, in the ballroom of the home of Mrs. T. J. Swanton. On the evening of the 7th the meeting was for members of the medical profession. It was well attended and great interest was manifested—the meeting being protracted until after 11 P. M. As in other cases where the subject has been discussed by doctors, the outstanding feature was the ignorance of the subject on the part of most of those who were present. The following afternoon the large room was crowded with a representative

audience of the women of the city. At both meetings Mrs. Sanger was the principal speaker.

February 9.—At the invitation of Mrs. G. E. Minthorn, Mrs. Sanger addressed a group of representative women at her home in Buffalo.

FEBRUARY 10.—Continuing her way across the continent, Mrs. Sanger next stopped at Detroit, where a luncheon had been arranged at the Hotel Statler. Over 360 representative men and women were present, and one hundred new members joined the League as a result of Mrs. Sanger's talk. Mrs. Wm. A. McGraw presided and introduced Mrs. Sanger. In the evening a public meeting was held in the Auto-Workers' Hall. The capacity of the hall is 1200, but the audience far outran this number and hundreds were turned away. One feature of this meeting was the eagerness of the people for literature, which was sold through the audience by Miss Agnes Inglis.

February 11.—Mrs. Sanger reached Chicago. A tea at which she was the guest of honor was given by Mrs. E. W. Bemis in the afternoon to the Chicago members of the League.

February 13.—Mrs. Sanger addressed a meeting arranged by the Chicago Women's Club. The audience was large and representative and the usual interest was shown in the subject of Birth Control.

February 16.—A meeting was held under the auspices of the King Manor Association of West Hempstead, L. I., President Mrs. Wm. W. Gillen. The subject chosen by the Association was "Social Aspects of Birth Control, and an address was given by Mrs. Annie G. Porritt.

February 19.—A farewell mass meeting, arranged by Mrs. Clare Shipman of the American Women's Independence Committee, was addressed by Mrs. Sanger in San Francisco. A fuller account of this—her last meeting before sailing—will be given in our next issue.

FEBRUARY 17.—The adjourned hearing on the breaking up of the Town Hall Meeting by the police on November 13th was held by Commissioner Hirshfield. It will be recalled that at the first hearing on January 24th, the Commissioner refused to allow Mr. Marsh to conduct the hearing and broke up proceedings "in a huff"—to quote one of the New York daily newspapers. A second hearing was called for February 2nd, but this time the Commissioner neglected to call the witnesses requested by Mr. Emory R. Buckner, of the firm of Rost, Clark, Buckner & Howland. Mr. Buckner appeared in place of Mr. Marsh, to conduct the hearing on behalf of the committee headed by Mr. Paul Cravath, which had taken up the cause of free speech and demanded the inquiry as a protest against illegal police interference with the constitutional rights of Americans. Evidence concerning the breaking up of the meeting was given by Monroe Block, Albert De Silver, J. Noah H. Slee, Mrs. Lewis L. Delafield and Dr. Lydia De Vilbiss. The hearing was then postponed until February 17th, to allow the calling as witnesses of the policemen who had had to do with the breaking up of the meeting. At this third hearing Captain Donahue who stopped the meeting, Thomas J. Murphy, the young police stenographer who arrested Mrs.

Rublee, after she had given evidence at the hearing before Inspector Lahey and Assistant District Attorneys Gibbs and Wilson, were placed on the stand. An effort was made to secure evidence also from Mr. M. W. Dolphin, Assistant Corporation Counsel, but he was not present when called by Mr. Buckner. The examination of these witnesses brought out clearly and unmistakably two facts: First, that all the three women arrested—Mrs. Sanger, Mrs. Rublee and Miss Winsor were absolutely innocent of any crime and that the arrests were an unwarrantable interference with their liberty; and second, that there was no legal justification whatever for breaking up the meeting.

MR. BUCKNER INSISTED in his examination of Captain Donahue that it was the police who had caused the disorder. "As I interpret it" he said, "the Captain violated the law which reads 'A person who without authority of law wilfully disturbs any assembly or meeting, not unlawful in its character, is guilty of a misdemeanor.'" His examination of Captain Donahue proved that no law had been violated before the police interfered. The question as to who sent the message ordering the stopping of the meeting to the precinct desk Lieutenant who passed the order on to Captain Donahue was not settled, but it was brought out that Monsignor Dineen had been present at the meeting and had made a complaint to Captain Donahue concerning the presence of children. In commenting on the investigation, Mr. Buckner said, "Whether or not some of the individuals who were arrested will take further action I cannot say." He evidently felt that there was ample basis for damages on the part of the three leaders who had been put to so much trouble by the action of the police.

February 20.—To clear up the question of the origin of the order given to Captain Donahue, Commissioner Hirshfield held a supplementary hearing at which evidence was given by Inspector Bolan. According to his testimony and to that of desk lieutenant Courtenay, Captain Donahue acted on his own initiative in stopping the meeting. The only order given to him was that he should take a number of policemen to the meeting and see that the law was not violated. Apparently all that remains to be said of the occurrence is that "somebody blundered," and that even in New York the authorities dare not arrogate to themselves the right to stop a meeting simply because they do not approve of it.

FOREIGN NOTES

TWO NEW BIRTH Control clinics have been opened in London. One of these at Walworth, is under the auspices of the Malthusian League, and has been well supported in the London press. The other, near the Elephant and Castle—one of the landmarks of South London—is being conducted on lines similar to those of Welfare Centers. Both are serving vast areas of congested population.

The United Farm women of Alberta in their yearly convention, considered a proposal to remove "all barriers due to legal restrictions, tradition, prejudice or ignorance, which now prevent parents from access to such scientific knowledge on Birth Control as is possessed by the medical profession." As the

delegates felt that they had not been empowered to pass this resolution it was referred back to the locals, to be considered during the current year and to be brought up again at the next Convention in January, 1923.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Congress is to be held in London, July 4-7, under the auspices of the Malthusian League. An invitation has been sent to the American Birth Control League to send as large a delegation as possible. There will be a small fee for each delegate attending, and a contribution towards the expenses of the Congress will be asked from each organization that takes part in it. A tentative draft of the Sections so far arranged by Mrs. Drysdale is as follows:

General Birth Control Section—*Chairman*, Mrs. Margaret Sanger.

Eugenic Section—*Chairman*, Professor E. W. McBride.
 Medical Section—*Chairman*, Sir Arbuthnot Lane.
 Hygienic Preventives Section—*Chairman*, Dr. Norman Haire.
 Economic Section—*Chairman*, Dr. C. V. Drysdale.
 Political Section—*Chairman*, Mr. Harold Cox.

The program will include visits to the clinics, a big public meeting in Kensington Town Hall, an outdoor meeting in South London, and an excursion to Dorking to the home of Thomas Robert Malthus.

Mrs. Sanger is planning to reach London in time for this Congress, and the nucleus of a delegation has already been formed in New York. Any members of the League who would be interested and able to attend are invited to send their names at once to Mrs. Ann Kennedy, Secretary, Birth Control League, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Balancing Our Population

By T. N. Carver

THERE IS NOT the slightest doubt that the differential birth-rate in all civilized countries constitutes a serious menace to civilization. Every animal breeder knows what would happen to his herd if the best animals had the fewest offspring and the poorest had the largest number. Nor is there the slightest doubt that, in the interest of social progress or the permanence even of our civilization, the intellectual classes should have more children. There seems, however, to be nothing that can be done about it by the government through its one power of exercising compulsion over people. The only possible way of accomplishing anything here is through a direct appeal, evangelical or otherwise, to the intellectual classes. Unfortunately, there is no organization today, either religious or ethical, that is capable of making any effective appeal to the intellectual classes who are, perhaps, in greater need of it than any other class. Here lies the greatest need of our civilization.

It is equally clear that there ought to be a lower birth rate among the non-intellectual classes, especially those that are near the bottom of the economic and social scale. These are the people to whom practically all our religious and ethical organizations make their special appeal. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that these are the only people who can be effectively reached by the ordinary evangelical appeal. Unfortunately, many of our religious and evangelical organizations have perverted their function and are making a diametrically wrong appeal to such people, encouraging them to spawn rather than to build families in a constructive sense. When we come to the very lowest individuals, namely, the feeble-minded, probably even the evangelical appeal becomes ineffective, just as economic foresight has long been ineffective as a means of control. In dealing with this class of defectives, authority is probably the only agency. Segregation in institutions is doubtless the best method available at the present time. Such people are incapable of maintaining a standard of

living. Having no regrets for yesterday and no fears for tomorrow, they live on the impulse of the moment and follow their procreative tendencies with as little restraint as the lower animals. They can easily fill the world with the feeble-minded unless authority intervenes to check the process.

UNFORTUNATELY, THERE are certain powerful interests that oppose any attempt at restriction, even among the feeble-minded. It has been demonstrated that morons and high grade imbeciles make most excellent cannon fodder. Every military adventurer and every one who wants to ape a military adventurer has therefore encouraged spawning on the part of such people. They also make docile parishioners. Every priest of a superstitious religion, therefore, wants to see them multiply. They can also be trained into excellent household servants and unskilled workmen. All those who want cheap help in the kitchen—and they include a great many who are willing to shed tears over the woes of the laboring man in the abstract—and every one who wants cheap labor of any kind has a special economic motive for encouraging the propagation of morons and of others that are close to the border line.

Most of us, if we thought exclusively of our own personal interests and had no interest whatever in social progress or civilization, would like to see our own possible competitors thinned out, likewise the possible competitors of our children. If we followed this narrow, selfish interest of ours, we of the intellectual classes would all naturally encourage sterility among others of our own class. That would leave a better opportunity for our own children. At the same time, we should all encourage the multiplication of numbers of other classes who cannot by any possibility compete with us, but who may serve us in various capacities. It is not until we get away from this narrow and stupidly selfish point of view, and begin to look to the permanent interests of the society to which

we belong that we begin to think of ways and means of balancing up our population. This can only be done by encouraging the multiplication of those who have shown the constructive qualities that make civilization, and discouraging the multiplication of those who only furnish the brick and mortar. Anyone who really and intelligently desires to see greater equality of economic opportunity and of economic condition must see that the greatest present cause of inequality is the differential birth-rate, and that the only effective and permanent cure for this is a balancing-up of the birth-rate. This will make constructive talent relatively more abundant than it now is, and the brick and mortar of civilization relatively less abundant. This would considerably reduce the incomes of

those few who are now capable of building civilization, because there would be more competition among them. At the same time, it would materially increase the incomes of the classes that are now poor because of the overcrowding of the unskilled occupations and the low wages resulting. Any one, therefore, who does not favor any reasonable program for balancing the birth-rate must be suspected, whatever his professions, of desiring to see the present inequalities preserved or increased. He is beyond all question working as effectively for that end as he possibly could. When foxes encourage large families among rabbits, we must not take them too seriously when they shed tears over the condition of the poor rabbits.

Back of Birth Control

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

THE ADVANTAGES of a balanced population are plain enough for any one to see. A country like France needs more people, and it is a charge against good citizenship of both men and women if they do not produce more. Germany has enough, more than enough, to judge by recent events. Japan has too many, China too many. Any country which has more people than it can support in comfort and health has too many.

This "pressure of population" which is advanced as a cause for the wholesale brigandage of war, is an excuse worthy of locusts. There is a place in Australia where stands a tall wire fence, miles and miles long, built to keep out rabbits, and the pressure of the rabbit population piles them along that fence in starving heaps. It would be an interesting experiment to place a pair of healthy rabbits on a fertile and otherwise unoccupied little island, and see how soon they would automatically starve themselves out.

Our earlier theory, still "held by the enemy," that a nation short of land and long of population had only to help itself to the land of other people, is now disputed by those other people. It only puts off the evil day, in any case. We cannot compete with rabbits to be sure, but we can fill up the arable earth pretty soon, especially as we learn to check the infant mortality.

And then what? Is it our purpose to have a "saturated solution" of humanity on earth? To be as thick as we can possibly sustain life? The world given over to intensive agriculture so as to sustain incredible billions, and no elbow room at all?

FROM THE POINT of view of the individual mother the matter is equally clear. No woman should have more children than she desires, or than she thinks wise; she should at least be a free agent in the matter. Her abuse in this function is a frequent cause of injury to her and to her crowding little ones, with resultant neglect, poverty, and often vice.

All these claims made by the courageous advocates of Birth Control are true, important and pressing. Why then does so visibly good a measure lack general support? The opposition

of such religions as wish to increase their adherents and incomes by this kind of multiplication is natural; and that of slow-minded people who have a vague idea that rational restriction of birth is "flying in the face of Providence"; also that of militaristic nations who want more "cannon-fodder." But there remain very many free-minded well-wishers to mankind who are not enthusiastic in this work, why is that?

There are two good reasons. The first, and most conspicuous is this: Among the many evils which beset the world none is more injurious than that sum of vice and disease, shame, crime and common unhappiness, which springs from excessive sex-indulgence. In marriage or out, this unbridled indulgence works harm to our species, a harm so conspicuous that nothing but long submission and utter ignorance can account for our indifference.

In our day the after-effects of the war, and the morbid doctrines of Freud as to the bad results of "suppressed desires" have accentuated what was always an evil, and made this human disorder not only more common but offensively conspicuous. It is oddly amusing to see people who have flatly repudiated their old religious faith, instantly give the same blind acceptance to any new theory they happen to pick up. Has no one had the mental agility to try the test of comparison on this suppressed-desire bugaboo? How about the people who never do suppress their desires? Are they so much better off? The plantation negroes, and their savage prototypes do very little suppressing. There have been many kings who gratified every wish of their bodies (we cannot call it hearts), and yet were neither happy nor healthy. Our now repudiated Puritan ancestors were as sturdy folk as any pirates. The world has but slowly and partially learned the basic lesson of civilization, self-control, and now comes this German psychopathologist to tell us it is better to be as unconsciously self-expressive and self-indulgent as the beasts we came from.

THIS DOCTRINE is widely accepted among our ardent youth, and older persons still as ardent, apparently, with an increase in general licentiousness which at least tends to

furnish a good crop of patients for our hospitals and insane asylums. Some doctors point to the numbers of nervous wrecks made by suppressed desires. Have they counted them and compared them with the other wrecks, mental and physical, made by indulged desires? Besides, there is this to be said for the ill health of the suppressed—it is neither contagious nor hereditary!

Unfortunately for the Birth Control Movement, its perfectly honest and true claims upon our attention and support are taken as a shelter by many whose personal interest in Birth Control has nothing to do with the protection of suffering motherhood, injured childhood, or the promotion of peace. There are in the movement men and women of the highest moral character, the noblest and most disinterested humanitarian purpose, and there are others, too many others, who advocate and sometimes practice a degree of sex-indulgence which is the more unbridled for the guarantee of "safety"; this not meaning safety from any ulterior punishment, civil, social, or eternal, for they think what they do is right and proper,—but safety from responsibility.

If the leadership was mainly composed of working class wives, and of gynecologists and pediatricists, together with ministers and social servants of high character, it would long since have acquired a much larger following.

Back of this is the other reason, deeper, stronger far to the serious student of social evolution.

Of all the errors incident to the development of human consciousness in a race of animals, none has had wider ill-effects than our misuse of the sex function. The dignity, freedom and vast potential power of motherhood have, with us, been quite submerged in the perversion of this essential faculty to a means of enjoyment.

IN NO OTHER species is the female so subjected, and, in clear corollary, in no other species is there the misery and morbidity shown in ours in this field. That it has become habitual with us and is now recognized as "normal" does not alter its basic abnormality. That it is a pleasure to eat is natural and healthy; that we should eat for pleasure, either in the simple gluttony of the savages or the gross extreme of the emetic-prolonged banqueting of the ancient Romans, is neither natural nor healthy.

The purpose of eating is clear, the accompanying pleasure is not the purpose. The purpose of mating is clear, the accompanying pleasure is not the purpose.

Very early in our unwritten history, man's ingenuous efforts to give himself pleasure, enforced upon an economically subject woman, soon resulted in a world cult of indulgence of which Freud and his followers furnish a lingering echo. No man thought of suppressing his desires if he had the ability to gratify them, either in his household in peace, or anybody's household in war.

Very many women died in process of adaptation to this unnatural usage. Whole tribes were exterminated through the too dreadful misuse of their women. But those who survived were able to endure, and in course of time there appeared some women whose desires were as unpressurable as those of men.

These were always a minority. Not all the "light ladies" together were ever able to meet the demand, hence woman slavery, in all its forms.

The monogamy natural to our race, as to so many other animals, has had a hard time developing under this handicap. Where men never suppress their desires, polygamy, with concubinage and slavery, is really easier for the women. But monogamy, with unbridled desire has shown results so unpleasant that many criticize that relation—never dreaming of criticizing their misuse of it.

THE GROWING BEAUTY of mutual love, the endless pleasure of congenial companionship, the shared joys and cares of parenthood together with the sanction of religion and the restrictions of law, have not, so far, saved marriage from the deadly results of unexpressed desire.

To those who see our sex difficulties in this light it seems a poor thing at best to be agitating for Birth Control. We need a much more radical control than that.

We need a new generation taught from earliest childhood the simple natural facts, unvarying and clean, about the normal relation of the sexes, and that we, in this as in so many other ways, are far from normal. Strong and straight is the natural law. The female is for motherhood, the male for fatherhood, both equally for the general activities of their species. Monogamy is the natural relation of all species where the young are benefited by the continued care of both parents.

But monogamy means the remaining together of parents primarily for the advantage of their young, and secondarily for the pleasure of companionship; it does not mean a continuous license for a barren indulgence. In some rare cases we find married lovers maintaining a honeymoon basis of enjoyment, in most we see a weary disillusionment, an unromantic dutiful submission to an unromantic physical indulgence.

We shall not change in one generation from a status which has been developed through a thousand centuries, but any living thing reverts to the normal, give it a chance, in far less time than it took to make it abnormal. What we need is recognition of what ails us, and a gradual increase of rational restraint until we are again in the healthy condition of our "lower" brethren, whose desires only appear at the right period of fulfilment, and do not trouble them at all in the rest of the time.

HOLDING THESE VIEWS it is easy to see that Birth Control does not seem a basic measure at all, but one seeking to eliminate a consequence while leaving the cause untouched. It is no harm, it is doubtless doing good, but it is too popular with those who go on doing old evil with new assurance.

There is no faintest criticism here intended of many noble single-hearted people who are working for this end. There is no denial of our immediate practical need of just such a help to the world while we are struggling on to higher things.

For the crushed over-bred mother it would mean a vast improvement in her condition and that of her family. Long before men are able to outgrow this condition of excessive desire, they will be willing at least to restrict the consequences. If

every swarming country, where ever-crowding numbers push steadily upon their means of subsistence and look avidly at their neighbors, could practice Birth Control, the world would at least get no worse!

But the best of all means to limit birth is that shown in the biological law "Individuation is in inverse proportion to reproduction." The higher the individual development of a species the lower its birth rate. Bacteria, insects, reptiles, vermin of all sorts, reproduce like mad—they have to, it appears.

The oyster casts upon the waters three million eggs, I have read, of which two or three may survive. But the lioness replies to the boastful fox, "Unum, sed leonem." The best and surest way to limit human births, by natural means, is to rapidly apply all possible advantages to every child we have, to every grown person as well, so as to lift the level of the race higher and higher. Conscious social evolution willed, directed, will show faster and more general growth than our blind ancestors ever dreamed of. In this conscious growth the movement for Birth Control is a step in the right direction.

Birth Control and Sex Psychology

A Reply to "Back of Birth Control"

By F. W. Stella Browne

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN is so serious, so high minded in her realism and so clear in her perception of economic facts, that any pronouncement of hers on Birth Control should be considered with attention and respect. Any critique of this pronouncement is rendered more easy by her opening admission: "The advantages of a balanced population are plain enough for any one to see"; and again: "No woman should have more children than she desires or than she thinks wise; she should at least be a free agent in the matter."

The fundamental assumptions then, for which we work and fight, are conceded. It is on matters of application and temperamental adjustment that Mrs. Gilman feels bound to demur. The imperious tormenting inhibitions of the Puritan break through the intellectual independence of the Radical feminist. Mrs. Gilman is so afraid that under the knowledge and practice of Birth Control, people will be *too* happy and *too* comfortable. She is afraid they may enjoy not only the psychic but the physical side of sex, more frequently and more intensely than now.

Well: WHY NOT?

Let me say at once, as Mrs. Gilman has alluded to the spread of psycho-analytic theory (or, as I should prefer to call it, psychoanalytic *dogmatism*) as a disintegrating and degrading influence in morals,—that the case for Birth Control from the point of view of sexual freedom, would be equally strong if Freud and his disciples had never existed. No doubt much nonsense is talked about "complexes" by people—in England as in America—who two years ago did not know the meaning of the word. But not only independent investigation on scientific lines, but also the experience of every open-minded person, must confirm the conviction of the evils of sexual repression from which so many women still suffer, and whose effects were even more widespread in the last two generations.

AND THIS BRINGS me to the biological argument advanced by Mrs. Gilman: "The purpose of mating is clear. The accompanying pleasure is not the purpose." Does she know that recent scientific investigation—not on psycho-ana-

lytical but on bio-chemical lines,—has proved *that sex exists and is determined by the hormones or products of the ductless glands, quite apart from the reproductive functions?* I recommend to her notice the work of Professor Steinach, which has been brilliantly introduced to English speaking readers by Dr. Eden Paul. It may of course, be considered a damnatory circumstance, that Steinach like Freud, hails from Central Europe! But then, the intellectual classes of Central Europe are not hampered by the traditions of Salem from using their intelligence about sex.

Mrs. Gilman talks of "the monogamy natural to our race"—which she considers is endangered by the potentialities of Birth Control. Really, really! Her very anxiety proves that she knows, what some of us are not afraid to admit, that this "monogamy"—which as a dogma plays the same part among some advanced circles as the exact status of the Holy Ghost did in old Byzantium!—so far from being "natural" to humanity, is *extremely rare*. In so far as monogamy is really achieved, it is only at the cost of either:

(a) The strict subjection of women; an alternative which we both agree is intolerable; or

(b) A very minimum of coercion or maximum of freedom with every liberty for temporary variations and durations in sexual relationships: permanent monogamy relieved by variety. It is the very development of the brain and imagination in "homo sapiens" (defective enough as he and she alike remain) that has stimulated and complicated the physical sex functions and the psychic impulse of sex. That these have had hideous and deplorable consequences we all admit; a sound economic order, the diffusion of knowledge in these matters, and the removal of artificial disabilities on women, will largely remove these consequences: pleas for repression, Christian cant, Comstock legislation, have never removed them. For the rest, is Mrs. Gilman prepared to sacrifice quite half the Art and Literature of the world, in her dislike of sexual expression?

BIRTH CONTROL is the key to sexual liberty. As such, it is rationally and logically attacked by the opponents

of sexual liberty and sexual equality. For the Radical feminist, who advocates liberty and equality in all other departments, Birth Control is the "acid test." Sex exists independently of Puritan disapproval. We enter life, not Minerva like by some effort of conscious (or unconscious) cerebration, but by the organs and functions which Puritanism mis-

trusts as vile and perilous. Let us, in the words of Havelock Ellis: "prepare the way by undermining and destroying those degrading traditional conceptions which have persisted so long that they are instilled into us almost from birth, to work like a virus in the heart and to become almost a disease of the soul."

The Social Significance of Birth Control

An Address Before the First American Birth Control Conference

By Harriette M. Dilla

THERE HAVE BEEN so many excellent papers presented at this Conference, that it seems there is little left for anyone to say, especially from the Sociological point of view because Sociology is, as you know, a composite of other sciences, though it can scarce be called a science, itself.

There are two preliminary postulates which we shall wish to remember, and make clear in the minds of others. In the first place, it is a fact that no movement by itself is self-sufficient, and as members of the movement for Birth Control I am sure that we do not claim that it alone is adequate to the tremendous needs of society. We must be largely dependent upon, and certainly co-operate with, all the splendid agencies that are working at present.

Therefore the Birth Control Movement is not inharmonious, but entirely compatible with the eugenic measures of sterilization and permanent custodial care of the mental defective and congenital criminal. At times I find a tendency to confound Birth Control with sterilization and custodial care. Birth Control is a measure requiring intelligent understanding of reproduction by the responsible classes in society. The reproduction of the irresponsible classes must be regulated by society, itself, and among the methods that have been favored are sterilization and permanent custodial care.

In the second place, when a new problem is presented to us, it must be considered from an entirely unprejudiced point of view. It is a great injustice to ourselves, I think, to impose upon our reason the limitation of prejudice. We are not going to do it, nor encourage it upon the part of others. We have, then, two preliminary postulates, first, there is need for co-operation with every present agency doing genuine work in society; and second, each new movement deserves fair consideration by a free mind. We know that fear and scientific freedom are incompatible.

A DISCUSSION OF Birth Control from the Sociological point of view would be incomplete if its relation to Eugenics were not emphasized. For the sake of brevity and clarity, may we observe the somewhat dogmatic division into Positive and Negative Eugenics?

Under Positive Eugenics, we shall consider racially fit individuals, with high standards of life, high evaluation of family relationships, and an appreciation of the economic obstacles to realizing them.

1. Have we ascertained the proportion of such individuals who remain celibate because economic conditions do not

justify assumption of family responsibilities based upon an uncontrolled parenthood? Their's apparently is the choice between celibacy and a parenthood which they are not permitted to control. Amidst economic stress and uncertainty they choose the former, and can we censure them?

2. If there are such, would the power of self-determined parenthood help to remove the barrier to marriage and eventual parenthood? If individuals of this class were permitted to exercise their judgement in this, as in infinitely lesser realms, would a considerable number be happy to assume parenthood?

3. If so, would this fact tend to increase the number of family units among the racially desirable, and bring greater numbers within the sphere of potential parenthood?

4. If so, does it seem that the power of control of parenthood is of interest to Eugenists as one promising possible solution of this problem?

Under Negative Eugenics we shall include, among the racially less desirable, only those who possess sufficient intellect and control to render them responsible individuals. The irresponsible, it is obvious, must be excluded from our consideration, and their reproduction subjected to social control.

IS IT NOT true that Eugenists have hoped to preclude disgenic parenthood by directing their interdict against marriage? Have they not, in this way, identified parenthood with marriage, and attempted to prevent the former by enjoining the latter? I refer to the racial conscience which they hope to build up among responsible individuals. Now we may ask ourselves this question:

What proportion of the racially disgenic individuals conform to this racial standard, and what are the results of conformity and non-conformity?

First, there are those who conform and do not enter upon marriage. The men of this group decide to live celibate, and it is only fair to them to suppose that they intend to live continent. But they find the world as lonely as it is populous, and as many disappointments as there are expectations. The monotony of gray life in drab furnished rooms becomes unbearable. Stress of effort, strain of disappointment and resistance to the great drive in human nature are sometimes too much, and the hope to live continent fails of realization.

If this is true, does it seem that a possible aftermath of conformity to our standard may be promiscuity of sex-rela-

tionship? And may this be true also of the unmarried class whom we considered under positive Eugenics? Can race and promiscuity profit at the same time, especially that factor of promiscuity which we term prostitution?

And if we pass to the further problem of illegitimacy, resulting from promiscuity, shall we be compelled to confess that at times we suffer additional defeat? Parenthood through marriage was discouraged, and to some extent—we do not know how great the extent—parenthood independent of marriage has arisen to defeat what looked at first like victory. And to the disaster of disgenic heredity, which we sought to prevent, is added the tragedy of illegitimacy.

SECOND, THERE ARE those who enter upon marriage, notwithstanding our hope that racial conscience would prevail. The disgenic factor may be tuberculosis, psychopathic or neuropathic instability, some higher and less obvious form of mental deficiency, venereal infection, or one of many other unfortunate defects. How can this family be prevented from becoming a racial menace?

(1) Shall it be dissolved? Perhaps it is a union founded upon rare fineness of interest, where there is present every element for the better association of two responsible individuals. Society would hesitate, indeed, to disrupt such a family, and is it not possible that society would have much to lose by such disruption?

(2) Shall absolute continence be imposed, if so, how and with what results?

(3) Shall parenthood be risked by chance that amounts to negative compulsion? or

(4) Shall there be made possible to the members of this union immunity from disgenic parenthood, through control of conception by information which we know exists today?

These are the phases of the problem of Birth Control as it relates to the individual family. How overwhelming the problem in the field of social relationships at large! From the well-known Studies of the Children's Bureau, the Report and Evidence of the National Birth-rate Commission of Great Britain, the statistical publications of organizations conversant with nation and state-wide problems of social pathology, and the case records of countless social service agencies, we see something of the panorama of tragedy in society at large.

IS IT TRUE we have defective children doomed to defect from the moment of conception? Dependent and delinquent children and adults strongly predisposed to pathologic careers, not by environment alone, but by congenital defect, effective both by heredity and other channels of transmission? Children conceived of parents suffering from tuberculosis, psychopathic and neuropathic instability or venereal infection, when we are more certain than uncertain that these defects, or that predisposition to them is transmissible in many cases? Is it not true that children continue to be born against the judgment and will of parents, to augment the problem of relief and to increase the number of persons already destined to the humiliation of dependency upon others? And is it not

true that many of these children will pay for their intrusion the penalty of early labor?

Is it true that women, many times mothers in the midst of squalor, are seeking the knowledge by which they may cease to burden themselves and society and impair the race? That these mothers upon being refused this knowledge by those professions to whom they look for advice in other vital matters, resort to such modes of self-help as only frenzied minds can conjure up? Is it true that entire neighborhoods of mothers succumb to horrible remedy because prevention is denied them? And all this in an age of the glorification of motherhood, and the existence,—we may be permitted to assume,—of knowledge sufficiently ethical, aesthetic and physically non-injurious to receive the approval of the most exacting classes of our society today!

Can it be that the menace of extending information is greater than the menace of withholding it? Is it physically possible that the danger from abuse of knowledge can exceed the danger from abuse of ignorance?

ARE THESE NOT the conditions among enlightened peoples after race-long attempts at relief and decades of modern preventive effort for social welfare? Excellent, searching and systematic as our social work has become, does it sometimes seem to us, (especially those among us who are in the midst of it), that our progress lies not so much in the solution of our problems, as in the elaboration of more magnificent machinery for their perpetuation upon an ever-increasing scale? And still is it not true that the human nature with which we deal today with such imperfect understanding is essentially the same that it has always been, for after all, has it not remained remarkably unchanging?

Where lies the inadequacy, if not failure, of our past effort? Is it possible that we have omitted from our plan of action some vitally important factor of solution? If we seem to possess too much reason to be purely instinctive, and too much instinct to be purely rational, can we not harmonize these endowments, and do so openly, honestly and healthfully? *Have we made available to mankind every power at his command for self-rehabilitation? Is it possible that the power to regulate parenthood by control of conception is one great resource upon which we have not yet drawn in our general programs for social welfare?*

“What is the social and racial value of Birth Control?” We ask this question in a scientific and impartial spirit. To whom may we turn for a scientific and impartial answer?

FIRST, SHALL WE turn to the profession of Medicine? Or is it true that by force of circumstances this has become an eminently conservative body? Perhaps this is due to the suppression which it has experienced from the days of the seventeenth century, when it was compelled to conform to the censorship of church and state. And just as it accepted three centuries ago the limitations imposed upon it by the dogma of a distorted Aristotle, does it not consent today, with remarkable loyalty, to the legal restrictions initiated by a some-

what less notable authority, who did not have the distinction of possessing all the knowledge of his time? When our federal and state laws confer upon the Medical Profession the necessary freedom to develop the vital subjects of sex science and obstetrical practice, may we not confidently trust it to measure up to the excellent progress it has made in other fields where it has been free from legal limitations?

Second, shall we turn to the profession of Social Service? Or is it also by force of circumstances an unfree body? Is it true that public charities are sometimes dominated directly by partisan motives and considerations of tenure that render scientific initiative extremely hazardous and unwelcome? And ultimately, by an electorate whose chief recommendation is not its social wisdom? And is it also true that private charities depend for their very life upon approval of subscribers, and that all plans of action must proceed with utmost circumspection?

Does it seem, then, that the two great professions most intimately serving human nature are among the most unfree in

helping it to answer a fundamental question? And does it seem that, in comparison with these professions science is relatively free from the barriers of tradition and the menace of partisan and personal prejudice? And with this rare freedom, what more magnificent work lies before you of scientific training and interests for scientific development and impartial conclusion?

If there are those among us who discover in ourselves, from any motive whatever, a cringing timid circumspection which commends itself to us by any name of less contempt, let us eradicate it at once, or cease to impede and discredit the work of scientific endeavor. Fear and the scientific spirit cannot exist together. Servility and honor are incompatible.

May I close with the entreaty that we may all consider it our responsibility and privilege to carry forward as rapidly as possible such researches as may enlighten present thought upon this burning present problem; if the spirit of the race could speak as the spirit of many an individual has spoken, would it ask for charity, or would it ask for justice?

Birth Control in Relation to V. D.

An Appreciation of Margaret Sanger

By Ettie A. Route (of New Zealand)

A FEW MONTHS ago I had the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Sanger lecture in London; and then, of course, I went to hear her again! Each time she not merely inspired and informed, but endeared herself as well to all those privileged to hear her. We began by listening to her—and ended by loving her: for herself as well as for her message. In Scotland it was just the same as in England, only more so: attention and affection aroused and retained with every fresh lecture. And the lectures were always essentially fresh, clean and wholesome, simple and vital. It was Motherhood the world wanted, but Conscious Motherhood—not squalid sprawling thoughtless fecundity. To understand and control was to reverence and direct: to *will* for the good of ourselves and those who come after us. With Knowledge came Power, but the Knowledge must be used to increase the good and lessen the evil in the world. Yet Knowledge was in any case the right of all: it must not be withheld from any: suppressing facts for fear they might be applied awkwardly—that wasn't strong or brave, and we must be both. We must have both Hope and Faith, and *work* for Social Welfare as well as Individual Happiness. Science would tell us how—at first hesitatingly and incompletely, but soon frankly and fully; and the teachings of Science were so essentially *clean* and *straight*. Ethics divorced from Science would lead us only to stagnant pools and morasses: both the ethical and the scientific teachings were wanted to solve our modern problems.

How sound all this was I realized yet once more when reading this little paragraph in the report of a medical congress held in England recently. The discussion was on the subject of Venereal Disease, and here is the paragraph:

“Dr. Marion Mackenzie (Leeds) urged that the medical

profession should teach venereal men and women methods of Birth Control. Women often became pregnant while attending a clinic. Apart from the risk of defaulting and not completing treatment, it was a sad sight to see expectant mothers in the atmosphere of a venereal clinic. If necessary such women must be taught means of preventing conception.”

THAT, OF COURSE, is only a special and local reason for teaching adult women the means of Birth Control, it may seem at first sight, but really the questions of disinfection and contraception are inextricably mingled in these days. We really must not let our desire to lessen extra-marital contacts—our fear of encouraging these—blind us to our individual and racial duties. Because women are immoral that is no reason why they should become pregnant—or diseased. Nobody is made really “moral” through fear of “consequences”: there surely is a difference between cautiousness and purity! Morality rests on the promotion of Virtue, not on the ruin of the health of men, women and children. The time will come when loveless and mercenary sex-relationship will seem to all men and women as horrible as already it seems to many of us; when irresponsible instant and promiscuous intercourse will be merely as a bad dream; when clean men and clean women will meet only in dignified and honorable relationship. But that time is not yet, and it will NEVER come if we do not adopt every means of preventing and curing syphilis, gonorrhœa and other venereal diseases, because venereal disease in itself is a potent cause of mental, moral and physical degradation.



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When I discussed all this and more with Margaret Sanger one evening, she said simply: "Why, yes, it would help in both my work and yours if we could get men and women to keep themselves clean—keep all the openings of the body clean and wholesome, and all their functions under our conscious direc-

tion and control." Just the childlike directness of thought and speech one expects from Mrs. Sanger, isn't it? Did they really mean to prosecute her in America: perhaps they just forgot for the moment that "To the pure in heart all things are pure."

WEEDS

By Richard Connell

THE PAUPERS HUDDLED around the fire in the drafty kitchen, trying to keep warm. Old Man Eggers, from time to time, stirred the smouldering drift-wood with a cane, held in fingers gnarled by rheumatism until they looked like a crab's legs.

A raw wind, so salt and moist one might have gargled with it, swept from the sea across the dank, rotting sedge-marsh and soughed through the joints of the loose-knit old farm house that served to shelter the destitute of the town—a rich town in one of the great Eastern states. It was a brutal fall night in the year of 1921.

The dozen inmates—old men and old women—were engaged in a desultory conversation; their voices were like the buzzing of flies. But there was an air of expectancy in all the drabness of their tone. Occasionally an old woman would go and stand near a door that opened off the kitchen; she'd listen there, her hand cupped to her ear, and then return, muttering, to her place near the fire. The others would search her face for news.

"The last one come at three o'clock in the morning," said Mrs. Purley, from a toothless mouth. "I helped." Mrs. Purley was the aristocracy of the poor farm; she was the widow of a once prosperous barber.

"A boy, wasn't it?" asked Old Man Eggers, stirring the smoking fire, till his eyes smarted.

"It was not," replied Mrs. Purley.

"Ah, a girl, then?" said Old Man Eggers, nodding sagely. "Drat this wet wood."

"A *little* girl," confirmed Mrs. Purley, emphasizing the adjective as if new-born children, were, as a general rule, enormous.

A VERY OLD MAN, bent and bleary, with a fringe of white beard that gave him a simian aspect, who had been drowsing in a corner, suddenly remarked, in a high, faltering voice:

"I dug nigh onto twenty thousand clams in the summer of ninety-one."

"Drat you and your clams," cried Old Man Eggers, turning on the speaker with an impotent viciousness. "We don't care how many clams you dug, you old fool."

"I did, though," said the clam-digger, mildly, and lapsed into somnolence again.

An old woman returned from listening at the door.

"She's a-groanin' and a-moanin'" she reported.

"Ah" exclaimed Mrs. Purley, brightening perceptibly, "she's

beginning'. We'll hear some fine moanin' and groanin' before she's through."

Somewhere there was a dismal, whining noise.

"That's her," cried a fat, untidy man, who was chewing tobacco. But it was only the wind in the scrub pines.

Then there was a silence, and the clam-digger's snore, like the bubbling of a kettle, was all that could be heard in the dim kitchen.

"Where's the little girl now?" asked a thin, tride middle-aged woman, on the outer rim of the circle about the reluctant fire. She was, plainly, a newcomer.

"Sylum" answered Mrs. Purley, briefly, as one who does not wish to encourage familiarity. She had her dignity to preserve; the woman was just a common "piner," and not the social equal of the widow of a barber. A "piner" is a dweller in the squalid settlements among the scrub pines, a descendant, if local history is correct, from the pirates who once ravaged the coast. The stock is enfeebled and decadent from generations of inbreeding.

"Sylum?" quavered the piner. "Sylum? Why?"

"Buggy?" the piner's tone was puzzled. "But she was only a baby?"

YOU SHOULD HAVE saw her head," retorted Mrs. Purley, with finality.

"Why? Was they anything wrong with it." The piner was fascinated by the thought.

"Was they?" Mrs. Purley lowered her voice. "It was shaped just like a peanut!"

"And it wasn't no bigger than a potato," corroborated Old Man Eggers, pottering with the fire.

The lean piner woman nodded comprehendingly.

"How many did ya have," asked the fat man. A spurt of flickering light from the fire made him seem to leer.

"Eleven, or maybe it was twelve. I disremember," the woman answered.

"All livin'?" asked the fat man.

"All dead, 'ceptin' Luke," she replied, dully.

"Where's Luke," he inquired.

"Sylum," she replied, in her colorless voice.

The moan of a human being, now faint, now louder, came from beyond the door. It wakened the old clam-digger.

"I ketched more crabs than any man in the county in eighty-eight," he said, in his piping voice.

"Drat you, and drat your crabs, too," cried Old Man Eggers,

angrily. "They won't do that poor woman in there any good, will they?"

"I ketched a nine foot squid that year, too," remarked the clam-digger, and subsided again into semi-consciousness.

"It won't be long now," said Mrs. Purley, with the air of an expert. "She's a quick one, Nettie is."

The fat man sniggered and spat into the flames.

"I wonder if it'll be black," he said.

"You'd better not let Clem Skiff hear you say that," said Old Man Eggers. "It's his'n."

"So he says," growled the fat man. "But what about them Wops that was makin' a road here last Spring?"

"Well, what of it," demanded Mrs. Purley, testily. "Wops ain't black, are they?"

"NO," SAID THE fat man, as if making a concession, "they ain't. But Wops is Chinks. Maybe it will be yella."

"Wops ain't Chinks," put in the lean pinner woman, shrilly.

Mrs. Purley made the newcomer quail before her glance, as she pronounced her judgment.

"Wops is Chinks. I guess I know. When Mr. P. was head barber in the American House in Paterson, he had two Wops workin' for him and they was both Chinks. Yes, it may turn out to be yella."

"The last boy was black, just the same," said the fat man, argumentatively. "Black as soot."

"What become of him?" asked the pinner woman, without interest.

"Sylum," answered Mrs. Purley.

"Head shaped like a peanut?" asked the pinner woman.

"Naw," answered Old Man Eggers. "It come to a point."

There was silence again, and a clock ticked noisily.

"Nettie said that her pa had a head like that," observed Mrs. Purley. "It must run in the family."

"Her pa and ma livin'?" asked the lean woman.

"Her pa is. Her ma died, havin' her ninth."

"Why don't her pa take care of her?" asked the pinner woman.

"Huh," grunted Mrs. Purley, "she had to take care of him. He's a Moran."

"He's a what?"

"A Moran. So Doctor Roach said, anyhow. Irish, I suppose," said Mrs. Purley.

"Where is he," asked the pinner woman.

"Sylum," answered Mrs. Purley, drawing her shawl more tightly around her bony shoulders.

THE FAT MAN broke another lull in the conversation by throwing out a question.

"How old would ya say Nettie is, now," he asked, replenishing his quid.

"Well," said Mrs. Purley, judiciously, "she looks to be all of thirty-six. But let's see now. She come here six years ago, and she was only a slip of a girl then. Four months after she come she had her first, a boy. I helped. She told me then she was twenty. So now she must be around twenty-six, I guess."

"I ketched twenty-six crabs in one hour, onst," remarked the clam-digger, coming out of his coma abruptly, and as abruptly returning to it.

Old Man Eggers jabbed at the fire.

"I wonder what's keepin' Clem Skiff," he said. "He went out to fetch some fire-wood half an hour ago."

"Clem ain't very quick," remarked Mrs. Purley.

"He's quick enough at some things," sniggered the fat man, missing the fire-place by an inch.

"He's got the mind of a child," said Mrs. Purley, ignoring the fat man's remark. "Dr. Roach made him play with blocks, one day, and I heard him say, 'Why his brain is only seven years old.'"

"He must be all of thirty, though," put in Old Man Eggers.

[To be continued.]

First Pennsylvania Birth Control Conference

Held in the Hotel Ritz Carlton, Philadelphia, January 30, 1922

PLANS TO ARRANGE a statewide Birth Control Conference and to organize a Pennsylvania Branch of the American Birth Control League were made last December. We soon found that our enemies, by breaking up the Town Hall meeting in New York, had succeeded in surrounding the whole movement with an unpleasant atmosphere of disorder, rowdiness, police, arrests and so forth, which terrorized the owners of theatres, hotels, halls and even women's clubs, to such a degree that it became difficult to obtain a suitable and dignified place in which to hold our meeting. However, with careful planning and the able assistance of Miss Clara Louise Rowe, whom the New York office sent on three times to Philadelphia, we were able to foil our opponents, and at each session the

crowd was so great that it was difficult to accommodate all the people.

Our first precaution was to retain one of the leading lawyers of Philadelphia, Mr. David Wallerstein, and to consult him at every step. We secured as patronesses forty-two representative women of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and arranged a program of eminent speakers. The Ritz Carlton was engaged for a farewell luncheon to Mrs. Margaret Sanger on the eve of her departure for the Orient. All this presented such a formidable front that when, during the Conference, one of the newspaper reporters thoughtfully called up the city authorities to ask what they were going to do in order to stop the meeting, the Chief of Police had to reply, "Nothing at all."

WE EXPECTED ONLY one hundred persons at luncheon, but so many came that we moved into the large ballroom. Almost before luncheon was over the people crowded in for the afternoon session and the large ballroom was speedily filled to capacity. Mrs. Wilfred Lewis presided and the Rev. Frederick R. Griffin, of the First Unitarian Church, made an eloquent plea for freedom of speech, saying that Birth Control should be carefully and openly discussed. In all ages population has tended to exceed means of subsistence, and has been partly regulated by war, famine, plague, and disease. Birth Control hopes to minimize these fearful evils by striking at one of the root causes, which is over-population."

Mrs. Sanger, both at the luncheon and in the evening, spoke forcefully and beautifully. She spoke of her coming trip to Japan, and of the supreme importance of Birth Control to that over-populated country, if the "inevitable war" with Japan is to be warded off.

Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg, wife of the former Mayor of Philadelphia whose record as a pioneer in women's clubs and suffrage work have made her known and beloved throughout the country, whose mother, Doctor Hannah Longshore, was one of the first women physicians, presided at the Conference. It was opened by a letter from the professor of Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Lightner Witmer, which read:

"Birth Control is practised more or less by a majority of the married and by not a few of the unmarried—at least, among the intellectual and the well-to-do. There are doubtless some who still think that man's subjection to nature is a law of God. Such opposed the protection of lightning rods and the use of anæsthetics in surgical operations, and especially in child birth. The general aim of civilization, however, is dominion over nature, the intelligent control of natural forces. To defy the spirit of progress in the name of either religion or law is superstition. To this, you oppose common sense and reason. Your highest honors, therefore, will be the enemies you make; your chief reward, the gratification of an intellectual conscience; your greatest success, the world's acceptance without acknowledgment of the rightness of your contention."

MR. J. PRENTICE MURPHY, of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, spoke on "The Relation Between Family Limitation and Child Welfare." Mr. Murphy said that there are at all times a quarter of a million children being cared for by others than their parents. "The children in the care of child welfare agencies represent, in a majority of cases, homes where no real child-planning has been done. If all that is being spent in the foster-care of children could be spent in the education of the next generation, the work of most of the child welfare agencies would be rendered unnecessary."

"Advantages of Birth Control to the Physically Handicapped" was the next subject on the program. Dr. Lida Stewart-Cogill said that doctors fall down in their duty if they do not inform married people of the danger of procreation if they are physically or economically handicapped. And such failure," she asserted, "may be classed as murder." Another speaker on the same topic was Dr. Catharine Macfarlane.

Dr. Roswell H. Johnson, of the University of Pittsburgh, read a paper on "The Eugenic Aspects of Birth Control." He pointed out that the natural family, freed of the limitation caused by economic pressure and other forces of civilization, would consist of about eighteen children. The lower the intellect the greater the number of children, and vice versa, is found to be the rule, and he asserted that eugenics warranted the removal of laws against contraception.

Dr. Reynold A. Spaeth, of John Hopkins University, who spoke on "Birth Control as a Public Health Measure," suggested tax exemption for children as a means to encourage the raising of families of three or four children by individuals of higher intellectual standards. The object, as Dr. Spaeth and other speakers emphasized, is to improve the race, morally and physically, and to prevent the bringing into the world children who are bound to become public charges.

THE ONLY DISAPPOINTMENT was caused by the unavoidable absence of Dr. Kate W. Baldwin who had been scheduled to speak on "Some Medical Aspects of Birth Control." This was deeply regretted as Dr. Baldwin has been a leader in the Birth Control movement; standing up for it in days when it was less popular than now. Many of those at present active, have been converted by Dr. Baldwin, and it was her wise advice and guidance that helped to make this Conference a success.

The evening session, presided over by Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, was opened by Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson, of Pittsburgh, by a paper on "Moral Values of Birth Control." (This paper will be given in a later issue of the Review.)

Miss Mary Winsor made a plea for support and membership for the newly organized Pennsylvania Branch which met with a favorable response from the audience.

The object of holding this Pennsylvania Conference was to found a permanent branch of the American Birth Control League, which should be statewide in its scope and unite all Pennsylvania in a vigorous campaign of propaganda and education. Our efforts were crowned with success. Delegates of many women's clubs from various parts of the state and two representatives of the Birth Control movement in Reading, Mrs. A. D. Nelson and the Rev. C. Griswold Williams were present. Pittsburgh was well represented; the ticket elected, including among its vice-presidents Dr. Roswell H. Johnson and Dr. Amelia Dranga, who, with Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson and Miss Eleanor Hanson are members of the Advisory Board. As Pittsburgh is so remote from the Eastern part of the state, a Philadelphia Executive Committee was formed to carry on the work here, and Pittsburgh was left free to do likewise. Both the Advisory Board and the Executive Committee have power to add to their numbers; so we expect to have more names from Pittsburgh and elsewhere.

THE TICKET, presented by Mrs. George A. Dunning, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, which was unanimously elected, was as follows:

AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Pennsylvania Branch

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 2nd Vice-President: DR. AMELIA DRANGA
 3rd Vice-President: DR. ROSWELL H. JOHNSON
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Miss Mary Winsor

At the evening session, Mr. David Wallerstein's legal opinion on the rigid Pennsylvania Laws which prevent the establishment of clinics or the giving out of information was read. The first resolution passed at the Conference calls attention to this and gives the program of our next year's work.

RESOLUTION:

WHEREAS: The aim of the American Birth Control League, in such states where the giving of contraceptive information is legal, is to establish clinics in which such information may be given by physicians and trained nurses:

AND WHEREAS: Its aim, in the states where the giving of such information is illegal, is to educate public opinion in favor of a change in the law so that the giving of such information by physicians and trained nurses be made legal:

AND WHEREAS: The laws of Pennsylvania make it impossible even for a physician to give contraceptive information to diseased women, therefore:

BE IT RESOLVED: That the newly organized Pennsylvania Branch of the American Birth Control League devote the coming year to educating the citizens of Pennsylvania with regard to the laws of Pennsylvania and of other states, and the social conditions in this state and elsewhere that make legalized Medical Birth Control advisable.

A second resolution was passed endorsing the resolutions passed at the First American Birth Control Conference in New York last November.

In order to include those of modest financial means, yearly dues to the Branch were fixed at \$1.00. For this movement, so well begun, we hope to have the cordial support and assistance of the men and women of Pennsylvania in our coming campaign.

MARY WINSOR.

Appeals of Mothers

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

Excuse me for writing you this letter but after reading your book *Woman and the New Race*, I can't stand it but write to you a poor woman like me to receive a news like I did is just like a god send. I never had much friends as I am a orphan from the age of two years, mother dying of cancer of the breast and father putting me with strangers and with strangers I grew up. It just about breaks my heart to think of the past but as I look back my future isn't much better. Living with strangers up to seventeen years, I decided to marry and have a home of my own. But Oh, the wrong I done I know now, Mrs. Sanger. When I got married I was light weight weighing 115 lbs., but since married I am now 99½ lb., so you may see how strong I am. Being married about four years have 3 children and seem as I am pregnant again, so you may know how I feel and so weak can't hardly get around and just think three babies to take care of, a weak woman and no help can afford to hire, as we hardly make our living. It just makes me feel I will have to leave my babies as my mother left me with strangers and it just breaks my heart to think they will have to suffer like I did. It makes me shiver to think of raising a family and leaving it without

a mother like I have been left. I know if I wouldn't have to have any more babies I would get strong and pick up again, but being pregnant every year makes a sick woman out of a healthy one. Please Mrs. Sanger be so kind and advise me how to take care of myself so I couldn't get pregnant so often or never again as I have heard of you and the good work of yours, please advice me just this once as I don't care to raise unhealthy children. May God bless you so please Mrs. Sanger be so kind and answer my letter. You don't know how I will appreciate your advice. Enclosed you will find my address envelope.

Dear Madam:

I have read your book on birth control and think it is fine for I know that there are so many poor women that would give all they have if they could quit having so many children.

I have had 4, two dead and two boys living, one is 7 and the other 6. I have been an invalid *ever since I got married*. My husband works for wages, but it has all went for Dr. bills. My children are not strong and I have lost two through weakness from birth.

BIRTH CONTROL: IS IT MORAL?

More Replies to the Four Questions

THE QUESTIONS:

1. Is not over-population a menace to the peace of the world?
2. Would not the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information, through the medium of clinics, by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population?
3. Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women towards the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?
4. Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social, and intellectual standards of the population?

The Answers

OWEN R. LOVEJOY

General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

I DO NOT regard over-population a menace to the peace of the world. On the contrary, I believe the world capable of sustaining a population ten-fold or perhaps a hundred-fold greater than the present. The peace of the world is menaced rather by the application of the philosophy of imperialism backed by the military profession.

2. I am not interested in the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information for the purpose of checking the problem of over-population, for the reason that I do not regard over-population as a problem. Any menace that exists in the matter of population itself is due to the quality produced, rather than to the quantity.

3. Properly taught, a knowledge of Birth Control should raise rather than lower moral standards and strengthen the marriage bond.

4. Yes. Man is supposed to be an intelligent animal, and in the most sacred of all relations in life should be guided by knowledge. The danger is that knowledge "which enables parents to limit their families" will reach only those who are already conversant with family obligations, while the ignorant, vicious and physically unfit will not be retarded by any considerations of social wellbeing, and the reverse of the end you seek to attain will result.

Finally let me emphasize that any argument for Birth Control based on fear of over-population or on the fear that individual families will be financially unable to support their offspring is vicious because it starts from a false premise. The world is big enough and rich enough to furnish a foothold for all the children that can be born under decent health conditions.

MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH

(Greenwich House)

I BELIEVE THAT doctors should be free to impart such information and give such advice as they regard to be of benefit to their patients.

W. F. WILLCOX

Cornell University

THE GREAT NUMBER of living persons and their rapid increase are not in themselves a serious menace to the peace of the world. The trouble is that in civilized countries the increase is derived in large and growing proportion from the less desirable stocks. The privileged classes are now exercising Birth Control in increasing proportions and cannot be prevented from so doing. Since deliberate and desired parenthood is the form which human reproduction is rapidly assuming and is on the whole conducive to a better race, it should and will be extended, though slowly, to all classes of population. Such a far-reaching change is sure to modify profoundly the attitude of mankind toward marriage and parenthood. In some cases it will work ill, in others good. But the net result, I hope and believe, will prove to be a boon to mankind. Certainly the effort to prevent or check this great change by enforcing laws inherited from earlier stages of knowledge and morals is sure in the end to fail.

EDWIN W. BOWEN

*Secretary of the Faculty, Randolph-Macon College,
Ashland, Va.*

I THINK OVER-POPULATION is a menace to the peace of the world.

2. I believe your suggestion as to the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession to be the most logical method of attaining the desired.

3. I am unprepared to answer this question as I have not formed an opinion on the points involved.

4. I am inclined to answer your question four in the affirmative; viz., that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral standard, as well as the social and intellectual standards, of the population.

DR. WILL DURANT

YES, I BELIEVE that overpopulation is the chief cause of war, and that "the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control knowledge by the medical profession through the medium of clinics" is "the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population." To prevent such information from facilitating extra-marital relations I would limit it to legally married men and women; to these I think such knowledge should be not only permitted but offered. I am sure that Birth Control would raise social and intellectual standards, if confined to the married. To offset the so-called "yellow peril," it would only be necessary to raise the quality of our own people by better education, and to spread Birth Control knowledge abroad so as to decrease the quantity of peoples whose unchecked reproduction threatens international peace.

A Review by William J. Fielding

THE LAWS OF SEX, by Edith H. Hooker, M.D., Boston: Richard G. Badger, Publisher. 373 pp. Price \$5.

This volume discusses some of the historical, social, ethical, medical and legal aspects of the sex question. Notwithstanding the wide scope of the work, the subjects are linked together in a bond of unity, making it a distinct and useful contribution to our ever growing sex literature.

The chapter on "The Ethical Aspects of Birth Control" presents much excellent material in support of the general use of contraceptives. Of special interest at this time, on account of the wide-spread discussion of sterilization, is the reference to the X-ray as a means of temporary sterilization. However, caution is urged against a hasty acceptance of this method, without further experiment, because the X-ray has been found to produce malformations in the developing eggs of the lower orders. This suggestion, like all advocacy of sterilization, except for abnormal types or in very special instances, brings us back to the necessity of reliable and harmless contraceptive measures as the one practical method of Birth Control.

Mrs. Hooker emphasizes that the confusion in the popular mind of the terms "reproductive instinct" and "sexual instinct" has done much to place the whole question of Birth Control in a prejudiced light. This confusion, of course, is an inevitable result of the age-old attitude of prudery and prurience, with its intellectual dishonesty and ethical stagnation.

The discussion of the origin and causes of prostitution, while necessarily sketchy, is replete with salient bits of information, poignant observations, and useful data, gathered from a wide variety of sources. The author reminds us that at the time of the Stuarts in England, the Church reaped part of her revenue from houses of prostitution, "as has been more recently the case in New York City." (Ecclesiastical opponents of Birth Control please note!) However, this sanctioning of prostitution comes legitimately, as no less authorities than some of the Popes themselves have been partial to the demi-monde. Burchard, the historian of the papal court of Alexander Borgia, records in his diary that in October 1501, his Holiness had fifty courtesans brought to his chamber.

Mrs. Hooker offers a strong rebuttal to the argument of those who place great faith in the regulation and medical examination of prostitutes, as a prevention of venereal disease. When regulation was first instituted, there was comparatively little scientific knowledge at hand with regard to the nature of these diseases. Furthermore, all advanced students have noted everywhere that only a small proportion of prostitutes are registered. (Blaschko in 1905 estimated that not more than 15% of those in Berlin were inscribed.) Fear of inscription drove many women to conceal their diseases, and many of those most seriously infected went to the small towns to ply their trade. In addition, it is easy to understand that the sense of security which the man feels in the policy of medical examination, causes him to neglect sanitary and prophylactic precautions that he might otherwise take.

The evidence goes to show that examinations are cursory and superficial even in the more recent application of medical inspection. Dr. George Walker's report is cited that at one clinic in France during the war he saw twenty women exposed upon the examining tables while the physician in charge passed rapidly from one to another, making the examinations without once disinfecting his hands or his instruments throughout the whole series.

A Review by Emily Delafield

THE BOLSHEVISM OF SEX, by F. J. J. Merex.

"The Bolshevism of Sex" by Ferdinand J. J. Merex is an argument against the emancipation of woman in all its aspects. The greater part of the book is given over to endeavoring to reveal the evil influence of woman as an individual personality, of woman as an independent economic or political factor, the inestimable harm done by woman suffrage, and the perverted doctrine of Birth Control.

In order to discover "What is to be accepted or rejected in the feminist theory," Dr. Merex begins his work with the study of woman as compared with man. He finds her, not less intelligent but of a different order of intelligence. During his discussions of woman's nature he gives, what he considers, a conclusive proof that "a woman for another woman is always but a woman; she who orders is tyrannic, she who has to obey is a rebel; both are enemies." The conclusive proof of this terrifying statement consists in the enumeration of a series of hideous tortures practiced against the inmates of Bedford Reformatory, by a woman. Perhaps Dr. Merex has not had the conduct of the former superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory drawn to his attention. He might conclude that "a man for another man is always but a man; he who orders is tyrannic, he who has to obey is a rebel; both are enemies."

After his convincing proof with regard to woman's nature, Dr. Merex takes up a study of the three stages of woman's life; maidenhood, wifehood, and motherhood. In these three phases of life, the author thinks, there should be only one aim, one thought—motherhood. No one would dispute with Dr. Merex this great privilege of woman, or care to deny its importance, but it is unnecessary for this reason, to ignore the many other positions which women can fill to great advantage.

Dr. Merex next discusses woman's career in present day society. He gives a vivid picture of the young girl in the business world, and the evil effects of woman's independence. Dr. Merex is gallant in wishing to keep woman from contact with the business world, but somewhat impractical. The ordinary worker does not send his wife and daughters out to work, because he is too lazy to work himself. Dr. Merex, however, believes that women can be made to stay at home, by the repeal of the Susan B. Antony amendment, the reforming of school education, the recognition of social rights, and the cleaning up of politics.

Finally, Dr. Merex would stop the Birth Control movement, the principles of which he completely misunderstands. How perverted Dr. Merex's idea of this movement is, is shown by the following quotation:

"And with the lady birth controllers and eugenists in authority, one might expect the appointment of women inspectors of eugenics who would have power to prohibit a man from procreating children, and would have him sent to prison, and his wife to the operating table, if he transgressed their orders."

Our Contributors

Stella W. Browne, English writer, interested in Neo-Malthusian movement.

Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Economics, Harvard University, b. 1865, Kirksville, Ia. Prof. Economics, Oberlin, 1894-1900. Author of numerous works on Sociology and Economics.

Richard Connell, well known as a humorist writer for the Saturday Evening Post and other periodicals, has also a deep vein of seriousness as is shown in his vivid sketch of human "Weeds."

Dr. Harriette M. Dilla, Member of Faculty of Economics and Sociology Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Was on foreign service with the American Red Cross during the war. Author of "Studies in Infant and Maternal Mortality," "Voluntary Parenthood and Eugenics."

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, author and lecturer, b. Hartford, Conn., 1860. Specially identified with the labor question and the advance of women. Author of numerous books on woman and the home.

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A Review by Harold Hersey

THE CHILDREN OF THE UNIVERSE; A Play in Prologue,
Five Acts, and an Epilogue; by Schovel Tzitlonok (New York:
Published by the Author, 1921.)

Here and there along the dusty roads of Time, some individual rises out of the mass, inflamed and tortured by a vision that demands expression. This may take any form—the important elements that serve to make a foundation for future placing consisting of the value of this message to humanity, and the plane upon which it is done. For example, Goethe rightfully belongs far ahead of Shakespeare or Homer, because he combined a conscious message with perfection of an art . . . an almost impossible thing to accomplish; whereas both Shakespeare and Homer were essentially artists. And although the author of CHILDREN OF THE UNIVERSE by no means reaches the golden heights, he has had the courage to write his drama along the broad lines of a pioneer. He has not been afraid of reaching into the distances, and as such he is a refreshing contrast to the polyglot writers and artists of this century. They are out of tune with everything about them, and seemingly think more of the turning of a clever phrase, than of having something to say. Schevel Tzitlonok has no such fear. He is obviously bursting with his message. After all, the reason why the present age will be wiped off the books of the future, is because there are not enough Tzitlonoks who are willing to wager their possessions against a world of silence. We may carp and hymn our petty theories as to the way this play is done; we can object to the modernized spelling, or the use of abstract characters in the place of specific individuals as did Goethe in his "Faust," but at the same time we must admit with all due humility that this play is vital and moving and grotesquely out of place among the drivel of books issued by American publishers.

PERIODICALS

THE EUGENICS REVIEW (London) for January prints extracts from Professor Irving Fisher's article in the September Scientific Monthly, in which he presents the disadvantages and advantages of Birth Control with a decided leaning to the advantages.

THE NEW GENERATION (London) made its debut in January. This periodical takes the place of the Malthusian, and is planned to make a wider and more popular appeal than its predecessor. The contributors to the initial number include Maude Royden, preacher, Dr. Bernard Hollander, great nerve specialist, Cicely Hamilton, novelist, and Harold Cox, economist, statesman and student of world conditions. Harold Cox describes the Birth Control Conference in New York of last November and his astonishing experiences in "the land of the free," when the town hall meeting at which he was to speak was raided and stopped by the police. The later meeting held in the Park Theatre he characterized as a "tremendous success." The new periodical is a monthly and is much more attractive than the Malthusian as regards type, paper and make-up.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Heredity Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

GREAT MEN AND HOW THEY ARE PRODUCED, by Casper L. Redfield.

HUMAN HEREDITY, by Casper L. Redfield.

From E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

HONEYMOON DIALOGUES, by James James.

GUIDE BOOK TO WOMEN, by James James.

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE POLICE

COUNSEL'S BRIEF AS PRESENTED TO THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK

WAR AND POPULATION

By Harold Cox

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RICHARD CONNELL

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ENGLAND.—Malthusian League, 124 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.

GERMANY (1889).—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.

FRANCE (1895).—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.

SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.

BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.

SWITZERLAND (1908).—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.

BOHEMIA-CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.

AUSTRIA.—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied.-Ost. Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*.

PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Viscande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA (1907).—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.

SWEDEN (1911).—Sallskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.

ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.

AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor

ANNIE G. PORRITT

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RUTH ALBERT

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Articles by*

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DR. BERNARD HOLLANDER

CICELY HAMILTON

HAROLD COX

DR. NORMAN HAIRE

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI.

APRIL, 1922

No. 4

Editorial

WE WANT AGAIN to emphasize that the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW does not give contraceptive information. This would be illegal in New York State, and would also bar the REVIEW from the United States mails. The aim of the REVIEW is to create public opinion in favor of Birth Control, in order that the penal laws which now stand between the women who need it and the information they ought to have, may be repealed. The REVIEW also seeks to keep its readers in touch with the movement for Birth Control all over the world, and to present to them the latest contributions to the subject offered through scientific research. Everyone who buys a REVIEW, thereby does something to help forward the movement, a movement which is largely due to the labors and sacrifice of Mrs. Margaret Sanger, who is now carrying the standard into Japan and China. For those who believe that Birth Control is a way out of the misery and suffering of so large a portion of our people, it is not enough to buy the REVIEW. We want your active help and support. Join the Birth Control League, and get into touch with the leaders of the movement who will find work for every willing helper.

IF THE OBJECT of the Japanese Government, in regard to Mrs. Sanger, was to give her lectures the greatest possible effectiveness, it certainly did its best to carry out its purpose. The publicity attending its action was astounding and prolonged. First it was announced that the Japanese Government had refused a visé to Mrs. Sanger's passport. Then came another announcement that the visé was to be accorded, but only on condition that Mrs. Sanger refrained from advocating Birth Control. Then came the further announcement that the ban on Birth Control was withdrawn and that Mrs. Sanger would be free to carry out the purpose of her visit and to lecture to the Japanese without hindrance. Each step in the procedure was followed in the newspapers of this country from Maine to California. The newspapers of Canada and Great Britain carried the news. It went into the newspapers of all European countries; and also into those of Japan, China and India. Its first effect will undoubtedly be to arouse the keenest interest in Japan and to ensure that Mrs. Sanger's audiences will not only

be large, but will be receptive and alert. Its effects will follow her when she goes to China and India, and thousands of people who might otherwise never have heard of her or of the American Birth Control League, will flock to hear her when she reaches these countries. Its value will not be exhausted when she reaches England in July, and the success of the International Birth Control Congress of which she will be a prominent figure, will probably be enhanced because the Japanese Government wobbled when it was a question of admitting her to Japan.

PLANS FOR THE International Birth Control Congress in London, July 11-14, are taking shape. The Congress promises to be one of the great landmarks of the movement for world-wide Birth Control. Like disarmament, Birth Control must be international to be generally accepted and to ensure peace and prosperity. Just as the existence of one nation, armed to the teeth by sea and land, makes impossible the general disarmament of other nations, so one nation with excessive and unrestrained birth rate and rapidly increasing population threatens the integrity of the nations which desire to hold an even balance between population and means of subsistence. But just as the solution of the armament problem lies not in the arming of the other nations to match the one recalcitrant, but in international agreement to disarm; so the solution of the population question lies not in a birth rate competition in which the reckless will always outmatch the provident; but in the spread of the Birth Control movement throughout the civilized world. An International Congress is the means to this end. Such a Congress will aid the movement in each individual country that takes part in it. But such a Congress depends for success on the work and effort that each participant puts into it; and at the present time the American Birth Control League is asking all its members to aid by spreading the news of the Congress; when possible, by agreeing to go as delegate to it, and by strengthening the League through additions to its membership and contributions to its funds.

We make no apology for giving in full the brief prepared by Messrs. Emory R. Buckner and Robert P. Patterson in connection with the complaint against the police for stopping the Birth Control Meeting on November 13th. The brief summarizes the evidence given at the hearings before Commissioner Hirshfield, and constitutes an important document in the history of the movement for Birth Control.

BRIEF SUBMITTED IN BEHALF OF PAUL D. CRAVATH
AND OTHERS

BY LETTER DATED December 6, 1921, and addressed to the Mayor, Messrs. Paul D. Cravath, Lewis L. Delafield, Charles C. Burlingham, Samuel H. Ordway, Paul M. Warburg, Charles Strauss, Montgomery Hare, Henry Morgenthau, Herbert L. Satterlee and Pierre Jay alleged that on November 13, 1921, the police had forcibly closed a public meeting at the Town Hall, and had arrested two women who insisted upon speaking. The letter also stated that on December 2, 1921, another offense had occurred in the arrest of Mrs. Julia Barrett Rublee. The complainants, disclaiming any connection with the organization under whose auspices the meeting was held, asserted that the action of the police on each occasion was unlawful, unjustified and inexcusable, and constituted a grave interference with the rights of free speech and a denial of the equal protection of the law. They requested a full investigation into the conduct of the Police Department on these occasions, together with disciplinary action against the officials responsible for these occurrences.

The Mayor referred the matter to the Commissioner of Accounts for investigation and report. The Commissioner of Accounts held several public hearings, at which the complainants were represented by counsel. At these hearings there were examined several witnesses who were present when the Town Hall meeting was closed and when the arrests were made, both on November 13th and on December 2nd. The police officers who ordered the arrests were also examined, as well as the Assistant District Attorneys who moved the discharge of the persons arrested.

FACTS

THE FACTS TESTIFIED to were practically undisputed.

(a) *Town Hall Meeting.*

The occurrences at the Town Hall on November 13th were the following: a public meeting was to be held at which the speakers were to be Mrs. Margaret Sanger and Mr. Harold Cox, an English publicist and formerly a member of Parliament. The subject announced was "Birth Control—Is It Moral?" After about 1,000 persons had entered the hall *but prior to the making of any speeches*, several police officers acting under the orders and in the presence of Captain Thomas Donohue, closed the doors. Captain Donohue then announced that the meeting could not be held, and ordered the persons in the hall to leave. Protests were made, but Captain Donohue stated that he would prevent any meeting being held. The persons assembled for the meeting then dispersed.

(b) *Arrest of Mrs. Sanger and Miss Winsor.*

Mrs. Sanger insisted that the police had no right to break up the meeting and announced her intention to speak. She was then arrested. A short time later Miss Mary Winsor announced that she also intended to speak, and Captain Donohue ordered her arrest. Both Mrs. Sanger and Miss Winsor were taken to the Precinct Station, where blotter entries were made, and thence in a patrol wagon to the Night Court on West 54th Street, where they were paroled in custody of counsel until the next day.

On November 14th these two women were arraigned before Magistrate Corrigan in the Sixth District. The two policemen who arrested them testified that the arrests were made because the prisoners refused to stop speaking; also that no violent or obscene words were used by the prisoners. The policemen also testified that the meeting was broken up by Captain Donohue's orders, before it had started. The Assistant District Attorney admitted that there was no evidence of a crime, and moved the discharge of both prisoners. The Magistrate then ordered that they be discharged.

The persons interested in the subject for discussion subsequently held a meeting on November 19th at the Park Theatre. The same subject was discussed, and the same speakers were heard. Officers were present, but the meeting was not disturbed.

(c) *Arrest of Mrs. Rublee.*

A POLICE INQUIRY into the matter was instituted, upon the complaint of the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization formed for the promotion of free speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press. None of the complainants here is connected with this organization. The hearings were at Police Headquarters before Inspector Lahey. At a hearing held on December 2nd, Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee testified that she had been present at the Town Hall meeting and had witnessed the action of the police officers. She also stated, in response to questions by Inspector Lahey, *that she was acquainted with Mrs. Sanger; that she had read Section 1142 of the Penal Law and believed that it was "an unwise section."*

Mrs. Rublee was forthwith arrested by Officer Thomas J. Murphy, a policeman-stenographer, who acted under the direction of Assistant Corporation Counsel Martin Dolphin, assigned to the Police Department as legal adviser. Mrs. Rublee's attorney insisted that she had committed no crime; but Mr. Dolphin refused to change his position. Mrs. Rublee was taken to the Elizabeth Street Precinct Station, and thence to the Magistrates' Court, First District. Officer Murphy there swore to a complaint charging Mrs. Rublee with violation of Penal Law, Section 1142, in that she had stated she was present at the Town Hall meeting, that she was sympathetic to the Birth Control movement, that she had read Section 1142 and believed it an unwise law. Upon motion of Assistant District Attorney Wilson, Magistrate Hatting forthwith discharged Mrs. Rublee, on the ground that it was self-evident that no crime had been committed.

(d) *Responsibility for arrests.*

THE RESPONSIBILITY for stopping the Town Hall meeting and for the arrests there, lies primarily with Captain Donohue, who was present at the time. He testified that he had received an order not to allow the meeting to be held, the order being transmitted to him verbally by Lieutenant Courtenay who told him that an order to that effect had been received by telephone from Police Headquarters. Captain Donohue is contradicted both by Lieutenant Courtenay and by

Inspector Bolan. The former testified that he did not deliver the message to Captain Donohue. The latter testified that he spoke to Captain Donohue himself by telephone, and instructed him to attend the Town Hall meeting and to see that "no law was violated." He also testified that "if Captain Donohue took this drastic action of closing the hall without permitting the meeting even to start, he did that of his own volition, on his own initiative."

The responsibility for the arrest of Mrs. Rublee rests squarely upon Assistant Corporation Counsel Dolphin, who was legal adviser of the Police Department. Officer Murphy accepted the statement of Mr. Dolphin that a crime had been committed, and obeyed orders in making the arrest.

POINT I.

THE POLICE OFFICERS VIOLATED THEIR DUTY IN STOPPING THE TOWN HALL MEETING, AND THE OFFICER OR OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ACTION SHOULD BE DISCIPLINED.

IT IS UNNECESSARY to discuss at length the inviolability of the rights of free speech and free assembly. The Commissioner is thoroughly familiar with the necessity of scrupulously upholding these rights and of not tolerating the slightest infringement of them.

Both the Federal Constitution and the State Constitution guarantee to every citizen freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. In a leading case, the United States Supreme Court said:

"The right of the people peaceably to assemble for lawful purposes existed long before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. *In fact, it is, and always has been, one of the attributes of citizenship under a free government. * * * The very idea of a government, republican in form, implies a right on the part of its citizens to meet peaceably for consultation in respect to public affairs and to petition for redress of grievances.*" (*United States v. Cruikshank* (1875), 92 U. S. 542, 551.)

The Legislature of this State has gone so far in the protection of this right, as to make it criminal for anyone to break up a public meeting lawful in its character. *Penal Law*, Section 1470, provides:

"A person who, without authority of law, wilfully disturbs any assembly or meeting, not unlawful in its character, is guilty of a misdemeanor."

THE TOWN HALL meeting was a lawful one. It is settled law that persons may discuss the general subject of Birth Control and may advocate a repeal of section 1142 of the Penal Law, provided that they do not give contraceptive information or use language which is indecent or obscene. Less than two years ago the Court of General Sessions dismissed a complaint against a person arrested for speaking on Birth Control. Judge Wadhams said:

"It is within the rights of a citizen to advocate the repeal of an existing law and to state his reason for advocating such repeal. In such advocacy, however, he must

not use language which is calculated to and may give such offense as to produce a breach of the peace, and must proceed in an orderly and decorous manner, so as not to cause a breach of the peace." (*People v. Swasey* (1920), 180 N. Y. Supp. 629, 630.)

It is undisputed that the meeting at the Town Hall was broken up before it had even started, and before any law could have been violated. The police officers assumed the right to decide *in advance* that there would be a violation of the law. The law is clear that such suppression in advance is unjustifiable and illegal. In the cases arising from the Mount Vernon ordinance which purported to forbid the sale of the *New York American* and the *New York Journal* in that city, the ordinance was held void as an infringement upon the freedom of the press. Mr. Justice Giegerich said:

"It would seem that the legislature itself, from which the defendants necessarily derive such power as they have, would have *no authority to prohibit in advance the plaintiff or any other accused person from printing and issuing newspapers or other publications.*" (*Star Co. v. Brush* (1918), 103 Misc. 631, 636.)

THE FACTS TESTIFIED to at the hearing establish beyond a doubt that Captain Donohue, in suppressing the meeting, not only grossly abused his power as a police officer of high rank, but was himself guilty of the criminal offence of breaking up a lawful meeting.

If such flagrant violations of the law by its own defenders are not followed by disciplinary action against the offenders, the security of the rights of free speech and free assembly will be most precarious. If officers can with impunity dictate to citizens whether or not they shall be permitted to exercise these rights, the constitutional guarantees amount to nothing. The importance to the reputation of this city of letting it be known that such outrages are always followed by the punishment of the guilty officials, cannot be emphasized too strongly.

POINT II.

THE ARREST OF MRS. SANGER AND MISS WINSOR, BECAUSE THEY ATTEMPTED TO SPEAK AT A LAWFUL MEETING, WAS INDEFENSIBLE.

The only offence of which Mrs. Sanger and Miss Winsor were accused, was that they insisted upon speaking, in the face of Captain Donohue's order to the contrary.

The testimony of the police officers before Magistrate Corrigan shows conclusively that no crime had been committed by these two persons. The Captain did not have the hardihood to press the charges, for he did not appear in the Magistrates' court, although sent for.

We venture to remind the Commissioner that this complaint is not directed against the action of an ordinary police officer who may on occasions overstep his bounds. These arrests were deliberately ordered by a Police Captain, twenty-eight years on the force, and in control of a large number of subordinate officers. The Captain either knew or did not know the unlawfulness of his actions. If he knew, there is utterly no excuse for his conduct. If he did not know, he is obviously unfit for the responsible position which he holds.

POINT III.

THE ARREST OF MRS. RUBLEE WAS A GROSS ABUSE OF OFFICIAL POWER.

MRS. RUBLEE WAS arrested for stating as a witness that she had read Section 1142 of the Penal Law and believed it unwise. She was charged with violating this statute. Her arrest was at the direction of an Assistant Corporation Counsel detailed to act as legal adviser to the Police Department.

By no stretch of the imagination can a violation of this statute by Mrs. Rublee be spelled out. The pretension that by the very statement that she had read the law and believed it unwise, she had violated the law against giving contraceptive information, is too absurd to warrant discussion. A more flagrant case of prosecuting a person merely for her opinions cannot be found.

The only explanation of this outrage is that of intimidation and persecution. It is inconceivable that the Assistant Corporation Counsel sincerely believed that the basis for an arrest existed. Mrs. Rublee held opinions that were hostile to those cherished by Mr. Dolphin; the arrest of Mrs. Rublee followed. Officer Murphy testified that he saw no reason for an arrest and that he made the arrest because he had to obey orders. While Mr. Dolphin was not an official of the Police Department, he was sufficiently identified with that department so that a police officer obeyed his orders.

* * * * *

In conclusion, the complainants submit that the facts developed at the hearings fully substantiate their letter of complaint to the Mayor. Wholly irrespective of the merits of the question for discussion at the Town Hall meeting, and irrespective of

the identity or known views of the speakers (as to which features the complainants take no position), the meeting at the Town Hall was a public meeting not unlawful in its character. The citizens who desired to attend the meeting were exercising their constitutional rights. The police officers were entitled to stop the meeting and to make arrests only if in the course of the meeting there should occur some specific violation of the law. Instead of doing their plain duty, the police officers assumed the right to break up the meeting before it had started. They arrested persons whose only offence was their resistance to the unwarranted and illegal action of the officers. The arrest of Mrs. Rublee three weeks later is an even more striking instance of this unlawful oppression of persons for their opinions.

The complainants are confident that the Commissioner fully agrees with them in their advocacy of the rights of free speech and free assembly, and of the immunity of citizens from arrest except for just cause. The facts laid before the Commissioner show that in these instances certain police officers and an assistant corporation counsel, moved by animosity to the citizens involved, wilfully and persistently violated these fundamental rights. Without presuming to suggest to the Commissioner the nature of his report upon the matter, the complainants feel that he will recommend such action as will make unlikely any recurrence of such oppression by members of the Police Department or Legal Department of this city.

Respectfully submitted,

EMORY R. BUCKNER,

ROBERT P. PATTERSON,

Counsel for Complainants.

News Notes

FEBRUARY 19.—Margaret Sanger addressed an overcrowded meeting in California Hall, San Francisco. The Hall only holds comfortably 600, and about 2,000 persons desired to attend. The chair was taken by Mrs. Mary Parton. A detail of policeman occupied conspicuous places in the Hall, but there was no interference with the proceedings.

February 21.—Mrs. Sanger sailed on S. S. Taiyo Maru for Honolulu and Japan. Her fellow passengers included a large group of Japanese professors and gentlemen of the diplomatic corps who were returning from the Disarmament Conference at Washington.

February 23.—Mrs. Sanger addressed a meeting of about 100 Japanese men and women to whom she explained the principles of Birth Control. Among them was Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, who after hearing Mrs. Sanger communicated with his Government and succeeded in having withdrawn the embargo on her lectures in Japan.

February 27.—Mrs. Sanger landed at Honolulu. The boat docked at 1 p. m. A lecture had been arranged for her at 2 p. m. She was met at the dock by Mr. and Mrs. Dillingham and taken to their Waiki-ké home for lunch. Immediately afterwards she was escorted to the M. Lester Dancing Academy, where 500 chairs had been placed for her audience. Before she arrived every seat was taken, also all standing space and before

the meeting opened every door and window was also crowded with people who could not get inside the room. Judge Sanford B. Dole, known in Honolulu as "the good old man of the Blessed Isles," took the chair and introduced Mrs. Sanger, who spoke for an hour, and succeeded in that time in converting many doubters to the wisdom of teaching Birth Control. At 3:30 p. m. there was a tea at the Country Club giving some opportunity for a few of the many people who wished to speak to Mrs. Sanger to do so. Among these were two Japanese editors, who finally had to accompany Mrs. Sanger back to the steamer in order to have the opportunity of speaking with her. The excellent arrangements made for Mrs. Sanger were due to the efforts of Prof. Uldrick Thompson.

March 10.—Mrs. Sanger landed at Yokohama. (An account of her work in Japan will be given in the next issue of the REVIEW.)

March 13.—A meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Mary B. Nelson, Wyomissing, Pa., at which arrangements were made for a public meeting at Reading, April 3rd, at which Birth Control would be discussed.

March 15.—The Detroit Committee of the American Birth Control League held a meeting at the Hotel Statler.

News comes from Berkeley, Cal., that a California Scientific Birth Control Conference is to be held in April.

War and Population

*Address Delivered by Mr. Harold Cox at the First American Birth Control Conference
At the Hotel Plaza on November 12, 1921*

I FEEL MUCH honored at being invited to come across the Atlantic to address the First American Birth Control Conference. You have initiated here a great movement which, starting from small beginnings, is going to be perhaps one of the biggest movements in the world. It is a pleasure as well as an honour for me to be present. I was greatly impressed last night by seeing the way in which this hall was filled with medical men and women, eagerly discussing practical methods of Birth Control. The fact that your League has been able to organize such a densely packed meeting of medical people is itself a proof of the progress you have already made. That progress, as you know even better than I know, has been largely due to one woman, a woman whom I feel proud to be allowed to call my friend.

You have in America at the present time two conferences in progress: one in New York, the other in Washington. The one in Washington is engaged in considering how the nations of the world can get rid of armaments. But what are armaments? They are the devices that men adopt to meet what they regard as the necessity of war. Armaments are merely a symptom of man's fear of war, or of man's desire of war, whichever it be.

On the other hand, this Conference in New York is considering how the causes of war can be removed. I will not go so far as to say that over-population is the only cause of war. In the past there have been many causes. In the past we have had dynastic causes, monarchs going to war for a matter of personal pride, or fighting for a tiny scrap of land because some racial or dynastic question was involved. A war of this character is incidentally recorded in Shakespeare's play of Hamlet, and I venture to quote to you Hamlet's comments:

"I see

The imminent death of twenty thousand men
That for a fantasy and trick of fame
Go to their graves like beds; fight for a plot
Whereon the numbers cannot try the cause,
Which is not tomb enough and continent
To hide the slain."

SUCH WARS HAVE to a large extent disappeared. Kings no longer hurl their subjects into war. Wars today are people's wars. Some peoples, it is true, fight about religion. But they happily are now in a minority. The one dominating object for which people still fight when the need arises is the room to live. People will always fight for the means of living. A man will sooner kill his neighbor than starve himself. Where the means of subsistence are insufficient for a people demanding to be fed war ensues. People fight to give effect to the demand so crisply expressed in the French saying: "Ote toi de la que je m'y mets"—"Get out of there that I may step in."

This cause of war was emphasized by German writers in very candid terms before the Great War. A collection of various German opinions was published in Washington in 1918 by the Committee of Public Information. It was entitled "Conquest and Kultur." I will quote a few passages.

Arthur Dix, writing in 1901, says: "Because the German people now increase at the rate of eight hundred thousand inhabitants a year they need both room and nourishment for the surplus."

Albrecht Wirth, writing also in 1901, says: "In order to live and lead a healthy and joyous life we need a vast extent of fresh arable land. This is what imperialism must give us."

Daniel Frymann in 1911, in a work which had an immense circulation, called "Wenn ich der Kaiser wäre," says: "It is no longer proper to say that Germany is satisfied. Our historical development and our economic needs show that we are once more hungry for territory."

Von Bernhardi, in a book entitled "Germany and the Next War," published in 1911, says: "Strong, healthy and flourishing nations increase in numbers. They require a continual expansion of their frontiers. They require new territory for the accommodation of their surplus people. Since almost every part of the globe is inhabited, new territory must as a rule be obtained at the cost of its possessors; that is to say by conquest, which thus becomes a law of necessity."

GERMANS WERE HERE expressing facts with brutal frankness. But exactly the same proposition was laid down 400 years ago by an Englishman, whom nobody would call brutal. Sir Thomas More in his "Utopia" said that the people in his ideal country should keep their numbers down in accordance with the sustenance available. But if they increased beyond the available sustenance they should go to the neighboring country, and if possible by making friends with the people of that country peaceably settle there. And if they were not peaceably welcomed, then they must fight those neighboring people and take their land.

The same cause of war still operates everywhere. As Lord Northcliffe, speaking in Australia recently, said: "Land hunger is the primary cause of war."

Take the question of the Pacific. Japan has a rapidly growing population. As a necessary result Japan is seeking an outlet for her people and for her manufactures. But the United States has a growing urban population living on urban industries, and urban industries must have foreign markets for their manufactured goods. Therefore the United States wants the Chinese market. Therefore the United States is opposed to Japanese expansion into China. Thus the expanding American population comes into conflict across the Pacific with the expanding Japanese population.

It is conceivable that the Conference at Washington may reach some formula—politicians and diplomats are very good at devising formulas—which will hide the ugly facts, but the ugly facts will remain and sooner or later burst forth once more.

Moreover, and this is a point I wish to impress upon your attention, the problem of population is becoming progressively more serious. That is a fact that is constantly ignored by the average man and woman. The tendency of almost everyone who discusses the problem of Birth Control, or the world problem of population, is to limit their attention to the birth rate, forgetting that a low rate on a large number may give a higher return than a high rate on a small number.

MOST PEOPLE WOULD prefer to have one per cent. on a capital of a million than ten per cent. on a capital of a thousand. As the volume of population grows, even a reduced birth rate may give a much larger volume of increase.

Let me give you a practical illustration. Before the war a great many people in England, observing the birth rate was declining, began to cry out, saying "We are losing our population. Race extinction is foreshadowed." What were the real facts? Between the years 1901 and 1911, while the birth rate was declining, our population increased more than in any previous decade in the whole history of England. It increased more in those ten years than in the whole of the eighteenth century. Why? Because though we had a low birth rate we had a large population, and on a large population a low rate gives a large increase.

Between 1851 to 1911 we doubled our population. If that rate of growth had continued, in the course of 360 years England would have had a population considerably larger than the whole present population of the globe. Three hundred and sixty years is not a very big figure in the history of the world, nor in the history of many nations. In England it only bridges the gap between King Edward VI and King Edward VII.

Let me now come to your own country. You are increasing more rapidly than we are. You may say you have more room. For the present, yes. But between 1880 and 1920 you considerably more than doubled your population. The actual increase was something over 110 per cent. If you continue that rate of increase, in two hundred years the population of the United States will be 4,313,000,000. I repeat: If the present rate of increase of the American population continues you will in less than two hundred years have over four thousand million people in the United States, or more than double the whole present population of the world.

SIMILAR CALCULATIONS apply to Japan or to Germany, or to any other country. If any country were to maintain its present rate of increase it alone could fill the whole globe in a very brief period. This fact was pointed out by an American, one of the most distinguished of all Americans that ever lived—Benjamin Franklin—over 150 years ago. He said the globe could be filled with a single plant like fennel, or with a single race, for example, Englishmen.

There is a school of critics that says that any control of births is necessarily immoral. Many of these critics are themselves as it happens celibates. They try to back up their contention by saying that there is still room on the earth. There may be for a time, but only for a time. These opponents of Birth Control further back their doctrine with a phrase often quoted—"God never sends mouths but he sends food." How about Chinese famines? There are millions of mouths in China craving for food. Every twenty years or so, often more frequently, you have a hideous famine in China. Parents then can do nothing with their children but drown them or let them die. You would have equally hideous famines in India but for the British Government which makes provision in advance. It is an absurdity to say that God sends food for the mouths of all the children that people choose to bring into the world.

The figures I have given to you show clearly that a period must come when even the most dogmatic of theologians, even the most obtuse of thinkers, will see that there is no more room on the earth. What then will be said by these people who now denounce Birth Control? When they see the world obviously over-filled, will they still tell the masses to go on producing children to die within a few months, or alternatively will they tell them to produce children to kill other people's children? In effect that is what is being done to-day. You have quite a considerable number of people in France telling French mothers to breed more children to kill the children of German mothers; and you have some people in America who are pleading that American mothers must breed more children to kill the children of Japanese mothers. Is that the culmination of Christian morality—to breed children to kill the children of other nations?

I CONTEND THAT the most urgent duty of thoughtful people is to strive to change the public conscience of all nations with regard to the problem of population. At present governments and churches are on the side of ever-increasing populations. Governments subsidize the large families of the poor, and on this point I should like to express my disagreement with a previous speaker when he asked why the government should not do more to help these large families. It would be most mischievous. The responsibility of bringing a child into the world rests upon its father and mother and they alone are responsible for its maintenance.

The churches also preach the duty of unlimited procreation. Why I do not know. Happily of late years there are signs of a change, especially in England. Among those who have come forward strongly in favor of Birth Control is the Dean of St. Paul's, Dean Inge. Another prominent English Churchman who has declared himself in favor of Birth Control is the Bishop of Birmingham. Quite recently a very significant episode occurred in England. On October 11th last Lord Dawson, who is one of the most highly distinguished members of the medical profession in England, and is the King's physician, read a paper at the Church Congress on the subject of Birth Control. The keynote of his paper was, in his own

words, "Birth Control is here to stay." He went on in the very plainest language to attack the theological view—which I may say has no basis whatever in biblical authority—that sex love is only permissible for the sake of producing offspring. He said that this was an utterly untenable and utterly inhuman view, and he used a beautiful sentence which I will quote to you. "Life without the love of man and woman would be like the world without sunshine." Then he ended by telling the assembled clergy of the Church of England that it was their duty to approach this question in the light of modern knowledge and the needs of a new world.

THE UPPER AND middle classes throughout Europe and throughout the United States are practising Birth Control. They are limiting their families. They have the knowledge; they see the necessity. The well-to-do artisans are doing the same thing. The rural laborers also, who are on the whole more intelligent than the poorer classes in the towns because they are brought daily in contact with the facts of nature, are also limiting their families. In our English villages families have become relatively small. It is in the slums that Birth Control is not practised. In those crowded areas of our large towns, where sunshine and fresh air hardly ever penetrate, the worst types are being daily brought into the world. It is these types that are multiplying; it is these types that are forcing modern nations to seek new outlets for their manufactures. It is these types that force fresh wars upon the world.

Happily in some countries public opinion has already recognized that we can only stop the evil by popularizing the knowledge and the methods of Birth Control, so that the "masses" may do what the "classes" already have done. That is recognized in England, where there are no laws against propagating this knowledge and where there is a growing volume of opinion in favor of it.

Unfortunately the United States still has—if you will allow me to say it—foolish laws to forbid dissemination of essential knowledge—laws based upon a false standard of prudery and upon ignorance of the real facts of population. The figures I gave you just now show clearly that today the United States is increasing its population at a rate which in a comparatively brief period must produce an impossible situation. You cannot have four thousand million people in the United States. The present rate of increase must be reduced. You can only reduce the rate of increase by reducing the birth rate or by increasing the death rate. Which is it to be? For the sake of false ideals of prudery are children to be brought into the world to die in infancy, or are they to be brought into the world to kill the children of other nations?

AT PRESENT, UNFORTUNATELY, the official attitude in almost every country is against Birth Control. Some countries have even gone back on their previous policy. France, for example, in terror of Germany, has since the war passed new laws making it a crime even to advocate Birth Control. Why has France done this? Because England and America refused (I think unwisely and unjustly) to agree to protect France against Germany. In view of the failure of the pro-

posed Anglo-American Alliance, the French say: "We must be strong enough to defend ourselves against the Germans, and therefore we must increase our population." They even post up in the streets placards "Faites des enfants" (Produce children). The idea seems plausible, but is really absurd. The population of France is about forty millions. The population of Germany is about sixty millions—50 per cent. more. You will see at once that, supposing the French had a high birth rate and the Germans had an equally high birth rate, the Germans would produce 50 per cent. more children each year. And that would go on from year to year, the balance getting more and more in favor of Germany. In other words, if France wants to go into a cradle competition with Germany she is bound to be beaten. So that remedy will not serve. Moreover if the policy which the French have adopted to protect themselves from a fresh war were to be followed by every other country, fresh wars would be inevitable because there would not be room for everybody.

HOW THEN IS this madness to be ended? I contend that it can only be ended by a change in the mental attitude of all nations. And I say: Let the strongest nations lead the way. Let them set the example. If necessary, let the nations who have the wisdom to adopt a low birth rate for the sake of the prosperity of their children, for the sake of peace of the world, band themselves together and agree to defend one another against those races that will not reduce their birth rate. I hold that a League of Low Birth Rate Nations would be much more useful to the world than a League of Nations.

In conclusion, may I sum up my argument in a few words. I contend that the ideal of peace on earth and goodwill among men is unattainable as long as we are too thick on the ground. Progress is impossible without room to live and leisure to think. This is no new doctrine. It has been endorsed by all economists of weight ever since Malthus first insisted upon its essential truth; it has been demonstrated by every type of living thing. Everywhere the lower races, whether plant or insect or animal, are the most prolific; everywhere the unchecked multiplication of rival species leads to mutual destruction. If we wish to attain universal peace, if we wish to secure the progress of mankind, we must persuade all the peoples of the earth to limit their numbers.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Connell, Richard, writer of short stories and humorous sketches.

Cox, Harold, Editor of "Edinburgh Review," former M. P. for Preston, Lancashire; spent two years in India as Professor of Mathematics at the Mohammedan College at Aligarh.

Goldstein, Ferdinand, Professor of Ancient History, Berlin.

Potter, Grace, Practitioner in Psycho-analysis, New York.

Tyson, Helen Glenn, Head-worker in Social Service Dept., Pennsylvania Hospital, 1909-1916; Lecturer on Social Economics, Carnegie Institute of Technology and University of Pittsburgh, 1918-1921.

Moral Values in Birth Control

(A paper read at the Pennsylvania Birth Control Conference)

By Helen Glynn Tyson

MORE THAN FIFTY years ago Herbert Spencer developed the concept of the relativity of morality, or morality as the adjustment of human nature to the physical and social environment. Environments differ and change, giving rise to new human needs, and to changing moral values. The acceptance of this truth as the basis of social ethics discredited moral absolutism, and brought a clearer perception of moral progress, to be attained through the conscious control of social arrangements, to assure the maturing of human personality and the fuller development of life. Changes in morality may represent, then, from the standpoint of this ideal, reversion or progress. One of the most striking illustrations of reversion was the sudden shift of social morality with the coming of war, when the prevalent code of thought and conduct was speedily abandoned, to give place to the more primitive standards fitted to the exigencies of conflict. In such a sudden outburst of emotionalism the cruder instincts and impulses of the group, can be played upon by the newspapers and other organs of propaganda, and the moral disintegration is scarcely questioned when church and state give their sanctions to the changed morality.

Of very contrasting type of the changing mores is the progressive movement for higher moral standards in family life which we are discussing today. Alteration in the mores of sex relations and parenthood are necessarily slow and difficult. Change here must be highly rational, based upon consciously perceived advantage to the individual and the group. The Birth Control movement is primarily an intellectual one. The obstacles of emotionalism and traditionalism must be faced; all the dead weight of convention, and dogmatic authority is against it. Then, too, the value of Birth Control for the group can only be appreciated by those who have some understanding of the tremendous economic and social changes that have transformed a local agricultural society into a complex industrial one.

OBVIOUSLY, THE reason why we have been so slow to consider this question in America is that our intense industrial development and urbanization have been relatively so recent. Also, certain physical conditions in large sections of our country have tended to perpetuate the idea that a high birth rate is a national advantage. Vast tracts of untilled free land and great areas of undeveloped natural resources have until recently made necessary a tremendously rapid growth in population. But of late years that condition has been changing; the country has filled up, and the pressure of population on the land is already felt; the industrial system has stabilized to some degree, and there is no further need for increasing the mass of unskilled labor to open up new land or to man new industries. This fact has been accepted—rather stupidly, perhaps—in our present drastic Immigration Law. It has not yet been generally admitted in regard to our national birth rate.

The old pagan belief in a high birth rate to keep up a failing population, which was later taken over by the Church, was of course justified to some degree by the high death rate, which prevailed almost universally, through the ravages of disease and the complete ignorance of modern preventive medicine. The constant devastations of war, sanctioned as they were until so recently by a popular belief in its moral and spiritual values, tended to intensify this conviction.

In the face of an amazing fall in the death rate, amounting to a 25 per cent. decrease even since 1900, and of all the social and economic changes that have accompanied the industrialization of America, the average American still clings to his old belief in the value of a high national birth rate. While he admits the social and even the moral advantages to be gained by the practice of family limitation in his own and his neighbor's case, he is still timid about advocating that a tradition that has been outgrown and no longer fits the needs of modern society be discarded and that a new morality in regard to population control be adopted.

IT IS OF COURSE a fact that Birth Control in some form is widely practiced by native-born Americans today. Faulty as are our vital statistics, they bear out the truth of this statement by the actual contrasts, amounting in some localities to a 1 to 2 ratio, between the birth rates of native and foreign born. There is also a wide-spread and frank admission among individuals of the middle-class of the practice of family limitation, and a conscious recognition of its personal value and economic advantage. It is probably true that all people today, except the most stupid and ignorant, can seek out and find for themselves some more or less effective method of family limitation. But that fact, instead of justifying an attitude of laissez-faire, indicates the need of a more positive, more definite policy on the part of those of us who believe in direction and group control in so vital a matter. The problem today then is; how many of these new folk-ways, widely accepted by thousands of native Americans, be woven into the mores of the whole group, that they may make for the prevention of poverty and inefficiency, and so contribute to a new and more positive social morality?

The only possible answer can be: discussion, and more discussion, with a careful avoidance of the kind of emotionalism that stirs up strong feeling reactions, and an insistence on scientific inquiry and rational thinking.

The moral values in the institution of the family are to be found only when it is a real instrument for social progress, devised to hand on the highest traditions of the group to the children. The brutal birth rate of the past, even though it involved the sacrifice of many mothers and infants in the satisfaction of the group need for workers, did not necessarily negate the moral and spiritual values in family life. That is, the woman on the farm if she were physically strong, could

rear six or eight children, and herself develop to the limits of the opportunities offered in that simple environment. She could make, and teach her children to make, adequate adjustments to the life they were to lead.

TODAY THE DEMANDS of the child on the mother are infinitely greater. Even the application of modern methods of child hygiene require an expenditure of time and thought on the part of the mother that were quite unknown in the past. On the side of mental development and training in social ethics, the complexity of modern life demands infinitely more wisdom and effort on the part of parents. While it is true that the only lasting family bond is the bond of affection, this in itself is of little avail in aiding the child to effect the infinite number of adjustments necessary in our complex society today, if he is to develop his personality and meet life in any adequate fashion. A great moral responsibility rests on the parents to secure for their children the best that the community offers in the way of education and training; yet it is impossible for them to meet this obligation without the sense of economic security, and sufficient leisure for their own self-development. It is obvious that these conditions are found only when the number of children is consciously determined.

Much has been said of the tragic instances of what might almost be called pathological motherhood—of those pathetic wrecks of women who throng our hospitals and dispensaries, the victims of their own uncontrolled fecundity: and all social workers, especially those of us who have been medical social workers, can add to these tales of human wreckage. But there is another story yet to be told of the mental and moral effects of undesired conception on the woman in the "average" home. While Birth Control is widely practiced, the methods used are undoubtedly both harmful and ineffective in many instances. The question may be raised as to whether reluctant submission to undesired maternity does not make for an actual breakdown of those very moral elements that are most needed in mothers.

Self-respect, that most essential of all moral qualities is based primarily on the sense of self-direction. Patience and submission are after all a kind of fatalism. These are not the qualities that mothers of today must have to develop strong children, capable of making vigorous choices and clear decisions in the complexities of modern life.

OF THE SEX antagonisms developed between man and wife, so often due to fear of pregnancy, and resulting in turn in the incompatibility that is the main cause of divorce, of the subconscious antipathy on the part of parents to the child that has not been wanted, of the loss of moral and spiritual values in the family life itself when the income cannot meet the needs of the family, almost nothing has been said. Such reactions are not within the control of the individuals involved. The very struggle against them, on the part of conscientious parents, embitters life and poisons the atmosphere of the home. In contrast, voluntary parenthood implies far more than economic security and physical well-being for the child that is desired. It implies a strong bond of affection and harmonious thought between the parents and a spiritual preparation on their part that carries with it all the highest moral qualities that the race has evolved. A child born under these conditions may indeed enter into the fullest heritage of childhood.

After all the aims of the opponent and advocate of Birth Control are the same: the conservation of childhood, and the fullest life for the new generation. It is only in method that they differ. The advocate believes that new conditions demand a new morality, which includes self-direction in the individual, and social control by the group in the vital matter of race perpetuation. He believes that the method of the conventional moralists are fundamentally immoral, since by clinging to outworn taboos, that have lost their higher values, they accept planless, accidental reproduction and so help to perpetuate poverty and misery and the conditions that make for family and racial disintegration.

"Weeds"

By Richard Connell

(Continued from March issue)

THIRTY? THIRTY? I seen thirty sharks in the summer of eighty-three," piped the ancient clam-digger. Old Man Eggers silenced him with an oath.

Sounds of pain from the next room grew loud. The women made clucking noises of sympathy.

"Clem Skiff don't seem to show much interest," remarked one of the women, a faded creature in dingy black.

"Oh, this ain't the first time for Clem," said the fat man, with a sound approximating a titter. "He's always been quite a hand with the ladies."

"I told Nettie to watch out," said Mrs. Purley, virtuously. "But she didn't pay no heed."

The faded woman in black sniffed.

"Sinfully hussy," she snapped. "Ain't got no more morals than a mud-turtle. The Heavenly Redeemer will punish her."

The other women said, "Hush;" the cries of the woman beyond the door grew louder still.

"Perhaps it'll be a Chink, after all," observed the fat man, hopefully.

They listened in silence to the woman's screams of anguish. The wind rattled the old farm house. Then there was a new sound, as if some one had trod on the tail of a cat.

The door opened. A messy man, a doctor gone to seed, appeared.

"I don't suppose there's such a thing as a swig of brandy in the house," he said over his shoulder to a thin, washed-out man behind him.

The washed-out man was Caleb Frear, the superintendent of the poor farm.

"Nary a swig," replied Caleb Frear, loudly, so that all might

hear. Then he whispered something to the doctor, who grinned knowingly, and they started to pass through the kitchen on their way to the superintendent's "office."

But as they passed, Old Man Eggers caught the doctor by the sleeve.

"What is it?" he asked. The old men and women craned their necks to hear.

"It's a child!" replied the doctor, who had a local reputation as a wit.

"Is it a Chink," asked the fat man, anxiously.

"No, it's white, all right," said the doctor.

"Girl?"

"Nope."

"Boy?"

"What else could it be?"

The lean piner woman plucked at the doctor's arm.

"How is it's head," she asked, a sudden excitement in her voice.

"It's just the shape of a peanut," replied the doctor, cheerfully.

II.

THE CHAIRMAN of the State Board for the Guardianship of Orphans, in his office in the capital of the state, received, the following day, a report of the birth at the poor farm. The Board would, of course, be responsible for the child.

With pursed lips he glanced over the official communication from Superintendent Caleb Frear, and ran over the records in the case.

"Nettie Pinkney," the letter ran, "aged 26 years, a mentally defective pauper, gave birth to a boy, November 29, 1920. Father is believed to be one Clem Skiff, a moron, also an inmate of this institution. Dr. C. B. Roach reports that the formation of the child's head is abnormal."

The Chairman sighed as he put down the paper.

"Her fourth in six years," he remarked to Gaines, his assistant. "All of them hopeless imbeciles. And one of them black. What a record!"

He was a new Chairman, with a zeal for his work, and the affair plainly shocked him.

"Gaines," he said, decisively, to his assistant, "we'll have to take a run down there and put a stop to this sort of thing. Unless we do something about it, that Pinkney woman will people the state with idiots. She's had four already, and she's only twenty-six. Four more charges for the state. Just think, from the financial side alone, what that will mean. Why, we'll have another Jukes family on our hands."

"Shall I notify the Superintendent you are coming?" asked Gaines.

"Yes," said the Chairman, "I think you'd better. Tell him we'll be down Wednesday. Make the letter good and hot so it will scare him a bit. Of course, we can't do much about the case now; the thing's happened. But we can try to prevent it from happening again."

III.

Caleb Frear received the Chairman's letter the next day, and adjusting his spectacles to his thin, red nose, he turned

up the kerosene lamp in his office, and spelled out the document. Caleb Frear was superintendent of the poor farm because he was the brother-in-law of a minor local politician. His policy in public office was to avoid "trouble," and here was trouble, through no fault of his. How could he exercise control over that Pinkney woman's morals? They grieved him, of course, for he was a religious man, and each day at the poor farm opened and closed with prayers. But he couldn't quite see how he could be held responsible. Still, there was the Chairman's letter, plain as day. So Caleb Frear locked up the inmates in the old farm house, and strolled over to town to consult his political brother-in-law, who would be sure to suggest a solution; he was very adept at fixing things.

When the Chairman and his assistant arrived at the poor farm, which was situated on a bleak road near the sea because the county had secured that property when its owner failed to pay the taxes on it, they found Caleb Frear, in his ceremonial collar and tie, waiting for them, with a bland smile.

"Ah, gentlemen, and how are you," he exclaimed, warmly shaking their hands.

"We have come—" began the Chairman in a tone calculated to impress the Superintendent with the seriousness of the situation.

"Yes, yes, of course," interrupted Frear, "and I'm sorry. Because, gentlemen, you have had this long, cold trip for nothing."

"For nothing?" the Chairman raised his eye-brows.

"Why, yes," said the Superintendent. "You come about the —er—goings-on of that Pinkney girl, didn't you?"

"Yes," said the Chairman, sternly. "We did. We came to see to it that—"

"Well," said the Superintendent, rubbing his hands, "it's all fixed up!"

HE SPOKE WITH the serenity of one who is conscious of a good deed well done.

"All—fixed—up?" the Chairman repeated the words slowly with knitted brow. "I don't understand."

"Yep," said the Superintendent, with a calm smile, "it can't never happen again!"

"Can't happen again?" the Chairman was alarmed. "Good Heavens, man, what have you done?"

"Y'see, gentlemen," said the Superintendent with an air of extreme benevolence, "y'know I'm a moral man. The goings-on of that there Pinkney woman grieved me."

He struck a righteous attitude and went on.

"What she done was contrary to the Laws of Man," he said dramatically. "They was contrary to the Laws of Nature. And to the Laws of God. So, I've made it impossible for her to have any more illegitimate children!"

"What did you do?" demanded the Chairman.

"Well," said the Superintendent proudly, "I called in a minister and had him marry them. Now they can have all the kids they've a mind to."

The Purpose of Mating

By Grace Potter

Being a reply to "Back of Birth Control" by Charlotte Perkins Gilman

MRS. GILMAN DEPLORES the fact that Birth Control offers a way of increase in pleasure without responsibility to those who practice unbridled self-indulgence. And to this fact she lays lack of growth in the Birth Control movement. On the one hand it would hardly be a happy heritage for the children for these unbridled people to become parents. And on the other hand Mrs. Gilman says that no woman, and that must include the unbridled, should have more children than she desires, so we may conclude that what she points attention to is the pleasure afforded to these people. Why regret for them any pleasure they can have? Nature is going to be cruel enough, for unbridled self-indulgence loses to one finally the capacity to indulge at all. However irresponsible they be we give them medicine, surgery, hospital care and why not any pleasure we can also? So even if their inclusion within its benefits has limited the growth of the Birth Control organization we may not reasonably exclude them here until we should decide to close to them also the theatres, parks and concerts.

These arguments seem, however, not to be the important aspects of her paper. An important attitude, however, is that parenthood alone is the purpose of mating.

With this statement we must take issue. Mating has to do with other creation than that of new human beings. It has to do with every kind of creation—a new state, a poem, a picture, a great bridge, a happier world. Mating is concerned with re-peopleing the world but also with the regeneration of the individual, opening his capacities to growth. Who shall say that the one is not as important as the other? If the second were not as important as the first there would have hardly been any advance in human culture. This seems to have been unconsciously accepted by Mrs. Gilman for in saying later what it is that has saved marriage "from the deadly results of un-suppressed desire" she mentions first "the growing beauty of mutual love, the endless pleasure of congenial companionship."

PERHAPS FUNDAMENTALLY we have no real difference with Mrs. Gilman, for she says that "of all the errors of human consciousness none has had wider ill-effects than our misuse of the sex function." It is only going a little further to say that of all the errors incident to the development of human beings, in their struggle to attain a consciousness that makes them more than animals, none has had wider ill-effects than our misuse of love. And in saying that I should perhaps be merely restating the teachings of Sigmund Freud who has said "every neurosis has its basis in a failure in the love life."

Not Freud, nor anyone who understands psycho-analysis as he teaches it and has developed it, advocates excessive self-indulgence. Analysis reveals its results as disintegrating and harmful. The great trouble with unbridled self-indulgence is not that it gives pleasure, but that it gives so little and human

beings want more than the greatest sum of pleasure. They want joy and peace that comes only from a unification of all the desires.

There are two equally unfortunate attitudes toward love which perhaps grow out of each other. The one is the puritan attitude and the other is the vulgar one. The puritan attitude is that sex impulses are somehow vile and so altho they give pleasure must be denied. The vulgar attitude takes it for granted that sex impulses are vile but as they are pleasant are to be accepted. The one tends to deny physical values to love. That is suppression. The other tends to deny tender values to love. That is suppression also. They have neither one known love. And finally the puritan becomes incapable of tenderness and the vulgar becomes equally incapable of physical expression. It is not a beautiful picture.

The healthy attitude is this: The sex impulse is not degrading any more than any other impulse is. It is a force as gravity is a force. Those human beings achieve beauty and harmony who correlate sexual impulses harmoniously with all their other impulses.

THERE ARE OTHER ways of treating an impulse beside suppressing it or reacting to it without consideration of other factors. The third way is to relate it to all the rest of one's life and being and other desires. Suppression necessitates reacting to it all the time in ways of which one may not be conscious oneself but that make one unlovely in spirit and body. Such inharmony may break forth in bodily ailments, in hateful conduct, in incapacity to work, in unhappy physical substitutes for the sex denied, or in uncontrolable sex indulgence. Surely these are as unfortunate results to one's acquaintances as contagion could be. The home environment, if not the inherited constitutions, given to the children of the suppressed are as much a menace as disease. Shall we so fear to understand anything about what the puritans have made taboo, that we dismiss Freud's theories as morbid?

Freud believes that it is to the sublimation of the sexual instinct that all progress is due. What we suppress we can never sublimate. If we suppress we cannot love. But if we accept sexuality as a force to be reckoned with and rightly placed in our lives, it will, as Freud says, "make contributions whose value cannot be overestimated to the highest cultural, artistic and social achievements of the human mind."

A rejoinder from Mrs. Gilman will be printed in our May number.

"I think if God permits the discovery of a remedy which will mitigate the sufferings of humanity he would not forbid the use of that remedy."—BISHOP WELLDON, Dean of Durham.

Birth Control and the Fall of the Roman Empire

By Ferdinand Goldstein

(This paper is a reply to the oft-repeated assertion recently reiterated by Professor Louise Mellvoy at the General Meeting of the Medico-Legal Society in London that race-suicide brought about the fall of the Roman Empire.)

AS THE FALL of Rome is often used as an argument against Birth Control, it is necessary to examine whether the ancient world really perished through loss of its population.

Professor Robert Pöhlmann in 1884, published a book entitled "The Over-population of the Great Cities of Ancient Times." In this book he says: "Nothing could better illustrate the vigor with which this period built up towns than the marvelous development of the two cities Corinth and Carthage, founded anew by Julius Cæsar, which, favored of course by their geographical position, in no long time became metropolitan centers. On the deserted ruins of her predecessor, Carthage developed after a few generations into a splendid commercial city with a really international life, as formerly the original Corinth had been a city of all the Greeks and in truth the metropolis of Hellas. The increase of the Roman Carthage was still greater; her progress in regard to material and ideal wealth was so enormous that she was called the Rome of Africa, was compared with the capital of the world, and provoked her jealousy. At the end of the second and in the third century she appeared among the largest cities of the Empire, and the number of her inhabitants was, according to the report of Herodianus, only surpassed by Rome, the third place being held by Alexandria. This report enables us to appreciate the greatness of Carthage; for Alexandria, in the time of Diodorus, according to official statements, was already inhabited by 300,000 citizens, and the number would have been far greater if foreigners and slaves had been included. Besides, this number is only for the period (180 Olympiad) before the enormous development of Alexandria which began when Augustus became emperor of the world, and between which time and the times of Herodianus, the city apparently doubled her population. If Carthage was then the rival of this city, she must have had 700,000 inhabitants—which means as much as she had before her destruction. This throws simultaneously some light upon the size of other towns, for instance upon the size of Antioch, the metropolis of the East, which Josephus already called the third city of the Empire, after Rome and Alexandria, and which later Libanius compared with the three largest cities after Rome and Constantinople, meaning without doubt with Alexandria, Carthage and Milan.

MILAN DEVELOPED in the period of Diocletian, like many other cities, chiefly because she was the seat of the government and the administration, and we may form an idea of her size when we hear from Procopius that in her destruction in 593, three hundred thousand adult men were killed. Further when in the east a city of the third rank—Cæsarea in Cappadocia,—had in the third century nearly 400,000 inhabitants, what size must the new capital on the Bosphorus have attained, when all artificial means and an incomparable situation com-

bined to build up a center of civilization which soon surpassed all cities in the east, and even equalled Rome in the west? Finally, that besides these metropolitan cities many other places grew into great towns—for example Lyon, Trier, Emerita, Tarraco, Seleucia, Laodicea, Smyrna, Ephesus and others—is proved by the history of the provinces and the magnificence of the remains."

From this quotation it is to be concluded that the increase in the population of the Roman Empire was very great and that it is inadmissible to speak of national suicide. But the augmentation was nearly all due to the fertility of the lower classes, whereas the wealthy families limited the number of their children as much as possible. In order to check this sterility, Augustus published his laws of population. He began this demographical policy in the year B. C. 18, but did not then succeed with it—the *lex de maritandis* was refused. It was not until twenty years later that his *Lex Papia Poppoea* passed, and it caused nearly a revolution among the knights. The law divided the citizens into two classes, those who had children (*patres*) and those who had none (*coelibes vel orbi*). To the *patres* were given the privileges and honors, whereas the celibates were deprived of considerable rights. The Roman Empire was infected to a horrible degree with all vices, and among them legacy-hunting played a great part. The *Lex Papia Poppoea* forbade a bachelor to inherit anything, and prescribed that a husband who did not procreate children could get but half of a hereditary portion, only one-tenth of the inheritance of his wife, and could bequeath her but a tenth of his fortune. The money won in this way from families without children was given to families that had produced some, or the State was the heir. These orders were aimed at the avidity of men whereas others tried to utilize their ambition. A man who had children had a claim to a better place in the theatre and was preferred in the civil service. The consul who had most children had preference in appointment of the first choice of province. The senator with the greatest number of children was first in the list and voted first. The more children a senator had, the shorter the time for him to obtain a place in the civil service, for each child shortened the time by one year. Three children gave the "*jus trium liberorum*." Who had it was free from all personal duties, need not get a tutor, and received a double portion in the public distributions. (*Histoire des Romains, par Victor Duruy.*)

IT IS QUITE EVIDENT that these orders applied only to the higher classes of the population, for the lower did not expect legacies, had but small interest in inheritance laws and did not become consuls. It seems that the *Lex Papia Poppoea* had not the expected success, but even if it had been successful, it could not have prevented the fall of the Empire. Mommsen

says: "The Roman Empire of the Principate, as well as the Roman Empire, as restored by Diocletian, which had still under the reign of Justinian military victories, perished not by the barbarians, but by internal decay." This decay was the consequence of the wrong movement of population. And what was the fault? Not the insufficient increase, only partly the limitation of children by the higher classes, but mainly the difference between the fertility of the higher and the poorer classes. The misery in the Roman Empire, even compared with our own unhappy time, must have attained a horrible height, and the fertility of poor families was much greater than that of the educated ones. What was the consequence of this difference? The higher classes were over-run by the lower ones, and when the process had reached a certain point the bishops founded their state, which had as much to do with the Christian ideal as the Soviet Republic with paradise. Even if the *Lex Papia Poppoea* raised the fertility of the educated and wealthy classes the mischief could not be averted. For in this case, education had to be deteriorated, and the fortune had to be divided into too many parts and after some generations to disappear. Therefore the *Lex Papia Poppoea* must have accelerated the fall of Rome. The Roman government could only have succeeded in saving the Empire by diminishing the fertility of the lower classes. She did not attempt it, and if she had she could not have succeeded, because at that time contraceptive means, as well as aseptic were unknown. Rome had to perish after she had agglomerated such huge populations in the cities. But we are able to save our civilization and our nations, unless we fail to defend our standpoint in dealing with the demographic question and unless we judge Malthusianism to be criminal.

OUR MEMBERSHIP CONTEST

A very cordial response has been received to Mrs. Sanger's appeal for more members of the American Birth Control League. The time, however, proved too short, and the contest is extended for another month. Following are the names of members who have secured ten or more additional members:

Miss Ruth Albert -----New York
 Mr. W. C. Bray -----Texas
 Mrs. Bross -----Michigan
 Miss Day -----New York
 Mrs. Clara W. Carter -----New Jersey
 Miss E. Christiansen -----New York
 Miss Grace Frost -----Michigan
 Miss Mary B. Higgins -----New York
 Mr. H. K. Hollister -----New York
 Miss Agnes Inglis -----Michigan
 Mrs. Anne Kennedy -----New York
 Mrs. J. Lewis -----New York
 Miss Anna Lifschitz -----New York
 Miss M. S. MacDowell -----New York
 Mrs. William McGraw -----Michigan
 Mrs. May Belle Morgan -----New York
 Mrs. Beverley Robinson -----New York
 Miss Clara Louise Rowe -----New York
 Vito Selecchia -----New York
 Mrs. T. J. Swanton -----New York
 Mrs. J. B. Vendever -----New York
 Mrs. W. I. Westervelt -----New York
 (More names will be given in our May issue.)

WHATEVER ANYONE thinks about Birth Control it is certain that the world has arrived at such a position that this is one of the most important subjects of the moment.

—London Evening Standard.

Appeals of Mothers

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have just read your book and I feel I would like to help to forward this movement but I feel so helpless. I am the wife of a poor man. I have four children and it is a great struggle to keep them. I have *tuberculosis* but the Dr. says I will live a long time if I take good care of myself.

My baby is 1 year and half old. I know if I have another I shall not get over it, so, I am trusting a preventive for which I have to send to England to get. I don't know any place to get same things here. I feel it is us women who suffer that will help the movement most if they can only know what to do. Most women who have not had children or have plenty of money are not so interested.

My mother had 10 children and she and my father both died when the youngest was 3 years old, worn out with the struggle to keep them. I would be pleased with any advice you could give me for my own welfare or for the good of others I know worse off than myself.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have read your book *Woman and the New Race* so take this opportunity to write you personally. I am the mother of

four children. I have had five children within a period of seven years, the youngest now a month old.

I am very delicate weighing only a hundred lbs. and have to do all my work with no help. I feel I would not live through another pregnancy. Have had different doctors in hope of finding the information. It being unusually easy for me to become pregnant will feel very grateful for reliable information.

With all good wishes for the splendid work you are doing, I am,

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

My husband and I both would give a lot to know how to prevent more for I am not fit to have children. I have used several different supposed preventives but they have failed. If you can tell me what to do it is sure, I will be so glad for we are so anxious to know for I will not have any more for I have went through so much sorrow.

You are doing good work and I wish you success for it is some thing the poor people need for times are to hard to raise a big family. Let me here from you for I am anxious to find out how to prevent birth.

Birth Control: Is it Moral?

More Replies to the Four Questions

THE QUESTIONS:

1. Is not over-population a menace to the peace of the world?
2. Would not the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information, through the medium of clinics, by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population?
3. Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women towards the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?
4. Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social, and intellectual standards of the population?

The Answers

MARY SCHARLIEB

Essayist

MANY THANKS FOR your letter received this morning. I will do my best to briefly indicate my position with regard to this important subject.

In my opinion the limitation of families is wrong and dangerous because it does not control or discipline sexual passion but aims at the securing of the privileges of the married state while it shirks the responsibilities attached thereto. Thus it does away with the natural discipline of married life.

Secondly, the artificial prevention of conception does not appear to me to be in the real interest of the wife. It is true that it may relieve her from the burdens of pregnancy and lactation and from the care that is involved in the proper bringing up of a large family. On the other hand the logical outcome of the removal of all restraint from the husband's desires tends to the virtual enslavement of the wife. Many men who have not the moral and intellectual development that is necessary to secure for her proper respect and consideration now refrain from making undue demands upon her for fear of the consequences, but when relieved from this fear they would recognize no limit to their desires. This most undesirable condition of things is not the intention and object of those who advocate artificial control but it is the logical outcome of their propaganda.

Thirdly, it is impossible to instruct married women in artificial methods of preventing conception without at the same time instructing unmarried women and girls. In doing this the outside conscience is removed: fear of disgrace and of adverse public opinion gives place to an unhealthy confidence that sin may be enjoyed and no unpleasant consequences will result. Already promiscuous intercourse is far too frequent, and its results in illegitimate births and in the dissemination of venereal disease are greatly to be deplored. Artificial prevention of conception, although to some extent protecting the girl or woman against the natural consequences of her action,

would tend to blunt her moral sense and degrade the national standard of purity.

Fourthly, from the doctor's point of view the use of artificial contraceptives is wrong, because although many of them do not necessarily inflict any local, mechanical, or chemical injury, their effect on the nervous system is certainly injurious. Much of the joy and spontaneity of married relationship is destroyed, and the woman's nervous health appears to suffer not only during child-bearing years but more markedly at, and after, the menopause.

In addition to these reasons there are the wider considerations of national welfare, and of contravention of the Divine command—"Be fruitful and multiply."

EDEN PAUL, M. D., and CEDAR PAUL

English Writers of Short Stories

TO BE QUITE frank—we regard Birth Control as (at the moment) a side issue. Like alcoholism, venereal disease, and half-a-dozen other matters we might name, it is of great importance to the welfare and happiness of the human race. But unless another, more urgent, and more vital problem is rightly solved, in the near future, we do not think that what Winwood Reade termed the Martyrdom of Man will end except by man's extinction, or that mankind in the future will have any happiness or welfare worth considering. We allude to this other problem without particularising, only to explain why (while admiring your single-minded devotion to the cause you have at heart) we are not ourselves at present giving much time to Birth Control propaganda.

As to the special points on which you ask our opinion, suffice it to say that in our view anyone who is hostile to Birth Control on what are termed "moral" grounds is obviously living in the "Middle Ages" instead of in the modern world (we do not say "in the Dark Ages," for that period is not yet over for any of us—although there is a glimmer of dawn in the East. Except for that glimmer, we are *all* in the Dark Ages).

When the new day dawns, much of what our contemporaries are accustomed to term "morality" will seem as strange to us, as repugnant to human sentiments as an auto-da-fé or the crucifixion tree of a West African monarch.

When that day dawns, the very question "Does the spread of Birth Control involve the loss of a valuable safeguard (!) to youth?"—"Would knowledge of the methods of Birth Control lead to a reign of promiscuity?"—"Would it encourage the husband to impose himself on the wife without considerations for her feelings?"—will seem positively absurd. But in truth they are already absurd to all who know anything about sex, to all with any tincture of the New Psychology.

Birth Control is an important element in "Man's Control of Nature?" As such it has come to stay—if in other respects man makes good his claim to be the Maker of Things.

Book Reviews

A Review by A. G. Porritt

A YOUNG GIRL'S DIARY. Prefaced with a letter by Sigmund Freud. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York, Thomas Selzer.

This very remarkable volume, the genuineness of which is attested by the prefatory letter from Freud, covers three and a half years of the life of the writer. In its intimate nature and its revelation of the thoughts and feelings of girlhood, it naturally provokes comparison with the diary of Marie Bashkirtseff. But there are some important differences. In the first place the Bashkirtseff diary was the record of a much older person, much more self-conscious, and much more desirous of making a good impression, even in a secret diary. Rita, the author of the present diary, was only eleven when her record begins and not fifteen when it suddenly comes to an end. She is perfectly frank and natural, and if she excuses herself, it is to herself and not as a pose for the outside world. How far one has the right to take the thoughts and feelings of any one human being as typical is doubtful. It is dangerous to state that because certain ideas obsessed the mind of Rita, such ideas commonly obsess the thoughts of young girls. Nevertheless the psycho-analyst, the educator and the mother have much to learn from the artless narrative of Rita's experiences, and the burden that lack of proper information, combined with much misinformation, laid upon her. If there survives any doubt about the propriety of accurate and sympathetic sex instruction for young girls, this diary would be sufficient to dissipate it. The weight that Rita had so unnecessarily to carry because of her lack of knowledge and the distress caused her by the false impressions and interpretations imposed upon her by the ignorant women who initiated her into the mysteries of sex must awaken the compassion of every reader. That even then, the burden could have been lightened is shown by Rita's almost resentful story of the change in her elder sister when her mother took her into her confidence and corrected the wrong ideas which had been formed in her mind. But her mother evidently judged her too young to be told about such things, and Rita had to continue to bear her burden in secret. Not all girls are so strongly sexed as these two daughters of a well-to-do German family. But the questionings, the horrors, the repulsions as well as the sexual drawings which are told so simply in Rita's narrative will awaken a responsive memory in the mind of many an American woman who in the days of her youth was left to find out the mysteries of sex without wise or loving guidance. Rita was evidently a girl of superior intelligence and attractiveness, with good instincts and intentions, and it is easy to see that sex training—or lack of training—such as she received, might have been much more disastrous had the material been less good. While Rita cannot be accepted as typical of the average girl the diary is a document of utmost importance in the study of sex psychology. The translation by Eden and Cedar Paul is excellent. The tone and flavor of the diary have been preserved by a happy use of school girl slang in English, where a literal translation of German school girl expressions would have been stupid and meaningless. The spirit has been captured first and then given a form and body delightfully in keeping with the nature of the diary and its writer.

A Review by Genevieve Grandcourt

GREAT MEN AND HOW THEY ARE PRODUCED AND HUMAN HEREDITY. Heredity Publishing Co., Chicago.

Great Men is a pamphlet of 32 pages, in which eminent men are cited to illustrate the contention that persons of mark come practically always of mature parents; that is to say, children benefit by the mental development undergone quite recently by their immediate progenitors. Mr. Redfield's research, of course, is based upon the (disputed) Lamarckian theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. On

page 5, we read: "... a large proportion of certain kinds of ills in our social fabric have their foundation in early marriages contracted two or three generations ago." He further explains his position by saying that though great men are sometimes born of comparatively young parents, "Intellectual superiority can neither be produced nor maintained when generations succeed each other rapidly."

In Human Heredity, Mr. Redfield distinguishes between the intellectual superiority of the man of science whose work is constructive, and that of the mere military genius, like Napoleon. Napoleon was born when his father was 23, (see page 42), "It will be interesting if someone will find some Cuvier or Humboldt born to a father 22 or less." There is a most enlightening chapter devoted to an analysis of the amount of resistance which may be acquired to conditions of environment normally detrimental to the organism. The author's conclusions confirm practically everything asserted by the proponents of Birth Control, which makes certain of his references to the movement amazing, not to say ludicrous. But on the whole, his theories are rarely well worth the time spent in becoming acquainted with them.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Rational Living, N. Y. THE CHILD AND THE HOME, by Benzion Liber.

From Cosmopolis Press. WOMAN FROM BONDAGE TO FREEDOM, by Ralcy Husted Bell—new edition with corrections by the author.

From Henry J. Fuller's Terre Haute, Inc. A VIRGIN'S DREAM, by Max Ehrmann, Scarlet Woman Series.

PERIODICALS

PHYSICAL CULTURE, New York, for March, contains an interesting article by A. E. Wiggam—"Birth Control—A Two-Edged Sword." One edge of the sword described by Mr. Wiggam is already cutting. The educated and responsible classes are reducing their families. It is the aim of the Birth Control movement to sharpen the other edge, which will make possible the cutting down of the swarming families of the undernourished, the under-educated and the mentally and physically unfit.

AMERICAN MEDICINE, New York. The February issue contains an article by Dr. B. S. Talmey, on "Human Love: A Study of Its Evolution and Psychology," in which the author emphasizes the difference between human love and mere sexual attraction.

THE NEW GENERATION, London. The February issue well sustains the promise of the initial number. Of especial interest is the contribution of Dr. Killick Millard, entitled "A Medical Aspect." In it, Dr. Millard points out the many "unnatural" improvements that man has made in his habits from shaving and manicuring to the use of anaesthetics. His main effort is to answer the question "Are Birth Control Methods Injurious to Health?"

The March 15 issue of the New York NATION contains a review by Havelock Ellis of the new edition of Westermarck's "History of Human Marriage." This has been a standard work for thirty years, but with each revision new and valuable material has been added. Dr. Ellis points out, however, that in spite of the thoroughness of Westermarck's research, he has nothing to say about the limitation of family, whether by infanticide, abortion or prevention of conception. This is remarkable, for some form of limitation has been in use from the dawn of human history.

HEALTH AND LIFE, the new magazine to be published in May, will contain an article by Annie G. Porritt on Birth Control and National Health. The journal will offer many interesting features for students of individual and social hygiene.

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Child, What is Order? Work and
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The School and the Home, Mistakes
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Conversations on Sex, Dialogues
Between a Wise Mother and Her
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Remarks, Birth Control, Influences
During Pregnancy, Remnants of
Savagery, Circumcision, Kissing,
Vaccination, Drugs, Surgical Op-
erations, Fads, The Senses, Glibber-
ish Talk, Speech Defects, Physical
Punishments, Fear, Habit Move-
ments, Clothes, Bathing, Air, Food,
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*Letter by Elizabeth B. Fern and
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hope for the future. To him, apparently, the child is not merely an
embryonic successful business man, but one who may have something from
within to express, something worth developing."—ELIZABETH B. FERN,
ALEXIS C. FERN, Principal Teachers, Ferrer Modern School, Stelton, N. J.*

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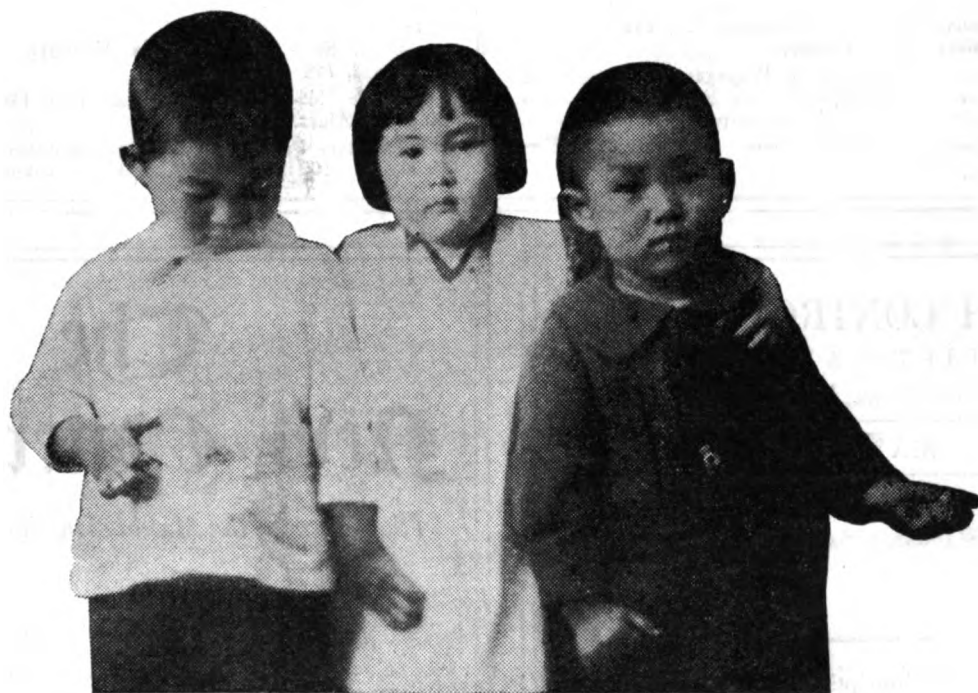
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- SWEDEN (1911)—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
- ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AUSTRIA—Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftzwang. Johann Ferch, President. Wien, XV/1 Gablensgasse 81. Periodical, *Sexual Reform*.
- PORTUGAL—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- AFRICA—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
- JAPAN—Voluntary Parenthood League. Baroness S. K. Ishimoto, President. 10, Hinoki-cho Akasaki-ku, Tokyo.

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Editor
 MARGARET SANGER

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 ANNIE G. PORRITT

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Contributors include:

DR. HAVELOCK ELLIS MR. HAROLD COX
 REVEREND MAUDE ROYDEN DR. KILLICK MILLARD
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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI.

MAY, 1922

No. 5

Margaret Sanger in Japan

THE TAIYO MARU reached Japan on March 10th. Not until she arrived in Yokohama Harbor did Mrs. Sanger know whether or not she would be allowed to land, or whether, if she landed, she would be permitted to speak. While she was still at sea a vigorous correspondence had gone on between the Home Office and the Foreign Office of the Japanese Government. The Foreign Office, urged by Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister, who was a fellow passenger on the Taiyo Maru, had been urging by wireless that all courtesy be shown Mrs. Sanger. The Home Office feared her influence on national customs. The result of this correspondence was known in the United States before it was known to Mrs. Sanger herself, and in a letter dated March 8th and mailed after arrival she wrote: "My landing is still very mysterious, though from the various invitations I am receiving to speak before representative groups it would seem I must be going to land." These invitations were sent to her by wireless. Among them was a welcome from Kaizosha, the group of progressive Japanese who publish the magazine *Kaizo*; one from the doctors of Kyoto; one with greetings from the New York Society of Nagayo, with an invitation to visit that city, and one from Baroness Ishimoto, Mrs. Sanger's hostess.

A graphic description of Mrs. Sanger's landing was given in the *Japan Times* of March 11th. "Mrs. Sanger," reads the article, "was allowed to land in this country last night after a series of negotiations that made the diplomacy at the Washington Conference look like child's play. She will remain here for some time and hopes to have an opportunity of discussing with doctors, at least, her theories on Birth Control. But she has promised the police that she will "be good" and make no attempt to deliver any public addresses on the subject.

"When the Taiyo arrived at quarantine she was surrounded by a fleet of small craft: police launches, tenders of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha service, health officers' boats, government vessels, mail tenders and press dispatch carriers. After the police and health officers had finished their official duties the reporters were allowed to board the ship.

"AN ARMY OF STAR writers from the Tokyo newspapers, the authorities said they issued seventy passes to these men alone, a dozen regular waterfront reporters and a few foreign correspondents swarmed up the gangway of the ship which bore nearly three hundred distinguished persons as first cabin passengers, including two Japanese delegates to the Washington Conference and members of their suite.

"The eager news men rushed up the gangway and scurried

about in search of a notable news story. Was it Admiral Baron Kato they sought? It was not. A dozen disgruntled shorthand men dropped out of the herd to take notes on the Envoy's address in the dining salon but the others flocked onward until they found the modest quarters in which abode a modest little American woman and her handsome young son. Mrs. Sanger and the Cause of Birth Control were what the press of Japan was interested in—the Peace Conference was an old story.

"Mrs. Sanger was surprised and pleased by the intelligent questions that were asked her about her mission. She answered each interrogator simply, comprehensively and with admirable patience."

Mr. Hanihara had become well acquainted with Mrs. Sanger during the voyage from San Francisco to Japan. On February 23rd she had given a two-hour lecture to the first class passengers in which she had put forward freely her ideas on Birth Control. This was followed by many conversations which thoroughly convinced Mr. Hanihara that the opposition to her entering Japan was unwarranted. He reported to his government that she was "a gentlewoman with a fixed principle for the betterment of mankind and that she did not hold or advocate extreme and dangerous thoughts which the Japanese authorities had reason to fear." The lecture of February 23rd was followed by several others, arranged for those who had not the privilege of attending in the first class saloon, as there was a universal desire among second and third class passengers, as well as among those who had become personally acquainted with Mrs. Sanger, to hear her ideas on Birth Control.

After landing existence became somewhat breathless, and it cannot be a matter of surprise that towards the end of her stay Mrs. Sanger was tired out and compelled to cancel a few engagements on the ground of illness. Writing on March 15th, five days after landing, she says: "I am just as busy here as I was in New York. Japan is full to overflowing with Birth Control interest. The protests against the authorities for trying to keep me out were so serious that they had to allow me to enter. The common people did the protesting as well as some of the delegates on board the boat. I have spent many hours discussing the subject with police officials and government authorities, and yesterday I gave a public lecture here in the Y. M. C. A. Hall. My days are crowded with lecture and reception dates. Every evening, afternoon, dinner, lunch and morning is taken until I leave Tokyo. I am now beginning to fill breakfast engagements. Japan has been put over, there is no doubt. Now for China!"

THE PUBLIC LECTURE was not directly on Birth Control, but on the population question—as a concession to the authorities. In lectures to groups, however, Mrs. Sanger was able to propound freely her ideas. The audience at the public lecture is thus described in a three-column report of it in the *Japan Times* of March 15th:

“Prosperous-looking business men, well-groomed women, students, shop girls, a Buddhist priest or two, a number of foreigners and a battery of camera men composed the audience which heard Mrs. Margaret Sanger, American Birth Control advocate, speak on War and Population in the Tokyo Y.M.C.A. auditorium yesterday afternoon. It was Mrs. Sanger’s first public meeting and among her most attentive listeners was a liberal sprinkling of ‘plain clothes men’ of the Metropolitan Police who were there to see that the speaker did not overstep the bounds permitted into a discussion of Birth Control—a subject officially banned as ‘dangerous’ to Japan morals. No more interested audience could have been secured. Apparently most of those present understood English, for the audience, as though charmed by the clear and distinct voice of Mrs. Sanger, sat silent and expectant as she spoke. The usual stir came as the translator started on each new paragraph of Mrs. Sanger’s speech, and it was easy to discern those who had understood Mrs. Sanger as he proceeded with the translation. Two listeners were less attentive than the others. They were both typical women of the poorer class, aged beyond their years by the bearing and raising of many children in a few years. Each was compelled to pace the room at the rear and croon to a fretful baby on her back.”

On April 4th a cablegram was received from Mrs. Sanger stating that she was about to leave Kobe for Hongkong, calling at points in Korea on the way. According to the plan outlined before she left the United States, she was to go from Hongkong to Shanghai and Peking, in each of which places lectures had been arranged for her. From China she will go to Manila, and possibly other places in the Philippines. India will be reached from Manila, Calcutta being the first objective. The work in India will include a number of lectures which are being arranged for Mrs. Sanger by Professor Shastri, of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta.

THE *Japan Times* for March 26th, contained the following interesting item: In connection with the visit of Mrs. Margaret Sanger, American Birth Control advocate, it is interesting that at the 29th annual meeting of the Tokyo Association of Graduates from the Imperial University Medical College, held at the Tsukiji restaurant at Ueno, Friday night, the question of Birth Control to which they have hitherto been comparatively indifferent, was discussed. A resolution for organizing a committee to systematically study the relation of population and economy from the medical point of view was adopted.

P. S.—Letters have just been received from Mrs. Sanger giving more particulars concerning her work. During the week March 14-21 she gave ten lectures. Then followed her illness, with a threat of pneumonia, compelling the cancellation of five public meetings. A cablegram from Peking dated April 19th stated that she had addressed an enthusiastic audience of 2,000 at the National University of China.

A WARM WELCOME is awaiting Mrs. Margaret Sanger in London, where she will attend the International Congress, July 11 to 14, on her way home from the Orient. A great public meeting is planned for the evening of July 13th, at which Mr. H. G. Wells has promised to take the chair. Mrs. Sanger will be one of the principal speakers. The organizers of the Congress report that excellent scientific and medical support is being given to the project, and that there will be large representations from the various European countries. The American Birth Control League is in correspondence with the countries of South America and with Mexico and Canada with the aim of forming a large Pan-American group. Some of the names mentioned in connection with the delegation are Mr. Alfred Buckley of Ottawa, Canada; Senora Ricardo Alfaro and Senora Celie S. DeAverhoff of Havana, Cuba; Mr. Gustavo T. White of Columbia, S. A.; Mr. Herbert Scott of Peru and Mr. George M. Falconer and Dr. Nicolas Camara Veles of Mexico. From Japan it is announced that Baroness Ishimoto, who was Margaret Sanger’s hostess during her stay in Tokyo, will head the Japanese delegation. Friends and sympathisers who would like to join the United States delegation are urged to send their names to Mrs. Anne Kennedy, Executive Secretary of the American Birth Control League.

A NOTHER MILESTONE PASSED in the history of the movement for Birth Control! On April 13th, Justice Bijur of the New York Supreme Court gave his approval to the certificate of incorporation of the American Birth Control League. The matter had been under advisement for many weeks, and pressure had been brought to bear by opponents of the movement to induce Justice Bijur to withhold his approval. It was represented to him that the name of the League was illegal, and that so long as there were laws against the dissemination of information concerning Birth Control, it would be inconsistent for the State to put the seal of its approval upon a Birth Control organization. In explaining his action in signing the certificate of incorporation and in disregarding these representations, Justice Bijur quoted from a decision in the Appellate Division of the Court, in which the court had said: “It is not the province of the court to set itself up as a censor of the tastes, social or political of the people, provided only it is clear that the purpose and intent of those organizations is to seek the accomplishment of that programme by lawful methods, that is to say to change our form of government by amending the constitution through constitutional methods.” In applying this decision to the case of the American Birth Control League, Justice Bijur insisted that “these incorporators undoubtedly enjoy in common with their fellow citizens the privilege of discussing the methods of any statute and of presenting arguments for its amendment or repeal.” Incorporation adds to the dignity of the League. It establishes its place as a body doing work which it has a legal and constitutional right to undertake and it furnishes an answer to those opponents who contend that the very words Birth Control carry a sinister meaning.

Birth Control in Mexico

BRIEF AND SCATTERED paragraphs in some of the newspapers gave the surprising intelligence that Mexico was in the throes of a Birth Control campaign, and that the opposition was vigorously trying to let the world know of it. There was at least one public meeting, at which part of the audience objected strongly to something said by one of the speakers. This was reported; but the whole story was not given, and that story is of great interest as showing a contrast between the attitude taken by the government of one of the Mexican States and our state and city authorities.

The agitation grew out of the translation and distribution of a pamphlet written some years ago by Margaret Sanger. This pamphlet had been secured by some reformers who had succeeded in having it published by the Mayab Press in Meridá, Yucatan. It fell into the hands of some bitter opponents, who drew up a petition and presented it to the District Attorney General, urging him to prosecute the men responsible for the publication. The local press recorded this action and the newspapers at once took sides for and against Birth Control. The cartoonists got busy, and between the advocates and the bitter opponents, the public was thoroughly aroused on the question and Birth Control became the most discussed topic of the hour.

In the meantime the District Attorney sent the petition to the Governor of Yucatan, who at once remitted instructions to refuse it. In compliance with these instructions the District Attorney issued a statement that was printed in full in the "Diario Oficial" of March 14th, and reprinted in many of the newspapers both of Meridá and of other Mexican cities. The statement is too long to quote in full, but following are some extracts:

"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S Office cannot shape its manner of proceeding to the narrow-minded and antiquated criterion of morality, the result of deep-rooted religious prejudices, which crops out in your petition. The Executive of the State wishes to have it made clear that forever have gone the prosecutions which have no other cause than moral fanaticism which filled with horror the vast period of clerical domination of the Middle Ages. As long as the present socialist government directs public destiny, the Attorney General's office will not undertake any prosecution for futile ideas of morality, since prosecutions in the name of morality have at all times been the most odious pretext of which religion made use so as to destroy its enemies. . .

"The problem of the birth rate to which the pamphlet makes reference pertains most profoundly to the proletarian groups, and it is natural that the conservative and reactionary classes of society, which have an advantage through the excessive birth rate among the working classes, put up a cry to heaven in defense of their selfish interests. It is natural that they try to impede the movement of emancipation, clamoring that it is an attempt against morality, in order that they can maintain their prerogatives, for as long as the phenomenon of excessive birth rate will remain, it permits them to keep the workman in

slavery, paying his work at a sordid price for the fruits of his hands, and just so long will the economic emancipation of the working man be a fact further remote every day.

"And it is a fact worthy of observation that the rich, the privileged, the capitalists, those who live in good circumstances, while they limit their birth rate without its seeming immoral to them, judge it a matter of the greatest immorality that the poor, the exhausted, the miserable, the underfed, the workers should try to limit their birth rate. Yet the latter birth rate taking place among the worst conditions, constitutes one of the causes why the species degenerates, as it is impossible to feed and educate a numerous offspring in a proper manner. . ."

THE REPORTS OF the agitation that were published in American newspapers stated that many Birth Control pamphlets had been distributed in the public schools. This report was expressly denied by the Governor in a statement published March 13th. "The Government of the State," read this statement, "declares also that the afore-mentioned pamphlet has not been distributed in the public schools. It is written especially for adults and not for children, and the unfounded report that it was so distributed is a malicious calumny." In regard to this part of the accusation of the opponents of Birth Control the District Attorney writes: "In the aforesaid petition you make the crime of insulting public morals and decent customs consist in 'the positive fact that the pamphlet was distributed and explained to the public and to educational centers' for which reason according to you 'it must be considered obscene' an erroneous criterion which the Attorney General's office cannot accept, because it is contrary to the text of Article 429 of the Penal Code which you invoke, seeing that, if the crime existed which you denounce, it would certainly not consist in 'the positive fact that the pamphlet was distributed and explained to the public and to educational centers.'

"In virtue of these facts the Executive of the State judges that the denunciation on your part, for the purpose of having in the name of morality a prosecution instituted against a printed publication for a supposed crime that does not admit any legal basis, constitutes merely an episode in that strife of the classes, in which the blind forces of the past have united to engage in their last battle against the redeeming ideas of humanity. . . If the accusation had been made for purely moral reasons, however erroneous, you would undoubtedly not have stirred the waves of scandal in order to solicit public attention about a matter which in this way has found in you its most active propagators. The morals of your religion would have forbidden you, and it is not consistent that you, full of pharisaical scruples, should come to demand, in the name of that morality, the punishment of a deed in which you were participants. . .

"CONSEQUENTLY THE Government of the State charges me to inform you, as an answer to your petition, that the District Attorney's office cannot take cognizance of the accusation which you have been pleased to make, or institute a prose-

cution for the supposed crime under the press law, under the name of supposed morality; but that at all times the most profound respect for the free expression of ideas, which you propose to trample underfoot, has inspired its action, and that it will follow its path from which such denunciations as yours will not suffice to dislodge it; the only exception being serious cases of disturbance of public peace and tranquility."

The statement was signed by the General District Attorney, Arturo Cisneros Canto, and dated March 11, 1922. It is a remarkable document, and one that might be recommended to the attention of the police departments in some American cities—especially in New York, where a meeting for the discussion of the morality of Birth Control was broken up not six months ago.

News Notes

March 17.—Dr. Sidney I. Goldstein gave an address on Birth Control to the Association of Women Physicians of New York. His subject was "The Control of Parenthood as a Moral Problem."

April 2.—At the request of Mr. Joseph Lewis, Mrs. A. G. Porritt spoke to the Freethinkers Society of New York on the Need and Morality of Birth Control.

April 4.—The Reading, Pennsylvania, Branch of the American Birth Control League gave a public meeting at the Woman's Club, Reading, at which Mrs. Anne Kennedy was the principal speaker.

April 6.—The Pennsylvania Branch of the American Birth Control League held its second conference at the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia. The President of the Branch, Dr. Kate W. Baldwin, presided. There was a good audience, and fifty-two new members enrolled in response to an eloquent plea by Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg. More names were also sent in after the meeting.

The speakers announced on the programme were Rabbi Sidney I. Goldstein of New York, Rev. Roger S. Forbes of Germantown, and Miss Franklin R. Wilson, Superintendent of the State Industrial Home at Muncy, Penna. Dr. Franklin L. Johnson, of Girard College, Philadelphia, also spoke, taking as his subject "Quality versus Quantity." The two clergymen both spoke from a high moral standpoint and impressed their audience by the beauty and sincerity of their addresses. Miss Wilson gave a startling instance of a man from a traveling circus who advertised himself as being the father of sixty-eight children. Nineteen of these children were blind from birth. Miss Wilson strongly scored the anti-social nature of such multiplication of the unfit. The Pennsylvania Branch has established a Speakers' Bureau and is planning to circularize the women's clubs and other organizations of the State.

April 13.—The certificate of incorporation of the American Birth Control League was signed by Justice Bijur.

THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

March 14.—Mr. Harold Cox made an outspoken plea for Birth Control as a means of putting an end to war in an address before the Eugenics Society in London. This address was

reported in all the English papers, and editorials strongly commending it appeared in many of them.

March 17.—Mr. Harold Cox spoke on Population before the Delphian Coterie in London. Sir Rider Haggard who also spoke, advocated emigration as a cure for the increasing congestion of population in England. Mr. Cox took issue with him, and stated that the only permanent remedy was Birth Control.

BIRTH CONTROL IN HOLLAND

March 26.—The 40th annual meeting of the Dutch Neo-Malthusien League was held at Utrecht. The League maintains clinics served by four doctors and 52 trained women (with one additional for the Island of Java). The Dutch death-rate has fallen to 10.7 per thousand and its infant mortality rate to 50 per thousand—a better showing than any other country except New Zealand.

An Appeal from Austria

AN APPEAL FOR aid has been received from Austria, where famine and misery have been universal since the end of the war. Conditions there were carefully investigated last year by Mary Winsor and her observations were given at the Birth Control Conference in October. The sole hope of that ruined nation seemed to her to lie in the campaign for Birth Control which is being conducted by the League Opposed to Compulsory Motherhood—*Der Bund gegen den Mutter-schaftszwang*. The president of the League is Johann Ferch who is giving his life to the task of saving mothers and infants from the fate that awaits both in case of childbirth under the present unfavorable conditions. A letter from Mr. Ferch received by the American Birth Control League reads: "We are now in the final struggle to reform the law which oppresses the most poverty-stricken mothers. Propaganda is necessary to win the victory. For this we are too weak. As founder and champion, in the name of the common cause, I ask for help. With fifty or one hundred dollars the League (Opposed to Compulsory Motherhood) would be able to carry on the agitation throughout the entire country. We need prompt help!" How little he asks! Surely someone would like to send this much needed assistance. If enough could be raised, Mr. Ferch might be enabled to go to London in July to the International Congress, and there bring the case of Austria to the attention of the advocates of Birth Control from all parts of the world. Contributions sent to the American Birth Control League will at once be forwarded to Vienna.

OUR MEMBERSHIP CONTEST

MORE NAMES OF members who have secured ten or more new members for the American Birth Control League.

Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin.....New York
Messrs. Peck and SterbaNew York
Miss Frances JohnstonNew York
Mr. D. MurdochCanada
Mrs. Sarah CaselliIllinois

The Question of Birth Control Discussed from A Psychiatric Standpoint

By Aaron J. Rosanoff, M.D.

Clinical Director, Kings Park State Hospital, N. Y.

IT IS A MATTER of common knowledge that psychiatry has a strong practical interest in eugenics. Psychopathic heredity is the most important cause of mental disorders; and so the prevention of such disorders is largely a problem in eugenics.

As yet only a partial solution of this problem has been attained. The tendency has been to deal with it in a cautious and conservative way, in order to avoid the obvious danger of doing more harm than good. Of the measures that have been proposed—legal restriction of marriage, sterilization and segregation—only the last mentioned has been found at all widely practicable; and even it has serious drawbacks and is far from being wholly adequate.

Psychiatry is, therefore, at present in a position to welcome further suggestions.

The question which this paper is to deal with may be formulated as follows: *Assuming universal instruction in technique of Birth Control to be an established fact, what would be the effect upon the prevalence of mental disorders?*

I need hardly say here that Birth Control is not something new. It is as old as human history. But knowledge of its technique has never been equally distributed. In general it may be said that in all times persons favored by better endowment and education have had the more ready access to this knowledge. Also, in all classes of society, men have held greater power in this matter than women, partly because there has been less prudishness in male education, but more largely because, for the male part, methods of contraception are so simple and so obvious as to be spontaneously discoverable by almost any one.

WHAT I CONCEIVE to be new in this movement is the proposition that by universal instruction and training persons of all classes and both sexes be given the full power of Birth Control.

And so the question, as above formulated, resolves itself into two other questions, which are not so general and therefore more readily answered: (1) Under the conditions specified, would persons suffering from grave mental disorders refrain from having children to a greater extent than those who are free from such disorders? (2) Would the relatively increased prerogative of women under the new conditions result in checking or restricting propagation among psychopathic persons? These two questions require separate discussion.

(1) *Under the conditions specified, would persons suffering from grave mental disorders refrain from having children to a greater extent than those who are free from such disorders?* It is clear that, unless this question can be answered in the affirmative, Birth Control could be counted on possibly to reduce the absolute number of psychopathic persons, along with

the general fall of birth rate, but not their percentage in the population.

The fact is that psychopathic persons have children, and often many children, not solely because of ignorance of contraceptive methods, but because of thoughtlessness, improvidence, inefficiency, lack of control, etc. Moreover, many of them passionately desire children, and, no matter how many they have already brought into the world, they continue to have more as long as they can, feeling in no way dissatisfied with the low standard of care which they are able to give them. All this is within the daily experience of psychiatrists.

IT WOULD SEEM, then, that while well balanced persons might be expected to make such use of Birth Control as to reduce their families and thus attain for themselves and their children a better ordered life of higher standards, psychopathic persons could not be expected to benefit to the same extent. On this point we are, therefore, led to the conclusion that the percentage of psychopathic persons, instead of declining, would probably increase under conditions of general instruction in contraceptive methods.

(2) *Would the relatively increased prerogative of women under the new conditions result in checking or restricting propagation among psychopathic persons?*

The industrial and economic organization of modern society is such as to restrict greatly the freedom of play of sexual selection as a factor in race progress.

All things being equal, the respective role of the two sexes in the play of sexual selection is not the same.

Fundamentally, and aside from more or less ephemeral social compunctions, the male is concerned with scarcely more than superficial attractiveness or unattractiveness. He has, at the same time, the greater pressure of desire, so that his role becomes principally to overcome the resistances of the female.

In the role of the female, on the other hand, the most striking phenomena are resistances and discriminations; and with these there is a better natural endowment of discernment of personality beneath the surface.

IN OTHER WORDS it is in the nature of things, that the male influence is for propagation in general, and the female for selection in propagation.

Psychiatric experience abundantly shows that while normal men often have for their mates feeble-minded women, normal women mate with feeble-minded men only by way of rare exception.

Under modern social conditions marriage and home building generally involve the economic dependence of women; and it is this that interferes with the free play of sexual selection.

(Continued on page 89)

Family Limitation in Czecho-Slovakia

By Oscar W. Junek

Formerly Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota

TO BEGIN WITH, suffice it to say that the movement in the new republic of Czechoslovakia receives a vigorous indorsement by all classes of the population except the Roman Catholic Church and one or two more or less conservative parties represented in the "Narodni Shromazdeni" (National Diet).

Before Austria-Hungary was parcelled up into a group of smaller and independent governments, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia consisted of a population of eight and one-half millions. After the overthrow of the old Hapsburg regime and the formation of a Czechoslovak Republic two more countries have been added to these three, namely Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia. These five states boast now of a population of fourteen millions. The Central government is in Prague (for the Czech side) and in Bratislava, Slovakia (for the Slovak side)—in fact a coalition government.

The Czechs (Bohemians) by virtue of their western contacts and western influences and ideas are a people possessed of a decidedly high culture. Their illiteracy falls below 2 per cent, a fact which bespeaks best their general status in the family of nations. The Slovaks, on the other hand, have an illiteracy of from 17 per cent to 50 per cent depending upon the districts from which they hail, and as for the Sub-Carpathian Russians (Ruthenians), who are the most easterly in the Republic, their official census figure of illiteracy is 78 per cent and more.

As regards social hygiene, fecundity or birth rate, immigration, assimilability, citizenship—all questions which occasionally command attention of economists and legislators in our country, Bohemians are the most desirable subjects in the matter of making up the prescribed quota for immigration to our shores.

BOHEMIANS COMPARATIVELY are of the highest and finest possible timber, a timber that is readily amalgamated with our own stock, or at least assimilated by our own psychology, viz., American ideas of life and progress. Assimilation is purely a psychic process and our Bohemian immigrants find it much easier to become acclimated to our conditions than the Slovaks and the Ruthenians.

When I visited Czechoslovakia last March, the newspapers were literally swamped with news matter concerning Mme. Landova-Stychova's "abortion bill." Her introducing it into the parliament made it naturally a much talked about issue. But what really commanded my attention was the fact that all of the so-called classes of society spoke of it most earnestly and intelligently.

Now what should be observed in this bill is that it is on directly opposite lines from the methods which the Birth Control Society in the United States desires to be known by all classes of people who cannot be burdened with too many children. The bill is negative itself since the idea back of it is negation and opposition to natural laws. Mme. Landova proposes: "that all women, especially women of the laboring

class, who are economically and physically not able to take care of their offspring, should be allowed by the state to bring about an abortion—up to the third month of their pregnancy."

IT IS SELF-EVIDENT that a country in which a bill like this can be introduced into a legislative institution, must be radically progressive. I speak, of course, only of the introduction of this bill into the parliament and not of its legalization. That is another question. The first to oppose the bill were the Roman Catholic Church, the Czechoslovak Medical Association and two political parties which represent the large and small agriculturists.

When I approached Mme. Landova-Stychova and presented to her our own methods of prevention of conception, mentioning them to be the only possible ones, since they are harmless and PREVENTIVE and not harmful and DESTRUCTIVE as the one she wishes to have legalized, she very promptly retorted that most of the people of Bohemia know the preventive methods and are making use of them, but that her bill should be adopted to complete the woman's right over her own body.

To say the least, Mme. Landova-Stychova's proposition made the people think in Birth Control terms. They realized its importance long ago and acted accordingly, but this last parliamentary event caused them to make it a public issue to be discussed freely by rich and poor alike in the restaurants, coffee-houses, concert halls and by the press. It gave the people new food for thought, brought them face to face with the problems at hand and made them choose what is best for them. I am safe to say that they will rather adhere to preventive methods than adopt the abortion bill. For women of Czechoslovakia as of other civilized countries fear abortion and rightly so. I am also safe in predicting that Mme. Landova-Stychova's bill will be scrapped not only because of opposition in the parliament but because of a higher consideration—the natural and moral law.

I gained an impression while in Czechoslovakia that if unwanted babies should not come into the world, it will be safer to prevent their coming rather their destruction. This impression I gained while speaking with men and women of the poor 'rayon' as well as with the middle and the higher classes.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, author and lecturer, specially identified with woman movement.

Guest, May Peirce, writer and artist.

Junek, Oscar W., formerly Professor in Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota.

Rosanoff, Aaron J., M.D., Clinical Director, Kings Park Hospital.

Wolf, William Almon, author, contributor to a wide range of periodicals.

A Way Out

By May Peirce Guest

THE YOUNG MAN'S eyes were glowing as he paced the floor of the tiny room. He was visioning the future when he and a fine stalwart son would be pals. How proud he would be of the splendid, powerful, cleanlimbed lad; his own, his and Janey's. How wonderful! And best of all, it would so soon be true!

He glanced at the young woman lying so still, so utterly quiescent, on the bed, her large dark eyes fixed on him.

He grinned his expansive boyish grin, which showed two rows of fine white teeth, and paused by the bed, tenderly took his wife's thin hand in his great powerful ones, warm and throbbing with vitality.

"Janey dear," said he, "it's going to be a boy for sure, and what do you say to calling him Leo? Leo for lion, you know, for he'll be fine and strong in every way, a kid to be proud of. What do you say, Janey?"

He caressed her hand with his lips, while she nodded assent, smiling into his dancing eyes. But suddenly her face was convulsed and she set her pale lips hard together to stifle a cry.

"Poor darling," he murmured, "if only I could bear it for you. But you have lots of grit, and you're coming through fine. I know you are. I'll run get the doctor now. I won't be long, Janey."

Tears filled the young wife's eyes. He was so big and strong, yet so tender and true. She felt her utter inadequacy, her lack of vitality with which to meet this greatest test of human strength which she so yearned to meet for his sake. Again the horrible, tearing, bursting agony! She covered her mouth with both hands that she might not cry out.

AN ETERNITY SEEMED to pass. Then the door opened and the doctor entered followed by her panting Ben. The doctor took her pulse and gazed intently at her; noted the abnormal whiteness of her skin, the hollows beneath the eyes, the tendons of her slender neck, the transparency of her thin hands.

His busy white-brows drew together ominously. "How long has she been sick?" he growled to Ben.

"Oh, just sort of ailing for a long time. What they call

anaemic I guess. Never was strong. But she's full of pep and grit, Doctor; I reckon she'll be stout and fine after this is over."

Scowling, the doctor motioned him into the next room, and following closed the door after them.

"Young man, it'll be a miracle if your wife lives through tonight. She hasn't the strength of a new born infant herself. Go get a nurse or somebody, and be quick!"

Benjamin Brown started. His face became a deadly white; some invisible hand was clutching his heart cruelly; his breath came in gasps. His Janey! His very life! Was it possible she might leave him forever? God, he had never realized, never thought of that! He *must* save her!

Grabbing his cap, he rushed out, returning shortly with a nurse.

The interminable hours of that night, horrible snail-like, crawled past in their clammy sweat, while Ben sat in an agony of suspense, head in hands, on the red plush sofa in the diminutive dining-living-room.

From the bedroom, where the doctor and nurse fought for the life of his wife and child, had come a few indescribable heart-rending groans, the sickly sweet odor of chloroform and then silence; a most awful crushing silence, potential of such vast possibilities.

As Ben sat there, his curly head grasped in his stiffening hands, his eyes staring at the worn linoleum, thoughts pestered him like malicious demons. It hurt to think;

he had never had to before. He had just *felt—and acted*.

Wasn't it his own fault that Janey was suffering such tortures? She at the gateway of death, and he himself in such torment? Yet what had he done that was wrong? Why—why? "God," he groaned in his extremity, "What is a poor devil like me to do?" And again through his soul surged the unanswerable "Wherein is the fault?"

Scalding tears ran unheeded down his face; he twisted his hair between his fingers; "Oh God, why did you fill a chap with such love for a girl and then allow her to suffer so! Why, God?"

He dropped his head and buried his face in the sofa cushion: "We need each other so much, God. We just couldn't get along alone, alone! Don't you understand? Ain't there any way out; not any, God?"

"Tick-tock . . . tickety-tock." The voice of the clock seemed



the only answer. The great city slept, the silence was overwhelming. "Tick-tock; tickety-tock."

SUDDENLY, LIKE THE report of a pistol, the door knob turned and the bedroom door opened and closed. The nurse had entered carrying a wee bundle. She dropped into a chair tense. Still she did not look at him nor speak.

Ben, sitting rigidly upright, stared at her, waiting. He saw a bundle in her arms, but that didn't matter. He waited, tense. Still she did not look at him or speak.

"Well?" he at last whispered hoarsely. "Well, is she—is she—is she — — a — — ?"

"Just breathing," sighed the woman. And went on drearily, "it was simply awful. She may pull through though." Then she straightened herself and leaning close to Ben she hissed, "You men are selfish beasts; beasts, I say! That's what you are! A delicate girl like that ain't fit to have a child!"

The hot blood rushed to Ben's head; his brain seemed bursting. He covered his eyes with his hands and groaned.

"Oh yes," continued the nurse scathingly, "you all act this way at the time, and before a year's up I'm called in to go through it all again. Beasts! I've kept silent long as I can."

Ben's brain was in such a turmoil that he was quite inarticulate. He could but groan again, rocking his big bulk to and fro.

His thoughts were sharply switched to the bundle in her arms from which suddenly proceeded a faint, weird, kitten-like cry.

All tenderness now, the nurse laid the bundle on her spread knees and drew back the covering.

"It's a boy," she stated, "the poorest, scraggiest little mite I ever saw; not quite five pounds. There—there, you poor little darlin'", she hushed, "don't cry and awaken your ma. You most did for her. There, there."

Ben gazed in fear and horror at the red, contorted little visage; his fine son, his splendid Leo, his pal! That! He shivered, and with a choking sob, turned away.

JANEY DID NOT die. In some of her despairing moods she thought it would have been better had she done so, for but little needed strength came with which to care for Leo, who, with his feeble hold on life, wailed day and night, while with tragic eyes and aching heart she hung over him. To his hovering parents his cries seemed to voice themselves into,— "Father, Mother, Oh why, why did you call me into being and crush me into this under-sized, pain-racked little body?"

After a series of particularly strenuous nights with the little sufferer, Ben, (who had a faculty for writing jingles) set himself to work with pencil and paper as dawn crept in at the window and Leo mercifully dozed. He smiled grimly as he wrote:—

LITTLE LEO'S LAMENT

I's got a pain in my toe, Muvver,
And a pin's a stickin me;
I don't know where it is, Muvver,
Just where the thing can be!

I feel as cold as ice, Muvver,
All shivers everywhere;
Why don't you cover me up, Muvver,
You never seem to care!

Oh dear, but I am hot, Muvver,
All stickey and mussed up.
Bring me a drink of water, Muvver,
I want it in Favver's cup!

And say, I'm nearly starved, Muvver,
Don't you hear me yell?
Such an empty in my middle.
Oh dear, this life's just H——!!

And now I'm much too full, Muvver,
I'm sure I'm going to spill;
That milk has gone quite loco,
It simply won't keep still!

There's something in my eye, Muvver,
I can't see anything;
And I've swallowed something hard, Muvver,
Maybe it was your ring!

I don't see why I's born, Muvver,
I think it's horrid to live
When a feller has as many pains
As holes is in a sieve!

I'm going to keep on cryin', Muvver,
Cryin' night and day,
And all the hankies in the world
Can't wipe my tears away!

"**T**HERE!" SAID HE to himself with a stretch and a yawn, "When Janey wakens I'll give her that little surprise with her cup of coffee. If she cries a bit she'll have to laugh too!"

He drew the cover more closely about the sleeping babe, gave him a long, anxious look and tip-toed into the little dining-living-room where he slept, or tried to sleep, on the all too narrow, too short, extremely undulating red plush covered sofa. Their one real heir-loom! How he did loathe that sofa!

He had no other bed since little Leo's birth, and as Janey had scarce strength to hold the baby or get from room to room, he had also, after a fashion, done the marketing, cooking, and general straightening-up. Why couldn't he get ahead faster and earn more? How did so many men earn enough to afford those luxurious motor cars, and those marvelous fur coats for their wives, and—and everything! His spirit withered.

Already worried to the point of frenzy over little Leo, Janey's heart sank further as she observed her Bennie; how strained looked his dear eyes; how slowly, heavily he now moved! And sometimes she heard him mutter oaths—awful oaths, such as he had learned in the army—beneath his breath. Her bright, happy Ben was gone. A worried, fagged, discour-

aged man stood in his place. What were they coming to? What could she do? Her poor little Leo, and her poor big Ben! Her head ached, her back ached, she ached all over, and her thoughts were chaotic, desperate, exhausting, futile.

She and Bennie had floated along on such a happy stream. Then came little Leo who had apparently turned the tide which now seemed to be sweeping them to destruction. Life seemed devoid of reason. She could find no logic, no solution to their problems.

Then something happened:—one night Ben rushed in and without kissing her, flung himself down on the bed and burst into the most amazing tears!

"Darling! Ben; what is the matter?" Her arms were about him, her kisses on his wet face. "For goodness sake, what is it, Benny?"

HE FLUNG HER roughly off, and sitting up, brushed the tears from his eyes with his sleeve. "Oh nothing," He spoke wildly—"Only I've been too dog-tired to do my work right, so I've just been fired; that's all. It don't matter, don't matter at all. I knew it was coming; glad it's over. I couldn't see anything straight, dropped everything I picked up, didn't know what I was trying to do. How could a fellow work? Hell, what's the difference anyhow!"

There was a profound silence, save for the turbulent beating of two overtaxed hearts.

Little Leo stirred, flung out tiny claw-like hands and wailed piteously. Janey took him up and quieted him against her breast.

Finally Ben became quite relaxed; he stood up, and moving like a sleep-walker began to get supper. They ate in silence, a choking silence which made swallowing almost impossible. Yet, they must eat, and the dishes must be washed. What then?

When the last dish was put away, Ben slouched past Janey and took up his cap. "Don't worry about me, Honey," he said, brushing her cheek with his lips and moving toward the door. "My nerves are shot all to pieces and if I stay in I'm likely to break things, see? I've been holdin' on and holdin' on till I'm just bustin'. Tonight I'm going to raise Hell. See?"

Janey saw all too clearly. She had been seeing all along, but there had been nothing she could do to avert this climax.

"Bennie dear," she placed her hands upon his shoulders and gazed piteously up into his haggard face, "Bennie dear, don't do anything to hurt yourself, to feel sorry for. I know it's been awful for you, and you do need to break loose, to have a good time. Here, take this." She drew from her pocket a five dollar bill which she had saved toward their rent. "Go to some show, laugh a lot, forget your troubles awhile, get something nice to eat. Spend it all, now do, Bennie; you'll feel a heap better."

BEN STARED DOWN into her eager, lovely face, and his eyes filled with blinding tears, but he took the money. "All right, good little pal," he spoke huskily, averted his gaze, tucked the bill into his vest pocket, opened the door, and

"So long!" he said, and was gone. Gone, with his desperate thoughts into the black night!

Janey never knew how long she lay in the chair into which she had literally fallen. Even the wailing of little Leo did not rouse her. She heard him as from afar, quite out of reach. Her mind was occupied with the inner life of Ben during the six months since the baby was born, since he had been sleeping on that narrow, short sofa; a man set apart, away from his family; isolated. His warm loving heart had hungered and not been fed. She knew he had yearned for her arms about him, even as had they yearned to give him a sense of loving care and protection. She knew the extreme force of his emotions and what a strain the check must have been that he had placed upon himself: how this accumulated passion for her was fermenting in him and torturing his sensitive nerves to the snapping point.

He had come to her one night, only a few nights before, and pleaded, child-like, "Ah Janey, let me slip in with you and snuggle a few minutes: I'm lonely as Hell. Honest, I can't stand it, Janey." And instantly her mind had leaped ahead—"What if—What if? Oh no, there must be no chances taken! No more little suffering Leos!"

"Poor darling," she had whispered, slipping quickly out of bed, "I'm going to sit by you and put you to sleep, just like Mother used to do, you know. Now be good boy and come back to the sofa."

With set lips and clenched fists he had silently allowed her to tuck him in, and had at last fallen asleep, her cheek against his. Then Janey had drawn a long, quivering breath, and gone to bed to lie wide-eyed until morning, utterly exhausted. It couldn't go on much longer like that! Oh no, it simply couldn't!"

And now he had broken loose: had gone out for the night! Where had he gone? What was he doing? What might he not do! Ah, if only he would remain her sweet, clean, faithful Benny! So she prayed and waited. The wind rattled a shutter; the fire died down in the stove. She crept to the sofa, drew up a cover and hugged Bennie's pillow to her, close, close.

(To be continued)

APART FROM SHEER economic pressure, the idea has come automatically into reality with the advent of woman's emancipation and its modern influence upon sex relationship. . . . Marriage will be all the purer and happier as responsibility is shared, as the profound mystery of life is raised above hazard and ignorance, and becomes a bi-sex responsibility. In a large measure the dreadful conditions of life in our big cities are due to the tragedy of irresponsible parenthood. We cannot afford waste or abundance in the next decade. Life, too, must be controlled. People will have to regard the problem of population as one of expenditure. The big family will become an anachronism.—AUSTIN HARRISON.

"Unless the devastating torrent of children can be stemmed, our condition will certainly go from bad to worse."

—DEAN INCE

In Rejoinder

Being Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Reply to Grace Potter and Stella W. Browne

I DID NOT KNOW that my brief article "Back of Birth Control" was to be a subject of debate, but am glad to add a few words in rejoinder.

It is amusing to note in both these "Replies" a repeated reference to "Puritanism," the writers seeming to think that there can be no possible objection to the indulgence under discussion except that of the ascetic.

A broader knowledge of biology would show that absolute monogamy, with continence save in the mating season, is the law of nature among many of the higher mammals and more birds. These creatures are not Puritans. They are under no compulsion of religion, and show none of the alleged consequences of "suppressed desire." They simply do not have desire except at the time when it is useful.

To speak of monogamy as a "dogma" is childish. It is just as natural a system of mating as polygamy, polyandry, or promiscuity. The other animals, like ourselves, are subject to over-development in sex, or to various forms of morbid development if their natural processes are interfered with, as with those kept for stud use, or the artificially celibate dog.

The general reply to this position is that we are not like other animals, but something higher, and that the inordinate indulgence of this function among us is proof of our superiority. To support this much is said to claim a connection between sex-energy and all our human activities, with special emphasis on the arts, an idea which may be classed with other "rationalizations" of a dominant impulse.

MEANWHILE WE HAVE so over-developed this function as make marriage a horror to many women, to provide the unique spectacle of a large contingent of women kept to gratify the alleged "needs" of men at the sacrifice of all we hold best in life, an array of hideous diseases produced and transmitted by this excessive indulgence, and a general condition of feverish intensity which makes happiness in this relation sadly rare.

In the face of these undeniable disadvantages it requires much proof to show that our degree of sex-development is a benefit to the race. Pleasure is the natural concomitant of all our conscious functions, concomitant, not purpose. As soon as we begin to use a function for its pleasure with no regard to its purpose, as in eating, drinking, or sex-intercourse, we do not increase the sum of our happiness, but reduce it by all manner of morbid results.

If the human race was healthier and happier than the others we might boast of our methods, not before.

In the meanwhile, to admit that we are over-sexed involves no condemnation of existing individuals. What it may be necessary to do, as the best personal compromise between the normal and the present condition is one thing. To make such compromise a basis for an active philosophy, calculated to maintain and increase the excessive development, is quite another thing, and a far more mischievous one.

Appeals from Mothers

MOST PEOPLE are convinced that there is far too rapid a multiplication of the unfit. It is a matter of common knowledge that the families of those in comfortable circumstances are small, and that the families of the poor are in inverse ratio to their poverty. Many people regard these facts with a hopelessness that can see no remedy except in a cradle competition in which they would set the educated to follow the example of the feeble-minded or thoughtless. That there is no need for such pessimism is clear from the hundreds of letters that pour in upon the advocates of Birth Control. These letters show that the moment the law is lifted which prevents the dissemination of scientific information about Birth Control, the mothers will troop to the clinics for aid. They show that women are giving birth to unfit children solely because they are forcibly kept in ignorance. Their more fortunate sisters obtain the information. The more a woman needs it, the more difficult is it for her to secure it. Give the mothers a chance and the problem of the multiplication of unfit will be solved in the individual home, leaving to society

only the necessity of guarding those men and women who are so feeble-minded as to be irresponsible. The problem of population will not find its solution in government regulation or control. It is not the problem of the economist or of the politician. It is primarily the mothers' own problem and the mothers will solve it when they are made free to do so. The following letters are but a few samples. They merely show the universal mother-love which is the key-note of Birth Control.

My dear friend: Mrs. Margaret Sanger,

I am writing to you for help, I am the mother of seven children the oldest 16 years, the youngest is 1 year old, and God only knows what times I have suffered and also my nerves are all gone. Please help me in this matter. I have read your book on "Woman and the New Race" it is just grand.

My husband don't seem to care how many they are. Only tell me just what to do to prevent getting pregnant again. I would be a happy woman to hear from you and God will only bless you for it all.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

A friend of mine gave me her book to read on Birth Control, written by you, and I've decided to write you for advice. First let me say I think Birth Control would be one of the *finest* things for the poor class of people. I am 34 years old, have been married 15 years, have 5 children and have had 2 miscarriages that I know of. My children are aged 14, 13, 11, 9, and 4 years.

Every time I give birth to a child my hearing becomes worse. Was never bad till after my third child, but now I can only hear out of one ear. For the last year my husband has been out of work so much that we can't keep what we have in clothes nor the right kind of food. My children seem to have good health, but their cards from school say 3 are undernourished. And I am so afraid. Oh, I don't want to bring more children into the world and maybe have them blame their parents for not giving them the best advantages. It's not fair to the child is it?

Dear Mrs. Sanger if you can, I would appreciate it so much and thank you all my life, for I don't want to see my 3 girls go thru what I've had to. My husband is a dear, he never complains. But I don't think it's right to spoil all his pleasure nor yet is it right for me to have that awful fear.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have bought several books in hopes that I would find something to help me in my great need. I am 28 years old or will be next month. I have five living children, and have had two miscarriages. Two of my children were born too soon, one at seven months, they are sickly all the time. My oldest was ten in October. My husband is kind and truly loves

me; while I care more for him than I ever thought possible to care for anyone. But he makes poor wages and we simply never get enough ahead to get us more than the very bare necessities of life, let alone clothes and a home. Now my dear Mrs. Sanger, we both are just completely discouraged, for we have tried all the remedies we have heard of, including myself taking all the dope I hear of each month, but all to no avail. Is it possible my husband, whom I love and want to protect shall have to go out to prevent myself having a lot more children that we can't keep? My mother is the mother of eight living children—she is only forty-eight—besides she has had several miscarriages brought on as she said by hard work and endangering her health with dope. I have been to leading doctors in our town begging for aid, only to be told there are no means which are sure. But, Mrs. Sanger, each of those doctors has been married years and only has one child—one hasn't any, because his wife isn't strong enough to care for them.

We have moved about three miles out of town to try to cut down our regular expenses enough to pay some back bills, including doctor's bills also funeral expenses of an infant which I lost two months ago. But still we can get no help. My dear Mrs. Sanger, I don't mean I would never have wanted any children, for, had I been childless, I would have taken one or two to raise. But to just be in constant dread always is more than I can stand. I have always had kidney trouble, and I have had much female troubles—have been taking treatments ever since my last baby was born. I am very gray and nervous, and I am cross when I certainly don't want to be just because I am always either in fear of getting in the family way or worrying how I shall meet the expense of another without the means to keep those already here properly.

Hypocrisy and Birth Control

By William Almon Wolf

THE THING THAT baffles me, in trying to talk about the limitation of offspring, is the blatant hypocrisy of most of the people who are opposed, not so much to Birth Control, as to recognizing plain and obvious facts. Now it happens that I, personally, am convinced, for a number of what seem to me to be excellent reasons, that some limitation should and must be imposed upon the processes of nature so far as they concern and affect the reproduction of the human race, just as innumerable limitations have, in the development and advance of civilization been imposed upon other processes of nature.

We limit nature's ability to chill or heat us by wearing clothes and building houses. In so doing we most emphatically defeat some natural purpose. It is natural for a vessel at sea to proceed according to the direction of the wind, but we began to limit that by using oars, then by learning to manage sails so as to tack and sail close hauled against the wind, and finally by evolving steam and motor driven ships. It may be that some people can discover a moral in these matters; those did who said that it was blasphemous to try to invent a flying machine, since if God had intended man to fly he would have given

him wings. I can't argue with people whose minds work in that fashion, of course, because I simply haven't that sort of mind, and we speak different languages.

Still, there are persons who have not been convinced that Birth Control is desirable. I don't agree with them, but I am perfectly willing to believe that they are both intelligent and sincere, and I assume that they pay the same tribute to those who, like myself, don't agree with them. The sociological and economical arguments that have formed my judgment do not appeal to them as they do to me. That is a matter for argument, not for a brawl. At all events, I can meet such people, and argue with them, and feel that perhaps we are getting somewhere. Provided, that is, that they will recognize certain plain and outstanding facts.

THE TROUBLE IS that most of them either will not or can not do that. That is why I say that they are hypocritical. What I want to do, by way of clearing the ground for a real argument, is to agree upon conditions, not as either these people or I think they ought to be, but as they actually are.

Now, in effect, they talk and argue as if, at present, all the various laws concerning contraception were fully and actually enforced. They seem to feel that the advocates of Birth Control are seeking to bring about a revolutionary change in actual conditions; as if, that is, Birth Control today were not practiced at all, and would become practically universal if those who advocate amendment of the laws on the subject prevailed.

The fact is, of course, as everyone at all likely to read what I am writing knows, that only the very poor and *some* members of the Roman Catholic church do not habitually use contraceptive measures of one sort or another. Despite stringent laws upon the subject, anyone may enter practically any drug store in New York City and select a contraceptive device from a large and widely varied stock. Among individuals information upon contraceptive methods, and as to where various devices may be bought, is as common, and is as freely interchanged, as is information about home brews and bootleggers—probably the interchange of information is even more free.

The only people to whom this information and these contraceptive devices are, perhaps, not readily accessible are the very poor—precisely those who, for economic reasons, need them most. One reason, of course, why, under present conditions, the poor cannot make full use of what knowledge they possess is that the illicit and contraband nature of the trade in contraceptive devices operates to make their cost disproportionately high.

THE PRESENT CONDITION has, of course, other sinister and dangerous aspects. Much of the information upon which contraceptive methods are based is unscientific and misleading; many of these methods are untrustworthy or injurious to health. That does not and never will prevent them from being used; the only way in which they can be abolished is by making available correct information as to safe and dependable methods.

These people say, in effect, that sexual relations, except for procreative purposes, are lustful and licentious; that if people wish to limit the number of their offspring they can and should do so by abstaining from sex life except when they are ready and willing to have children.

Now, that is not true, and every decent human being who has ever known love knows it is not true. Even a rudimentary knowledge of modern psychology, of the works of Freud, Jung, Adler and many others supplies a thousand arguments on this point. But most of the people of whose hypocrisy I complain regard Freud as the victim of a sex obsession. Even they, though, will perhaps hesitate to denounce Dean Inge as an advocate of sex licence. And Dean Inge has written, nobly and simply, of the richness and the deep value of the sexual part of marriage, and its relation to the extraction from life of its fullest values.

The fact is, of course, that modern men and women, sane, balanced, continent people, normal in their sexual lives and desires, find a need for a degree of sexual intimacy that would by no means be satisfied by the arbitrary limitations that Archbishop Hayes, for example, has suggested.

Moreover, doesn't this whole line of argument collapse the minute the logical process begun by Archbishop Hayes, again for example, is carried one step further? It is wrong to destroy life. Granted. No one defends murder. (Birth Control advocates, by the way, were they completely successful, would eliminate abortion, which is murder, if you please!) If it is wrong to destroy life, is it not equally wrong to prevent it from coming into being—to interrupt, that is, a process of nature from which life would result? Suppose you grant that, too. Proceed then. If it is wrong to prevent the creation of life by arresting a natural process in a certain stage of completion, is it not equally wrong to prevent it by prohibiting or inhibiting, as the case may be, the first step of that process?

YOU MUST DO nothing, says Archbishop Hayes, to prevent the natural results of cohabitation from occurring. If you honestly believe that for any reason you should not bring children into the world, the thing for you to do is to abstain from the act that has the result of bringing them, because that result, appointed by God, or nature, cannot be prevented without sin.

But God or nature, ordaining that conception should, normally, result from cohabitation, ordained equally that men and women should be moved by the desire to cohabit, and church and state have not only sanctioned that desire, but encouraged its fulfillment by the development of the institution of matrimony. The desire, not the physical act, is the first step in the procreation of children—a beautiful fact which these hypocrites consistently ignore, and which accounts for what seems to me their perverted and disgusting degradation of the whole sexual relation. So to interrupt this process in the phase of desire is, logically, as sinful as to interrupt it in the phase of satisfaction of desire.

Hypocrisy must be, it seems to me, the point of attack for those who believe in the limitation of offspring. Until you eliminate that all the other arguments you can make are bound to fail. You must make these people who meet you with what they say—and may believe—are “moral” arguments see and admit that sex love and sex desire are as clean and as beautiful as they are elemental. You must make them realize that those who shrink from any frank consideration of the sex relation to do so because their own knowledge of the subject has been perverted—because they have failed to understand what clean and sacred desire can be, and because they will find, if only they succeed in achieving complete honesty in the examination of their own thoughts, that they measure the quality of sex desire in others by its nature in themselves.

BIRTH CONTROL is an economic necessity. The Church in reference to this subject is out of date. We are no longer living in the patriarchal age of nomadic agriculture, when the numerous offspring would help in the tilling of the soil, and would increase the strength of the tribe. Under present conditions, the middle class man, whose sons and daughters are expected to study for a career, has to think twice before he indulges in a large family.

—DR. BERNARD HOLLANDER.

**A FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1921**

HURDMAN AND CRANSTOUN
Certified Public Accountants
55 LIBERTY STREET
NEW YORK

March 20, 1922.

MRS. FRANCES B. ACKERMAN, *Treasurer*,
New York Women's Publishing Company, Inc.,
New York City.

Dear Madam:

We have made a detailed cash audit of the books and records of the NEW YORK WOMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., for the year ended December 31, 1921, and submit our report in the accompanying statements.

It will be noted that the operations for the year resulted in a loss of \$5,607.92. This loss was reduced, however, by pledges, donations, etc., amounting to \$4,364.79, making a net loss for the year of \$1,243.13.

Respectfully submitted,
HURDMAN AND CRANSTOUN,
Certified Public Accountants.

Exhibit "A"

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
December 31, 1921

ASSETS	
Cash	\$498.34
Due from subscribers to Capital Stock	14.00
Furniture and Fixtures	61.50
Good will	182.37
TOTAL ASSETS	\$756.21
LIABILITIES	
Loan Payable—Mrs. Margaret Sanger	\$200.00
CAPITAL	
Capital Stock Issued (authorized \$10,000)	\$8,650.00
Capital Stock Subscriptions	20.00
	\$8,670.00
LESS DEFICIT	
Deficit, January 1, 1921	\$6,870.00
Add Net Loss, (Exh. "B")	1,243.13
	8,113.79
Equity, December 31, 1921	556.21
	\$756.21

Exhibit "B"

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE
Year Ended December 31, 1921

INCOME	
Subscriptions and Office Sales	\$2,524.77
Street Sales	2,340.03
Sales of Literature	1,714.22
Advertising	516.41
TOTAL INCOME	\$7,095.43

EXPENSE

<i>Publication</i>	
Printing and Paper	\$6,020.61
Cuts and Drawings	88.67
Folding and Mailing	75.19
	\$6,184.47
<i>General</i>	
Office Salaries	\$4,681.50
Rent	669.20
Printing and Stationery	140.78
Tietjen Distribution	121.37
Advertising and Publicity	45.25
Taxes	10.00
Miscellaneous Office	850.78
	6,518.88
TOTAL EXPENSE	\$12,703.35
NET LOSS ON OPERATIONS	\$5,607.92
<i>Other Income</i>	
Donations	\$1,791.97
Pledges	2,289.42
Miscellaneous Income	18.80
Proceeds from Rummage Sale	264.60
	4,364.79
NET Loss, Year Ended Dec. 31, 1921 (Exh. "A")	\$1,243.13

THE QUESTION OF BIRTH CONTROL DISCUSSED FROM
A PSYCHIATRIC STANDPOINT

(Continued from page 81)

It may be that the correct remedy for this situation consists in radical change of industrial, economic and social conditions. But it may also be that, by merely restoring to women, through Birth Control, their natural prerogative of determining when and by whom they shall have children, a better selected race would result.

This seems a small crumb for psychiatry to contribute to the cause of Birth Control. But I would not have you think that I have come here to throw cold water on the proposition. Whether, from the standpoint merely of psychiatry, an advantage is to be gained through Birth Control or not, matters, after all, comparatively little: fundamental human rights are here at stake.

Personally, if I may be permitted to speak not only as a psychiatrist, but also as a man, I should say that the Birth Control movement ought to be regarded as one of many steps in our progress toward human liberation. Such questions as how it might affect industrial production, efficiency, national strength, etc., must appear to all lovers of liberty as essentially irrelevant.

If for the preservation of the existing order it is necessary to enslave women through involuntary parenthood, then there is something basically wrong with the existing order. This and every other remaining vestige of human slavery must be abolished: on this general proposition there can be no compromise.

It is a false argument which says that, if it be proved expedient to do so, involuntary parenthood shall be done away with. I say rather, if the heavens fall, it shall be done away with!

Book Reviews

A Review by Havelock Ellis

THE TREND OF THE RACE. By Samuel J. Holmes, Ph.D. London: Constable; New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

This "Study of Present Tendencies in the Biological Development of Civilized Mankind"—as the sub-title has it—constitutes a comprehensive statement of the eugenic problem. It is written by the Professor of Zoology in California University, and the zoological approach to anthropological questions, as the example of Dr. Haddon and others has shown, is a highly desirable avenue, for it ensures that human difficulties will be discussed in a reasonably biological manner. At the same time this is an excellent example of an academic class of books frequently produced in America. The books of this class usually grow, as the present volume has grown, out of lecture courses to students. They contain, and need contain, nothing that is original, no personal point of view, no special charm of style. But frequently, owing to the circumstances in which they have arisen, they are learned, impartial, and easily intelligible. Therein is their value. They contain no strong opinions, they are not written to advance any theories, they are addressed to students of such varied kinds that the professor is disposed, if he has any strong opinions, to keep them to himself. But they furnish the material and the tools to others who are in the process of forming what may sometimes prove strong opinions. So that if the writers of these academic books are so alive to the fallacies, pitfalls, and uncertainties of knowledge we must not complain when they decide to fight "neither for God nor for his enemies," and even for the sake of varying the form of this impartiality, advocate a "judicious combination" of both, as Professor Holmes does here, in relation to one particular question, by recommending us to blend a little of Dr. Drysdale with a little of Roosevelt.

It is possible that some reader may be interested in this particular question just referred to. They will, therefore, be attracted by the two Chapters which Professor Holmes has devoted to the Decline of the Birth-rate and the Causes of that Decline, both illustrated by figures and statistical tables. Professor Holmes takes his texts from *Ecclesiasticus* and Bertrand Russell: "Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children," and "There is no importance in an increasing population; on the contrary." This would seem to indicate the direction of Professor Holmes' sympathies, but it scarcely corresponds to the drift of his arguments. He here often seems to belong to that large body of old-fashioned but, without doubt, most worthy and well-intentioned people who consider it necessary to be always preaching to the best and most enlightened members of our civilization—for they admit that it is these who control the production of their offspring—to produce more children, and who, moreover, consider that the prospect of a world inhabited by fewer people than ours at present is something too appalling to contemplate; one must just shut one's eyes tight and shout. It never occurs to these good people to ask themselves what claim they have to be better than the best and more enlightened than the most enlightened that they should presume so arrogantly to tell them what to do. And it is never borne in on them that possibly it might be easier and more profitable for the race if, instead of undertaking the vain task of damming the on-coming stream of birth-control they were to try to direct it into channels where it might act beneficially by reducing the number of feeble-minded and unfit folk who threaten to swamp our civilization. Nor do they explain to us why it is that the present population of the globe represents a level so completely favorable beyond all that went before us or could be imagined coming after, that it must be maintained world without end.

But it must not be supposed that Professor Holmes is a fanatic in his attachment to this class of people if, indeed, he belongs to them at all. He remains true, here as ever, to his principle of the "judicious combination." He is gently sarcastic over those who regard Birth-Control as a panacea for the evils of mankind, and he is mildly shocked at the behavior of the best and most enlightened people. But he praises

Dr. C. V. Drysdale's 'Small Family System'—"perhaps the best general statement of the Neo-Melthonian doctrine"—and he well sets out the various causes that lead to a declining birth-rate, though he has nothing to say about that automatic tendency of high civilization, corresponding to the progressive movement of all evolution towards the diminution of the birth-rate with rise in the zoological scale, as set forth, though too carelessly and incautiously, by Mr. Pell in his recent book on the laws of birth and death. He recognizes also that the population cannot go on increasing indefinitely, and he knows how desirable it is that some stop shall be put to the increase of the less desirable human stocks in civilization. Indeed he often places side by side, impartially, statements that tell in opposed directions. As his primary topic is eugenics, one might expect him to recognize that Birth Control is the key to any sane eugenic progress under modern conditions, especially as he admits that, even with our present knowledge, "there are abundant possibilities of rapid transformation." But that is not his way. It is satisfactory, however, to find him stating that "opinion in medical circles and elsewhere is coming to be more favorable to the movement," that efforts on the other side are futile, if not mischievous, and asking why, since the better classes practice Birth Control, it is necessary to "become so righteously indignant about extending the information to the people among whom it would do the most good."

It must be remembered that these chapters are only two among sixteen which all deal with attractive and important problems connected with heredity and selection: crime, mental ability, war, religion, alcohol, disease, consanguineous marriage, assortative mating, the influence of order of birth and age of parents upon offspring, industrial development in its racial influence, etc. All these topics are discussed in a comprehensive and helpful manner, and there is a useful bibliography at the end of each chapter.

Professor Holmes sets out all the considerations which make the future of mankind unhopeful. But he points out that these considerations are not always easy to interpret, and his final statements incline more to the optimistic than the opposite side. There is no positive proof of decadence, physical or mental, in the race. But, in the words of Major Leonard Darwin prefixed to the last chapter, "conscious selection must replace the blind forces of natural selection." The author clearly sees at the end that "some means must be instituted for encouraging race suicide among those to whom nature has been grudgingly in her distribution of desirable endowments, "and we must seek by education to extend more widely that "eugenic conscience" which is still often so sadly lacking.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

—From the *New Generation*, February, 1922.

THE CHILD AND THE HOME. By Ben Zion Liber. Rational Living, New York.

Much practical good sense is packed into this little volume, and as long as the present system of uncontrolled breeding continues there will be need for such instruction and warning as Dr. Liber gives here. It will also still be possible to observe innumerable instances of the mistakes in child training which he points out. A little child is the most wonderful thing in all nature. Its possibilities for good or for evil are greater than those of any other creature. Yet any woman, who captures the fancy of some man, is considered good enough and wise enough to be entrusted with the care of this precious and tender little creature. When Birth Control is recognized as moral and necessary, a new standard of values will be adopted, and public opinion will demand that the woman who gives birth to a child shall show herself fit for the tremendous task she undertakes. The Eugenists are demanding that men and women shall be physically and mentally fit for marriage, but as yet no one is demanding that parents shall have training in child culture before they are so audacious as to bring a child into existence. There will be fewer unfit adults—fewer suicides and

would-be suicides—when motherhood and fatherhood are regarded with greater respect and when consequently parents have a higher respect for their children.

PERIODICALS

THE NEW GENERATION (London) for April is largely devoted to the economic aspects of Birth Control—its necessity for an overpopulated country like England. It contains articles by Lawrence Housman, Dr. Barbara Crawford, C. V. Drysdale and Gordon Lang.

THE NATION, New York, for May 3rd, contains an interesting account of the commotion in Mexico over Birth Control.

American Medicine, Burlington, Vt., for March contains an interesting editorial entitled "Protecting Marriage." The writer suggests the need for an overhauling of the laws regarding both annulment of marriage and divorce to conform to modern ideas of morality and eugenics. A still more notable article concerns the "Possibility of the Ultimate Eradication of Venereal Disease." It is written by Dr. T. L. Nascher of New York, who approaches the subject from a point of view as frankly male as if the opinions of women in sex matters were wholly negligible. Fearing the prostitute as a purveyor of venereal disease, Dr. Nascher would apparently supplant her by supplying every man, no matter what his economic position, with an individual mistress. In what respect this system would be superior to monogamic marriage, or why it should solve a problem that such marriage has failed to solve, Dr. Nascher does not explain.

Contemporary Review, London, for March contains a remarkable article by J. Saxon Mills on Unemployment and the British Empire. He is convinced that with 650 inhabitants to the square mile England is overpopulated, and that in British cities intellectual congestion is especially acute. He quotes Harold Cox with approval, but instead of Birth Control as recommended by Cox, he would have emigration on an enormous scale from Great Britain into the still thinly populated regions of the Empire. This would be only a temporary palliative if it could be carried out; and Mr. Mills seems to have little comprehension of the immense difficulties that always attend large scale immigration into a country with few resources for dealing with the new comers.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Science Publishing Co., Chicago. SEARCHLIGHTS AND SANE ETHICS, by Dr. Lee Alexander Stone.

From McClurg Publishing Co., Chicago. RACE DECADENCE, by William S. Sadler, M.D.

From Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, Boston. BI-SEXUAL LOVE, by Dr. William Stekel.

From E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. SEX KNOWLEDGE, by Norah March.

I DO NOT think, however, that the average man realizes even yet how vast a part is played by sex in everyday life. There will be, of course, much opposition to a recognition of Birth Control. It will come from some who honestly but wrongly disbelieve in such recognition; it will come from many to whom humbug has become almost instinctive; it will come from men who sexually are subnormal (remember that civilization tends to destroy natural impulses); it will come from old men who have forgotten their earlier vitality.

—SIR W. ARBUTHNOT LANE.

"The lesson of the war stands. Nations that lack men to resist aggression are doomed to perish. The British Empire and all its traditions will decline and fall if the Motherland is faithless to motherhood. We cannot risk it. We are too near the sound of guns."—Sunday Express, England.

SHALL THIS GO ON?

By M. S.

Why must we, women, blush to feel
An exultation at Man's beauty?
Men do not so: They speak, they write of us,
Our beauty: soft curved line and tender colorings.
Let us speak out! We're only half-emerged
From mist of the past;
Our souls drag rotting memories,
Traditions of our slavery,
Making us more tragic that we only half are free.
We, you, I—all women,
Joy in run of clean muscle, taut, straight limb;
Economy and dignity of build, architecture built for use,
Body, hard, vigorous, and keen.
Frankly worship these
Then are we no longer blind to infirmities and sores,
To crumbling frames and all their ugliness.
Let us not pity horror!
Bear clean-blooded children if we must.
There is no lovely martyrdom in birth of Putrid Flesh.
It is for us, all women, to worship Clean and Whole!
Have you not seen babies pale and wan,
Heavy-souled, heavy-bodied; sins of generations in their eyes?
Shall this go on?
If so, know then, their existence is to you
A mockery, an accusation!
Shall be, while they live, and their children's children live!
Is this Honor?
To have added yet another link in the Chain of the Flesh?
Flesh only, with no terrible great touch of the Fire of the Soul!

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Birth Control Review, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1922. State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Ruth Albert, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the Birth Control Review, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, New York Women's Publishing Company, 104 Fifth Avenue; Editor, Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Avenue; Managing Editor, Annie G. Porritt, 104 Fifth Avenue; Business Manager, Ruth Albert, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) New York Women's Publishing Company, 104 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.; Mrs. Juliet B. Rublee, 242 East 49th Street, N. Y. C.; Mrs. Mary Knoblauch, Seventh Avenue and 55th Street; Mrs. Frances B. Ackermann, Bronxville, New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

RUTH ALBERT, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this twentieth day of March, 1922.

[SEAL.]

Harvey P. Vaughn, Notary.

(My commission expires March 31, 1922)

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

announces the

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PUBLIC MEETING, JULY 13th

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Chairman, Dr. Norman Haire
5. Economic
Chairman, Dr. C. V. Drysdale
6. Political
Chairman, Mr. Harold Cox

The American Birth Control League urges every sympathiser who expects to be in Europe, or who can make the journey expressly for the Congress, to join the American delegation, which will be headed by Margaret Sanger.

Write for information to

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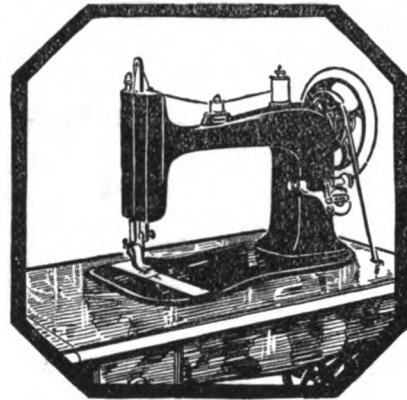
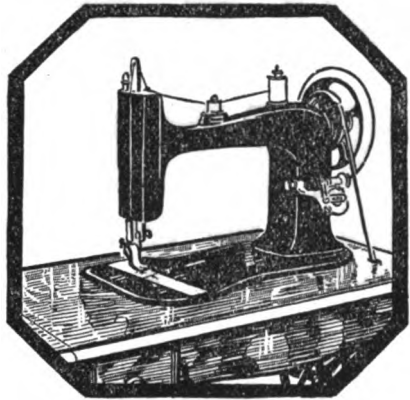
JAPAN AND BIRTH CONTROL

Margaret Sanger's Own Story



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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI.

JUNE, 1922

No. 6

Margaret Sanger in Japan

IT IS WITH the greatest pleasure that we present this month to our readers the first installment of Mrs. Sanger's own account of her experiences in Japan. We also give the paper that she read at the public meeting in the Y. M. C. A. at Tokyo. She was not allowed to speak directly on Birth Control, but our readers will probably agree that she put two and two together and drew the line under the sum, but left the actual addition to her hearers. It could hardly be that anyone present at the meeting would fail to find the answer. The selections from the Japanese newspapers are representative of an immense amount of clippings—special articles, news paragraphs, and editorials—which have been received at our office. They give some small idea of the interest in Birth Control aroused in Japan by Mrs. Sanger's visit.

MARGARET SANGER TO THE READERS OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

As soon as the *Taiyo Maru* came in sight of Yokohama and before I had even a glimpse of the shore, I was overwhelmed by interviewers and photographers.

My first visitors with whom I was privately closeted for an hour were Japanese government officials, stenographers and interpreters. I was asked various questions concerning my visit to Japan, the reasons for my coming here, who my arrangements were made through, how I knew these people, etc., etc. Through it all there was a fine courtesy, and an evident desire to ascertain the real facts underlying my visit, intentions and desires.

I was asked to make a formal request to enter Japan. This was to be made to the American Ambassador and the Japanese official despatched one of his men to the Embassy to hasten the government's decision that I would not be kept waiting longer than was necessary. I was obliged to wait until seven o'clock P. M., but in the meantime my time was well occupied with interviewers and in receiving delegations from various organizations and clubs.

ONE OF THE most interesting groups, who sent seven women to welcome me, represented the New Women's Movement of Japan. These little doll-like women came in native costume to present their greetings and to extend their welcome. Their pale faces, gorgeous costumes, white stockinged feet, absorbed one's attention. I felt I was being ushered into a new world of womankind. I was deeply touched by this representation, by their soft low voices, their courteous bows to each other, bending from the waistline almost to the floor.

They said they came to tell me that the women of Japan were in sympathy with the idea of Birth Control and greatly desired to learn its methods.

I was also impressed by similar expressions of opinion from the reporters. There were at least forty to greet me from all over Japan, representing papers as far away as Osaka and Kobe.

Those who could speak English spoke for the others who said to tell me that the "government was acting against the popular opinion of the people in its attitude on Birth Control, but that the people all over Japan were more interested in the coming of Margaret Sanger than in the visit of the Prince of Wales." We all laughed heartily at this and I took it as an Oriental compliment.

After hours of interviews and flash lights, I was greeted by the returned official who brought from the Governor of the Province a special permit for me to go ashore.

Baron and Baroness Ishimoto had already come on board the *Taiyo*, as had the editors of the *Kaizo Magazine*, under whose auspices I was engaged to lecture in Japan. They now took charge of my luggage and we—my son Grant and I—were motored to the Customs House to have our belongings inspected. One goes through various customs during one's travels, but I never had such an overhauling in my life before—not even during the war in Europe did any inspectors examine so minutely my belongings. I began to think it was curiosity more than inspection, especially when I had to explain in detail how I wore a string of crystal beads.

Some of my books were taken, "held while in Japan," but I expect them to be returned on my leaving the country. It was pouring rain in Yokohama and while I was waiting for my bags to be piled into the car, several rickshaw men gathered around the car in the rain and finally got one of their men to come up to speak to me. He said "Madam Sanger we likes your Birth Control ideas. We poor working mens like that ideas much. We thanks you for coming to Japan." The spokesman then produced a fountain pen and paper and I had to write my name "for my's memory" he said.

NEEDLESS FOR ME to say I had been surprised when I learned from the Consul General at San Francisco that the Japanese government had issued orders that my passport should not be viséd, and that I could not lecture on Birth Control in Japan.

It is not easy to surprise anyone who has worked for long in the Birth Control movement. We get accustomed to the

unexpected happening. In this case, however, my surprise was real, because I was led to believe by Japanese in the U. S. A. that there was a general interest in the Birth Control subject on the part of the younger members of the government. Then, too, I was under agreement to deliver five public lectures on the subject, with the Kaizo group, whose magazine stands as one of the most respected in Japan, and, as Bertrand Russell had visited Japan under the same auspices, there was every reason to believe the Kaizo group knew the laws of their country and were acquainted with the possibilities and limitations under these laws.

In neither of these assumptions was I mistaken. There is a younger group in the Government, and a very large group, whose ideas and ideals are broader and higher than those represented by the minority, a military party. Many of these more progressive men came to the receptions and meetings where I was the guest of honor and expressed their disapproval of the government's action, and also expressed their belief in the principle of Birth Control and their desire to help forward the movement in Japan. While these sympathizers can be numbered in the hundreds, they seem to be powerless in special departments.

I WAS DESIROUS to find out the real cause of the objection to my speaking on the principle of Birth Control, for I had no intention nor desire to give the methods nor to treat that aspect of the subject.

My first step was to see the Chief of Police, for it was the Police Department from which the objection had come.

My intention was to call upon the Chief of Police the day immediately following my arrival, but from the time I arose until late in the evening I was so besieged with callers and reporters that it was impossible to leave the house of Baroness Ishimoto until the next day. It was amusing to me to find upon my arrival at the Police Department that everyone from the hall porter to the interpreter seemed to know I was arriving, although I myself did not know when I should be able to go until an hour before we started. We were ushered into a special room and tea was served, though it was only a little after ten o'clock in the morning.

One of the attendants called my attention to my book, "Woman and the New Race" which he said he had read with great interest and much pleasure. He then presented me with a Japanese translation of the book, much to my surprise for I had no knowledge that it had been translated or published until I saw it in the Police office that day.

Soon the Chief's assistant arrived. He greeted me in the most courteous manner and apologized for the absence of the head official, Mr. Yuchi, whose arrival at headquarters was uncertain. Any message I cared to leave would, however, be delivered to him.

THE INTERVIEW last about half an hour, and ended by his saying that I would be permitted to speak in private, or under private auspices on Birth Control, but it was not possible to discuss the subject in public meetings. I was to be allowed to speak publicly on any other subject I desired.

Before I had left the room we were again photographed and interviewed many times.

Previous to my leaving San Francisco the press was full of the subject, and upon my arrival, the discussion was in full swing. Every paper throughout Japan had something to say concerning the government's action in banning the public discussion of a subject of such popular interest.

The first public meeting was held at Tokyo in the Y. M. C. A. building. The subject was Population and War. I endeavored to avoid Birth Control and tried to show the cause of Germany's desire for war as a population problem. Most of the audience understood English. The reception of the address by the audience was most enthusiastic. The press, too, was generous and fair. At the meeting, when I began to speak, there must have been at least twenty flashlights. I never saw anything like the passion the Japanese press has for photographing.

From that day on there was an address made every day and some days two meetings. We found it far easier to accommodate small groups of one or two hundred, and to discuss the subject frankly, than to have large public meetings.

Among the groups where greatest interest was expressed, was a meeting at the Peers' Club organized by Count Cowamura. At no time in my life have I given a more intimate address. I can say also that it was received with the finest spirit of respect and understanding and desire to know more. It was one of the most encouraging events of my stay in Japan. One feels conscious of the position of women here. The men do not seem to take the women's movement seriously, and the fact that men of all stations came eagerly to hear a woman speak on any subject is considered a victorious event by the women here.

MY LECTURES HAVE been given before the most intelligent people in Japan. The Industrial Organization consisted of men at the head of practically every industry in Japan. They gave a Japanese dinner in my honor and being seated on the floor as we were seemed to create an atmosphere conducive to conversation. The questions asked by these men indicated much thought along the lines of population.

Perhaps the most enthusiastic meeting that was held was that given in the Imperial Hotel at Tokyo on March 20th by a prominent commercial organization. Again it was a dinner, but not Japanese ("foreign" so called here) and men from the Home Office, Foreign Office, and various other departments of the government attended. While many of them understood English, it was necessary to have Baron Ishimoto interpret the address for me. He did this exceedingly well and I considered this to be the most important and successful meeting held anywhere.

The doctors of Tokyo, about one hundred, asked me to give an address on Practical Methods. The interpreter, a young doctor recently returned from America, was not very good and I felt at a great disadvantage through the lack of a good interpreter. The medical association of Kyoto on the other hand turned out four hundred strong at only a few hours notice and, in the midst of a national convention, filled the

Congregational Church to its fullest capacity. The minister of the Church interpreted and did it amazingly well. All the organizations which requested me to speak before them were represented by distinguished and prominent people. They were all, except the New Woman's Organization, composed of the so-called well-to-do. This organization is the most advanced and intellectual group of women in Japan. Many of its members are working in various trades and occupations. The government fears a falling off in the birth rate among the well-to-do and cultured, but so far in Japan this has not been the case.

THE FOLLOWING statement published by the *Japan Chronicle* March 23rd gives the case exactly:

The authorities have evidently got themselves into a hard tangle over the question of Birth Control. Mrs. Sanger is to be allowed to address private gatherings but not public meetings. That is to say she is to be allowed to address the well-to-do classes, but not the "lower" classes. Yet Mr. Yuchi, the Director of the Police Affairs Bureau of the Metropolitan Police Department, stated to the press that personally he thought there was every reason for encouraging Birth Control among people of the "lower classes"; what they were afraid of was that the propagation of the methods advocated by her would encourage Birth Control in the "well-to-do" classes. Mrs. Sanger must feel very perplexed. The only point which is clear is that the authorities regard her as an inculcator of dangerous thoughts, but do not know exactly in what way they are dangerous. Evidently a case of intuition. It is the opinion of everyone in Japan today that Birth Control has been more prominently discussed because of the action of the Police than it otherwise would have been."

The two principal reasons I have been able to find, upon which the Police Department based its objection were first, that the Police in New York forbade my speaking in that city, as cabled here concerning the Town Hall meeting on November 13. They did not hear that another meeting was held, or any of the proceedings which followed. The only fact which stood out prominently in the mind of these officials was that our meeting was closed by the Police—that was sufficient evidence to prevent such a meeting here.

Then the other reason is because of a pending bill called "The Dangerous Thoughts Bill" or "The Thought Control Bill," making it a crime for foreigners to bring to Japan a *foreign thought!* This bill has not been passed up to the present time, but it was under discussion at the time of my arrival and was backed by the same reactionary group as influenced the Police Department.

Nevertheless Japan has now a Birth Control League. It has for its officers four most intelligent men representing four branches of civic life, Medicine, Science, Labor and Commerce.

FROM YOKOHAMA to Kobe, and again across the Inland Sea to Fuzan, the interest has been tremendous and the reception accorded me has been beyond my hopes or dreams. The opposition of the government threw the sympathy of the people with me and I believe I have accomplished more, established more centres and aroused more discussion in one month than I could ordinarily have done in a year.

It is the general opinion that the agitation came just on

time. While women were slowly advancing in emancipating themselves and labor also is just taking its first flight, neither of them had included Birth Control in their programs. Now they see their problems in a different light, and by its general adoption will cut short their struggles and hasten their victories.

From the Japanese Press

The Japan Advertiser, March 22, 1922:

The most favorable of the statistics give Japan an unpleasantly high place among the countries that are wasteful of infant life. In a list of 35 countries compiled by the Commonwealth Statistician of Australia only two have a worse death rate than that shown in Japan's latest figures—Russia and Chile. That was influenza, but her average infantile death rate of 163 per 1,000 places Japan only eighth from the worst place with 26 countries above her. The statistics for Europe are of course pre-war; there is too much reason to fear that the post-war bills of mortality will show that the carnage ravaged the cradles as well as the battlefields. But Japan has felt no effects of the war except such as should be favorable to the preservation of infant life. Her industries up to the end of 1918 were more actively and more profitably employed than ever before and there was a great increase in the national wealth. This was accompanied by a positive increase of infant mortality, which rose from 150 per thousand in 1913 to the average of 163 now reported for the five years 1913-17. Compare this with an infant mortality of 83 per thousand for England and Wales in 1921, with New Zealand's 48, Australia's 69, France's 78 and many others.

The worst feature of Japan's vital statistics is the increase of the general death rate. Japan's death rate is now nearly twice as great as that of the principal countries in Europe. The death rate for 1918 was 26.83 per 1,000. That was the year of the influenza epidemic when the figure was higher than normal and Mr. Nikaido gives the average death rate from 1913 to 1917 as 20.56. The rate for 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918, however, is returned by the same authority as 20.5, 21.4, and 26.8 respectively, so it is clear that the average for the next five years will show movement in the wrong direction. At the same time the birth rate is falling. It was 33.7 per 1,000 in 1915, 32.4 in 1916 and 1917, and 32.2 in 1918. The statistics are not entirely reliable as the first scientific census was only taken in 1920. They show curious fluctuations in the birth rate. In the five years from 1889 to 1903 it was only 28.6, rising in each quinquennial period to the high water mark of 33.7. If the figures are approximately correct there was a rapid rise in the birth in the 20 years from 1893 to 1913, and we are now witnessing a decline.

Mr. Nikaido notes the present tendency as an "unpleasant phenomenon" but it is not the falling birth rate that need cause disquiet. That only means that fewer babies will die. The dangerous symptom is the rising death rate. Japan's low average of 20.56 compares with 12.1 for England last year. The Japanese death rate is rising; England's is steadily falling. Forty years ago it was about equal to Japan's today—21.4 for the decade 1870-80; today it is 12.1. This is astonishing testimony to the value of sanitation and the legislation which protects workers in dangerous industries. Japan with a far higher birth rate—32 per 1,000 as against England's 22—is moving in a direction which before long will make her rate of "natural increase" less than England's.

The Japan Advertiser, Tokyo, March 14, 1922.

The mistaken idea that numbers constitute national strength has had unchallenged sway in Japan, with the result that we see . . . Japanese life is slummy, plus a hot bath. Japanese towns and villages are collections of clean slums.—*Letter from* CHARLES A. PARRY.

A Literal transcription of an interview with Mrs. Sanger by a Japanese reporter as it appeared in a Kobe newspaper, April 3, 1922.

Mrs. Sanger came to Kobe on the 2nd afternoon, and attended to the tea of Kobe Bumka Kai. She made a speech for those gentlemen

among whom Mr. Kayama and other men of intelligentia in the city were included. After it she said me as follows in her room of A. O. Hotel. "In America our movement of B. C. L. is free and the League has one organ-paper being read very widely and 50,000 members. In New York a big meeting was dispersed by policemen; but the court decided it was absolutely free to speak on B. C. movement, etc. In Germany B. C. is well understood among workers and the theories are realized. In America it is now the time to make it law and propagate more widely among men and women." On the women's right of hearing political speeches in Japan, men was congratulated by her, and she said something on it.

The Japan Advertiser, Tokyo, Sunday, March 5, 1922.

There is nothing in the ancient traditions nor in the religions of Japan to defeat the movement for Birth Control in this country, according to Baroness K. Ishimoto, leader among the women advocates of Birth Control in Japan. Baroness Ishimoto is a friend of Mrs. Margaret Sanger and expects to entertain the president of the American Birth Control League when she arrives in Japan next week.

The liberal feminine leader has four points upon which she rests her case for the adoption of Birth Control in her country; these she checked off with her fingers as she went carefully over them. The first and most important in her mind is the welfare and happiness of the child. "The child," she said, "should be conceived in love and should be born to be loved by its parents. This is possible only when the parents have good health and sufficient income to care for the child properly. On the economical side there are three important things to consider. The parents must have assurance of the ability of providing the child with a sound education, with sufficient and proper food, and they must be able to clothe it well and nicely."

Secondly, she believes, Birth Control is very necessary from the standpoint of "the emancipation of women." "Since the Meiji Revolution," she said, "the men have been enabled to develop greatly and to go far toward attaining modern civilization, but the women have not. The first necessity is strong health, and the second better education. The girls attend schools of lower standards than those for boys, and the girls usually go only as far as middle school. Then they go home to work, and then comes marriage at a very young age. The constant bearing of children, year after year, from early womanhood spoils their health early in life.

"Factories have adopted the law of eight hours of labor a day, but in fact women of the lower classes have to endure 12, 13 or 14 hours of work a day. They work in the factories during the day and then have to come home, do the house work, care for their children and wait on their husbands. It is a great pity that women have to wear themselves out in this manner and to bear many children which they have great difficulty in taking care of. 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."

Baroness Ishimoto's third point was the problem presented by the increasing population of Japan pressing upon the already inadequate food supply. This, she said, was covered in the article which her husband wrote and which appeared on page two of yesterday's issue.

The fourth point was that Birth Control and mothers' clinics, such as have been established in England, and especially in Holland, will prove a solution to the labor question which is ever becoming more acute in Japan. The process by which the laboring class increases so fast that the maintenance of a high or the creation of a higher standard of living is impossible is well known, she said. The labor difficulties will increase, she predicted, until some way is found to limit the population so that the average laborer can earn sufficient to maintain a proper standard of living for himself and his family.

"The majority of the people in Japan are in favor of Birth Control," the Baroness affirmed. "They are beginning to talk a great deal about it, too, and to inquire for information.

"The idea does not contradict religious beliefs with us as it does, especially with Catholics, in Western countries. As a matter of fact

Birth Control was widely practiced during the Tokugawa Shogunate, when the country shut itself in from outside influences and had to limit its population. The practice was much less scientific and—more, ah—crude than is advocated now."

It was when the country was opened to outside influences and the aims of the leaders became more imperialistic, she explained, that the doctrine of big families and many children began to be urged. More children were needed for bigger armies, she said, and the idea has come from the officials and military leaders rather than developed among the people.

"I believe that whether it is moral or not, Japan will have to adopt Birth Control. Spreading practical information through mothers' clinics or by other means is contrary to the opinions of the Government authorities now, but I think the officials will be forced to change their ideas for the welfare of the people. There is no law against Birth Control propaganda, but it is forbidden under the police regulations."

No nation in the world is more seriously affected by a superfluous population than Japan. To make the life more pleasant, this important problem should be thoroughly investigated, for in it are involved such issues as the welfare of nation, better health and the promotion of wealth. It is highly absurd on the part of those persons to hastily conclude that the doctrine is unsocial or even detrimental from an ethical viewpoint.

"Mrs. Sanger, if I am correctly informed," the Kyoto professor went on, "is trying to prevent unlimited birth of children to whom the parents are unable to give enough food, clothing and education.

Viewed in this light, it goes without saying that Birth Control is nothing but a great social welfare work which, when enforced properly, will adjust birth, and its consequence will be the enhancement of civilization and the promotion of wealth. Health will consequently be improved and the death mortality of children, which is so high in this country, will be checked. Those who oppose Birth Control from their bigoted ethical standpoint without knowing the deep significance underlying this theory are merely refusing to solve this great social welfare problem. Their hackneyed views deserve no serious attention whatever.—DR. SEIRO KAWADA, Professor of Law, Imperial University of Kyoto.

News Notes

April 18.—Mrs. Sanger made an address at the Rockefeller Institute, Peking.

April 19.—After giving an address at the National University, Peking, Mrs. Sanger was the guest of honor at a dinner given by the Chancellor of the University.

April 23.—Mrs. Anne Kennedy spoke before the Liberal Friendship League of Philadelphia on Birth Control from an International Aspect. There was an audience of over 300.

MAY 7th.—Mrs. Mark R. Craig gave a tea at her home in Sewickley, to meet Clara Louise Rowe, Organization Secretary of the American Birth Control League. This affair was preparatory to a large meeting to be addressed by Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker at the Club House, Sewickley, Pa., on May 24th. Those present were: Mrs. George E. Tener, Mrs. James Todd, Mrs. Horace Forbes Baker, Mrs. James R. Wardrop, Miss Agate Brown, Mrs. Charles W. Brown, Mrs. W. S. Tallman, Mrs. Harlow B. Wheeler and Mrs. Alexander Laughlin, Mrs. Wallis Tener.

May 15.—It was announced that Michael M. Dolphin, Assistant Corporation Counsel, was to be charged before the Appellate Division with a breach of professional conduct in ordering the arrest of Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee last November. The charges were brought by the Grievance Committee of the

Bar Association. It will be recalled that Mrs. Rublee was testifying concerning the breaking up of the Birth Control meeting at the Town Hall on November 13, when her arrest was ordered. On her appearance in the police court she was at once discharged as the magistrate held that there were no legal grounds for her detention.

May 24.—Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker spoke on Birth Control at a luncheon at the Hotel Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh. A dinner was given in her honor the same day, and she addressed a conference of doctors in the evening. In the afternoon she addressed a public meeting at Sewickly, Penna., at which Mrs. Wallis G. Tener presided. Following is a list of patronesses under whose auspices the meetings were held:

Mrs. Alexander Laughlin	Mrs. Dickson Kearns Coyle
Mrs. Wallis J. Tener	Mrs. Clarence Renshaw
Mrs. George E. Tener	Mrs. Louis Affelder
Mrs. Enoch Rauh	Dr. Amelia Dranga
Mrs. Franklin P. Iams	Mrs. William Wieman
Mrs. James R. Wardrop	Mrs. Marion Bonsall Davis
Mrs. Mark Rodgers Craig	Mrs. John Todd
Mrs. Julian Kennedy, Jr.	Mrs. William W. Roney
Mrs. Edmund K. Trent	Mrs. Churchill B. Mehard
Mrs. Royal S. Goldaburg	Mrs. Charles S. Steinmeyer
Mrs. Charles Gordon Zug	Mrs. Tracy Guthrie
Mrs. Harlow B. Wheeler	Mrs. Andrew K. Black
Mrs. Charles W. Brown	Mrs. Edgar R. Cate
Miss Agate Brown	Mrs. Joseph Walker Kennedy
Mrs. George Stimson	Mrs. William Boyd
Mrs. James G. Pontefract	Mrs. Charles R. Miller, Jr.
Mrs. James Todd	Mrs. J. W. Cappeau
Mrs. Samuel Ely Eliot	Mrs. Sidney Teller
Miss Katherine Harrison	Mrs. George Applegate
Mrs. David Shields Hays	Mrs. Mark W. Stoner
Miss Eleanor Hanson	Mrs. Francis J. Torrance
Mrs. Roswell Johnson	Mrs. George L. Claypool
Mrs. Patton Lyon Logan	Mrs. Clarence B. Watkins
Mrs. William Metcalf Parkin	Mrs. Carl Vander Voort
Mrs. William F. Knox	Mrs. Horace Forbes Baker,
Mrs. George McKnight	Chairman

May 25.—Mrs. Donald R. Hooker spoke on "The Meaning of Birth Control" before the Women's City Club of Cleveland, O.

May 26.—Mrs. Donald R. Hooker spoke twice in Detroit: at a luncheon at the Hotel Statler, Mrs. Frederick Holt, presiding, subject "The Rights of the Child and Birth Control," and at a public meeting in the evening, Mrs. William McGraw, chairman.

THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE of England, which is in charge of arrangements for the International Birth Control Congress which is to be held in London in July has secured a fine list of Vice-Presidents. The President of the Congress is Dr. C. V. Drysdale, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S.E. The Vice-Presidents include: Sir James Barr, C.B.E., M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.E.; Arnold Bennett, Esq.; J. O. P. Bland, Esq.; Edward Cecil, Esq.; Harold Cox, Esq.; Mrs. Edwin Drew; Binnie Dunlop, Esq., M.B.; Havelock Ellis, Esq., L.S.A.; Gibbon Fitzgibbon, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S.; E. S. P. Haynes, Esq.; Capt. Kelso, R.N.; Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane, Bart., C.B., M.B., M.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.S.; Joseph McCabe, Esq.; C. Killick Millard, Esq., M.D., D.Sc., M.O.H.; A. B. Moss, Esq.; Eden Phillpotts, Esq.; Sir G. Archdall Reid, K.B.E., M.B., F.R.S.E.; Rt. Hon.

J. M. Robertson, P.C.; Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery; Lieut.-Col. A. W. Warden; H. G. Wells, Esq.; Professor E. W. MacBride, D.Sc. (Lond.), M.A. (Cantab.), LL.D., F.R.S.; Prof. J. M. Keynes, M.A.; The Rev Gordon Lang; Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., D.Sc. (Lond.); Baroness Ishimoto (President, Japanese Birth Control League); Dr. W. J. Robinson (President, American Society of Medical Sociology); Professor Knut Wicksell, Sweden; Mrs. Margaret Sanger (President, American Birth Control League); Dr. J. Rutgers, Holland; Dr. H. van Houten (late Minister of the Interior, the Netherlands); Professor Roberto Michels, University of Turin; Professor P. D. Shastri, M.A., Ph.D., B.Sc. (Oxon), Indian Educational Service, Lahore, India; M. G. Giroud, Paris; Mme. de Beer-Meijers.

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE ADVERTISER

A HINT FROM AN EXPERT

The value of the Birth Control movement to the advertiser is brought out in an interesting article by S. C. Lambert in *Printer's Ink* for March 23. This is hardly the place where one would look for Birth Control propaganda, but there is considerable force to Mr. Lambert's reasoning.

Under the heading "Small Families—Their Significance to Advertisers," Mr. S. C. Lambert brings out that the "standard of living is raised and buying power increased as size of family becomes smaller." After showing that even on the farm the large family is now a liability rather than an asset, he summarises the case for the man who makes or sells much advertised products. "The interests of the advertiser in the small family," he writes, "are very clear. On a 'counting noses' test, we might say that the small family was a market inferior to the big family—that four will consume less than six certainly seems logic. It does not work this way, however. The correct arithmetic is the arithmetic of T. Atkins, skilled mechanic, and wife, whose income is, say, an average of \$38 a week. With two children, the Atkins family will live well, buy a home, own a phonograph, send the boy and girl to high school and perhaps farther; use a fair grade of clothing, food supplies, housefurnishings; perhaps own a flivver. With six children, the Atkins family still will have only \$38 a week. It will barely scrape along, the money going for bare necessities. It is a mighty poor market for the advertiser.

Consider instead of Atkins' \$38-a-week-job, a 100-acre farm which is operated to most profit when the owner uses a tractor and hires a man only for a few weeks in rush seasons. The farm income will vary little whether the farm family has four members or seven members. But the standard of living of the family of four will be definitely higher than the standard of living of the family of seven. The difference will average the difference of an excellent market for the advertiser, and a poor market.

Small families are the advertiser's best friends. And they're here, and what's more, they are going to keep on. The present depression is only an incident to the fundamental economic conditions which have brought prosperity to the advertiser in past years, and will in years to come."

War and Population

(Address given in Tokyo Y. M. C. A. on March 14, 1922)

By Margaret Sanger

I REGRET EXCEEDINGLY that I am not allowed to speak to you this afternoon upon the subject of Birth Control. Why this privilege has been denied me I do not know, for I have addressed audiences on the subject of Birth Control in nearly every country in Europe and every large city in the United States. However, I am grateful for small favors and am pleased that I have been able to gain the permission to address you on the subject of War and Population.

In 100 years Europe had about doubled her population while the increase of her food supply was less than 5 per cent. She had been piling up huge debts for future generations to pay. She had piled up such conditions as slums, unemployment, child-labor, inertness, inefficiency, dependency and finally war. The World War which started in Europe in 1914 was the natural result of the manifold conditions which made such a volcanic eruption inevitable.

During the past 50 years, there was a tendency in every country in Europe to increase its numbers overwhelmingly in one group and to increase slowly in another. The latter group consists of individuals who do not let nature control their destinies. Here the forces of fecundity have been mastered. In this group with slow increase in numbers, conditions are progressive and advanced. The other group who are at the mercy of the urge of generation are those who have not only increased their numbers but have increased their problems beyond the development of the social conscience or the intelligence of the nation. Out of this group in every country in Europe arose the great problems, both social and economic, with which the world was confronted in 1914.

In some countries, as in England, it was possible through colonization to alleviate the conditions in this group somewhat by sending the surplus population to Canada, Australia and other parts of the globe. France, on the other hand, had kept her numbers more or less stationary and had aimed to develop quality in her people. It was to France that we turned for culture, for science, for advancement in almost every line of scientific thought.

GERMANY, HOWEVER, was the central country in Europe, which, though in some departments far more advanced than other countries, was blocked in her progress, and her conditions at home made complex and chaotic. Germany had been the first country in Europe to bring into her country the largest resources of alleviation for her population. During the dark and middle ages, Germany had relied upon infant mortality, disease and pestilence to keep her population within bounds. It was quite a natural event for a family during that period to have from 10 to 20 members, but for only one or two, or at the most four to survive to full maturity. This was the course which Nature had taken to lessen the possibility of war and to keep nations somewhat at peace with each other.

With the advance of humanitarian thought and scientific and preventive medicine, Germany began to check her death rate, but to increase her problems. The urge for expansion on the part of the increasing population in any country when brought up against geographical barriers acts blindly in the direction of conflict—whether in colonial rivalry or territorial swarming. The opportunities for Germany's expansion were strictly limited by other powers and the prosperity due to the opening of new countries had long passed its maximum. The possibilities for expansion that were open a century ago were fairly well exhausted and Germany found herself with serious problems on her hands which meant national expansion or ultimate stagnation. We find then the situation in Germany to be a rapidly increasing population brought largely to full maturity at a great expense to the government through social service, old age pensions, maternity benefits, etc., while the necessities for feeding this population were out of her reach, making her dependent upon other countries for the subsistence of her people. There was a tendency too, toward a surplus of highly trained professional and technical men. The elaborate educational system of Germany was producing more engineers, surveyors, electrical engineers, industrial chemists and experts along various lines than the nation's industries could utilize or absorb. The result was that such men had to be content with a smaller wage than the unskilled workingmen could procure, or emigrate into foreign lands where skill and inventiveness became the assets of other countries at Germany's cost.

WHILE GERMANY'S birth rate was on the decline—in 1900 it was 36.5, in 1909, 32, and in 1913, 29.5—the number of deaths diminished also by such proportion that her rate of survival became higher, and her population increased in a faster proportion than it had done with the higher birth rate. There was an increase of from 700,000 to 800,000 souls a year, which amounted to nearly four millions of new individuals every five years. It was upon such conditions briefly and fragmentarily related here, that Germany based her claim to a place in the sun and the right of livelihood of her surplus population. The *Berliner Post* in 1913 said: "Can a great and rapidly growing nation like Germany always renounce all claims to further development or to the expansion of its political power? The final settlement with France and England, the expansion of our colonial possessions in order to create new German homes for the overflow of our population . . . these are the problems which must be faced in the near future."

If one studies the comments of the press during the five years preceding the great war, one will find that the argument of the right of any country to prepare for war was based upon her increasing and growing population. Germany in 1910 had a population of 70,000,000. At the rate she was increasing she was bound to have in a short time double that number. It was

the argument of her militarists and others who were making greater demands for Germany that she must find an outlet for her people, that Germany was hungry for trade, that she needed colonies, that she could not confine her growing population within her narrow geographical boundaries.

In one magazine, the Kaiser was quoted as having said that in 1950 Germany would possess a population of two hundred millions or something near to it. It might have been supposed that counsels, such as those emanating from the best of thinking Germans, might have been critical of this condition of things, but, extraordinary as it may seem, the Marxian philosophy had taken a strong hold upon the people of Germany and particularly of the working people during the preceding 25 years, and had inculcated the doctrine that the greater the numbers of the proletariat the higher would be their wages, the stronger their demands in the labor market and the larger the numbers in the ranks of the revolutionists. Hence up to 1914 there was every tendency on the part of the thinkers of Germany, both economic, social and political, to approve the increase in their numbers and to trust to the gods the results, believing that *might makes right!!*

THIS, BRIEFLY, is one of the chief causes of the war in Europe in 1914. We all know the results and the consequences, but none of us can fortell 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 affect 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 the war, I felt that it would be far kinder for Germany's future and for the future peace of the world to humanely allow these little victims to pass away rather than to keep them alive to perpetuate disease and misery. More than 45 per cent. of the women of Germany were made permanently sterile owing to the lack of food and the improper nourishment for child-bearing. The present conditions in Germany include extremely heavy taxes, low value of money, deficiency of labor in many establishments, scarcity of food and cost of living so dear that the average wage-earner lives upon a ration which means partial starvation.

The conclusions to be drawn from Germany are that a nation will not find the solution of its problems in war: that war is no longer the way to settle international disputes. Nevertheless we cannot hope for world peace until all nations recognize that there are fundamental dynamic forces at work which must be controlled. These forces are hunger and propagation, and

we cannot solve one without including the other. Until these forces are recognized and acted upon wisely, the idea of international peace will remain a dream and a myth.

Japan has problems today which are becoming as great as those of Germany in 1914. She has a right to have those problems solved in a rational, humanitarian way, but until our diplomats and statesmen recognize the causes of war and make a study of the population question in all its manifold departments, all our Leagues of Nations, international conferences, agreements and international treaties will become the proverbial "scraps of paper." Men and women of Japan, I appeal to you to look into this subject thoroughly. The women and mothers in your country are just as desirous of wiping out poverty, misery, suffering and war as the women of the other nations of the world. I appeal to you to set your motherhood free! To make your women something more than breeding machines, such as the women of every nation have been during some period of that nation's development. The time has come for international brotherhood and international emancipation, based upon free, conscious maternity.

THE ADVANCEMENT of hygiene and sanitation and welfare work in any country only increase its population problem. Population must then find its outlet through emigration or armed invasion of some other country. Each nation must control its population to the point where it will not be necessary to make aggression upon its neighbors.

The study of the population will reveal to you the initial cause of the suffering of mankind, it will reveal the cause for its struggles and its divisions into factions and parties. It will point out the remedy for these differences and the way to establish a new order of civilization. To the working man, it will show that his state of oppression under tyranny can exist only as a result of his ignorance; that the struggle between classes, between capital and labor, and the wars between nations are the inevitable consequences of that ignorance. The working man has himself been the producer of these conditions through his unlimited procreative powers—unchecked and uncontrolled; while he and his brother are the initial sufferers from the flagrant inequalities found in all nations today.

Let us then, friends, depart from the old methods of quantity production, and turn our attention to producing quality in our peoples. It will then be possible for everyone to have independence and personal dignity; motherhood will be glorified, and the nation may expect to promote for its population peace, justice, happiness and the International Brotherhood of the World.

Appeals from Mothers

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have read of you and of the good work you are doing, may God bless you and yours.

I am so miserable, and yet so young. I am only 21 and have three babies, and I am not strong. I get dizzy spells almost every day, and my children are weak and puny. Won't you

please tell me how I can take care of myself so I will not become pregnant?

If I only knew of something, how happy I would be and then I could get a hold on life and health; but this way I am getting weaker every day, and I drag myself around like an old woman, no ambition or pep to me, because I am always in

constant fear of becoming pregnant again; and then it is a living death for me, all I must suffer.

Please, oh please, Mrs. Sanger, tell me of something that would help me, something that is good and sure, and I know I will be the happiest woman and then I can be a good wife and mother to the children I already have.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have been reading some of your writings and other articles on Birth Control, and think that it would be a wonderful blessing if knowledge could be given to those that need it.

I am 35 years old, and have six children, the oldest ten years, and I fear I am pregnant again. Isn't there some way of preventing conception? My husband three years ago got his back, hip and ankle broken in a coal mine and will always be crippled,—although he is able to sit in a chair and repair shoes. He uses a cane when he walks.

But having so many children so fast is telling on my health, and it is hard to keep my work up as it should be. We think the world of our children, but it takes a lot to keep them. I don't know what we will do if I have many more, it is getting the best of me. So I am writing this to see if you could give me any help or advice.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am sending you a note on the Vernier family.

They had a 5-year old boy who refused to go to the toilet or to be "house broken." The neighbors say the child was unbearably filthy. The child was put downstairs in a high, light basement as punishment and kept there some time. Each time he was brought upstairs he was as filthy as ever. He would have been allowed upstairs any time he promised to be—or was clean. The child was reported to the police who ar-

rested the father and mother and it is said the village threatens to tar and feather the mother.

Mrs. Vernier has been married 17 years and has had 15 children. Twelve are living. The last one was born 2 months ago. She had no nurse and had to be up (as usual) in 3 days to do a large washing. Since then she has had pneumonia and though barely able to creep around has had all the cooking, washing and never ending work to do. The 12 children—with the exception of the dirty 5-year-old are fine children, neat, well dressed, good scholars and the little home (not paid for) a marvel of neatness for such a tired woman.

When arrested, Mrs. Vernier remarked that her life had been hard. Her husband seemed utterly surprised and said he had never heard his wife complain. In that sentence is a wonderful word-picture of hopeless desolation. Seventeen years of suffering and drudgery and no future but its repetition.

The village of Eastwood has decided such a woman is "not fit" to live within their borders, so the family is to be requested to move on. Mrs. Vernier was a college girl with great musical talent, but for 17 years she has been a slave. I can't imagine how she has accomplished so much.

If the husband is fined \$500 then the woman's burden will be even harder.

The neighbors say the child was undernourished—a sick mother with all that work and no care herself could cook collectively for her children but could hardly be expected to run a diet kitchen. If she could only have gone to jail instead of the father she could have had some rest!

—ALMA KENYON McGRATH.

(No one can approve solitary confinement for a child of five as punishment for a condition which probably needed expert, medical care. Yet our correspondent's sympathy with the mother is natural and generous. The case shows that one woman cannot possibly care properly for twelve children, and to demand such a task is to demand her very life.—Editor)

A Way Out

By May Peirce Guest

(Continued from May issue)

II. TEMPTATION

BJAMIN BROWN staggered out into the street with no idea of where he was going or what he intended to do; distraught, bewildered.

The five dollar bill which Janey had given him was like a link joining him to her. What generosity, what sympathy, what divine trust! His anxieties and repressed desire had made him bolt for one night of freedom, and now she had thrown this noose of faith about his neck! It was damnable to feel one must do something reckless and yet not know exactly what one wanted to do! To be drawn back and at the same time impelled onward!

His life had been so much a part of Janey's since he had met her two years before, that he really did not know how to go it alone. He found himself at last in the center of the theatre dis-

trict where bright lights dazzled, gay throngs jostled, motors honked, and newsboys yelled; where all was a delirium of motion and noise. He stood at the corner irresolute, looking vacantly about. Did he want to go in and see that motion picture with its flaring posters out front? He didn't know; he seemed to have no initiative; to be all at once tired beyond ability to think or act.

A girl passed him slowly, looked into his face oddly; paused, returned, and stood by his side for a moment fastening her glove; then looked up into his face and half smiled. He gazed back dully, without interest. What was this gay painted kid to him?

She moved a little nearer as though to escape the jostling crowd, and fastened her chic turban more securely over her golden "cootie garages." Again she glanced up with her large Irish blue eyes, so effectively black lashed.

"LONELY?" she queried softly.

Lonely! That word hit him like a shot in the bulls-eye. God, but he was lonely! That was the trouble. Now he knew.

Straightening, as though suddenly awakened, he cast startled eyes on the girl.

Then—"You got me," he replied with a responsive grin. "But, how did you know?"

"I guess I know a lot," she replied sagely.

"A lot you know; why, you're just a doll-baby kid!"

"Doll-baby nothin.' I was eighteen the other day. Say, don't it sound fierce? Eighteen! It gives me the shivers to think of so little time left to enjoy life. Gee, ain't it awful to grow old?"

Ben thrust his hands into his pockets and from his big height looked down upon her. He laughed, that big boyish laugh of his.

"Say, I like your teeth," the girl went on. "You ought to laugh a lot, you ought; not stand mopin' round in the blues. You need a good time, that's what."

"I'll say," replied Ben shortly, bitterly.

"Got a date for tonight?"

"Nope."

"Well—a, what do you say to havin' a good time with me?"

The girl cocked her saucy little head on one side and smiled seductively up at him.

"Perhaps." He spoke slowly, staring at her with a reluctantly-admiring, half-contemptuous stare; then, "What would you suggest doing?"

"Oh, you will? That's grand. Say, I like you. Honest I do now. Shall we start by goin' into this movie? I do adore movies, don't you? And then, after, we could get something good to eat. I know a swell place. And then—why then—"

"All right," interrupted Ben, his face again illumined with his big grin. "You're some kid. We'll go into the movie anyhow. Come along."

HE FELT A slight shiver run through him when she slipped her hand under his arm and fell familiarly into step. And hold his nose as high as possible, it could not escape her nauseating perfume. But he noted what really good features and a trim little figure she had. He wished Janey had a clever bit of head-gear and tailored suit. How trim her ankles and feet would look in silk stockings and dainty pumps! But there—he simply *must* put Janey out of his mind. Had he not come to make a night of it? To forget *everything*?

They were seated in the dim theatre now, straining to catch the meaning, the connection on the screen. How he did dislike that perfume! What was that bit of music? How jazz did get one. If only Janey,—but no—none of that!

A warm moist hand suddenly clutched his. "Look—look, do you see,—some lively scrap that, ain't it?" The girl at his side was leaning forward, her very red lips parted, her breathing rapid. She was living in the play.

Ben too, gave himself up to the enjoyment of the pictures. He had not been to a show since the birth of little Leo, and now that awful tenseness in him began to relax and he was surprised to hear his own big laugh suddenly ring out during

an absurd comedy. The girl also laughed, laughed with a child's contagious gurgle. Ben glanced from the screen to her quite often; smiled at her eager attitude, leaning forward, her hands clutching the back of the seat in front of her. How small and young she was! What a pity,—all that paint and perfume and over-smartness! Had she no brains at all? What sort of a place did she live in? From what home did she come?

He wondered vaguely: he had never been much of a thinker. Of analysis he knew nothing.

"Darn it all," he said to himself, "there's something I do like about the kid anyhow!"

Two hours passed and they had seen the whole show. The girl gave a deep sigh of content and rose. "That was an all right one; now let's get something to eat. What do you say?"

She turned her effective eyes up to him and waited expectantly, her teeth showing white and even between those red, red lips.

"ALL RIGHT," returned Ben with a smile, "lead on." An instant thought then made him laugh. "Lead, kindly light. Was *she* a kindly light? Hardly!" But he did not care; he was feeling wonderfully better, more cheerful, ready for any adventure. The awful, crushing tiredness had somehow vanished. As he stepped into the street, he drew in deep breaths of the fresh night air and longed to stretch his muscles, to let loose his long-restrained freedom of action.

The girl led the way to a cafe, over-brilliant, over-noisy, over-scented, and throbbing with the jazz band. They found a table in the far corner and studied the menu. A qualm seized Ben. He fingered the coins in his pocket. How much had he anyway?

His fingers came in contact with Janey's five dollar bill and he felt an odd electric shock. Not that, oh no, he was going to buy Janey something with that!

"We'll just get some ice cream and cake," he said decidedly. He expected to see the black, penciled eye-brows arch at that; but no, the girl smiled happily and returned, "All right, that suits me fine. It ain't good to eat too heavy before you go to sleep, is it?"

"You know," she continued, cupping her chin with her hands and leaning close to him, "you know, I ain't like some girls, just out for what a feller can spend. I liked you the very first minute my eyes seen you, and I said to myself,—'Oh boy, if he only takes a shine to me!' That's what I said. The money don't count so much, just so you have a good time. Ain't that right?"

Ben was both touched and flattered. He smiled back into her eyes and said, "You're a pretty good kid after all and I'm blamed if I don't like you."

The girl laughed gaily, delightedly, and clapped her hands together. "Oh I'm so glad; and now, after we have had our ice cream will you let me show you the cutest budoor in this city? I've fixed it up like one I seen in the movies. It's all blue and gold, to match my eyes and hair you know, and I'm dyin' to show it to somebody. I just finished it today and it does look grand! You'll just come and see it now, won't you?"

HER CONCENTRATED desire for his company touched his vanity. All the allurements of youthful, eager femininity transferred itself from her to him. What harm in pleasing this kid? What harm in just looking into the little "budoor" she had so carefully arranged? Why not?

Their eyes met in a long, intermingling gaze; hers entreating, compelling; his, inquiring, a trifle uncertain.

She laid her soft, warm hand on Ben's: "Please do!" She did not take her eyes from his. The pleading cadence of her voice somehow twisted itself around his heart which stirred with a tumultuous emotion. He was free for tonight! Why shouldn't he just look at the little "budoor?"

With a sudden straightening of his shoulders and a wrench of his eyes from hers, he rose, gave an odd laugh, and, "Oh, all right, kid, I'll just take a look at your "budoor," to please you!"

"Oh joy!" She caught his arm convulsively and hurried him along, past the corner and up a side street.

Said she, breathlessly, "I've got lace curtains and whacher-callems; oh yes, over-drapes; tan color with blue birds flying all over 'em; and a couch covered with gorgeous cushions, and a red lamp by it with a real silk shade. Just wait till you see!"

She rattled on while Ben listened and permitted himself to be hurried along the now almost deserted street. He felt like some strange man in a dream.

"Here we are." She gave a satisfied sigh and drew a key from her hand bag.

Ben glanced up at the house, then at the girl, and suddenly his moral nature revolted to such an extent that a sickening sensation seized him; it caught him in the pit of the stomach like acute nausea. He bent over and gasped.

The girl had put the key in the lock and now glanced around for him.

"GOOD GRACIOUS," she cried, "are you sick, boy?" Her voice was trembling with alarm.

"Sick as a dog," groaned Ben, "I've got to get home, kid."

"No, no! You come in and I'll fix you up all right. Come, hurry, I hear somebody coming. Hurry!"

She had him by both hands, tugging at his arm now. "Oh, please, please hurry; do come!" She was half crying and straining at his coat sleeve.

"Let go," groaned Ben, "I can't go with you. I'm sick, sick at the thought of touching you. Let go, I say!" He wrenched himself free and for a second, tottered.

The heavy steps sounded close in the stillness of the night. A policeman came around the corner.

The girl gave a gasping sob and darted for the door. In a second it had closed behind her.

Ben, with a great effort straightened himself, and staring directly before him, sauntered past the policeman. When out of the officer's sight he sank weakly down on a step and head in hands, sat thinking. Yet not so much thinking as feeling.

A vast sense of relief was sweeping through him. It was as if a strong invisible hand had snatched him from some horrible catastrophe; had drawn him back just in time. His brain began to clear and he knew now that that invisible hand was his self-respect; the straight manhood of him, his love for Janey and poor little Leo.

Shaken to his depth, tears filled his eyes, tears of thankfulness. His self-respect had been stronger than his desires that night.

He looked up at the myriad stars overhead and wondered if his mother knew. He hoped she did. It would make her so happy; it would comfort her for the uneasiness his many wild pranks had caused her throughout his boyhood. How, oh how, he had missed her! And how Janey, his wonderful Janey, had been mother and wife to him since she had died!

The painted kid and her vicious "budoor" faded into mere specks on his mental horizon. How odd that he, Benjamin Brown, could have so wasted an evening with that!

Then he laughed, laughed loud and heartily. It was so very, very absurd! His mental and moral perspective were becoming normal. He was a man, a responsible man again.

Strength returned in a flood. He stood up, filling his great lungs with the fresh night air, then walked quickly back the way he had so recently come.

NOW THAT HE was homeward bound, however, Ben's thoughts focussed on Janey and her tender, alluring loveliness. His emotions were still turbulent within him. He had fled from her to give them free reign and now was returning with them still pent up!

He slackened his pace and put his hands up to his temples which were pulsing hard. Then he stood still, biting his underlip. "If I go home, go to her," he thought, "I just can't let her alone, consequences or no consequences. I know that right now, out here in the cool night air. Yet—yet, Oh God, she might die! The doctor said she would!"

He kicked at a broken bit of paving and dug his hands deep into his pockets. Then slowly, very slowly Benjamin Brown turned his thoughts and his steps back toward the painted kid, his heart heavy, his feet leaden. "It's better'n hurtin' Janey," he muttered, "better'n that, so—here goes. Oh boy!" And squaring his shoulders he swaggered toward the brilliantly lighted corner where the painted kid had smiled up into his face. He took off his cap that the fresh breeze might cool his fevered head and laughed, a short, harsh laugh that Janey would not have recognized.

"Hope that kid's got something strong to drink; might help a fellow to forget,—and play the fool better. Well, here goes anyhow!" And again he laughed a laugh that was not pleasant to hear, while his swagger increased. "Won't that doll-baby be some surprised to see me? Just won't she be tickled! Ha, ha, ha!"

(To be Continued)

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Bergen, Henry, English Writer and Critic.

Guest, May Peirce, Writer and Artist.

Parker, Valeria H., M.D., Executive Secretary of the U. S. Interdepartment Social Hygiene Board.

Punké, Edward G., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan.

Young, Allyn, Professor of Economics, Cornell University, former President of American Statistical Association.

Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G. Punké

[Professor Punké's article was begun in the issue of October, 1921, but was suspended after November on account of the pressure due to the first American Birth Control Conference. We are glad now to be able to resume its publication.]

III. POPULATION INCREASE

IN SPITE OF the various methods of family limitation employed,* the extremely rapid growth of population has been a most important phenomenon of the last two or three centuries. For instance, the population of Europe increased during the forty year period, 1872-1912, by at least 150,000,000, or more than the total number of its inhabitants in 1772. Similarly, the population of the entire world increased from 700,000,000 in 1814 (Mulhall's estimate) to 1,650,000,000 in 1914, or by 950,000,000—250,000,000 more than the world total in 1814. During the last century the number of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom underwent an increment of 23,000,000 or 6,000,000 more than her total population in 1811. The population increase of the United Kingdom from 1066 to 1780, approximately 700 years, was only 9,000,000, or less than half her gain from 1811 to 1910,—one-seventh as long. Further, the population of the United States advanced tremendously from 1820 to 1920—from 9,638,453 to 105,683,108.

Of course, the stupendous gain in the United States is explained in part by immigration from Europe, but that fact makes the increment in Europe all the more phenomenal.

In this enormous population increase, the strikingly remarkable thing is the stupendous gain in the number of inhabitants during the past century, particularly during the forty years of peace immediately prior to the outbreak of the World War. Were one so inclined, it would be easy to establish a close connection between the 150,000,000 increment of Europe from 1872 to 1912 and the four years of conflagration recently ended.

INDEED, IT IS reported that Japan today recognizes the immediate causal relation between populational pressure and war. A recent issue of the New York *Nation* reported that Japan now has an annual increase of 700,000 people. Dr. Kato, Head of the Department of Medical Affairs for Japan, is now studying the Birth Control movement in the United States, Holland, England and Germany, according to the *Nation*. Dr. Kato reports, it is said, that the Japanese Parliament "is now convinced of the wisdom of national Birth Control and is concerned only with the methods of teaching it to the people. "The Japanese Government feels strongly that only by a speedy nation-wide establishment of the policy of Birth Control can a war of aggression be avoided in the next generation," says that publication.†

In comparison with such a forward-looking policy said to be under consideration by the Japanese Government, the United States' attitude is lamentable, since it even puts all manner of

obstacles in the way of private dissemination of contraceptive information. It should be remarked here that those crying "race suicide" and "depopulation" would profit by a consideration of this recent attitude of Japan and by a glance at the vital statistics for the past half-century. Furthermore, those opposing Birth Control on the ground of fear for a depopulated world may well be likened to the boy who cried "wolf, wolf!" when there was no wolf. Judging impartially, one is inclined to feel that the advocates of "big families" are inoculated with the virus of militaristic expansion, capitalistic exploitation, or are laboring under the incubus of religious fetishism. It is fervently to be hoped that, as a nation, we will sometime learn to consider our social problems in a rational and scientific manner, and not proceed on the basis of superstition, tradition and prejudice.

IV. BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

Among the General Population

UNDER THE CAPTION of Population Increase, it was seen that a most remarkable occurrence of recent times was the stupendous increase in population during the forty-year period, 1872-1912, especially in those countries most vitally affected by the Industrial Revolution. Along with this enormous growth in the number of inhabitants over the entire Occidental world, however, has gone another equally significant phenomenon—that of a practically general decrease in the birth rate. Accompanying this diminution of the birth rate has gone a lowering in the mortality rate, probably about equaling the fall in the birth rate. Whether the drop in the birth and death rates will continue practically equal only the future can tell.

Among the Poorer Classes

In addition to the birth and mortality rates for the entire population, a detailed study of the figures for the different economic classes would be of value here. Unfortunately, such figures are relatively scarce, but it is felt that by using those of various cities and of a few countries, some correlation can be secured.

In this field Dr. J. Bertillon has probably done more for Europe than most investigators. In 1897 he obtained the following data for the four chief cities of that continent.

TABLE I.

Classification	(Children per 1,000 women 15 to 50 years of age)			
	Paris	Berlin	Vienna	London
Very poor quarters -----	108	157	200	147
Poor quarters -----	95	129	164	140
Comfortable quarters -----	72	114	155	107
Very comfortable quarters -----	65	96	153	107
Rich quarters -----	53	63	107	87
Very rich quarters -----	34	47	71	63
Average -----	80	102	153	109

TABLE I. shows a much higher birth rate for the poor than for the very comfortable and rich. It will also be noted that the birth rate of the poor and very poor in Paris is considerably lower than for those groups in the other three cities.

*See BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW for November, 1921, p. 8

†An interesting parallel with Professor Punké's statement will be found in Mrs. Sanger's account of her reception in Japan.

Undoubtedly this is due in part to a wider use of contraceptives by those classes.

The survival rate, on the contrary, tells a much different story. For the whole of France Bertillon found that 86.6 per cent. of the children of rich parents reach the age of twenty, while only 48.6 per cent. of those of the poor attain that age. For Paris he discovered that among the rich, where there are approximately 50 children to 1,000 mothers, 43.3 per 1,000 mothers arrive at the age of twenty. Among the poor, on the other hand, with approximately 100 children per 1,000 mothers, 48.4 per 1,000 mothers reach the same age. These figures indicate that with one-half the birth rate, the rich Parisian mothers raise to the age of twenty nearly as many children as do their poor sisters.

Studying poverty conditions in York, England, Mr. Rowntree found in the poorest sections of that city 247 infants, per 1,000 born, die during the first year, while in the well-to-do districts of the same city the death rate under one year was only 94 per 1,000 births. Since 1912, Julia Lathrop, until recently Head of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, has carried on a study in infant mortality in eight typical cities. In Johnstown, Pa., in 1919, she found that "where the father earns \$1,250 per year or more, the infant mortality under one year was 87 per 1,000 births; where he earned less than \$550 annually it was 260 per 1,000 births." She further says that in ten large manufacturing cities the infant mortality rate is more than 150 per 1,000 births, and in Lowell, Mass., it is

231 per 1,000. The rate for the entire country is 124 per 1,000 births. Her investigation in Johnstown showed the following death rate:

TABLE II.

Order of Birth of Children	Death Rate Per 1,000 Births
1st and 2nd born -----	138.3
3rd and 4th born -----	143.2
5th and 6th born -----	177.0
7th and 8th born -----	181.5
9th and later born -----	201.1

A SIMILAR STUDY in Chicago indicated that in families with four children those children had two-and-a-half times better chances of living than where there were eight children per family. Miss Lathrop concludes: "In general the lowest income groups are the highest mortality groups in all cities studied."

Other studies among the pauper classes indicate that these classes have a slightly larger number of children per family than the average. They show further that it is the state of expectant motherhood, or delivery of the wife, which is one of the chief causes compelling the family to seek aid.

While not as complete as desired, it is thought the foregoing figures and statements will suffice to show the birth and death rates are much higher among the poor than among the well-to-do and rich classes. This is a phenomenon of international character. Doubtlessly, too, there is a large casual relation between largeness of family and economic status.

An Economist on Birth Control

The following letter from Professor Allyn A. Young to Mrs. Margaret Sanger was written some months ago. It was written freely, with no idea of publication; but it seemed so valuable a contribution to the subject of Birth Control that we sought and obtained Professor Young's consent to its appearance in the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW.

AS AN ECONOMIST my interest is naturally in the general effect of the unrestricted growth of population upon the welfare and progress of the community, rather than in the more directly human and personal considerations which relate to the welfare of particular families and of their children.

It would seem to me that in approaching your problems from the point of view of the economist you would be well advised to emphasize well established fundamentals rather than to attempt to invoke new and debatable issues. Among these well established fundamentals there are two points that need to be reiterated again and again. The first relates to the adverse selective effect of a high birth rate among the ignorant and unsuccessful and a low birth rate among those who have attained a higher level of economic well being. You are so familiar with this problem that I shall do no more than mention it.

My own interest, I confess, is in the second point, which relates to the effect of an unrestricted growth of population upon the economic welfare of the community as a whole and upon the possibility of improving the character of our civilization.

A good many economists of today do not accept the Malthusian doctrine of population. I do not myself in the way in which Malthus formulates it. But this does not alter the fact that back of his doctrine there is a great fundamental truth. There is no question but that a very large part of the enormous improvement in methods of production during the last one hundred and fifty years has been absorbed by an increase in population and has not resulted in distinctly higher standards of human living. Taking, for example, some elementary facts which are so obvious that their significance is generally forgotten. I quote a paragraph which I wrote for an elementary text-book in economics some years ago:

THE TOTAL POPULATION of all Europe in 1760 was probably not over 130,000,000. In 1915 it was about 450,000,000, some 200,000,000 of this increase having taken place since 1820, and about 150,000,000 since 1872. Account must also be taken of about 125,000,000 persons of European origin or descent living outside of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, wherever this European expansion has carried Western civilization and industrial methods, the numbers of the native population have more often increased than decreased. Such, for example, is the case in Mexico, South America, the Philippines, Java, India and Egypt. For at least a hundred and fifty years before the opening of Japan to Western civilization its population had remained nearly stationary. Since 1871 it has increased from 33,000,000

to approximately 53,000,000 (1915). The probability that this great increase in that part of the world's population which has adopted modern industrial methods has come about by a decrease in the death rate rather than by an increase in the birth rate does not alter the significance of the fact that these improved methods of production and transportation have operated like the release of a spring, allowing the natural tendency toward the increase of the population to work itself out more fully."

It is hard to realize, perhaps, that the most important social revolution of modern times consists of this wholly unprecedented increase in the World's population. Many of the problems which confront our civilization are bound up with this new multiplication of human life. I should be willing to admit freely that some part of the improvement in productive methods has come as a result of the sheer pressure of the demand created by this constantly increasing body of consumers. Yet I cannot but think that if there had been some restriction to the growth of the population there would have been a vastly higher standard of life than is now possible, a larger surplus at the disposition of society over and above the necessary provision for crude human wants, and an opportunity for the releasing of human energies from the immediate task of getting a living. The achievements of Greek civilization were based upon a leisure made possible by the exploitation of subordinate classes. We have had a magnificent opportunity for the development of a civilization, based not upon exploitation, but upon a new control of the forces of nature. In large measure we have let this opportunity slip through our hands.

WE HAVE ADHERED to purely quantitative ideals. I cannot admit that there is any value in the sheer quantity of human life as apart from the quality of human living. Incidentally, this point of view has an important bearing upon one of the arguments used today as an apology for Imperialism. Defenders of Germany often explain her ambitions in terms of the necessity for an outlet for a rapidly expanding population. It should be very easy to show that Germany's expanding population was merely a result of her increasing economic production. To have given her new fields of expansion would have merely meant that her population would have grown even more rapidly; that there would have been more Germans in the world, and without relieving in any way the pressure of population, such as it was, at home. So today Japanese Imperialism is defended on the ground that Japan is over-populated. The figures quoted in the paragraph above suggest that if Japan were given a larger territory there would of course be more Japanese in the world (and probably fewer Chinamen, Koreans, and Russians). They do not indicate that there would be a lessening of the pressure of population within the Japanese Islands, or that the problem of Japan's food supply would become less acute.

I confess that I feel much the same way with respect to our own immigration problems. It is hard for us to close our doors to the peoples of Southeastern Europe. And yet if unrestricted immigration really means that there will be more of such people within our boundaries and just as many in Europe as if

we had not admitted the immigrants I fail to see how unrestricted immigration can be justified. It becomes, in the long run, merely a question of the quantity of South Italians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, etc., that there will be in the world.

Perhaps I have taken too many words to emphasize a point that ought to be obvious. We have to choose in respect of human living between quantity and quality.

The only man who has, in recent years, written frankly and courageously about the general problem I have discussed is not an economist, but a theologian,—Dean Inge!

From the English Press

EVERY 20 or 30 years the population rises and falls in exact proportion to its production and thrift, so that the average distribution of wealth is being constantly readjusted every 30 years. No process of fixing wages or income can alter this underlying law of Nature.

A careful investigation of statistics between 1810 and 1910 showed that a rise in production of 5 or 6 per cent. in averages of any 10 years is followed, 20 years later, by an increase of 1 in every 1,150 of the population, and vice versa if there be a fall.

In the last century we have increased our population from 21 millions in 1820 to 50 millions in 1921, because by increased science and invention we have trebled our capital.

Nevertheless, the average earnings of all bread-winners, including the incomes of all classes, rich or poor, have never varied £15 during any period of 10 years; and never, in the whole century, would the average income have amounted to £175 a year if money had been divided equally and there had been no wealthy classes.

Since 1917 the value of money has become so disarranged that it is impossible to compare the wealth of today with that of yesterday, so I must be forgiven if my figures are not very recent.

In 1912 the equal distribution of incomes would have resulted in £165 a year per head if divided among the 27 million workers out of a then population of 48 million persons.

If the total of £4,575,000,000 were equally divided among the 27 million wage earners the average income per head would be £169 a year, as against £165 in 1912.

If we do not mend our ways, reduce extravagance and public and private expenditure—crippled as we have become by the war—we shall be lucky if we can support the twenty-one millions a hundred years hence that we supported a hundred years ago. Civil war, however, may reduce our population before the end of the century.

—Daily Mail, April 17, 1922.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. **THE REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION**, by Lothrop Stoddard.

From the Macmillan Co., New York. **THE HEALTHY CHILD FROM TWO TO SEVEN**. By F. H. MacCarthy, M.D.

IN A large measure the dreadful conditions of life in our big cities are due to the tragedy of irresponsible parenthood.

—SUNDAY PICTORIAL (England).

Book Reviews

A Review by Henry Bergen

OUTSPOKEN ESSAYS, by William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's. London, 1921.

Excepting one hundred-odd pages devoted to Bishop Gore and the Church of England, Roman Catholic modernism, Cardinal Newman, and an admirable little essay on St. Paul, all of which appeal rather to the student of recent ecclesiastical history than to the sociologist and general reader, the book, not only by reason of its very unusual combination of sound biological and ethical thought but also because of the distinguished personality of its author, is a valuable contribution to the study of the social and economic problems of the present day.

In the very first essay, on Our Present Discontents, we are asked to consider whether there has been any human progress worth mentioning during the last four or five thousand years, whether democracy is indeed, as we hear said with more patriotism than insight, especially in America, the best of all possible forms of government, whether the policy of the working-class, as represented by the opportunism of the majority of its contemporary leaders, is worthy either of consideration or respect, and whether socialism is the unmixed evil that Dean Inge apparently believes it to be.

In regard to progress we have small reason not to agree with the author's scepticism. During the early periods of human life, progress (and there evidently was progress) consisted for the most part in a gradual adaptation of the individual, living with his fellows in small groups, to his physical environment. While this process of adaptation was going on, a literal struggle for existence, not only between man and other competing forms of life, such as still exists in ever-decreasing measure today, but between men themselves, may have been at certain times and places an important factor of natural selection. One result of natural selection was evidently the survival of the fitter types, which is to say, the types best adapted to the conditions of life then obtaining in the various inhabited parts of the world. As the ages passed and the different branches of the human race emerged, relatively speaking, victorious over their physical environment, there followed an increase of population accompanied by the aggregation of men into larger and larger social groups, wherever climatic and other geographical conditions were favorable. And this increase of population, despite many local fluctuations, became more and more rapid, until at the present day man himself and his institutions and material accessories of life have become almost everywhere by far the most important factor of his environment; and all progress, physical and mental, must from henceforth depend upon the adaptation of the human species to the conditions which its own growth and increasing complexity of function and individualization have created. Today, as in the past, the only real progress is progress towards human welfare, by which we may understand a nearer and nearer approach to a state of society in which there is such an adaptation of the world's population and its manner of living to the material foundations of its existence, as will give to each individual full opportunity to live a normal, healthy life.

Since ethics is the study of human actions from the standpoint of human welfare, the only desirable or indeed possible progress is ethical progress, or progress towards greater welfare. Such progress can be obtained by right-living alone. The pre-conditions of progress are therefore not only the abolition of the struggle for existence, which, taking place as it now does between the individuals of the race in a relatively speaking artificial environment, leads only to physical and moral degeneration, but also the adaptation through conscious birth-control of the population to the means of subsistence. The second of these requirements is fully recognized by Dean Inge. It is probable that he also recognizes the necessity for the first. At any rate he exposes the crude and vicious fallacy that "a nation advances in civilization by increasing in wealth and population, and by multiplying the accessories and paraphernalia of life" (p. 24). So far as the welfare

of the people is concerned, such statements (and we continually find them expressed with apparent satisfaction in the daily press) mean absolutely nothing in fact, they usually mean that the biological qualities of the nation thus distinguished are deteriorating.

It is difficult to agree with Dean Inge when he says that the "acceptance of the world's suffering from which every other spiritual religion and philosophy promises a way of escape is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Christian ethics." Here there must be a misunderstanding. Unless Christ taught a doctrine of suffering for suffering's sake, which is certainly not the case, he did not accept the world's suffering to any greater extent than to take cognizance of it. He nowhere expressed his approval of suffering, as such. The natural sufferings of mortal men are obviously accepted by all religions and philosophies: Suffering is inseparable from life; but the suffering we mean when we speak of the suffering of the world, which is the suffering men inflict on one another, is a very different thing from the pain which must be borne under the terms of life itself. And what better means of escape from the suffering of the world can be offered than obedience to the golden rule, to live our lives in accordance with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount? It is true no other means of escape is offered because no better can be offered; for the very foundation of the Christian teaching is a denial of the competitive social order. Acquiescence, except in the inevitable, is a purely ecclesiastical and institutional conception, and I think Dean Inge is wrong in attributing it to the Founder of Christianity, who, unlike St. Paul, was neither an ecclesiastic nor an institutionalist but an idealist and prophet.

A Review by Valeria H. Parker, M.D.

SEX KNOWLEDGE, by Nora March. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co.

"For most of us sometime or other sex has been, perhaps is, among the great mysteries of life; among the things we are aware of but cannot understand." Thus the author directs her simple explanation of social facts of sex, in their personal, social and racial aspect to the average reader. This little volume gives an interesting and adequate presentation of the development of the mind with relation to sex, as well as the biological and physiological development of this elemental force. The matter of sublimating sex as an instinct into a powerful creative force for various channels of action is clearly explained, as is the relation of the endocrine system to the general physical and mental development. The biological and physiological development of sex is described in an interesting manner. Voluntary control of the sex impulses rather than complete suppression is advocated. The value of continence before and fidelity after marriage is stressed. The great secret of real happiness in sexual life lies in self discipline which couples self mastery with efficiency. Sex impulses are to be mastered but not extinguished. The chapter on Birth Control sets forth a clear and concise statement of the considerations which led to the movement. Miss March states that there is a growing feeling among men and women in regard to the responsibility of parenthood. Emphasis is laid on the joy of motherhood undertaken voluntarily. The marriage relation between lovers is touched upon with tact. For those who are familiar with the various phases of the sex problem "Sex Knowledge" offers a valuable outline and summary of an intricate problem translated into simple language. For those who are groping for a clear understanding of the meaning of sex in life and its proper guidance, Miss March has made a valuable contribution. Through a former volume, "Towards Racial Health," written for parents, teachers, and social workers, Miss March has been known as an accurate student and understanding contributor to a much neglected field of literature.

If there are any of our readers who regard as ordinary criminals all the political prisoners who are still serving sentences imposed during the war, they will do well to read Ralph Chaplin's "Bars and Shadows" (Leonard Press, New York). These poignant little poems were written partly in Cook Co. Jail and partly at Leavenworth, during the five years

since Chaplin was arrested for conspiracy against the United States Government. Professor Scott Nearing has contributed a preface; but the poems need neither apology nor explanation. Even those most opposed to the I. W. W., for membership in which Ralph Chaplin was sentenced, must recognize the free and fearless spirit that breathes through these poems, and must realize the uselessness of imprisonment for such a spirit. Imprisonment will neither convert Ralph Chaplin to a belief in the beneficence of the present social order, nor prevent the spread of his revolt against it.

"How to Name Baby" is a useful little pamphlet which comes to us from Alexander McQueen (McQueen Publishing Co., Chicago). It gives a needed warning against handicapping a child with a name to which he might later rightfully object; and offers lists of excellent names for both boys and girls, with their meanings.

PERIODICALS

The Medical Times (New York) for April contains an interesting article by Maximilian P. E. Grozsmann, which is in fact a review, critical but in general sympathetic, of the proceedings and papers of the First American Birth Control Conference. After considering various reasons in favor of limitation of families Dr. Grozsmann continues: "Moralists may admit all this and yet insist on their opposition to methods of contraception. Their argument is that the proper prevention of conception is through self-control and continence—in truth through unsexing oneself, so to speak. It is perfectly correct to advise self-control in bridling one's sex appetite, precisely as all other instincts must be brought under the conscious direction of the intelligence and the will. We must learn to strengthen our powers of inhibition; thereupon rests progressive civilization. But it is another matter to restrict the emotional and physical elements of our nature to the point of annihilation. There is a difference between use and abuse, between temperance and elimination, or prohibition. A natural sex life is as essential to every human being of normal functions as is the exercise of every other normal function. This is true of the male sex no more than of the female sex. When there is good reason of one kind or another for the prevention of conception, for the avoidance of childbirth, it is wrong to suggest the killing off of the sexual instinct in a married couple. Repressions of this kind are apt to work great havoc in the psychic mechanism and equilibrium as well as in the metabolic processes of the body in general. They often lead and have led to mental disease and moral derailment." After reviewing and criticizing the various arguments brought forward at the Conference Dr. Grozsmann continues: "Even without stressing the weaker arguments for birth control, those just discussed, there are sufficient reasons, as shown in the earlier paragraphs, for considering it a very valuable eugenic measure. In its essence it is an individual matter. It must be adjusted to individual needs and conditions.

"The point under debate is now rather: how can we bring this message to those who need it most? There is the necessity of a vigorous campaign for the abolition of prohibitory laws, which make the scientific study of this problem and its open discussion, and dissemination of recognized facts, impossible. Then, when this is accomplished we must enlist the cooperation of every physician, educator, social worker and public official, to bring the message to those to whom it would be a gospel of salvation. Meanwhile we must, each one in his own sphere, do the best we can."

The Journal of Social Hygiene (New York) for April makes the statement that it is planned to hold an International Congress for Social Reform in Rome, Italy, this year. The first Congress was held in 1921 in Berlin, and among the subjects discussed was: "Are the Neo-Malthusian methods of Birth Control preferable to interruption of pregnancy?"

The Kaizo (Tokyo) for March contains an article by Margaret Sanger on "Woman's Power and Birth Control," in which she sums up many of the arguments that she has been using in her lectures in Japan. Next to this article is one by Bertrand Russell, giving a sympathetic

account of China, its civilization and its people. He reaches the conclusion—which indeed is self-evident—that "in the long run no permanent cure for their poverty is possible, while their families continue to be so large."

The Liberator (New York) for May contains a remarkable article by Floyd Dell, giving in easy, picturesque language an account of the recent scientific discoveries concerning the endocrine glands. The article is based on Dr. Louis Berman's book, "The Glands Regulating Personality" and constitutes a clever summary of Dr. Berman's teachings.

Labor Age (New York) for May contains an article by Prince Hopkins—"Psychology and the Workers." The author attributes the opposition shown by certain of the "possessing groups" to limitation of families of the workers to a conviction that the more numerous the workers, the lower will be rates of wages. This short-sighted view takes no account of the cost of poverty to the community in efficiency, in charities and in taxation.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

326 W. 145th Street,
New York City,
May 4, 1922.

Editor, THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW:

Mrs. Gilman makes some remarkable assumptions in your May issue. She assumes that the total sexual desires for the male sex exceed those of the female sex. Ovid in his "Art of Love" maintained the contrary, and I agree with him. Would Mrs. Gilman seriously assert that the average man of 47 has greater needs than the woman of that age?

Mrs. Gilman says we should not "use a function for its pleasure with no regard to its purpose." Does Mrs. Gilman ever go to concerts? Does she imagine that the human ear was evolved for listening to Bach and Beethoven? Was the "purpose" of the eye to gaze at Raphael's madonnas? As a biologist, Mrs. Gilman knows well that the eye and the ear were evolved to enable us to find our food and escape from enemies. Happily we have long since learnt to use the ear and eye "for their pleasure with no regard to their purpose." That is what constitutes civilization.

R. B. KERR.

Editor, THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW:

The April Review has just arrived and is a delight to read, it really gets better and better, and such a fine big vision and grip! I heartily congratulate you. But there are a couple of inaccuracies regarding persons in this number, which should be put right as soon as possible, for they make an unfortunate impression. First of all, Dr. Mary Scharlieb is not an essayist, but a medical woman and a very skillful and fine surgeon. Then my friends, Eden and Cedar Paul are certainly writers, but not of short stories, having translated such standard works in science and medicine as "Auto Suggestion," Masaryk's "Spirit of Russia" and Bloch's "Sexual Life of Our Time." He is a doctor of medicine (retired) of England and Brussels, and she is a very distinguished artiste (singer) as well. They have also translated such books as Grete Meisel-Hess' "Sexual Crisis," "A Young Girl's Diary" (which you review) as well as doing original work. One of their own books "Creative Revolution" has been translated into four languages, so you see "writers of short stories" gives a perfectly mistaken impression, unfair both to them and to the movement.

STELLA BROWNE.

*Let me do something that shall take
A little sadness from the world's vast store
And may I be so favored as to make
Of joy's too scanty sum a little more.*

—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

announces the

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL CONGRESS

to be held in LONDON, JULY 11, 12, 13, 14, 1922, under the auspices of The Malthusian League of Great Britain

President, DR. C. V. DRYSDALE, I.B.E., D.Sc. (Lond.), F.R.S.E.

PROGRAMME

Tuesday, July 11th

MORNING—10 a. m.—1 p. m.
Opening of Conference.
President, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, O.B.E., F.R.S.E.
Greetings and Reports of Societies.

AFTERNOON—2:30—5 p. m.
Individual and Family Aspects of Birth Control.
President Mrs. Margaret Sanger.

EVENING
Reception of Foreign Delegates by Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Wells.

Wednesday, July 12th

MORNING—10 a. m.—1 p. m.
Economic and Statistical.
President, Prof. J. M. Keynes, M.A.

AFTERNOON—2:30—5 p. m.
Moral and Religious Section. President, Rev. Gordon Lang.

EVENING—7:30 p. m.
A Public Dinner to celebrate the Centenary of Birth Control Propaganda by Francis Place.

Thursday, July 13th

MORNING—10 a. m.—1 p. m.
Eugenic Section. President, Prof. E. W. MacBride, D.Sc., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.

AFTERNOON—2:30—5 p. m.
National and International Section.
President, Harold Cox, Esq.

Friday, July 14th

MORNING—10 a. m.—1 p. m.
Medical and Public Health Section. President, Sir G. Archdall Reid, K.B.E., M.B., F.R.S.E.

AFTERNOON—2:30—5 p. m.
Private Session on Contraceptive Devices for members of Medical Profession. President, Dr. Norman Haire, M.B., Ch.M.

EVENING—8 p. m.
Public Open-air Meeting in South London for Working Men and Women.

A visit will also be arranged to the Malthusian League's Welfare Centre at which Birth Control instruction is given by a woman doctor in addition to ordinary child and maternity welfare advice.

Saturday, July 15th

An automobile excursion to Dorking, Surrey, will be arranged for this day in order to visit the birthplace of the Rev. T. R. Malthus (d. 1834), author of the famous Essay on the Principle of Population, and founder of the Malthusian school of thought.

Membership Tickets for the whole of the meetings, including reserved seat at the Kingsway Hall Public Meeting on July 13th, price 10s. Separate Tickets for the Public Dinner on July 12th, and for the Excursion to Dorking on July 15th, will be obtainable from the Hon. Secretary of the Malthusian League, 124 Victoria Street, S. W. 1.

STRENGTHEN AND BEAUTIFY YOUR HAIR

Why Become Bald or Gray?

NEARLY thirty years ago my hair began to come out in bunches. I suffered the tortures of the damned. Baldness stared me in the face. Hours and hours I would lie awake at night trying to fathom a way out of my difficulties.



Bernarr Macfadden

Note his thick luxuriant, healthy hair.

I even tried a hair tonic, but soon threw it out of the window.

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Here I am, thirty years later, with a head of hair as shown in the accompanying picture.

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Now my book is not technical. Anyone can understand the clear instructions presented therein. You can thicken and strengthen the hair you already possess. You can make it more healthy and lustrous in appearance.

You will find therein a remedy for falling hair, dandruff and all other scalp and hair difficulties. You will learn how to give your hair its original lustre and luxuriance and color.

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Send for the book, even if you do not want to pay for it. Secure the information contained therein, and if it isn't worth a hundred times Two Dollars to you, you can return it.

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PHYSICAL CULTURE CORPORATION,
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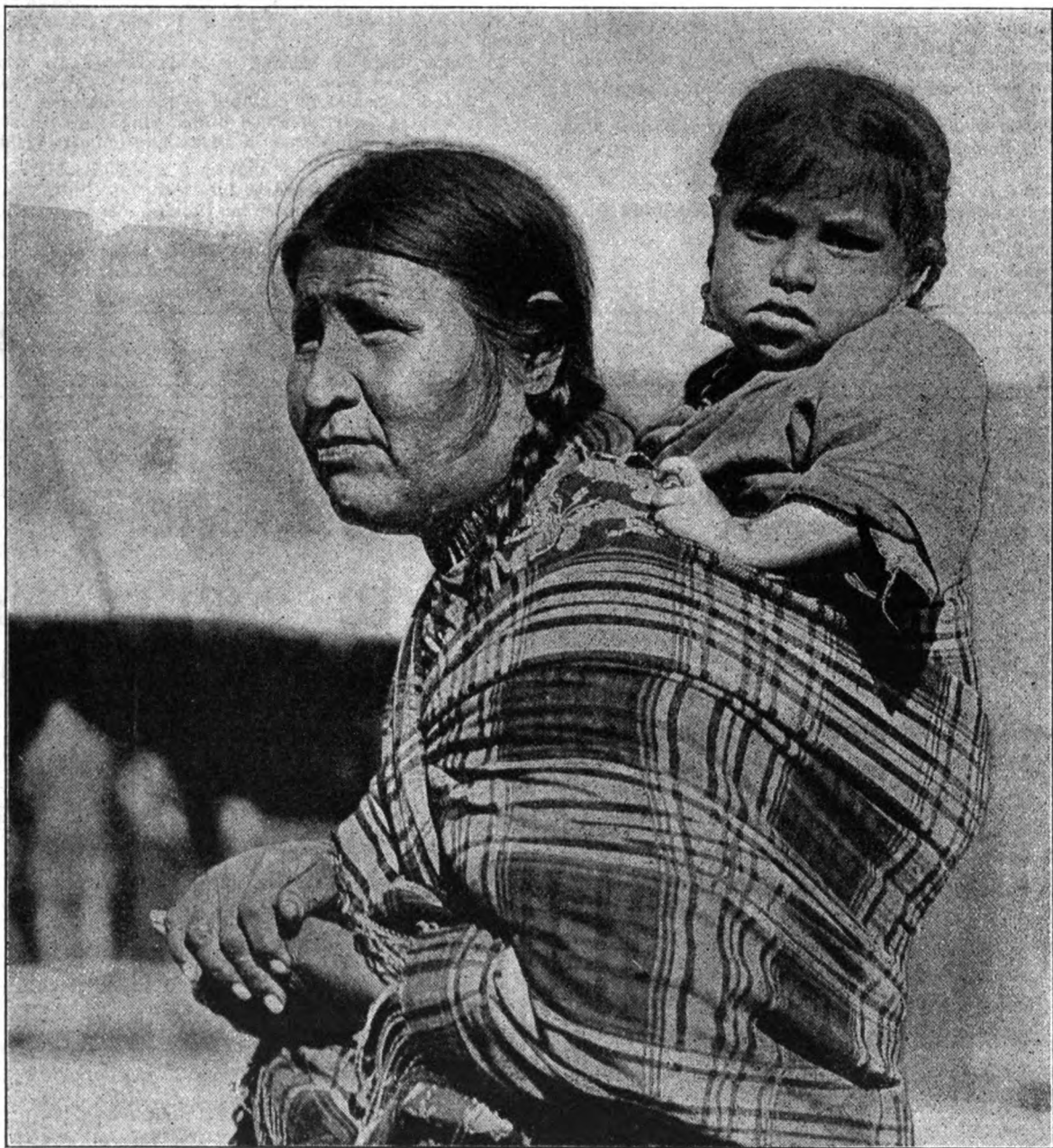
- Hair as an Attribute to Beauty
- Facts Everyone Should Know About the Hair
- Care of Healthy Hair
- How to Care for Baby's Scalp
- Facts About Soaps and Shampoos
- The Cause of Hair Troubles
- Dandruff
- Parasitic Diseases of the Scalp
- Falling Hair
- Baldness
- Gray Hair
- Superfluous Hair
- Hair Tonics
- Eyebrows and Eyelashes
- Hair Dressing

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ULY, 1922

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW



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(By courtesy of Lewis W. Hine)

Official Organ of
THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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National and International Section.
President, Harold Cox, Esq.

EVENING—8 p. m.

Public Meeting at (large) Kingsway Hall. Chairman, H. G. Wells, Esq. Speakers will include Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Baroness Ishimoto, Killick Millard, Esq., M.D., D.Sc., M.O.H., Harold Cox, Esq., Rev. Gordon Lang.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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VOL. VI

JULY, 1922

No. 7

Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor

ANNIE G. FORETT

Circulation Manager

RUTH ALBERT

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The New Generation

(Successor to the Malthusian, founded 1876)

Editors:

DR. C. V. DRYSDALE

MRS. B. T. DRYSDALE

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Contributors include:

DR. HAVELOCK ELLIS

REVEREND MAUDE ROYDEN

DR. NORMAN HAIRE

MR. HAROLD COX

DR. KILLICK MILLARD

DR. BERNARD HOLLANDER

MRS. MARGARET SANGER

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI.

JULY, 1922

No. 7

Margaret Sanger in China

To the Readers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW:

THE AVERAGE TOURIST visiting China, cannot help but be impressed by the fact that the Malthusian doctrine has proven itself true here and can never be refuted while China exists in its present condition. Here one sees millions of people, with scarcely clothing enough to cover their naked bodies, eking out a mere existence for which they have to work twelve to twenty hours a day.

On the way from Mukden to Peking, every inch of ground is utilized for food. While on our trip from Peking to Hankow and then down the Yangtze River to Nanking on our way to Shanghai we saw the land so taken up in producing food that the people are compelled to make their habitation and homes in boats upon the water. There are few roads in China. Even that space is taken over for food production and mile upon mile of great tracts of land is cultivated for the bare necessities, and this after four thousand years of civilization!

China proves beyond a doubt that the bare fact of birth does not necessarily enhance our civilization. We find in this old country conditions that are appalling. In all the large cities the foreign quarters are clean and well cared for, with paved streets, beautiful palatial residences, few children in the districts, and those few well clothed and looked after by Chinese nurses. While off in another part of the city, where the Chinese native dwells, conditions are unspeakable. It amazes me that foreigners, Americans, English and French can live here and close their eyes to such sordid, degrading conditions. They could not live amongst such conditions in their own country without an effort to improve them. It is said by those who have lived here long, that China psychologically swallows up all those who live here, and I certainly believe that it is true, for during my conversation with many missionaries and business people, who have lived here for the last fifteen or twenty years, I find that they have lost many of those qualities of character and conscientiousness which have been bred in them for generations in their own country. Here and there one finds an effort toward improvements, but the improvements in the cities are done mainly in the foreign districts for their own comfort and convenience. Here we see the most abject and distressing objects of poverty and misery. We see disease rampant openly in the streets. We see lepers sitting begging from passers-by, while those afflicted with syphilitic sores walk beside us. We see mothers, professional beggars, who bear their children openly in the streets. Their children in turn become beggars and so it goes from generation to generation. The street is their

home, eating, sleeping and begging there. They do not like to be photographed as they are very superstitious and believe the camera brings evil to them.

THE THING I cannot accustom myself to in China, is being pulled in a rickshaw by a human being, or being carried in a sedan chair by three or four of them.

I can't endure the eager running of the half naked rickshaw boy, and I avoid them whenever it is possible. It is said his days are numbered in this uncivilized occupation. He lives four or five years at most. The remainder of his life is spent eking out an existence. He suffers from varicose veins and heart disease. We see them everywhere, clothed in thin trousers and jacket, and usually ragged and dirty when not engaged by hotels. Eagerly they solicit our trade and pick up the shafts of their little vehicle and begin the dog trot journey.

At Peking a young woman, secretary to a prominent official called for me to take me to the gentleman's home. On the way she related the joys of living in China. She said she got a small salary, far smaller than she got in America, but her comforts far exceeded anything she could have at home with double her present wage. Among the comforts noted was a rickshaw boy whom she employed by the month, paying him 10 Mex. or 5 American dollars a month, out of which the boy supports himself and his family. He had been in her employ three years—she had never given him more money nor did she expect to.

One of the hardest features of life of an employee in China is that he can not get a position by himself. He must have someone else get it for him. When a foreigner does not know this, and dismisses a servant, it means practical starvation for that man.

Besides the rickshaw men, the lives of coolies and sing-song girls make me shudder. While in the Northern cities the coolies are men and boys, in Hongkong the women do this beast of burden work. As I sit writing this I look out of my window upon a newly built structure where hundreds of women are carrying bricks in baskets to the men who are laying them.

I can not give here all my experiences, but I can never again boast of our civilization after my conversation with some of Shanghai's sing-song girls—these little children are segregated in districts for someone's profit. They are babies in body and mind, and are sold into bondage often in infancy. It is said they are owned completely by the woman or man in charge, and any attempt to run away or at insubordination is promptly met by the cruelest beatings and torture.

I PASSED THROUGH several of these districts in Shanghai accompanied by a progressive missionary who had lived in China the past seventeen years. He spoke the language fluently and himself was an officer of the Door of Hope.

I wanted particularly to find out what these girls used to prevent conception. They spoke freely of their lives and their sorrows. I came away sick to my soul with doubts and pity and would have been filled with despair had not each girl told the story of many babies at home, "too much baby," "no chow," convincing truth again and again that Birth Control is the basic solution to such problems, especially as they relate to the future.

We in the Western world who have the desire to make the Birth Control movement international have asked ourselves how this idea would be accepted in the Orient. We have time and again been told by our opponents that the Japanese and Chinese would not accept this idea, and that eventually, if we persisted in our work in the Western countries, the white race would be entirely wiped out. It is, however, a great pleasure to me to be able to say that the idea of Birth Control is readily accepted in both of these countries. I have already given an account of the enthusiasm with which the message was received in Japan, and, while there has been no such publicity in China, yet wherever I have gone, and there has been an opportunity to speak, the enthusiasm has been keen and encouraging. In Shanghai I was able to meet several members of the Commercial Press. All these gentlemen were editors and influential writers in the Chinese world. They entertained me at tea one afternoon and made plans for the translation and publication of a pamphlet on "Family Limitation" and also for the establishment of a magazine devoted especially to the population and Birth Control subject. On Sunday April 30th I was invited to address a meeting at the Labour Museum on behalf of three organizations, Kiangsu Educational Association, the National Association of Vocational Education of China and the Association of Family Reformation of China. I was asked to address this public meeting, to consist of working men and women. It was interesting that the occasion of this meeting was the third anniversary of the Family Reformation Association of China. The three essential rules that one must abide by in joining this association are not to drink, not to smoke, and not to gamble. I suggested a fourth rule of limiting the family, to cope with the mothers' health and the fathers' income, and the suggestion was readily applauded.

WHILE MY TOUR through China has not had the same national interest as my meetings in Japan, yet I feel that considering the lack of time and preparation for my coming to China the results have been splendid. With the possibility of a League in Peking and the establishment of a clinic there together with a branch League in Shanghai and a magazine devoted to Birth Control, I feel that we have established some good centres and should make rapid progress in the next few years. The Chinese press has been splendid. Wherever one has been able to arouse attention, there has been a splendid response and I feel that one of the important things of the future will be to send two or three speakers into China to remain at

least six months, in order to pick up the loose ends and to encourage those already starting this work.

From the South China *Morning Post* of May 8th in the Editorial entitled Birth Control I quote: "China is as striking an example of over-population and resultant degeneration as the world can show. It might with difficulty be made the reformer's first battle ground, for from what we know of "ole custom" it would be a hard fight, so hard that if it were won, the education of the rest of the world would be a simple matter."

This sums the matter up in a nut-shell and yet I feel today, as I am about to leave this country for Europe, that there are no more encouraging prospects for the general practice of the idea than right here in China.

THE LATEST NEWS from Mrs. Sanger is from Hongkong where she arrived on May 8th. She left Japan—after over three weeks there—on April 4th. On her way to Peking she stopped over at Seoul, Korea, and Mukden, Manchuria. There were no meetings or speeches at these places, but her coming was announced beforehand everywhere there were reporters and camera men, ready for interviews and pictures. On April 12th she reached Peking, where she remained until the 21st. While there she gave a number of addresses, the most important being a speech to the professors and students of the National University, one before the nurses of the Training School of the Rockefeller Institute and several before groups of medical men. From Peking she went to Shanghai, which she reached on April 25. Here again there were meetings to address and interviews to be given. While in Shanghai, Mrs. Sanger made some careful investigations of such questions as child labor, wage rates in China and also birth and mortality rates. The letter from her which we rejoice to be able to print this month gives her impressions of what some of our writers acclaim as "the glorious fertility of the Orient."

THERE WAS AN astounding amount of publicity concerning Mrs. Sanger and her visit to China in the press of Shanghai and Hongkong, both in the newspapers printed in English and those printed in Chinese. A large bale of the vernacular papers, forwarded to the REVIEW, contained the following articles:

April 15.—*The China Times*: Favorable editorial on Birth Control commenting on Mrs. Sanger's work and her coming visit.

April 19.—*Republican Daily*, Shanghai: In Woman's Supplement: Editorial on Voluntary Motherhood, and Life Sketch of Mrs. Sanger and her work.

April 20.—*China Times*: Special article by Miss C. Y. Yi, in appreciation of Mrs. Sanger's work, extending welcome to her on approaching arrival in Shanghai.

April 21.—*Republican Daily*: Editorial Welcome to Mrs. Sanger.

April 24.—*China Times*: Report of Mrs. Sanger in Peking, and of her journey from Peking to Shanghai.

April 26.—*The China Times*: Interview with Mrs. Sanger sent from Peking, in which she discussed Eugenics, the New

Woman, Responsible Parenthood, Hereditary Disease, Abortion and the legal barriers against Birth Control.

April 26.—*Republican Daily*, Shanghai: In Woman's Supplement, Editorial Welcome to Margaret Sanger, and article on Birth Control.

April 27.—*The China Times* and *The Eastern Times*: Interviews with Mrs. Sanger on her arrival in Shanghai. Account of her experiences in Peking. Explanation of her work and plans, suggesting the formation of a League for Birth Control and a Birth Control organ in Shanghai.

April 28.—*The China Times*: Special article, based on recent writings of Margaret Sanger, and setting forth her ideas.

April 29.—*China Times*: Report of Mrs. Sanger's Lecture in Shanghai, also of her trip to Soo Chow, 200 miles from Shanghai, to meet the educators of Kiangsu, and trip to Owsoong to investigate child labor in the factories.

April 29.—*The China Times*: Special Supplement of twelve pages with picture of Margaret Sanger. This contains two unsigned articles: Birth Control and Socialism; and Past, Present, and Future of Birth Control, an article by S. C. Chow on Birth Control as a Tool for the Improvement of the Human Race; My Impressions of the Birth Control Movement, by a Girl Student, and a translation of the Aims and Principles of the American Birth Control League.

April 30.—*Eastern Times*: Another Interview with Mrs. Sanger with a general discussion of Birth Control and the value of the small family.

May 1.—*Eastern Times*: Illustrated Supplement, giving pictures of Mrs. Sanger taken in Peking and story of her work there. Lecture given by Mrs. Sanger given in translation made by Miss C. I. Yi (graduate of Columbia University).

May 1.—Announced for June 1, Special Number of Ladies Journal (monthly) to be devoted to Birth Control.

IN ADDITION to all this matter printed in Chinese, the English press in Shanghai also devoted much attention to Mrs. Sanger.

April 25.—*The Shanghai Times*: Article on Birth Control to Prevent War, commenting on H. G. Wells' advocacy of Birth Control.

April 26.—*The Evening Star*: Interview with Mrs. Sanger on her arrival by Larry Lehrbas—2 columns.

April 27.—*The Shanghai Gazette*: Interview with Mrs. Sanger and Editorial (favorable) on Birth Control.

May 1.—Report of Mrs. Sanger's meeting in Shanghai and article by Mrs. Sanger on the terrible need for Birth Control in China.

* * *

THE DECISION OF the United States Supreme Court which makes unconstitutional the Child Labor Law of 1919 is a serious blow at the movement for Birth Control. As history plainly shows, whenever young children can be profitably utilized in industry, the birth rate rises. In the textile regions a family is valuable to the mill owners in proportion to the number of hands it can apply to the machines. Textile towns do not welcome single men. Women and children are also

needed, and the younger a child can go to work, the more profitable is a large family both to the father and to the employers. It is when children are a responsibility rather than an asset that the movement sets in towards a diminished birth rate. Every law compelling school attendance, every law curtailing hours of work for children and every law prohibiting work for wages under specified ages—every law in short which aims to give the child a chance for full development and which removes it from its parent's power of exploitation makes for Birth Control; while on the other hand, every condition which makes possible the exploitation of child life, irrespective of the effect on the health and development of the child itself, makes for large families, high child mortality rates, and illiteracy and inefficiency in the coming generation. The mothers suffer with the children; for no matter how much economic value can be wrung from the child, the mother must pay the toll of life and suffering that is demanded from the bearing of many children.

WITH THE REMOVAL of the Federal law, the children in the manufacturing States are left again to the protection of State laws. In many States during the past two years, while the Federal Child Labor law was in effect, laws were passed raising the State Standard to the Federal level. Efforts may be made to repeal these laws; but whether repealed or not, it is well known that in many States, and especially in the Southern cotton manufacturing States, enforcement is most lax and inefficient. Without the check of the Federal law, children are again liable to exploitation in the cotton factories, and the big family of children who become economically self-dependent at ten or eleven years old, and who grow up illiterate, stunted in mind and body from premature toil, and utterly unfit to be the parents of the next generation will still be lauded by the employers and the newspapers. The mothers are not to blame. When a man cannot possibly earn wages enough to keep a family, the mother naturally argues in the words of the Lancashire woman "better let the childer work with vittles, than go to school without vittles." Birth Control in the long run offers a way out; but the way is too long and difficult unless the law steps in and makes children a responsibility rather than an asset. Until parents have both sufficient intelligence and a sufficiently good economic level to be able to disregard the quick gains of child labor, society must protect the children with child labor legislation. Through the law parents will be taught responsibility for the children and a sense of parental responsibility leads to a demand for Birth Control.

News Notes

May 24.—A luncheon was held at the Hotel Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh, with Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker as the principal speaker. Dr. Roswell H. Johnson presided. Mr. Owen Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee who spoke after Mrs. Hooker, expressed his full agreement with all that she had said. He stated that he had never heard any good arguments against Birth Control and thought it one of the most fundamental proposals for reform before the American

public. He considered it a movement in the interest of child welfare. At this luncheon the Western Pennsylvania Branch of the American Birth Control League was organized with the following officers:

Honorary Vice-President, State League, Dr. Amelia Dranga; President, Mrs. Horace Forbes Baker; Vice-President, Mrs. Harlow B. Wheeler; Legislative Secretary, Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Samuel Ely Eliot; Treasurer, Mrs. Julian Kennedy, Jr.; Advisory Committee, Dr. Lawrence Litchfield, Mrs. James Pontefract, Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, Miss Agate Brown, Mrs. Mark Rogers Craig, Mrs. Alexander Laughlin, Dr. Roswell Johnson, Mrs. Wallis Tener, Mrs. Charles Steinmeyer. Dr. Roswell Johnson, Dr. Lawrence Litchfield and Mrs. Enoch Rauh were invited to become members of the National Council of the American Birth Control League.

May 24.—A dinner was given in honor of Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker, and Miss Clara Louise Rowe, by Mrs. Horace Forbes Baker at the Duquesne Club, Pittsburgh. Miss Dibert, President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs was one of the guests. After the dinner a meeting was held at the Parish House of St. John's Church, Sewickley. Mrs. Wallis Tener presided and introduced the speaker, Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker.

May 25.—A meeting was held at 12 noon, at the Woman's City Club, Cleveland, O. Mrs. Percy Cobb presided and introduced Mrs. Hooker who spoke for an hour on Birth Control. Many questions were asked. The meeting was followed by a luncheon. In the afternoon the Cleveland Birth Control Committee held a consultation with Mrs. Hooker on the question of opening a Birth Control clinic in the city. It is hoped that this clinic will be held in connection with one of the best known hospitals.

May 26.—Mrs. Hooker spoke twice in Detroit: first at a luncheon at the Hotel Statler, where she was introduced by Mrs. Frederick Holt, and later at an evening meeting when Mrs. William McGraw presided. The Michigan Branch of the American Birth Control League is sending a delegate to the International Congress in London in July, and is calling the first Michigan State Conference in November.

June 2.—It was announced that the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York had appointed Ex-Supreme Court Justice John W. Goff referee to investigate charges against Assistant Corporation Counsel Michael M. Dolphin in connection with his part in the arrest of Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee. It will be recalled that Mrs. Rublee was arrested at Mr. Dublin's instigation after she had given testimony before Inspector Lahey concerning the breaking up by the New York police of the Birth Control meeting at the Town Hall on November 13, 1921. Apparently Mrs. Rublee's "crime" consisted in her assertion that she considered the law of New York State prohibiting the giving of Birth Control information unwise, and desired its amendment. When she appeared before the police justice the following morning, she was at once discharged as no cause for holding her was found.

A large number of American delegates to the International Birth Control Congress in London left New York in the latter part of June. The delegation is expected to include twenty-five men and women, all of whom will arrive in London by the opening day, July 11th. Mrs. Sanger will be one of the first to reach London. She left Port Said on June 6th, on her way from the Orient. A full account of the Congress will be given in the September issue of the REVIEW.

Through an oversight, for which we apologize, the line giving credit to Wide World for the picture on last month's cover was omitted.

The Present Status of the Birth Control Problem

By C. C. Little

Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York

THE RECENT CONFERENCE on the Birth Control problem held in New York City, was the first actual opportunity which the writer has had to become intimately acquainted with the aims and efforts of the leading workers in this field.

The activity, energy, and seriousness of purpose of the group of workers in attendance there could not possibly be questioned. The members of the conference included sociologists, economists, medical men, humanitarians, and biologists. The arguments offered for Birth Control were many and in large measure convincing, but through them all, there was a conspicuous absence of concrete scientific evidence as to whether contraceptive methods have a desirable effect physiologically and psychologically on those directly practising them, and on the progeny of such individuals.

It may, I imagine, be objected that such effects are of secondary or minor importance as compared with the economic and sociological improvement which relief of human congestion

should produce. With such a point of view I should like to take clear-cut issue, even to the point of stating that no aspect of the problem is so important as the completion of a careful series of experiments to determine the biological effects, if any, which various contraceptive methods have on an individual and on its subsequent progeny.

It is not necessary to contemplate application of such methods to humans until and unless the evidence obtained from careful experimentation with laboratory mammals is sufficiently encouraging to demand our unreserved confidence.

Thus to find that rabbits may be made completely sterile for let us say a period of three weeks following a certain type of treatment, and that at the end of this time produce a considerable number of apparently normal and viable young, is not in itself sufficient to encourage an extension of the methods used even to such expensive material as dogs or monkeys,

until certain highly important related facts are made clear by further work with the rabbits themselves.

THE ADDITIONAL FACTS needed involve: (1) Information concerning the duration of life, cause of death, and physiological and psychological behavior of the treated animals, as compared with their untreated litter brothers and sisters as controls, and (2): The careful study morphologically, physiologically, and psychologically of the inbred and outbred descendants of treated animals compared with the inbred and outbred progeny of their untreated brothers and sisters.

There are excellent reasons based to some degree on experimental data for insisting on these points. The danger of failure to obtain evidence on these matters should be clear to all. In event of its absence one would need only statistical evidence indicating the harmful effect of a single contraceptive method advocated by an official of the Birth Control League, to bring down upon that organization an almost irresistible flood of protest and opposition.

With such evidence *on hand*, however, attacks of opponents to the application of contraceptive methods could be met from behind a firm and comfortable fortress of scientific facts based on experimental evidence. The position, once established with sufficient care and on critical material, would be essentially unassailable.

If the Birth Control idea is as important as it seems to be, it is worth the expenditure of time and funds to produce the body of experimental evidence necessary to enable us to say with conviction that any contraceptive method is or is not harmful. This is the only sure and dignified way of convincing the scientific world and thinking public of the existence of unselfish and broadminded impulses at the back of the Birth Control movement.

Propaganda to show the increase of this or that undesirable

race, or harmful economic type may carry sufficient weight to convince many hundreds of thousands of the *need* of Birth Control,—but it can never carry conviction as to the *advisability* of any particular contraceptive method.

It seems to the writer that a frank admission of this fact by those most vitally interested in this work if followed by a sincere appeal for funds to support research along the general lines suggested, would certainly meet with a strong and general response. At the same time it would do much to clear the movement from any possible cloud of misinterpretation which might naturally follow failure to lay strong and unassailable biological foundations as have all other world-wide movements involving preventative hygiene practices of more or less general application.

[It is with great satisfaction that we print Dr. Little's valuable paper. We welcome his recognition of the need of more research into the physiological, and psychological effects of various methods of Birth Control and of the necessity of more scientific evidence concerning the effects of contraceptives now in use. This need we have consistently and urgently presented to the medical profession. Such research is one of our aims in forming the American Birth Control League. We want to secure the attention of scientists and to see them conducting the series of careful experiments of which Dr. Little writes. Nevertheless there is another side of the question. For years the advocates of Birth Control appealed in vain to the scientists and doctors to respond to the appeals of suffering mothers and hard pressed fathers, and to give Birth Control information. It was necessary to engage in nation-wide—almost world-wide—propaganda in order to make the call loud enough and insistent enough for the scientist to hear and heed it. Proceeding without the advantage of the careful scientific investigations which were the desideratum, the advocates of Birth Control were obliged to resort to the empirical knowledge gathered from the long operation of Birth Control clinics in Holland. Admittedly the contraceptives now known are not perfect and the evidence that the scientists are awakening to the immense need that exists for their services is the best tidings for Birth Control that have reached us since the movement began.—ED.]

Appeals from Mothers

AGAIN WE OFFER to our readers a very few of the hundreds of letters that come to us from all parts of the United States and Canada. Every one of these letters is a genuine cry for help from an oppressed mother. If the men who make our laws could be compelled to read them all, it seems impossible that the legal barriers against Birth Control clinics could endure a day longer than would be necessary to pass the necessary legislation.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

I rec. your book *Woman and the New Race* and I am interested in it. I was married 5½ years ago when I was 21, and I am going to have my 5th baby in about 2 weeks. This is the only time I have got so far along; they all were premature, the oldest one is the only one that we were able to raise and it almost breaks our hearts to give them up after we have them, but my *kidneys* are weak and I nearly lose my own

life every time with albumin and I am weak other ways, cant hardly be on my feet at all after the 6th month.

My husband don't want more either because I suffer so much. We tried so many things but I get that way any time, no matter how careful we are. Our Dr. told my husband to get a divorce as I could not stand having children, but we are happy together with our boy and won't do anything like that, but if there is something that will keep me from getting that way I would be glad. All our money goes for Drs. and hired girl bills.

We hope very much that this baby will live, but we don't want no more for 3 or 4 years till I get strong again, so please help me if you can.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am the mother of three little youngsters. My oldest son is four years, the next boy is three years and my baby girl is

nine months. Now I want to raise and provide—my husband and I—for the babes the best we can, and more children in our circumstances would be a total failure. My husband is a machinist. His wages are twenty-five dollars a week, and we are struggling to get our own home, as we are unable out here in the country to find any rooms as the landlords don't want any children. As it is we were unable to rent a house, and we were forced to take a basement, where we are just miserable. The children cannot make a move but the landlord is after them. So we are trying to get our own home. How grateful I would be if you could give me the desired information for not having any more children, as the idea keeps me in constant dread and terror.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

Am writing to you because I know you will help a poor woman like me. I am really young, only 23, but feel almost twice as old. Am married three years and have three children, the oldest being two years old; the second, one year, and the third, two months. I am almost always in bed for four weeks on account of being so very weak, and cannot afford any help as my husband just makes enough for us to live on.

I have to work very hard right after birth, wash my own clothes and everything, and have been sick with the falling of the womb for ever so long. Every time I go and see a doctor he says: "I am sorry, but I cannot do anything for you." Dear Mrs. Sanger, I have read your book where you have helped so many, and decided to write to you, hoping to God you will help a poor woman, for your help will be a godsend to me.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

Just received your book *Woman and the New Race* and must say it is a wonderful book.

I am married to one of the best of husbands who is kind to me in every way. We have five children, but this is the question. We are very poor and I have got the consumption and I don't want to bring any more children into this world to suffer with this dreadful disease. Now what I want is this. For you to send me a letter telling me means of preventing the birth of any more children.

Please send me answer immediately before it might be too late. I am positive that there is some way to prevent this and I feel sure you would tell me. Three of my children are threatened with this disease and I don't want to bring any more children into this world. I am almost certain that I would die if any more children were born to me and one thing I would rather die than have another for we can't support what we have got and then the awful condition it leaves me in.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

As I know you get thousands of letters of this kind, I will try to make this short. I have tried in vain to get any information about Birth Control, and finally got hold of *Woman and the New Race*, which had your address in it, and I am writing in the hope that you may help me.

My husband is an ex-service man. We knew each other before the war, but both being poor, knew we had no right to get

married. But a year after he had come back from the front, we gave up waiting for fear of losing each other for good, and risked it, hoping that by both working hard we would be on our feet before any babies came. But work was hard to get. We were as careful as we knew how, but neither of us knew much, and nobody would tell us anything.

Six months ago our little girl was born. I was in a run-down condition and had a very hard time of it. I spent over two months in the hospital, and a few weeks in bed after I came home, as I couldn't walk. They didn't expect me to live, and I have to go back in the Fall for some stitches to be taken.

But it is a darling baby, strong and healthy, and I wouldn't be afraid of going through it again now that I feel better—if we could afford it. We got very badly in debt during my illness, and my husband never knows when he has a job, or "business gets slack." So it is necessary for me to work too to make ends meet. My mother is getting old and isn't well, and of course we support her. If I have any more babies just now I don't see how I am to take care of the family I already have.

Will you please help me? You speak in your book of some methods being more dependable than others. Would you tell me what they are? No matter how expensive they must be cheaper than a baby every year.

DINNER-PAIL EPICS

By Bill Lloyd, Federated Press Staff Writer

SEE SOME preachers, from their hole, still rail against our Birth Control, as if the whole of our creation were simply made for fecundation. They say it simply is a crime to suit yourself and pick the time when Mister Stork, with flapping wing, shall leave with us a wee, pink thing. They say it's wrong to regulate how oft the stork comes to our gate, and if we would keep out of hell, we should let babies come pell-mell.

It may perhaps sound somewhat rough—but just where do they get that stuff. Sex specialists, like great Forel, have written books in which they tell that modern man has use for sex, aside from seeking to annex more children than he can support—which is the rabbit's special forte. Forel goes on much farther yet and tells us sex-life should beget love, cheer, and personality, as well as more reality.

Young people, living on small wage, should be permitted to engage themselves in early married life, without the struggle and the strife of living constantly in need, by having numerous kids to feed. Babies are better born, I say, if we have wit to pick the day, and so don't look quite so dejected when babies come so unexpected.

The preachers say we should desist from some things if we would resist too large a family of our own. Their recipe just makes me groan. To which remark I rise to say, the human race ain't built that way.

Sex surely ain't the nasty thing some of our preachers seem to sing. Free us from profit-making pelf, and sex will take care of itself, and if we know what we're about, the human race will not die out. Most everybody loves a kid, but that don't mean to raise the lid, and live our lives in deadly fear the stork will come round once a year.

The Housing Crisis

A Lecture by Scott Nearing, delivered at the Rand School, New York

WE THINK OF the housing crisis as having been brought about by the war, when, as a matter of fact, it came with the war, not out of it. We have been moving towards it for some time. The same thing happened in the early days in England, in Birmingham and Manchester, excepting that then there were fewer regulations so that the situation was more intense, the disaster greater than now. So it is nothing new; war simply emphasized it and perhaps hastened it.

In 1915 the average monthly construction in the United States amounted to nineteen million square feet of residential floor space; in 1916, eighteen million; 1917, twelve million; 1918, eight million six hundred thousand; 1919, twenty million, and in 1920, eleven million, five hundred thousand. There are two series of changes, one brought about primarily by the war, and the other by the business depression. From 1915 to 1918, there is a drop to eight million, and then an increase to normal, and then a drop to almost one-half in the next year. The war turned the energies to destruction and away from construction, and this is likewise true of all the European countries. In many parts of Europe the tenants have organized tenants' leagues, with which they are trying to meet the problem.

In the second place, the war intensified the housing crisis because of the increase of the price of those things which are used in building houses. Using 1913 as 100, costs of building material were 236 in November, 1919, and 313 in November, 1920.

With the situation thus intensified by the war, tens of thousands of families have to accept inadequate quarters. The expensive houses and apartments are plentiful, but the cheaper ones are packed. Behind that is a most impressive and difficult question—that of taking care of people. It takes us back to the population question, the problem of how to take care of the people that are being born into the world. The problem has two general aspects: first, the number of people in the world; second, their concentration or density.

The population of the whole world has recently been increasing rapidly. In 1800 it was three-quarters of a billion, in 1920 it was one billion, eight hundred million. In 100 years the world has added one billion people to the population; in three generations the world's population has almost trebled itself.

THIS INCREASE has not been equally distributed throughout the world; it is seen in the countries where great industries have sprung up. There are three dominant features in the industrial revolution; railroad mileage, the production of coal and the production of pig iron. From 1830 to 1870 the increase in population was gradual; from 1870 to 1910 there was a very rapid increase. In 1800 we were living a domestic industry life; during the period from 1870 on the factory system has developed rapidly and with it there has

been a stupendous increase in industrial products. The population of the world has increased only or largely in those parts which have felt the impetus of this economic change. All throughout Asia, which contains nearly two-thirds of the world's population, the industrial system has made little impression. The same increase in population will probably occur in India and China when they have become industrialized.

Now turn from this survey of world population increase to the changes in population that have taken place in certain specific countries.

ENGLAND AND WALES

Year	Population
1100	Two million
1200	Three million
1300	Three and one-quarter million
1348	(plague year) Below three million
1400	Three million
1500	Three million
1600	Almost four million
1700	Five million
1750	Seven and one-half million
1801	Nine million
1911	Thirty-six million

Up to 1801 these figures are estimates; since 1801 they are taken from the census returns. England and Wales was an agricultural country; from 1200 to 1600 they had an almost static population. There is a picture of what has been heretofore the normal status of mankind,—century after century practically no change in a very important country. About 1500 there began an increase in population which was established by voyaging and trading. But about 1750 a change began which is known as the industrial revolution, and then, during a period of 160 years the population jumps from seven million to thirty-six millions. At this point where the industrial revolution makes itself felt, there is a profound change in the status of the country. Through all these centuries the population of England was almost stationary, then, in 160 years, it increased five-fold.

IF THIS WERE an isolated case, one might say that it was an exception to the rule, but here is another country, a well-established, settled country, with organized traditions, which also has had a static population and a static culture.

JAPAN

Year	Population
1621	25 million
1721	25 million
1774	25.9 million
1804	25.4 million
1846	26.9 million
1920	55.9 million

For more than two centuries there was practically no change. In 1840 the change begins. In 1859 the trading ports were first opened. Now notice that in England the change came about

1750, while in Japan it came in 1850, one century later. But the same thing happened in both countries; both of them opened their doors to the new culture.

I have here the figures of a new country which shows approximately the same thing, excepting that, being a new country, we cannot go back nearly so far.

UNITED STATES	
Year	Population
1790	Four million
1800	Five million
1810	Seven million
1820	Nine million
1910	Ninety-one million
1920	One hundred and six million

From 1820 on the industrial revolution made itself felt in the United States, and from that point there are tremendous population changes. In the case of the United States the newness of the country, the bigness of the country, the virginity of its opportunities, were all factors, but nevertheless, the figures for Great Britain or Japan indicate that the United States would probably show the same line of increase even had it been an old country in 1800.

AS FAR AS population changes are concerned, Western culture is primarily responsible. The East had reached an equilibrium; the West has disturbed that equilibrium and destroyed it. Turn again for a moment to the United States. Our housing problem is here; it is a problem of population. In ten years, between 1910 and 1920, we added fifteen million people to our population; in the previous ten years, we added sixteen million. From 1900, when the population was 75 million, to 1920, during that brief period, the population has increased by thirty million. It is true that part of the increase is due to immigration, but in Great Britain and Japan, where there is no immigration, the same thing is true. More people are being born than are dying.

When people talk, therefore, about the housing problem, the primary question is the increase in population, and that is the problem forced upon us by the industrial revolution.

There is another side,—the concentration of population. In 1800 only three per cent. of the people lived in cities or towns; in 1900 the cities and towns have absorbed one-half of the total population.

UNITED STATES	
Year	Population to square mile
1790	4.5
1820	5.5
1850	7.9
1880	16.9
1920	35.5

During that time the density has increased seven-fold. Take the old state of Massachusetts.

Year	Population to square mile
1790	47
1820	65
1850	123
1880	221
1920	479

The increase in density is ten-fold. Now take the new state of Illinois.

Year	Population to square mile
1790	0
1820	1
1850	15
1880	55
1920	115

Now take the old state of New York.

Year	Population to square mile
1790	7
1820	28
1850	65
1880	106
1920	217

THESE FIGURES WILL necessarily increase, if we increase our population, for the area will remain constant while the population grows. We are rapidly filling up the country. Let us examine the growth of a few cities. Take the old city of Boston.

Year	Population
1870	250,000
1890	448,000
1920	748,000

The new city of Chicago.

Year	Population
1870	299,000
1890	1,200,000
1920	2,702,000

New York.

Year	Population
1870	1,478,000
1890	2,507,000
1920	5,620,000

It does not require any knowledge of mathematics, any expert calculating ability, to see what this means. It means that not only has the population increased, but that it has been concentrating in a few places—in the United States, thirty-five people to the square mile, but on Manhattan Island, one hundred thousand. If the whole United States were as densely populated as Manhattan Island, its population would be thirteen trillion, five hundred billion.

THE WORLD'S POPULATION has increased with phenomenal rapidity; concentration has likewise increased at a phenomenal rate. It is not a typical American problem; it belongs to the whole of Western civilization. The culture that makes possible these tremendous increases in Japan and England and the United States, also makes possible rapid concentration of these great numbers of people. They are packed up and piled in great human heaps. In the United States, with our sky scrapers, we are about as guilty as they are in any other part of the world. Under these conditions, what is the use in talking about housing?

Mr. Untermeyer's plan is to build 45,000 five-story tenements at a cost of one hundred million dollars. He says: "This plan would take care of the needs of the masses for whom no provision is being made at the present time." The needs of the

masses! But we have added fifteen million people to our population in the last ten years, and in the next ten years we will add millions more. Mr. Untermeyer's proposal is like a snow flake on the Alps; it does not touch the problem. This idea is interesting politically but socially it has no significance.

In our age, if you add fifteen million people to the population in ten years, or if you multiply, as in New York City, decade after decade, something must be done about it. First, you use Mr. Untermeyer's remedy; then you will have to build more subways; then you will have to build second story sidewalks. But there is no remedy there. Do you remember the promises that congestion would be decreased when they first started to build subways? But the street car strap-hanger of fifteen years ago would have had his sense of personal dignity affronted if he had been asked to ride on the modern subways. The congestion has increased as any student would have known. Mr. Untermeyer has a proposition just like that of the subways, which is not sound socially.

THEN WHAT SHALL we do? I suggest two general lines of remedial action. Let us suppose that society is intelligent enough to handle its problems as would intelligent educators or business men. Then suppose that we were confronted with the above facts. What would we do? First, we would stop the increase in population. We could find out how many people the world would hold, say in 1925; it is no occult matter; we could work it out. The problems involved in the war were more intricate, but we worked them out. We have got to limit the population. How to do it? The birth rate must be decreased. How? By some measure involving Birth Control. How can Birth Control be put across. How was the war sold to the people? The movies, the schools, the billboards, the newspapers, et cetera. It was a great social crisis; the war had to be sold. Now we have got to sell Birth Control. Just as we frightened people with the Hun, now we will tell them that they will starve to death if the population continues to increase with such rapidity. And they will, for we are not competent to handle the increment.

Pharaoh had one method of decreasing the population, but that will not work today. The promulgation of the theory of

Birth Control is the only answer. It is already practised by the French and the well-to-do, but the poor people keep on breeding. Rudimentary social intelligence calls for drastic social action for limiting the population, and until some drastic action is taken we will continue to have epidemics and wars and other things which will limit the population for us. Society has reached the point where the means of maintaining physical life has increased beyond the means of organizing the people. Here is a city of nearly six millions. Are we happy? Do we act rationally, or do we act like nervously unstrung people, all of whom require treatment? New York is an absurdity. It would be a laughable thing if it were not so tragic.

How many people can live to a square mile? When you have found out the point at which happiness and depth and breadth of living begin to show diminishing returns, that is the place to stop. You limit the number of persons that may live in a room; why not limit the number of those who may live in a city?

THE COMMUNITY SHOULD own the land and own the houses and provide sanitary living quarters for the population. The community owns the streets, the schools, the water works; the next thing is for it to own the houses. If we are to have an organized community life, the community must have the means of maintaining that life. What is a city for? To get rich in or to live in?

The remedy for our housing problem is two-fold. First, a thorough-going, widespread propaganda for Birth Control; second, a thorough-going plan for limiting the cities as to size and construction, and then municipal building, providing a place for its citizens. In Europe they do it. It is nothing new, nor out of the ordinary. In the meantime the New York papers will continue to jolly you by telling you that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is going to lend great sums of money for building purposes—at a good rate of interest. You will be told that there is a great movement on for saving the people of New York. It is nonsense. Rents may be a little lower and sanitation may be a little better, but decreased population and organized cities alone will answer the problem.

A Way Out

By May Peirce Guest

(Continued from June issue)

ON REACHING the corner where he had stood brooding before, Ben now paused again, this time fighting to retain the reckless, mood which would drown his scruples. His standards were high, but the natural-man was insistent in its demand.

And thus, standing there staring into space, the conflict raged fiercely within him, when all at once he became aware of a woman beside him. He closed his eyes.

Probably it was the painted kid at her post again!

But why did he close his eyes when he was on his way to see her?

That impulse was the last tug of the restraining anchor before the vast tidal-wave of desire would catch him up and sweep him irresistibly forward on its foaming crest.

He felt the anchor dragging; felt it being swept clear of the ground; going up, up, up. The great wave had caught him! Ah, he would no longer resist, he would become a very part of its mighty on-rush!

He opened his eyes. It was with a violent start that he met those resting upon him, those of a woman so different from the painted kid, so clear and steady and calm, filled with an eager

compassion, as if the soul behind them visualized the depth of misery which engulfed him, and the cruel problems from which he could not free himself.

With a long, frank look Ben took her in; the plain but perfect attire, the poise, the complete refinement of her. She was like a breath of pure air. Then he saw she held some papers. Odd, a young woman of her class to be out selling magazines late at night! With all that eager, compassionate expression, she looked tired, too; and he felt there was a personal tragedy behind her steadiness, a knowledge of life which gave her that strong, magnetic quality of sympathy which drew him irresistibly.

SHE HAD BEEN watching him as he studied her, with a slightly amused yet pitying expression, as though divining his thoughts and waiting for his conclusions.

With a swift intake of breath, Ben suddenly realized his possible rudeness in having so stared, "I—I—beg your pardon. You are—a— — selling something?" he stammered.

She handed him a magazine. "Are you familiar with this?"

He held it to the brilliantly lighted drug-store window and scanned the pages curiously. "No," he said, "What's it all about anyhow?" *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW* he read on the cover.

"It's how to be happy, though married." Her eyes twinkled for the fraction of a second and Ben was caught. He felt he had known her forever; could open his harrassed soul to her, could feel at ease with her on any subject; that she could not misunderstand! It was wonderful!

He stepped closer, "Tell me about it. God knows I want to be happy though married!"

"Perhaps you don't earn very much? There's a sick wife perhaps? And poor little kids that cry all night so you can't get any rest? And you don't know how to go on? There's human nature tugging at your heart? You have it to deal with, and yet you dare not think of putting the little wife through more agony, and burdening another little soul with a diseased existence? Is that it?"

She smiled directly into his soul: the deepest most miraculous smile he had ever imagined; more comprehensive than he ever could possibly have imagined!

He stared at her, his big hands clenched, his breath suspended. Great beads of perspiration broke out on his forehead. He thrust his chin forward, bringing his face close to hers. "If you know all that, can you—can you," he moistened his lips, "Can you tell me a way out? Can you?"

"SH!" SHE ADMONISHED, "Don't get so excited here in the street. It's to help solve this problem that I stand here at midnight and sell these magazines. It's to help turn this world so full of sickness and misery into one of healthful rejoicing; to show people what a crime it is to bring into it diseased, imbecile, or crippled children: to teach them that their love can be expressed without such tragic results. I sell this magazine to help the thoughtless to think; to show that reason and love should rule equally and that when impulses are guided by common sense, with due regard for the future, lives will be

simplified, strength preserved and homes filled with peace and happiness."

"Yes, yes!" Ben was drinking in her words, as a parched man on finding water in the desert.

The young woman knitted her brows as she turned over the pages of one of her papers. "This is a most important article; here it is! It explains the purpose of this movement for a better race; we must, first of all, have legislation which will permit doctors and nurses to give information concerning family limitation. Our magazines fulfill their mission if they make clear that crying need, and stimulate every reader to act toward this end. Do you see?"

Ben scratched his head and asked, puzzled, "Is it possible that there is a law which prevents such invaluable stuff, I mean knowledge, from being given out?"

"There is," she replied grimly.

"I can hardly believe it," he ejaculated, "in this great and free America! But just let me get at that law! I wouldn't do a thing to it! Here, I want a magazine of course;— — and say, a — a does it tell a fellow all he wants to know? About—a—well, everything?"

"The law does not permit us to speak as plainly as we would," she answered.

"Then—a; I say, a—would you, could you—a? Would it be too nerry to ask you to come to see my Janey, my little wife (she's just a wonder, she is!) and tell her all about it? You see, it would mean just everything to us—make life worth living again. We have been so lonesome and nervous-like. Indeed," he mopped his brow with his handkerchief—"indeed I could never tell you how much it would mean to us! You will come?"

HIS TRAGIC EAGERNESS filled her eyes with sympathetic tears: "Indeed I will go to see your little wife. She must be brave and well worth knowing."

"Brave!" Ben's face sparkled, "why, if you knew all Janey bears; and never a complaint! She's got lots to suffer in herself, is too weak to sit up long. Then there's little Leo—so sickly he just cries day and night, can't raise his poor little head yet, though he's six months old. It just tears out one's heart to look at him! And then"—Ben heaved a great sigh—"then, there's me to worry her! She's crazy to do her part, and more too; yet she has to let me help a lot at home, 'cause she can't be on her feet; and—and having to sort of hold me off at arms' length—and—and feeling so sorry all the time! Well you can see what Janey has to bear!"

The tears in the young woman's eyes ran quietly down her cheeks. She held out her hand: "Good night, my friend, there is a way out! I will see your Janey tomorrow at ten o'clock without fail."

Between his big hands Ben caught her slight one and almost crushed it with the fervor of his pressure—"I—I can't thank you, there ain't words,—I—," he choked, swept off his cap, turned, and hurried away. He not only hurried, he ran, flew! His feet were winged; space was not. In his boyish days no thrilling fire-engine dashing up the street had caused him to exhibit the

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Birth Control: Is It Moral?

Dr. Ernest H. Gruening's Answers to Mrs. Sanger's Four Questions

ONE. Is not over-population a menace to the peace of the world?

(A.) A great menace. There are altogether too many people in the world. Quality, not quantity, should be the desideratum. If men and women are really superior to beasts, it is in their ability not to breed like rabbits or to spawn like jelly fish and turn their offspring into the ruthless jungle existence of tooth and claw, but to bring wanted, carefully nurtured, love-children into the world endowed with all the strength and fineness and potentiality for a happy existence which the planning and devotion of thinking beings can encompass. The over-population of the world has already borne the bitter fruit of war. Germany's congested multitudes were taught to believe that they were surrounded by enemies, that the open spaces of the world had been preëmpted, and that Germany had to expand forcibly in order not to perish. However false this assumption, the fact remains that the Germans believed it, and it was a potent factor in producing the catastrophe of 1914-1918. Japan's problems are similar—her overcrowding and inability to overflow into other lands underlies the present tense Far Eastern situation. Over-population is responsible for the fierce economic struggle all over the world. The changed conditions in the United States in the last 20 years, the repressions of the present day, the development of class consciousness and the intensification of the industrial conflict are merely manifestations of the patent fact that our country has at last filled up and has become overpopulated. Unemployment, an acute symptom of this condition, means nothing less from an economic standpoint than that there are too many people for our present system to support. A still graver

symptom are the famines which regularly afflict sections of the earth, notably China, which we then belatedly and ineffectively try to relieve by feeble palliative measures.

TWO. Would not the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over-population?

(A.) It would. It is essentially the duty of the medical profession to accept full responsibility for the therapeutic phases of this problem. The new spirit in medicine demands that diseases be *prevented* wherever possible. The old adage is particularly applicable to matters of health that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

THREE. Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?

(A.) Neither. On the contrary insofar as it would tend to eliminate for all time the crime of abortion, its effect would be distinctly moral.

FOUR. Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population?

(A.) I believe that no single reform capable of such immediate and wide spread application would so greatly add to the happiness of the human race. There are no panaceas, but Birth Control properly established would go further to eliminate poverty, sickness, insanity, crime, with all that these scourges imply, than any other remedy proposed.

The Key to Race Perfection

By Ralph H. Bevan

A LOW COST—or high standard—of living is by no means all of social welfare. It is, however, the indispensable foundation. Only on prices low in proportion to incomes—on diminished poverty alone—can a much higher average of health, culture, generosity, perfection of character, and happiness be built. The great practical problem is to remove the cause of the High Cost of Living.

The radicals tell us that the remedy is redistribution. Undoubtedly the apportionment of wealth on the principle of "economic strength" has aggravated the original pressure of population. Unfair distribution confines the masses to an insufficient share. Excessive riches are a secondary cause of the high cost of living. How subsidiary, nevertheless, is this source of poverty is driven home in the leading article in the "*American Economic Review*" for March, 1920. Here Professor Henry B. Gardner, Head of the Department of Economics at Brown University, publishes his presidential address to the

American Economic Association. His conclusions are drawn from the most trustworthy calculations available. The practical accuracy of his figures is confirmed by corroborative results independently arrived at for the United Kingdom. This authority shows that the ante-bellum product of the United States—the richest country in the world—equally divided, would have yielded only an annual income of \$1,300 for families of five.

H. C. L. and poverty, then, originate in a pressure on wealth. This partly results from undue accumulation by a few. Mainly, however, it is consequent on inadequate supply.

The surgery which would cut under the roots of the high cost of living, must diminish the pressure on the means of subsistence. That may be done by increase in the quantity of wealth, or by limitation of the birth rate among the least productive classes. Of these expedients, the former, in so far as it is practicable, is surely preferable.

EVIDENTLY, THEN, the great need is universal training in intra-national and international coöperation—for the utmost production of useful wealth. That is the master key to the lowest cost of living and permanent peace—to the highest standard of living and happiness.

World coöperation for the production of wealth alone, however, cannot prevent ever recurring crises of overpopulation with their calamitous, aggravative effects—strikes, revolutions, wars. Often more imperious even than the instinct of self-preservation is the impulse of race preservation. While present ideas regarding Birth Control prevail, multiplication of population will soon offset any surplus of life's necessities brought about by education. It must be realized that instinctive emotions are divinely intended to be regulated in their operation by the intellect, which is the later product of evolution—the higher element in consciousness. Innumerable are the proofs offered by tragic experience. Education in practical economics is not enough. The proper supremacy—the divinity—of intelligence, must be acknowledged. That only can prevent repeated pressure on wealth—future wars ever more colossal, more crazing.

The right of far-sighted reason to regulate the effects of blind impulse for the promotion of human happiness and perfection must be recognized. Convictions against the having of children who cannot, without excessive struggle, be prepared for worth while living—such promptings are not superstitiously to be censured. Rather are they to be approved as divinely inspired. The least productive, thrifty, healthy, generous, or otherwise least useful classes may reasonably object to aggravating overpopulation and multiplying their misfortunes. Such disinclinations should be respected as inner workings of divine wisdom. A more enlightened attitude toward Birth Control among medical and religious advisers—that is the only key to diminution of poverty and lasting peace—to the greatest perfection, happiness and progress of the race.

This is not the place to set forth the wisest modes of Birth Control. We shall not even argue that any method is harmless. The writer has not volumes of space at his disposal.

FOR MANY YEARS, however, stimulated by a very searching experience, he has pondered, questioned, and read on the riddle of the world's misery. As a result, he long ago became convinced that in unprejudiced inquiry into the healthiness of the best preventives of birth lies the golden key to the lowest cost of living—to the practical problems of human evil and happiness. Thus painstaking has been the inquiry from which has been drawn the conclusion that the venerable horror of Birth Control is founded on religious and medical superstition. It seems, then, due to that human welfare to which highest allegiance is owed, to urge a scientific investigation of the hygiene of birth prevention.

Intelligent Birth Control would not threaten race suicide. It would encourage the normal desire for children except when likely to add human misery. It would not countenance disinclination for children in all circumstances, but it would educate medical and spiritual advisers to respect clear scruples against the assumption of parental responsibilities as *prima*

facie guides to human perfection. Intelligent Birth Control would honor such questionings as dictates of reason which, being the most lately evolved, appears the highest element in man. Intelligence is not merely the surest index to divine purpose. It is the intended ruler over the operation of the primitive instincts.

A person's deliberate opinion that he ought not to have children would seem the weightiest evidence. His is probably a case in which the birth of a child would be wrong to both. Very important in the determination of happiness are factors of temperament. Of those none but oneself has sufficient knowledge to judge whether the struggle for existence has proved excessive. So unnatural a view on the part of anyone would be a most significant indication that parenthood would be a mistake for all parties concerned. Not alone would the children be handicapped by over-burdened parents, they would inherit subnormal constitutions. It is impossible for another to estimate the value of one's life to oneself. Of this truth, if space permitted, sound authority and reasoning might be offered at length.

ALL THAT IS here feasible, however, is to suggest why others are disqualified to decide whether one's life is worth transmitting. Consciousness is a complex combination of satisfactions and painful feelings. Its worth is the excess of joy over suffering. If dissatisfactions preponderate, life has negative value only. It is a burden endured only from the hope of future happiness or from horror of suicide. Pleasures, pains, and the side on which the balance lies, depend even more on incalculable factors of temperament and of will power than on external circumstances. And men's characters are of the widest variety and diversity. Reasonable means and health are necessary and enough to make most men's lives worth while. But some can manage happiness in extreme poverty and suffering. Others cannot avoid misery even with wealth and bodily comfort. Buoyancy of temperament may offset misfortunes apparently the most unendurable. A melancholy constitution may render existence a curse despite a lot seemingly the most fortunate. A medical or spiritual adviser can measure the value of a patient's life to the patient only by an utterly unreliable standard—that of external circumstances. The only dependable index to the inner worth of life is the person's own judgment. Does he feel that on the whole he has lived rather because of positive satisfaction than negative horror of suicide—that is the crucial query.

In effect, then, intelligent Birth Control is the doctrine that prevention of births should not be hindered in face of authentic inside information of its necessity. Control of births ought to be facilitated where offspring would probably, both for parents and children, mean lives more or less burdensome or at least of doubtful value.

SATISFACTION PREDOMINATES in human life. The Deity is benign. The appalling burden of the world's agonies is to be attributed to mankind's superstitious tolerance of it. We have failed to realize that pain exists to afford the

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Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G. Punke

V. OBJECTIONS TO BIRTH CONTROL FOR ALL

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, it appears, vitally affect both the birth and the death rate. Having in mind chiefly the declining birth rate various pens have written much about "race suicide," "racial decay," "population decrease," and the like during the past half century. Mourning humanity's diminishing birth rate, such writers have chanted in season and out their sad requiem. "Decadent France" was their by-word; New Zealand and Australia, they remark, are the latest sad additions to the list of decaying nations. Others, not less voluble and pessimistic, hold up the moral degradation of family limitation. It is, they maintain, the most recent example of moral, religious and patriotic degeneration.

RACIAL DECAY. The late Theodore Roosevelt was an important and prominent writer in the field of racial decay. He may be taken as fairly typical of that class. Reviewing a book, "Racial Decay," by A. C. Beale, an Australian official, Mr. Roosevelt wrote in the *New York Outlook* for April 8, 1911, as follows:

"In Australia and New Zealand there is no warrant whatever in economic conditions for a limitation of the birth-rate. New Zealand is as large as Great Britain and as fertile . . . the New Zealand people have realized to an extraordinary degree, the institutional and industrial ambition of democracy everywhere; yet the rate of natural increase in New Zealand is actually lower than in Great Britain,* . . . Yet its (Australia's) population tends to concentrate in great cities of disproportionate size compared to the country population, just exactly as is the case in England and the United States, and it increases so slowly that, even if the present rate were maintained, the population would not double itself in a century."

In the foregoing quotation appear two errors which would almost irretrievably impair the reputation for accuracy of any writer. The first is "yet the rate of natural increase in New Zealand is actually lower than in Great Britain." This statement was made in 1911. The vital statistics for 1906-10 show the average survival rate, or rate of natural increase, for New Zealand and Great Britain to be 17.4 and 11.5, respectively, per 1,000 inhabitants. For the entire United Kingdom for the same period it was 11.0 per 1,000. For the year 1911 the survival rate was 16.6 and 9.6, and for 1914 it was 16.7 and 9.5 for New Zealand and the United Kingdom, respectively. It will be seen that the survival rate or rate of natural increase for New Zealand was in 1911 at least a third higher than that of Great Britain or the United Kingdom. Doubtless much of New Zealand's success in democracy, of which Mr. Roosevelt speaks, is due to her careful population selection and limitation through Birth Control and other measures.

AGAIN, MR. ROOSEVELT errs sharply when he says the population of Australia "increases so slowly that, even if the present rate were maintained, the population would not

double itself in the next century." As statistics show, the rate of increase for the Australian Commonwealth for the period 1906-10 was 16.0 per 1,000, a rate requiring approximately 43.7 years for the number of inhabitants to double. For the years 1911 and 1914, respectively, the survival rate of Australia was 16.8 and 17.6,—an even higher rate than during 1906-10.

Such, then, are the errors in Mr. Roosevelt's statements. In this connection it is felt a comparison of the survival rates of a few high and low birth rate countries may not be amiss. Russia and Germany are often held up as typical of the nations having rapidly growing populations, whereas New Zealand and Australia are frequently pilloried as horrible examples of the nefarious effects of voluntary parenthood. For the years 1900 and 1909 the survival rates for European Russia were 18.3 and 15.1, respectively; for Germany they were 13.5 and 13.8, respectively. For the same years Australia and New Zealand showed survival rates of 16.2 and 18.2, and 15.2 and 16.4, respectively. These figures indicate a more rapid rate of increase for both New Zealand and Australia than for Germany, and a slightly greater rate of gain for New Zealand and a slightly lower one for Australia than for Russia. A careful study of the vital statistics of the thirty leading countries of the world (Registrar General's Report for England and Wales for 1914, p. 97) will reveal the fact that very few nations have a higher survival rate than New Zealand and the Commonwealth of Australia. Such a study illustrates how the chronic pessimists about racial decay display the puerile simplicity of considering the birth rate only, forgetting the death rate is likewise important, and the survival rate is the real test of population progress.

(To be continued)

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Bevan, Ralph H., Rhodes Scholar at Oxford from Rhode Island. Contributor to wide range of periodicals.

Guest, May Peirce, Writer and Artist.

Gruening, Dr. Ernest H., Editor of The Nation, New York.

Little, C. C., Biologist with Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., Station for Experimental Research.

Nearing, Scott, Sociologist, Author of a large number of books dealing with questions of wages, labor and other social problems. Lecturer at Rand School.

Punke, Edward G., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan.

HUMAN WASTE

Mrs. Charles S. Willard, of Allington, Conn., thirty-six years old, wife of a carpenter, married when fourteen, has been the mother of twenty-one children. Only five are alive, the others having died in infancy. There was one set of twins.

—*New York World.*

*Italics mine, E. G. P.

Book Reviews

A Review by Richard Jennings

*THE NEW MOTHERHOOD: By Margaret Sanger, with introductions by Harold Cox and Havelock Ellis. (Jonathan Cape. London.) "Margaret Sanger," remarks Mr. Harold Cox, in his introduction to this book, "is less well known in England than in America."

That is natural enough.

Nothing makes people so celebrated as persecution.

America, the land of Liberty, is perhaps the country where Pussfoot, Podsnap, Pecksniff, Comstock and other pseudo-moralists have the widest power over the lives of their unhappy fellow-citizens.

The land of Liberty is the place where nobody can get a glass of beer unless he drinks it "under the rose."

It is also the land that sent Mrs. Sanger to prison for defying an idiotic law which forbids people to publish information about Birth Control.

We got rid of *that* form of prohibition in 1877.

Nowadays, in Britain, practically the whole of the upper and middle classes know about Birth Control and practice it.

If they did not, they would be in a sorry plight indeed!

Weighed down by taxation, it would be impossible for them to give away in rates the huge sums needed for the health services, the medical aid, the hospitals, the schools and, alas, the lunatic asylums needed to support or "control" the hideously high birth rate of the classes least fitted to recruit the over-population of these islands.

Why are our rulers—mainly middle-class or upper-class men—such cowards and hypocrites over this vital business of the birth rate?

Why for so long have they fought against the instruction of the poor in regard to it? Why do they keep silence about it and never put it in their election addresses? Why, now that practically all of them recognize the *fact* of over-population, do not all of them indicate the *remedy*, and, instead of *spending* the tax-payer's money, in futile maternity benefits and the tinkering and patching of "mother's welfare" sentimentality—why do they not *save* that money by insisting that every health centre, every panel doctor, every Home and every Hospital should (as in Holland) be allowed—be *urged*—to relieve the misery of those burdened year by year with "unwanted" babies?

If they did so—instead of talking rubbish about emigration—the housing problem (totally unsolved) would disappear. The slum problem would vanish. Motherhood would be voluntary—and happy. The cruelty that comes from overcrowding would diminish. The main incentive to war would go. The "labour" outcry would be silenced. Unemployment would be rare. There is hardly any social grievance of today that would not be immensely relieved by this most essential of all reforms.

I hope all who care for the future of our race will buy and read this noble and eloquent book, which reinforces by facts and figures the hopes I have just indicated.

We shall *have* to face the problem some day. We have forty millions, many of whom we cannot feed or house. In a century's time if we do not control our birth rate there might be 2,000 million people in Great Britain!—more than the present population of the whole earth!

No nostrums of Socialism or State aid can ever hope to deal with that number. Birth Control or ruin—that is the alternative.

At the next election I should like voters to heckle all candidates of whatever party on this subject.

I should like them to ask ambitious M. P.'s if they have studied the figures in Mrs. Sanger's book. I should like the *women voters* above all to ask if their candidate knows how and why a high birth rate means a high death rate; means a huge undergrowth of the sickly and diseased; means exorbitant taxation; means bad health for overstrained mothers; means slums and cruelty and vice.

Any government of the future that shirks this problem will solve no other. All depend upon this. What, then, shall we hear of it when we get the next appeal to the people?

*Mrs. Sanger's book, "Woman and the New Race," has been published in England under the title "The New Motherhood." We reprint the following review which was published in the *Daily Mirror*, May 12th.

A Review by William J. Fielding

PSYCHOANALYSIS OF THE REFORMER, by Joel Rinaldo. Lee Publishing Co., New York. 137 pages. Price \$2.

In many respects this is a remarkable little book. Its analysis of the complexes motivating the typical "reformer" of the Blue-Law, Prohibitionists, Sabbatarian type, is illuminating and colorful, and gives evidence of much philosophic insight into human nature.

Mr. Rinaldo is more strictly allied to the orthodox Freudian school of psychoanalysis than most of the American writers on this subject. Consequently, he sees a sexual basis in practically every psychic morbidity of the individual, including all varieties of reformers.

It is evident, however, the author has a few private complexes of his own which persist in disporting themselves. I refer to his inclusive grouping together of almost everyone who may be affiliated with some social movement—whether of a negative or a positive, constructive character.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate what I believe are irrelevant comparisons. In several instances, Mr. Rinaldo has included the old abolitionists and the modern Birth Control advocates in with his heterogeneous bunch of reformers.

Now, there may have been neurotics among the old abolitionists, as there doubtless are among the modern Birth Control advocates. I am equally sure that there were neurotics among the staunch defenders of chattel slavery, as I am sure that there are neurotics among the present-day bitter opponents of contraception. But as the author makes no allusion to the neurotic defenders of the *status quo*, it leaves the implication that the morbid are all on the other side.

As a matter of fact, the *modus operandi* of the Birth Control movement and of the prohibition movement are diametrically opposed: Whereas the prohibition movement (as an expression of reformism) is a negative social force, its methods being repression, restrictive laws and inhibitive influences on the individual, the Birth Control advocate seeks to remove from the statute books the present irrational restrictive laws regarding contraceptives and to nullify the present social and religious taboos and inhibitions which now prevent an honest public discussion and general understanding of the subject.

As a notable example, who, may we ask, displayed the meddlesome tactics of the inhibiting neurotic: the people who arranged to publicly discuss in Town Hall the morality of Birth Control, or the Ecclesiastical-Police outfit which forcibly silenced the speakers and disbanded the meeting?

If there are relatively as many, if not more, neurotics among the reactionaries and conservatives as there are among the liberals and progressives, why point out any particular group of the latter as "horrible examples"? The same holds true in regard to the abolitionist as a type.

Notwithstanding the one-sidedness of the thesis in certain respects which prompts these criticisms, the book may profitably be read by anyone interested in social tendencies as well as psychological (and psychopathological) studies.

SEX SEARCHLIGHTS. Edited by Dr. Lee Alexander Stone, Science Publishing Company, Chicago.

It is somewhat difficult to classify this volume. It runs to 747 pages and more or less covers every imaginable phase of the sex question. The first portion of the book gives the physiology of the reproductive organs. Four chapters follow on the venereal diseases, the fourth giving what in many cases is a much-needed warning against quacks. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a miscellany including quotations, stories and poems, the general aim being to show the tragic results of ignorance, bad sex habits and poor training.

VERY few married couples voluntarily remain without any children at all.—DR. C. V. DRYSDALE.

PERIODICALS

The Veteran, (New York) for June contains an article by Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszman entitled "Did You Want to Be Born?" It takes a stand for the right of a child to good inheritance and proper care—a right that is only possible under a system of Birth Control.

The Shield (London) for May-June contains an interesting article against Birth Control by Walter Hunt. *The Shield* is the organ of the British Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, and so far has taken no position on Birth Control. In an editorial note it is stated that while printing Mr. Hunt's argument, it takes issue with him on his conclusions which are not supported by evidence. Mr. Hunt's reasons for opposing Birth Control rest upon the assumption that the deterioration of native races and the introduction among these people of many diseases from which they were formerly free is due to the relinquishment of older customs of strict continence except for procreative purposes. He takes no account of the introduction of infection of such diseases as syphilis and measles, nor of the fact that under European rule there is no longer the strict weeding out of the unfit. His argument is altogether a case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, and has little scientific value. It is, however, one more indication of the great need of scientific investigation in this neglected field.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From the Macmillan Co., New York. PARENTHOOD AND CHILD NURTURE, By Edna Dean Baker. GENETICS, by Herbert Eugene Walter.

From the Truth Publishing Co., New York, THE TYRANNY OF GOD, by Joseph Lewis.

From the Cosmopolis Press, New York. WHERE KNOWLEDGE MEANS HAPPINESS, by V. P. F.

From Henry Holt & Co. THE CONTROL OF LIFE, by J. Arthur Thomson.

From The Haldeman-Julius Co., Girard, Kan. Complete set of 239 Ten Cent Pocket Series. The Series includes an exceedingly wide range of excellent literature—classics of Greece, of Medieval Europe and of more modern times. In it are found, the immortal writings of Plato, Shakespeare, Schopenhauer and Goethe, the wisdom of Ingersoll and the wit of De Sevigne. Poetry, history, science and philosophy all find their place in the series, and it is not too much to say that the boy or girl with high school education, who reads with attention and discrimination two of these ten cent booklets a week, will derive the equivalent of a broad and humanizing college course. Considerable attention is given to Birth Control, the debate between Mrs. Sanger and Winter Russell being presented in No. 208. Other numbers deal with sex education and feminism, while No. 209 gives Dr. A. Knopf's views on the question. There is in fact scarcely any question of vital importance to mankind which does not find its place in the series.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

EDITOR, BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW:

I have before me here a communication from your office asking me to aid your movement and to subscribe to your magazine. I sincerely appreciate your efforts and also what you do; but this is a very complex world, and all great movements are necessarily slow, and all reforms somewhat tardy in being enforced. To my mind it would be a question if this law could be enforced to limit offspring, and the danger might arise of illegitimacy. Possibly also evils greater than the one complained of. Further it might also lead to an increase of clandestine prostitution with its baneful results, as it is harder to fight an Indian in ambush than to fight an enemy who comes out in full view. While I certainly believe in healthy children as well as parents, still the knowledge which you might feel that a mother was entitled to, or which you would wish to disseminate among those who would be legitimately entitled to it, I think that this knowledge is pretty well disseminated already, almost more so than is really good for women, as I think that it is taken advantage of a good many times to their utter sorrow in after

life. Trusting that this will set me right with your views. I believe in health surely, but I do not at this time see that we can improve on it, as people would not take our advice on these matters any way, and I am positive that we could not force our views on them, no more than prohibition.
W. J., M. D.

(Our correspondent shares the old fears of man for woman. Some centuries ago men were equally solicitous about the evil effects of allowing women to learn to read, as he now is about their being entrusted with knowledge that would enable them to be mistress of their own bodies. Is it not time that women were allowed to grow up and to assume the responsibilities of adult human beings? The Birth Control movement is not concerned with legislation that would force any line of conduct on anybody. It aims only to take away the prohibitions which prevent women from acquiring scientific, medical information.—Editor.)

They tell us we live a sheltered life at home while they go to the wars; but that is nonsense. For I would rather go into battle thrice, than bear a child once.—EURIPIDES in "Medea."

The Key to Race Perfection

(Continued from page 134)

joy of overcoming it. Divine instincts and laws are to be learned and utilized for that purpose. Control of births will be suicide only of that portion of the race whose multiplication would probably be burdensome both to themselves and their children. Birth Control amounts to survival and increase of those classes with the greatest capacity for useful happiness. In the last analysis, then, control of births is a policy of non-interference with divine law. It would facilitate the multiplication and survival of the fittest to forward human welfare. Far from being race suicide, wise Birth Control is the most rapid race progress towards perfection.

In sum, scientific investigation should be made of the most salutary methods of Birth Control. And therein medical and spiritual advisers ought to be educated and imbued with the keenest sense of their sacred responsibility. They are to dispense their information with all caution and solely for race perfection. Thereby limitation of births may be facilitated among the least productive, thrifty, healthy, generous, adaptable, intelligent and otherwise least useful classes. This is the only permanent remedy for overpopulation, underproduction, economic pressure—for the underlying causes of wars, class conflicts, and poverty. Intelligent Birth Control is the only effective—or at least the only prompt—means to the highest average productivity, thrift, health, generosity, adaptability, wisdom, and perfection of mankind. Scientific facilitation of Birth Control is thus the only effectual surgery for that inconceivable bulk of human miseries due to wars, poverty, class struggles, ill health, selfishness, and unadaptability. In the ideal of Birth Control, moreover, is included, improvement of the intelligence of the race. Wise birth regulation will be effectually applicable through all time. Scientific Birth Control, then seems many times the most promising key to human perfection, happiness, and progress. Its incalculable possibilities, as it is more intelligently applied by future generations, defy limitation.

The American Birth Control League

MARGARET SANGER, *President*

PRINCIPLES:

The complex problems now confronting America as the result of the practice of reckless procreation are fast threatening to grow beyond human control.

Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by Church and State to produce large families. Many of the children thus begotten are diseased or feeble-minded; many become criminals. The burden of supporting these unwanted types has to be borne by the healthy elements of the nation. Funds that should be used to raise the standard of our civilization are diverted to the maintenance of those who should never have been born.

In addition to this grave evil we witness the appalling waste of women's health and women's lives by too frequent pregnancies. These unwanted pregnancies often provoke the crime of abortion, or alternatively multiply the number of child workers and lower the standard of living.

To create a race of well-born children it is essential that the function of motherhood should be elevated to a position of dignity, and this is impossible as long as conception remains a matter of chance.

We hold that children should be

1. Conceived in love;
2. Born of the mother's conscious desire;
3. And only begotten under conditions which render possible the heritage of health.

Therefore we hold that every woman must possess the power and freedom to prevent conception except when these conditions can be satisfied.

Every mother must realize her basic position in human society. She must be conscious of her responsibility to the race in bringing children into the world.

Instead of being a blind and haphazard consequence of uncontrolled instinct, motherhood must be made the responsible and self-directed means of human expression and regeneration.

These purposes, which are of fundamental importance to the whole of our nation and to the future of mankind, can only be attained if women first receive practical scientific education in the means of Birth Control. That, therefore, is the first object to which the efforts of this League will be directed.

AIMS:

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE aims to enlighten and educate all sections of the American public in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation and the imperative necessity of a world program of Birth Control.

The League aims to correlate the findings of scientists, statisticians, investigators and social agencies in all fields. To make this possible, it is necessary to organize various departments:

RESEARCH: To collect the findings of scientists, concerning the relation of reckless breeding to delinquency, defect and dependence.

INVESTIGATION: To derive from these scientifically ascertained facts and figures, conclusions which may aid all public health and social agencies in the study of problems of maternal and infant mortality, child-labor, mental and physical defects and delinquency in relation to the practice of reckless parentage.

HYGIENIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL instruction by the Medical profession to mothers and potential mothers in harmless and reliable methods of Birth Control in answer to their requests for such knowledge.

STERILIZATION of the insane and feeble-minded and the encouragement of this operation upon those afflicted with inherited or transmissible diseases, with the understanding that sterilization does not deprive the individual of his or her sex expression, but merely renders him or her incapable of producing children.

EDUCATIONAL: The program of education includes: The enlightenment of the public at large, mainly through the education of leaders of thought and opinion—teachers, ministers, editors and writers—to the moral and scientific soundness of the principles of Birth Control and the imperative necessity of its adoption as the basis of national and racial progress.

POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE: To enlist the support and co-operation of legal advisors, statesmen and legislators in effecting the removal of state and federal statutes which encourage dysgenic breeding, increase the sum total of disease, misery and poverty and prevent the establishment of a policy of national health and strength.

ORGANIZATION: To send into the various States of the Union field workers to enlist the support and arouse the interest of the masses to the importance of Birth Control so that laws may be changed and the establishment of clinics made possible in every State.

INTERNATIONAL: This department aims to co-operate with similar organizations in other countries to study Birth Control in its relations to the world population problem, food supplies, national and racial conflicts, and to urge upon all international bodies organized to promote world peace, the consideration of these aspects of international amity.

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A Way Out

(Continued from page 132)

speed which now took him home to Janey and little Leo. He was bursting with an immense exaltation; his sense of power had become giant-like. His future stretched before him like a paradise. The awful anguish of his past six months had magically dwindled to a little heap of rubbish, already relegated to the dustpan of oblivion. In this one eventful night he had experienced the gamut of emotions; had traversed the scale between despair and hope.

Thus elastic is the human soul! How otherwise could it survive?

And now all fear of returning to Janey had gone. Ben had found an outlet for his energy in visioning a road straight ahead, a clear road, along which he and his beloved could safely travel.

He checked his speed as he neared his little home, his tiny three-room apartment. Not for worlds would he startle them; they might be getting some blessed sleep. And all was quiet. Janey lay on his red plush sofa, her face buried in the pillow, lost at last to her maddening problems. And even little Leo was sleeping.

Gazing at them in their almost death-like quietness, a strange awe crept through Ben. Then stealthily, he moved across the tiny room and crouched down by his wife, resting his head against the sofa. Surely, surely the wild beating of his heart must waken her, it could be heard by the whole sleeping city!

(To be continued)

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AUSTRIA—Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftzwang. Johann Ferch, President. Wien, XV/1 Gablenzgasse 81. Periodical, *Sexual Reform*.

PORTUGAL—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.

AFRICA—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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Contributors include:

DR. HAVELOCK ELLIS MR. HAROLD COX
REVEREND MAUDE ROYDEN DR. KILLICK MILLARD
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MRS. MARGARET SANGER

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI

AUGUST, 1922

No. 8

Editorial

IN THESE DAYS of International Congresses and Conferences, when the heads of all the civilized nations are anxious to meet and to reach some means whereby our tottering civilization may again be stabilized, it is not surprising that the International Birth Control Congress should have excited little public attention. The question of Birth Control has not entered the arena of practical politics. The propaganda is as yet only as large as a man's hand. But the clouds are gathering with marvelous rapidity—rising from the individual homes all over the world where women and children are suffering from privations due to overcrowding and the incoming of too many babies. The politicians and so-called "leaders of public opinion" will soon find that public opinion is being formed ahead of them, and that the way out of the terrible complications of this over-populated world is being indicated by the little group that gathered in London last month to discuss national and international aspects of Birth Control. The importance of that Congress was in no way dependent on the number or eminence of the men and women who attended it. It arose out of the nature of the subject discussed and out of the fact that here was the one really basal and constructive proposition that is laid before the world. Disarmament conferences will be ineffective as long as the women are bearing the children who will afterwards be called upon to bear arms to kill other women's children, because there is not enough room in the world for all. Only by balanced populations can peace be attained. Only by ceasing the over-crowding of our slums can poverty be banished, and only when food supplies are amply sufficient for the mouths to be filled can the sordid struggle for mere existence be brought to an end.

OPPPOSITION TO Birth Control comes from two diametrically opposite sources—on the one hand the imperialists and militarists, who believe that their own country should follow out its destiny of expansion, and that for this purpose there should be an unlimited birth rate; on the other, the Socialists, and those who would do away with capital and substitute a more even division of the good things of the earth among its people. The point of view of the militarists is easily comprehended. If wars are to be waged, there must be men for soldiers. France, in her panic fear of a repetition of her martyrdom, is entering upon this militaristic phase, and urging the women to *Faire des enfants*. Germany in the old days did better than France is doing now, for she not only encouraged a high birth rate, but she also took careful steps

to diminish the death rate. Every country, whose rulers look forward to war as a normal happening in the history of the world, desires to be well supplied with the most important material of war—men, and women to bear men.

THE POINT OF view of the Socialists is more difficult to grasp. Passionately they exclaim that there is no overcrowding and no shortage, but that all that is necessary is better distribution. It is of course impossible for them to deny that there are hundreds of thousands of people, even in this wealthy and unwar-scarred country of ours who are living in over-crowded conditions and who have not enough to eat and wear. But they are content to allow the women and children, and the men too, to suffer, because they think the rising tide of discontent will the more quickly sweep away our present forms of civilization and make room for their Utopia. Yet if they reflected they would realize that nothing ties a man down in economic slavery more than the possession of a wife and a large flock of children. It is the man who most needs a larger share in the world's goods who is least able to take any step towards helping towards improvement for his class. The very men who so passionately preach that there is no such thing as too rapid increase of population are men who in some way have found room and freedom for themselves. They are not heads and supporters of large families, whose demands use up every atom of energy the husband and father possesses. Yet they do not seem to realize that, although wild destruction can result from the revolt of the oppressed and miserable, constructive reforms and real betterment can only be reached through the efforts of those who have time to think and who are not occupied every moment with the pressing problem of how to keep themselves and their families alive.

A LETTER RECEIVED from one of the American delegates to the International Birth Control Congress in London sheds some interesting light on the importance of the question in England. The letter was written just before the opening of the Congress and our correspondent seems to feel deeply the responsibility that rests upon the little group of Americans who are to take part in the Congress. "Here we are", she writes, "so few of us, without any support from our own Government and with little support even from our colleges, universities and groups of thinkers who might be expected to be in the van of public opinion. Yet we are undoubtedly dealing with the greatest problem of the age—the problem that lies

at the very base of society, the solution of which will decide whether mankind can go forward into real civilization or whether we must for ever be held back by wars and poverty"

The general conditions, she believes, are the same for all the world—for the United States and for the more crowded countries of Europe and the East. Population is increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence can be supplied—more rapidly than houses can be built and food grown, more rapidly than industry can be organized and markets found for the products of the industrial population. But the problem is far more pressing in England than in America, and as one goes eastward from England it becomes more and more vital to the nations to find a way out from the present conditions of unemployment and starvation. "Even in England", she writes, "the situation is one which the best minds of the country are facing with something like despair. Two million men and women are still unemployed, and are living on doles from the Government. The men and women who are fortunate enough to have work are hampered in two ways by this enormous army of dependents. In the first place the competition for jobs, in spite even of the fine organization of the trade unions here, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain wages and salaries at a level consistent with decent living and full efficiency, and in the second place the doles have to come out of the taxes, and the burden of taxation in England, as a result of the war and the war debts, would be sufficiently onerous without this added weight.

THE RESULTS FOR the British people are likely to be far-reaching, and nothing but the creation of a new social conscience about Birth Control can prevent serious degradation of the British stock. At the present time, although there is no law here preventing the giving of Birth Control information, the situation is quite similar to that in the United States. Birth Control is widely, almost universally, practised among the more thrifty and well-to-do—in fact no one can well be thrifty or in comfortable circumstances unless care is exercised in regard to the number of the family. Large families, except among the very wealthy, who rarely indulge in them, mean a general lowering of the standing of the children which takes the family out of the category of the well-to-do. Large families are still very common in the lower classes and the English nation goes on increasing in spite of the hopeless economic prospect for a nation which depends on a larger share of the world's markets than she is ever likely to recapture. What is needed is a vigorous campaign for the creation of a social conscience which shall reprobate as unsocial the bringing into existence of large families of children which are born only to be a burden to the community—

children whom the parents cannot possibly hope to support and start in life without abundant assistance which comes out of the pockets of their more thrifty countrymen. But, as here, while Birth Control is practised, it is not talked about; and the very people who limit their families deprecate open teaching of Birth Control and do nothing towards making their own wise conduct the rule of life for the community. The strange and contradictory thing, which in fact is one of the puzzles of human nature, is that the very people who suffer most as regards heavy taxation and the cramping of the opportunities for their own limited families, through the existence of the great army of unemployed, vigorously oppose the open teaching of Birth Control. The reasons for this opposition are sometimes religious, sometimes founded on a belief that the working classes are too stupid and ignorant to be able to take proper advantage of such teaching, and sometimes due to a kind of jealousy that something which has been a privilege of the well-to-do should have to be shared with all the people. The task of the workers for Birth Control in England, in spite of their greater legal freedom, looks to me as arduous as that of our League in America, and indeed I should not be surprised if America soon goes far ahead of England in creating public sentiment in favor of Birth Control and in spreading the necessary education through all classes."

AN ENGLISH CORRESPONDENT, writing to the *Manchester Guardian*, has been describing the visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan. He gives his own impressions of the country—a country that appeared to him to be becoming rapidly in serious danger of over-population. The problem appeared to him, not—as it does to so many men—in abstract figures and statistics, but in terms of the fate of the individual children whom he watched with interest and sympathy. Here is a description of the way the children turned out at Gifu to welcome the Prince:

"The children were distinctly interested, and they waved their flags and yelled with the utmost good-will. And there were such incredible numbers of them! One would see several hundred little girls, all dressed in the skirt peculiar to their school, and all seemingly exactly alike; then another class equally standardised, but on a larger or smaller scale. Boys were equally numerous; and leggy young students, soon to be seeking their own living in a competitive world, showed up in battalions. For one not a prince and not bored by a repetition of these things it was inspiring to drive along five minutes behind and receive cheers almost as frantic as those for the Prince himself, and to see the smiling faces and shining eyes of thousands of little girls and boys. But in sober after-thought one felt some fear of this mighty army and what it would require in the future. It was strange to note by contrast the dead silence of the uninstructed citizenry watching the Prince go by."

News Notes

June 10.—Resolutions urging the repeal of legislation preventing the free dissemination of information on methods of contraception were passed by the National Women's Trade Union League in its annual convention at Waukegan, Ill. The league is convinced that the present statutes discriminate

against the working woman. Wealthier women are able to secure information on methods of Birth Control, in spite of the law, but working women are forbidden access to knowledge that would enable them to limit the size of their families in accordance with their economic condition.

Relation of Recent Advances in Genetics to Birth Control

An Address Before the International Birth Control Congress, London

By P. W. Whiting

THREE FUNDAMENTALLY different methods of evolution have been postulated by speculative biologists in the past. Lamarck (1809) supposed that the hereditary nature of an individual could be changed to some extent by the direct effect of environment or by the striving of the organism to adapt itself to changes in its circumstances. Individually acquired modifications left their imprint upon posterity. Lamarck's theory is perhaps the most natural and naive theory of evolution.

Darwin (1859) on the other hand believed that there was an innate tendency toward gradual hereditary change and that environment acted in a selective way eliminating those least fitted to survive and favoring the more adaptable. Mendel (1866) showed by actual experiment that certain characteristics are inherited as distinct, widely different units, and de Vries (1901) proclaimed his mutation theory according to which evolution progresses by wide jumps, new species arising suddenly without the occurrence of intermediate forms. Weismann (1883) emphasized that the germ plasm was independent of any influences brought to bear upon the body of the individual.

According to the speculations and findings of Darwin, Mendel, de Vries, and Weismann, the effective agent in hereditary or genetic change is therefore selection, whether variation be slight or extreme, continuous or discontinuous.

A third method of evolution is emphasized by certain palaeontologists who suppose that there is an innate tendency of organisms to vary in certain definite directions. Evolution "in a straight line" or orthogenesis is assumed by many to be due to this innate tendency; but other investigators, recognizing the fact of orthogenesis, are quite ready to admit that its cause may be external, due to the selective action of environment for example.

THE GREAT INCREASE in genetic research during the last two decades has caused attention to be turned toward the exact results of experiment whenever questions of evolution are debated. The various logical possibilities of genetic change pointed out by earlier thinkers, have been unequally supported by recent results.

The selectionists seem to have been favored most, for it has been demonstrated again and again, not only by recent geneticists, but by earlier plant and animal breeders that selection is effective in modifying types. The discontinuous variation of Mendel and de Vries has recently been shown to be not fundamentally different from the continuous variation of Darwin. Underlying continuous variation are discontinuous hereditary units. Apparent continuity is due to multiple units affecting the same characters, as well as to modifications of expression of heredity of environmental effects and chance conditions of growth. Although the mutations of de Vries have been shown

to be caused by complicated systems of assortment of units already present, the mutation theory has been well established in simpler types of heredity with more convenient organisms. We now understand by the term mutation, a fundamental change in a hereditary unit, not a reassortment of preexisting units.

By a careful study of mutations it has been found that hereditary units tend to vary in certain definite directions, thus giving some basis, however slight, to the theory of innate orthogenetic tendencies. Research in this line will have to be carried much farther before there can be any application to the theory of evolution.

Modification of the germ plasm has been attempted by numerous investigators. Definite results, however, have been very meager, probably in part because the agents used were not suitable, but chiefly because the germ plasm upon which experiment was attempted had not been previously analyzed. Variations have been obtained, it is true, but whether these variations were due to the experimental agent or not is questionable. Recently, however, experiments with alcohol, performed by Stockard, Pearl, and MacDowell, have shown results of much interest, and still more recently a very promising line of investigation has been pursued by Guyer by means of serological reactions. The latter work may be of much value in the future in dealing with hereditary resistance to disease, and the study of protein reactions in general.

SO PROMISING AND important have investigations in genetics become that they deserve the greatest encouragement and support.

Let us now attempt to appraise these theories and results from the point of view of their bearing upon the eugenic program as affected by Birth Control.

The theory of an innate orthogenetic tendency seems too uncertain and in any case too intangible to consider as yet. It may be, however, that future genetic research will disclose facts of practical value corroborating innate orthogenesis.

Direct modification of the germ plasm by means of alcohol or of bacterial toxins, foreign proteins, etc., is of great interest and value. Does alcohol affect the germ plasm injuriously, producing hereditary defects, or does it have a selective effect, as some have held, killing off the weaker germ cells and allowing only the better to survive? In the former case it would be dysgenic, in the latter eugenic. Hence, is a reformed drunkard more eugenic, or less so than a man who has always been a total abstainer? Are individuals who have been immunized against diseases,—typhoid, diphtheria, small-pox, etc., more eugenic than they would have been without the treatment? Is the medical profession saving the individual at the expense of the race when it treats people for tuberculosis and other diseases? Are those who have been cured of a disease really

inferior because they had the weakness to become infected while others escaped through greater resistance, or are they superior by virtue of having developed resistance and recovered? I am well aware that the naive will be able to answer any or all of these questions; while on the other hand, many scientists may even smile at the possibility of considering such things.

I am not at all prepared to answer these questions myself but I believe that the future will answer them, and they will be answered the sooner, the more actively the sciences of genetics and eugenics, in collaboration with physiological and pathological studies, are supported and pursued. In any case, when these questions are answered, women should have the power consciously to control the paternity of their offspring. A knowledge of Birth Control will help much to give them this power.

THERE CAN BE no question that thus far the selectionists have the strongest evidence in their favor. Natural selection, if not of prime importance in species formation, is at least of great value in keeping organic forms from rapid degeneration. Were it possible for all the freaks and abnormalities which are produced to survive and procreate equally with the best, there would be very rapid racial deterioration. While natural selection may be slow to effect improvement, it is at least all important in preventing extreme degeneracy. Conscious artificial selection, on the other hand, can very rapidly attain a desired end provided only the genetic factors are present in the race.

It may seem that the various domestic animals and plants have been obtained in a period of time very short relative to

that required by blind, unconscious nature. How much more rapidly can we obtain results, now that the principles of heredity are understood and the ground has been cleared of impeding superstitions.

Genetic factors for fine physique, keen intellect, and emotional stability are present in the human race, as well as factors for all sorts of defects. Is it not a cause for regret that the latter should be continued when the world might be filled instead with healthy and happy people? A knowledge of methods of Birth Control together with education in genetic and eugenic principles will give to women, who care for the character and welfare of their children, the power to refuse to have them by any but the most admirable types of men.

Even if many men are indifferent to the eugenic qualities of their mates and fail to have regard for posterity, is it right that women who are to bear and care for the children, should be denied the privilege of determining the hereditary character of their offspring? Every woman who believes that like begets like should ask herself this question.

The writer believes that man has attained his present stage of development as the result of the reactions of evolutionary forces that were blind to the end toward which they were tending. Man may attain even greater heights without conscious direction or eugenic knowledge. The complexities of modern life are undoubtedly having a very drastic selective effect, and perhaps a superior race will arise from the industrial struggle. But in so far as conscious direction is applied, not only will man's environmental conditions improve, but his hereditary nature will be changed as well.

Birth Control is at least one very important means both of eutheic and of eugenic improvement.

Appeals from Mothers

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

About a month ago I sent for one of your books, *Woman and the New Race*, and I have read it all through and that is only book I ever read that daurs to tell the truth. Now Mrs. Sanger excuse me for asking some more that you daired to tell in the book. Believe me I am one of the most unfortunate women in the world. I am only 36, been married for eighteen years and have already eleven children living, my youngest is six months old and worst of all I am two months pregnant again. I so much fear that I will not get through with it well, for my last baby almost cost my life. I do feel miserble that I can't write no more, but please try to understant me and this poorly speled letter for I am one of foreing birth and never went to school in this country. I only lurned my english by reading english books. So pray don't overlook me for in you I have my last hope.

So I will wait for your answer.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I saw an advertisement of your book *Woman and the New Race* so sent for a copy. I am very glad that I did so although it contains no actual help for me. How can a woman placed as

I am find help? We live in a secluded valley among a settlement of Slavonians, whose women-folk bear children as early and as often as nature permits. My nearest neighbor is 27; has had eight children, three are living. About fifty per cent. reach the age of 18 or 19 when they either marry or die of tuberculosis. They speak little or no English. We have been here—my husband teaches public school—almost three years. I have been out twice—a 20-mile drive to the hospital for our babies' births. One baby is now 20 months, the other 6 months. I have not been in a store or a church for nearly three years. The people here think it ridiculous to send a woman to hospital for childbirth. The husband officiates, unless he happens to be away from home, when some woman may happen to come in or no one at all. But I am known to be "poor stuff," having been paralyzed as the result of an accident 12 years ago, when we first came into this province, and were living some nine miles from here. But for that accident my husband and I would have been married 12 years ago. He went away, enlisted when the war broke out in 1912, and on his last leave, returned to find that my brother was in the army, my mother dead and I all alone. So we were married and I spent the time before his discharge in gaining strength for his return. I was 35

when my first baby was born and was three months in hospital. We have no home, we cannot afford to have more children. Isn't there some way I can help myself if I should need it? My sister-in-law, the only woman I knew to talk to, died following an operation to prevent maternity. She knew no other help. Your book says there is other help. How can I find it? I dare not risk motherhood again.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I read your book on *Woman and the New Race*, and now feel I must write you to see if you can help me.

I am only a poor renter's wife and have three little boys now and carrying my fourth, and I feel so miserable from the day I conceive till the day the baby is born, that I think if our lawmakers felt half as bad as I do they would not forbid knowledge of Birth Control to any married woman.

I feel I have about all the children I can properly take care of and more. If you can help me, please do it.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am writing these few lines, trusting you won't think me too forward. I am a sufferer from kidney trouble, and when my first baby was born in the hospital, I spent three months there before the baby was born at all, and then they gave me up and said they did not think I would get over it. When the baby was born and I was sent home, they told me never to have another baby. When I asked the doctor how was I to stop that he said, "Learn." But when my first baby was six months old, I was two months with another baby, so you see I had no rest at all when I had to go back to the same hospital with the

same trouble. They said, "I thought I told you not to have any more babies." I said, "Yes, I know you did, but why don't you do something for me?" He said, "If I was to do that for you, I would be put out of this hospital." So I had to suffer this time more than the last, and I asked God to please let me die. When the second was born and I was home again with two small babies and a man out of work and myself so weak that I could die and be glad, I was soon ready for another. So you see Mrs. Sanger six months after every time I am ready for another, and I am only 25 now and my two babies are one year and two years old, and I would have had two more if a good kind doctor had not helped me. But I can't go on forever doing away with them because no one will help me. I am just slowly killing myself. So I am writing to you, Mrs. Sanger, if you will only do something to help me. I can get proof and show that I am not fit to have babies. I should be glad to have them if I was in good health, but I am not. Trusting you will do something for me.

At the home of Frank Mugnio, Charles and High Streets, Maspeth, Queens, they are celebrating the arrival of the twentieth child.

Mrs. Mugnio is thirty-seven years old and was married in this city at thirteen. She admits she has been too busy caring for the children to have any wedding anniversary celebrations. There were two sets of twins. Helen and Margaret are living. The others died.

The eldest daughter, Anna, is married. The family occupies a six-room cottage owned by the father, an automobile painter.
—New York World, June 14, 1922.

The Fear of Birth Control

By Blanche Schrack

ONE OF THE most frequently heard arguments against Birth Control is that it is "unnatural." The argument is seldom elaborated by the people who use it, for the very simple reason that their pronouncement is based on the conviction that marriage was instituted by God for the sole purpose of perpetuating the human race; and any other use of the marriage-relation is therefore "contrary to the order of nature."

The argument rests on too simple an assumption. Because one of the natural results of the marriage act is the procreation of children, people assume that that is the sole purpose of marriage. They either overlook the fact that the marriage-relation is very frequently an expression of the mutual esteem of husband and wife; or the Puritanism so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon races inspires aversion to the idea of sensuous pleasure in marriage, and they will not tolerate the notion that this can be one of the natural purposes of marriage.

This moral prejudice is in many cases the animating principle of the conviction that Birth Control is "unnatural." We interfere with "nature" in many spheres, and where no moral

issue is involved, we do it with a good conscience. The use of water power to drive machinery and the growing of seedless oranges are examples of an interference with nature; and to take a very simple but homely illustration, nature evidently intended men to be bearded, yet no one condemns a man for shaving every day.

On the other hand, even where morals are involved, hallowed custom may blind us to the fact that a certain conventional rite is "contrary to nature." The marriage ceremony, instituted and buttressed by the authority of state and church is itself contrary to the order of nature. "Nature" has no artificial ritual of marriage. It is enough for her purposes that two people of opposite sex, moved by a certain emotion, should come together to propagate the race. The society which denies the right of motherhood to the woman who is not married in accordance with an established rite is thwarting nature.

PERSONALLY, I AM not arguing for natural marriage, since that would inevitably mean promiscuity. The human race has always found some regulation of the sex instinct necessary for the order and progress of human affairs; but the

appeal to "nature" makes one pause to inquire if it is not sometimes necessary to go against nature in order to improve and better humanity. And if Birth Control does this, it is justified in the same way and for the same reason that society is justified in regulating marriage.

The truth is, the belief that Birth Control is "unnatural" is very often the mask under which we hide a fear—the fear that the practice of Birth Control will lead to excessive sexual indulgence on the part of husband and wife. Dr. Mary Scharlieb expresses this very frankly in an article on the social aspects of Birth Control. "By removing the chief check on the husband's desires and demands," she says, "it destroys the wife's protection from his too great insistence and persistence."

This argument, however, for all its seeming plausibility, is contradicted by the facts. The exhausted, overworked and disabled mothers of eight and ten children are in themselves proof that "the fear of consequences" has not operated as a check on their husbands' desires.

If, as so often happens, the evident physical disability of a wife has not been a sufficient check on the husband's desires to prevent the bringing of another unwanted child into the world, can the practice of Birth Control do any greater physical or spiritual harm to the woman? The answer is plain. The woman who has been forced to bear children faster than her health will permit has clearly had no protection from the "too great insistence and persistence" of her husband. And that there are many such women among the poorer classes of our population is a fact too well attested to need reiterating here.

The people who fear the practice of Birth Control may lead to excessive sexual indulgence fail to take account of the weight of public opinion. Though not readily apprehensible, in the sense of being an accurately measurable thing, public opinion is nevertheless a potent influence for sexual restraint.

EXCESS in any direction is a very evident evil, and public opinion rightly condemns it. Few people can hold out

against the universal condemnation of society, and the solid weight of public opinion is against sexual indulgence, just as it was against excessive drinking even before the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect.

Long before that amendment became law, we had given up the heavy drinking which was universal in former times—in the days of Fox, and Burke and Pitt, for instance, when the best men of the time habitually drank to excess. And this change had come about solely through the power of a growing public opinion. In the same way, the tide of public opinion is against sexual excesses. Dr. Scharlieb's fear that the practice of Birth Control will lead to the return of a regime of uncontrolled license and unbridled passion characteristic of former times, is entirely unfounded. The thing is impossible. Public sentiment is against it. Human nature has not changed radically, it is true, and sexual excess is not unknown now, but it is not now condoned by society, even when it is indulged in under the protection of a marriage certificate.

Excess cannot be concealed, not even the excess committed in the privacy of the marriage-relation. A character in a novel of Oscar Wilde's says very truly:

"Sin cannot be concealed. People talk sometimes of secret vices. There are no such things. If a wretched man has a vice, it shows itself in the lines of his mouth, the droop of his eyelids, the molding of his hands even." He might have added that it shows in the person's whole body, in the impairments and disease to which vice leads.

This holds true whether Birth Control is practiced or not. Birth Control cannot lead to immorality so long as husbands and wives are subject to the check of a wholesome public opinion. The herd instinct is too strong. We defer very readily to the weight of our neighbors' opinions. Indeed, the argument that Birth Control, by removing "the fear of consequences," would lead to excessive sexual indulgence is itself an argument of immorality, for morality should be a matter of principle and not of expediency.

Iowa's Pioneer Birth Control Advocate

By Edith Paul Graham

HANNAH MACY HINSHAW was the first woman in the States of Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, to advocate Birth Control publicly. This publicity, at that time, had to be most cautious, on account of the strong prejudice against such (so-called) heresy.

In the early 70's Hannah Macy Hinshaw and her husband, Jacob Hinshaw, were well known and popular evangelists. This religious work gave her a chance to get the ears of the people, which would, under ordinary circumstances, have been impossible.

In her young days she wrote novels but, having an over-trained conscience, she became convinced that writing imaginary things was wrong, so she burned her manuscripts and turned to something more concrete, thereby giving to her state and its two sister states, their first lessons in common-sense

decency. Her cousin (Robert Merideth) did not suffer from overactive conscientiousness, for which we are thankful, as he has given many smiles to a tired world.

Her uncle (Jesse Macy) must have been blessed with the same brand of conscience as that of Hannah, for his text books are the last thought in solidity—but back to the Birth Control theme.

Hannah Macy Hinshaw used to give little "call meetings" when she and her husband were traveling evangelists. These meetings were held in the churches of afternoons and were for women only. When the Elders objected to the use of the meeting houses in this way, as they often did, nothing daunted, she would call the women together in the various homes and proceed to give them a broader, saner vision of life and especially of motherhood.

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THAT SHE AND her husband did not believe in compulsory motherhood is proven by their limited family of four children; four children in that day and time being far below the average in number, when so often the number ran into two figures. She and her husband were Quakers, and in that blessed religious faith no marriage is ever solemnized in which the word "obey" appears.

The things Hannah Macy Hinshaw said were a powerful shock to the high wall of prudery which surrounded every family of fifty years ago. Her Birth Control ideas were sane, and clean.

Here are some of her shocking declarations: "If you are not going to believe in and practice Birth Control, then practice polygamy! It is better to have a dozen wives than to kill one. The Turkish homes, in this respect, are more humane—more biblical—than the average American one."

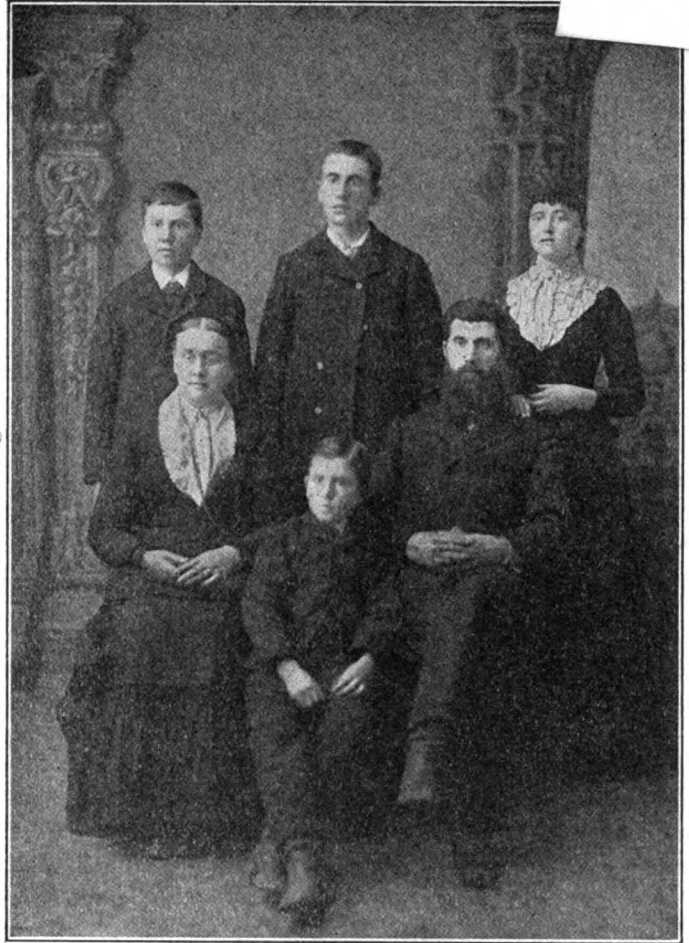
"Over-production, even of so greatly to be desired blessing as children, undermines the health of the mother, overtaxes the earning capacity of the father, and inflicts upon the world a race of devitalized human beings."

"The quickest road to ultimate race extermination is the one that follows the sign posts of married license minus all thought of Birth Control."

"The marriage ceremony has, in too many cases, become the screen for forced licentiousness."

"Religion itself, has forgotten the injunctions of the Great Teacher concerning married life's biggest asset—LOVE."

The crying need of the world of today is not for *more* children but for *superior* ones!



Jacob and Hannah Macy Hinshaw with their family of four "Birth Control" children. These "children" are, all but one, grandparents now; so it proves that Birth Control *does not* mean "race suicide."

A Way Out

By May Peirce Guest

(Continued from July Issue)

CHAPTER V.

A PERMANENT DREAM

HOURS PASSED WHILE Janey lay on the old red plush sofa, clasping Ben's pillow, while little Leo finally wailed himself to sleep.

Her mind was a churn of frenzied fears, of horrible swirling imaginings. She fought off hysteria:—if she cried she knew she would laugh,—and if she began, she knew she could not stop. Ben jobless—no money for rent or food—and the doctor's bill still unpaid. No happiness at all—nothing in life but misery!

She did wish the wind would stop rattling that shutter: it shook like her nerves.

And the clock!—what a selfish, heartless, automatic old thing it was, never stopping a moment. She wished it might get out of order and cease its racing with Time. It could never win against that old chap! Its ceaseless ticking made her feel breathless—it truly did. What was Ben doing now? Had she

perhaps lost him forever? Where was God, that he did not look after his children better? Perhaps there was no God at all!

Around, and around, and around raced her thoughts—faster, faster, faster! Was she headed for the mad house? How did folks keep sane, anyhow!

The wind died down,—the clock ticked more quietly; a soft fogginess enfolded Janey. She had a sense that Ben was near; that his heart was beating close to her own; that she had not lost him for a single moment; that all was well after all. With a tremulous sigh of relief she reached out her arms and seemed to draw his dear head to her breast. "My Ben, my precious," she murmured drowsily, if only I might keep on dreaming, dreaming this dream forever!"

HOW REAL HIS curly head felt in the circle of her arm; how firm and warm the pressure of his lips upon hers! She must never open her eyes, must never wake up!

Then he seemed to be whispering to her: "My darling, oh, my Janey, I am home again at last. I have lived a thousand years since I left! But I am back, safe and sound, Love; your own old Ben. Can you ever forgive me for going like that?"

And she whispered, ever so softly, so as not to waken herself—"I never blamed you, Honey-boy. I understood so well, and my heart most broke for you, my poor Bennie!

Again his lips were on hers, and there was a long, pulsing silence, filled with a blissful reassurance.

"Don't let's ever speak, Bennie; it would surely stop this dream," she murmured presently. And then Ben laughed! At that laugh her eyes flew open and there, there, close in her arms was her Ben of flesh and blood!

"Why—why," she gasped, "I thought I was asleep, was dreaming. And it was really *you* all the time?"

"All the time and forever, Janey, and we will never wake up from this dream, believe me! I have found a way! Listen:—

Words tumbling over words, he poured forth his adventures of the night: told of the painted kid whom he took to the movies; of treating her to ice cream; of even the color scheme of her "budoor." And then of his escape from her and her vulgar perfume and leech-like personality. And then, that other—the woman with the clear steady, all-seeing eyes who had read his heart and felt the agony of his soul; the woman who had given him hope, and told him there was a way out.

"She stood there like an angel, Janey, like one with splendid wide-spreading sort of wings, and the street light just above her, like a halo over her head. I prayed to God to show me a way out the night when little Leo was born, when you nearly left me, but God didn't answer then and I felt mad. But perhaps He *can't* answer just when we ask; perhaps he has to wait His chance. And perhaps that angel-woman was his first chance of reaching me, sort of, you know, making it easy for Him to speak so as I could understand."

THERE WAS A long, pondering silence on Ben's part; a breathless waiting on Janey's. He rose at length and made a light. "See, here is a magazine she sells, THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. It tells of how many, many folks are just like us, Janey, and how they can be educated to see and manage their lives different. It ain't necessary for them to live apart all the time (like me in one room and you in another) eatin' their hearts out and gettin' more and more balled up and disgusted with life—life without no romance or anything, to help over the hard places, you know."

"She said folks could go on bein' happy and lovin' and everything; and if conditions weren't fit for havin' kids, you didn't have to, see? She said it was a crime to bring sickly babies into the world; and God knows, *we* realize that, you and me, Janey!"

Again he paused, and thought, "I can't say things like her of course, but she's comin' tomorrow at ten o'clock to tell you all about it so we can start fresh. And—and—oh, yes, she said: 'Love and Reason should always travel together; that if folks could learn always, every minute, to look ahead, they could save most all the trouble coming to them.' See? It's up to us, Janey, up to us; to every couple. They've just got to learn to think; to think right and at the right time. Perhaps it ain't so easy as it sounds, but if a feller's made up his mind and got a strong will I reckon he can, especially if he loves a woman more than he does himself.

He spoke still more slowly: "And even if he loved himself most, it would pay him best if he didn't have more kids than he could take care of. No chap can do justice to his job, when he's worried sick. Whatever way you look at it—it would pay a man to think about this and look into it."

Still Janey waited in silence, her glowing eyes devouring her Ben, her Ben who had returned to her, sweet and clean, and filled with wonderful visions of a new life. So eagerly did she listen that her heart seemed scarce to beat.

Ben scratched his head and stared hard at his foot which he moved back and forth. He went on,—"*She hasn't perhaps got*

(Concluded on page 161)

Birth Control as a Public Health Measure

By Reynold A. Spaeth, Ph. D.

School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, Maryland

IN DISCUSSING Birth Control as a public health measure we deliberately exclude for the moment such questions as morality, religion, and economics—including the matter of war and peace. Each of these questions is vital to public health in a specific and important way and the discussion of each is bound up with the consideration of Birth Control. But they are not within the province of the physiologist concerned directly with particular problems of public health. In the School of Hygiene and Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University, we are particularly striving for the assured health of the community; with the prevention rather than the cure of disease; with the causes that make for infant mortality, epi-

demics, industrial diseases. We offer courses and engage in research in every branch of scientific knowledge that throws light on the causes of ill health,—the dangers of improper home and industrial environments and the best ways of combating disease at its source and preventing its spread.

The public health viewpoint is essentially non-partisan. It would be obviously unpractical to apply sanitary measures exclusively in the homes of the wealthy and educated. But public health is concerned not only with the prevention and control of disease, but ultimately with every factor which contributes to the health of individuals in all walks of life.

We must admit that by limiting the number of their off-

spring both the health and happiness of the well-to-do are frequently increased. If we could prove that this practice was on the whole injurious among the educated and wealthy, we might make out a case against the further dissemination of contraceptive information. The advantages, however, especially in the twenty-five hundred to seven thousand dollar groups, which include the vast majority of university men and women, are many and obvious—we need only recall the higher standard of living, the proportionately greater attention received by each child in the small family and the better health of the parents—that in my opinion public health authorities must see the urgency and wisdom of extending these advantages to individuals on more modest intellectual and economic levels.

In order to meet the terrifying economic combination of a large family and a small income, the wives of industrial workers frequently themselves enter industry. Under these circumstances a pregnancy is peculiarly demoralizing. Industry has no particular place for the expectant mother, nor, it must be admitted, has the pregnant woman any particular contribution to make to industry. Even though a good worker, she is at best an unstable asset, for no method of job analysis or scientific management, has thus far succeeded in establishing any guiding principle for her behavior. We know that her metabolism is profoundly changed and that she frequently shows an abnormal sensitivity to fatigue. The latter is certainly not diminished by the realization of the additional physical and economic burden about to fall upon her shoulders.

At this point, the problem of hyper-fecundity may become directly associated with that of venereal disease. In their dread of further pregnancies, women, both in industrial and non-industrial life, frequently feel compelled to wink at extramarital sexual relations on the part of their husbands.

Psychiatrists are familiar with the profound psychopathic disturbances that often result from the conflict between fear of pregnancy and the desire to maintain the marital relation intact. Here the problem reaches out into the great field of mental hygiene, a field in which intelligent doctors of public health are required to have more than a casual knowledge.

Physicians frequently claim that contraceptive knowledge is widespread among even the poorest families. The difficulty is that such families fail to take practical advantage of their knowledge. What they really lack is sufficient imagination to appreciate the grave economic consequences to their immediate family that will result from the birth of an additional child.

This point is probably well taken. No sane advocate of Birth Control as a public health measure believes that the population problem will be solved by distributing contraceptive information, even under the most favorable circumstances and to the most needy. But that at least is an initial step. A long campaign of education and enlightenment in matters of economic and social values and responsibilities must follow. In this campaign for sanity and self-consciousness, public health officials must play an active part.

BLANCHE SCHRACK

BLANCHE SCHRACK, who until recently was one of the contributing editors of this magazine, died in Pittsburgh on May 31, a victim of pneumonia, after an illness of only eight days.

Hers was one of the best critical minds in America. She was a discriminating lover of books, a gifted writer who steadfastly declined to commercialize her passion for literature. Undoubtedly, she could have been successful, as most professionals understand the word; but she preferred to make her living as the office manager of a firm of insurance brokers, and to pursue letters as an avocation.

The scholarly, keen and illuminative book reviews and occasional articles written by Blanche Schrack for this magazine revealed one aspect of her talent. Regarding Birth Control as probably the most important liberating factor in the woman movement, she was nevertheless more than a propagandist for any one reform. Her interests were as wide as the world. She enjoyed probing all ideas, the false as well as the true.

Mass prejudices filled her with contempt. She believed in individual integrity, as well as individual liberty, without reserves. "At heart I am a convinced Nietzschean," she once stated, "entirely in sympathy with his 'aristocratic radicalism'"

She had a genius for friendship. Thinkers, poets and novelists, here and abroad, were proud to number her among their correspondents. Blanche Schrack's letters—always stimulating, because imbued with her unique personality—will be missed by those who admired and loved her.

W. A. R.

A PARIS SCENE

There were four of them—almost of a size. They played about a bench in a busy thoroughfare. On either side of the double bench sat their parents. The mother leaning forward, her hand pressed against her chin, looked into the distance with a vacant hopeless stare, her shawl dropping from one shoulder, her hair disheveled, the incarnation of dumb despair. On the other side sat the father thinly clad, his spare emaciated figure and face looking worn and burdened. They were a pair of helpless infants in the hand of fate. The children played about them like buzzing bees unnoticed. Once or twice the smallest child plucked at her mother's soiled apron but meeting with no response she joined the others. They remained there motionless while the crowd hurried by to the cafes, to the theatres, to life. A few curious glances were cast in their direction but after all—what mattered it? It was Paris. There were thousands of their kind. Paris does not concern itself with them. They are of the abyss. Paris was glittering, alive and gay. Across the way the hurdy-gurdy began to wind out its everlasting monotonous, universal "After the Ball." The little ones danced about the bench. The woman smiled bitterly. Yes, the instinct of life is strong. Youth, smiles, awakening, love, confession, marriage. The everlasting round of mystery, passion, poverty, children and despair.

Birth Control as an Essential Background to Monogamous Marriage

An Address Before the International Birth Control Congress, London

By Edith Houghton Hooker, Baltimore, Md.

ONE OF THE facts that experience constantly reiterates is that the forces of evolution cannot be turned backward by human hands. Evolutionary processes may be retarded by the intervention of mankind, but eventually they prevail over stupidity, prejudice and misconception.

History is replete with evidence to show that monogamous marriage represents the evolution of sex both in its racial and personal aspects to the highest point of usefulness among human beings. Accompanied by suitable divorce regulations, giving love full scope as the final arbiter in the relations between the sexes, the one man and one woman union appears to be the ideal toward which humanity is trending.

Westermarck tells us that "marriage was derived from the family, not the family from marriage," and he adduces adequate ethnological proof that marriage has survived the test of time in response to the law of natural selection. The old saying that "the home is the backbone of the State" indicates the common appreciation of monogamous marriage as an essential institution for the preservation of the racial life.

Among human beings sexual selection is phrased as the spiritual emotion called Love. This mysterious and potent force that binds men and women together in a life long union, acts to insure the improvement of the race stock. At the same time it tends to stimulate the individual to his highest development when social conditions do not unduly interfere.

In considering Birth Control in its relation to monogamous marriage, it is of fundamental importance to recognize the dual nature of sex, first in its relation to the racial life, and second in its relation to the happiness and productivity of the individual. Monogamous marriage without Birth Control is, and presumably always will be an untenable institution for large numbers of individuals. Human fertility far exceeds the physical strength of the average woman, and the earning power of the average man.

DELAYED MARRIAGE results in prostitution and venereal disease, for the sex impulse is too powerful to be consistently denied by the majority of men long after full maturity has been achieved. If marriage is to take place in the early twenties, which under civilization would seem to be the normal mating time, the number of offspring must be regulated to accord with the strength of the woman and the earning power of the man. Too frequent pregnancies may wreck the health of the wife, and result merely in non-viable products of conception, while a larger number of children than the father can support entails unhappiness, privation and eventual disillusion.

Almost any fairly reasonable person is ready to admit that common sense should operate in the utilization of human fer-

tility, but there are those who contend that self control and not Birth Control should be the method adopted. These persons apparently consider the emotion upon which marriage is founded as functioning in its expression only in the production of offspring. This limited and puritanical viewpoint is doubtless derived from the association of sex with sin, for it regards love as lust, and looks upon the child as in the nature of an expiation.

That love in marriage has an additional function in that it tends to preserve the institution itself, and to protect wedlock against venereal infection is a fact patent to any student of social conditions. There may be those who will claim that these are sordid grounds for demanding the right of sexual expression for married people irrespective of procreation. Such persons will say that this viewpoint reduces the wife to the level of the prostitute, and that any man who is so base as to seek sexual satisfaction outside of wedlock merely because the family has reached maximal dimensions deserves to contract venereal disease.

IN ORDER TO weigh fairly the soundness of this claim, let us examine the actual bases of monogamous marriage. Two persons of opposite sexes are brought together by the force that is called love, they marry in order legitimately to express their affection for one another through sex. We are of course here assuming that love is the only right basis for sex relations, and that marriages founded upon ulterior considerations such as money, social position, political expediency and the like are defiant of civilized sexual ideals. We are also assuming that procreation in the absence of love, is not a sufficient ethical basis for marriage, for human beings should mate, not as the beasts are mated, but in response to a spiritual emotion. This man and this woman love one another, therefore humanity grants them the right to sexual companionship under the name of marriage. Now they may or may not desire to have children, they may or may not be able to have children, they may desire to have as many children as possible, or they may desire to have a certain number of children and then no more.

Statistics show that the majority of divorces are sought by childless couples, therefore we may infer that the presence of children tends to convey permanence to the institution of marriage. Statistics, however, also show that the greatest number of desertions occur in families where the number of children exceeds the earning power of the father, therefore we may infer that too many children tend to disrupt the family, and to break up the home. Almost all prostitutes testify that the bulk of their substantial trade comes from middle aged married men.

FROM THIS BRIEF glance at the facts, monogamous marriage appears to be based upon love, children and the home, but as an institution to suffer when there are no children at all or when there are too many children for the family to support. It is obvious that the common joy and responsibility involved in offspring must act to cement wedlock, why then do too many children tend to invalidate the institution? First because love is one of its essential bases, and love in marriage normally expresses itself in sex relations. Second, because when the wife fears pregnancy, she tends to deny her husband the natural means of expressing his affection for her. Third, because the expression of an emotion tends to confirm it, and true sexual sympathy acts to overcome transitory disagreements. Fourth, because the intimacy of married life stimulates sexual desire which when unsatisfied often leads to illicit relations, divorce or separation. Those who would maintain that the wife falls to the level of the prostitute when she satisfies her husband's sexual passion, irrespective of procreation, fail to comprehend the significance of love in the relation of human beings.

Through their caresses the man and the woman are brought together, they express their affection without the paltry medium of words, and the troth being again plighted, they recognize one another once more as mates, and their spiritual and physical being is satisfied. If, on the contrary, sexual expression is denied, the hunger remains and unworthy objects take on an unreal lure potent in precise relation to the emotional repression. For the wife to permit her husband to express his genuine affection for her through sex is not in any wise to degrade herself to the level of the prostitute, for she accepts a real emotion, spiritual as well as physical, the essence of which is altogether lacking in the other instance.

SEX BETWEEN MARRIED people is a communion of the body and spirit as one, the denial of which is in the end the repudiation of love itself. With sex relations barred when there must be no more children, the husband and wife become farther and farther apart, the ordinary friction of daily life is never compensated, they are in the deep sense no longer mates at all, and disharmony and disillusion follow. Sexual abstinence in married life is therefore seen to be a disintegrating force; it tends to separate husband and wife, and to eliminate the natural bond of monogamous marriage.

It is unfortunate that the average individual is so ignorant of the small compass of monogamy at the present time. The very great majority of men, probably 90 per cent are unchaste before marriage and afterwards an enormous number revert to their promiscuous habits. As a vehicle for the sex life of the race, promiscuity and not monogamy today is numerically the more important institution. More civilized people are actually promiscuous than monogamous at the present time. This may seem an exaggerated statement but it is backed up by the facts. Venereal disease gives additional testimony. When we realize that only through monogamous marriage can the racial life be assured a maximum opportunity for full development, the importance of extending the sphere of this institution becomes apparent. The great number of celibate teachers,

trained nurses and women workers in various fields, the large groups of unmarried men and the ranks of prostitution itself, might be vastly reduced if marriage did not necessarily involve unlimited procreation.

A complete sex life rightly lived is of untold developmental significance to the individual, yet many persons of both sexes are denied the happiness of marriage merely because their economic status is not such as to permit large families. The sex impulse in humanity is too potent and too vital a force to be damned back by prejudice and prurience; if its natural channel, monogamous marriage, is closed by restrictive laws against divorce and Birth Control, it will break through, inundating the world with vice and venereal disease. If humanity would but look deeply into the facts with an impartial mind, it would see that evolution itself demands the full recognition of Birth Control. Marriage is essential to the ultimate creation of the superman, but marriage is an untenable institution for the majority of people when it is divorced from Birth Control.

THOSE WHO CALL themselves idealists and who contend that the expression of sex should be restricted solely to procreation do not comprehend the significance of love in human life. They overlook its creative power in the spiritual world, and reduce the relation of men and women to a species of prostitution for which the price paid is the child. Mankind must remake its ideals in this sphere to the end that love may shine forth as the pure and lofty guardian of sex. Where the union between a man and a woman is blest by love there need be no fear that its natural expression will result in degradation.

Life and love are one, and the welfare of both the individual and the race will be best conserved when this fundamental truth is recognized. The problem of sex will never be solved by vain repression. Sex is affirmative, not negative so far as humanity is concerned. Unrestricted procreation is an impediment to evolution, a menace to monogamous marriage, and an unnecessary handicap to man's happiness through self-expression.

Stupidity, prejudice and misconception still block Nature's path, but the power of love will one day overcome these obstacles. The divine experiment must be completed, and love, fully expressed, offers the only medium for this achievement.

Human civilization goes hand in hand with the degree of successful interference which man exerts upon the natural forces surrounding him. Primitive man was overwhelmed and outmastered by his environment, but civilized man harnesses nature to do his will. Savages are not proficient in the arts of cultivating plants and domesticating animals, while these are the very things upon which human progress fundamentally depends. The degree of civilization of any people is closely correlated with the degree of their success in exercising a conquering control over plants and animals. Any knowledge of the laws of heredity, therefore, as applied by man, either directly to himself or indirectly to animals and plants, is a distinct contribution to human progress.

—J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G. Punké

[Continued]

V. OBJECTIONS TO BIRTH CONTROL FOR ALL

Before leaving the consideration of racial decay, some attention must be given to France. In 1713 the population of France was approximately 17,000,000; in 1788, it was 25,000,000; and in 1910, it was 39,000,000. That of the United Kingdom, on the other hand, was approximately 9,429,000 in 1712; 12,560,000 in 1760; and 41,458,720 in 1910. As populations go France has been a relatively densely inhabited country ever since the Middle Ages. In both 1713 and 1788 she had a much larger population than had the United Kingdom. Even in 1910 the United Kingdom had scarcely 2,500,000 more inhabitants than France. When it is remembered that the United Kingdom is a much richer country from the viewpoint of developed industrialism, it is not surprising that she has two and one-half millions more people than France. On the contrary, it is rather remarkable that her numerical superiority is not greater than it is, since modern populational increase have been chiefly due to industrial development.

VIEWED FROM THE standpoint of populational increment, a careful survey of France's vital statistics will show her population increased rapidly during the eighteenth century, but since about 1830 its gain has been less rapid. Her survival rate for the period 1906-10 was 0.7 per 1,000, while for the period 1911-14 it was only 0.4. Her average birth rate for the same period was 19.9 and her death rate was 19.2, and for the period 1911-14 the average birth and death rates were 18.7 and 18.6, respectively. With an average survival rate of 0.55 per 1,000 for the 1906-14 period, it must be admitted France's population is practically stationary. However, it should not be forgotten that she has a comparatively large still-born rate, partly due to syphilis, not listed in the census returns. Moreover, when her mortality rate of 18.9, the average for the 1906-14 period, is considered, it is at once seen that if her statesmen really desire to bring about a populational increase, they might easily cut down her death rate.

The high mortality rate of France is readily seen by comparing it with the death rate of other progressive nations. For the period 1906-10 the Australian Commonwealth had a mortality rate of only 10.7 per 1,000 and New Zealand one of only 9.7 per 1,000. For the same period the United Kingdom had a death rate of 15.1, Denmark of 13.7, Norway of 13.8, Sweden of 14.3, the Netherlands of 14.3, the United States (Registration Area) of 15.2, Germany of 17.5, and Ireland of 17.2, per 1,000 inhabitants. Really, if France's pessimistic "race suicide" croakers would institute nation-wide campaigns of sanitation and infant and child care, cut down the number of deaths from industrial accidents and preventable diseases, instead of wasting their time and energy mourning their country's stationary population, the mortality of France could easily be reduced to 12 or 15 per 1,000, leaving, with her ex-

isting birth rate, a sufficient margin of gain for her economic resources. They, however, reveal the usual childish imbecility of considering only the birth rate.

MORTALITY. In addition to their emphasis on the declining birth rate of recent years, the opponents of voluntary parenthood for all classes stress more strongly, if possible, the bad moral effects of Birth Control. Chief among the objections of these protagonists of "reckless" propagation are the following: Scientific family limitation degrades the marriage relation; next, it weakens self control and the capacity for self-denial and increases the love of ease and luxury; and finally, they charge, it promotes sex immorality.

The first objection avers that voluntary parenthood degrades the marriage relation. Some people, perhaps, view matrimony chiefly as a breeding arrangement; others, possibly, look upon the conjugal act as possessing a reproductive purpose only. The more modern and probably more scientific and rational point of view, on the other hand, maintains marriage has many purposes, of which procreation of children is but one. It is difficult to see how the bearing and rearing to adulthood of five children degrades the marriage relation, while bringing ten children into the world, half of whom go to fill tiny graves in the cemetery, exalts matrimony. Impartially viewed, it might well appear that to limit the number of little ones to what a family can properly rear and educate is less degrading than to procreate irresponsibly, to fill the graveyard, and to add to the pauper, poverty, and criminal classes. If the opponents of family limitation suppose the conjugal act is indulged in only for the purpose of begetting children, it may be well to suggest that a marriage of that type is well-nigh non-existent.

Furthermore, would the protagonists of reckless reproduction seriously maintain that the marital relations of the middle and upper classes of the nations of the Occident, who practice Birth Control extensively, are more degraded than those of the poorer classes? Would they, to be specific, aver that the conjugal life of our civil servants, our professional classes, our ministers of religion, and our intellectually leading classes generally, who practice voluntary parenthood, are more degraded than that of our colored population, who notoriously lets nature take its course? One assumes they would scarcely care to go as far as that.

NEXT, THE MORAL protagonists of unrestricted fecundity oppose Birth Control because "it weakens self control and the capacity for self-denial and increases the love of ease and luxury."

Relative to self control, it may just as well be maintained that voluntary parenthood strengthens that desirable virtue. It is readily assumable that it requires more self control, more foresight, more self-denial, more weighing of the present over

against the future, to limit one's family than to procreate recklessly. Improvidence, lack of foresight and care for the future constitute one of the chief reasons why the lower classes do not practice Birth Control as much as do the middle and upper classes, even when they have access to the means. One assumes it requires more self control and self denial on the part of a married couple to control their fecundity than to procreate irresponsibly. Moreover, if the opponents of family limitation have in mind continence within marriage, it is well to remind them that such abstinence is an ideal, attainable by but few, and that its desirability is very dubious. Further, psychologists know the demands of conjugal love, when fulfilled, immeasurably increase domestic felicity. These points are well worth considering.

Needing consideration also is the statement that Birth Control "increases the love of ease and luxury." Here the entire matter revolves about what is meant by "love of ease and luxury," and what class is being considered. It is a matter of definition and class. If it is assumed that to desire to raise one's self from a lower to a higher economic and social status; an ambition to give one's children a vocational, high school or perhaps a college, university or professional training; a desire to live in a better house; a longing to taste the intellectual stimulus of literature, art, music; to gain a wider knowledge of the world, of its people and its laws and their workings;—in short, if such things are defined as an "increase in the love of ease and luxury," then it is probably that they form a motive in the limitation of the number of children. On the other hand, if "ease and luxury" are taken to mean the desire for an automobile instead of an additional child; the aim to replace the little one by a fancy dog, or an Angora or Persian cat; high standing in clubs, "society," and the like—briefly, those things in themselves often socially useless and harmful—then it is extremely doubtful if a further dissemination of contraceptive information and its use would "increase the love of ease and luxury."

THE CLASSES MOST affected by the latter type of "ease and luxury,"—the idle rich, the social climbers, and their ilk,—now have and make a wide and effective use of voluntary parenthood knowledge. As every person informed on social matters recognizes, it is no longer a question of allowing the middle and upper classes to limit their families—that they now do effectually. The problem today is whether or not the poorer classes, particularly the poverty group, is to be allowed to limit their too numerous progeny; whether a considerable part of the population increment is to come from the less desirable portions of the population.

The less desirable classes, the students of social progress are agreed, are the very people among whom a lowering of the birth rate will prove most salutary, especially if their diminution is recouped by a gain in the other classes. It requires little social knowledge or imagination to see that a large family cannot be reared properly and healthily on the income obtained by the poor class families. Moreover, with a large troop of children the average working class father is absolutely unable to give his children such a training as will fit them for any-

thing but unskilled labor. For that class nothing is more desirable than an elevation of its standard of life.

A raising of the standard of living, not an "increase in the love of ease and luxury" is what would occur if the classes of the population which do not now practice family limitation, were to do so. This is highly desirable. Those classes most given over to the "love of ease and luxury" already effectively use contraceptive methods.

In this connection the statement of Dr. Henri Roger, Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of Paris, is most pertinent. "I hear," he remarks, "all the world groaning over the population of France. I have observed, too, that those who have the fewest children do the most groaning." Important among the opponents of family limitation is the Catholic clergy, modernity's chief order of bachelors. That priesthood might well be pilloried for setting a bad example of "racial decay," especially from a eugenic viewpoint, by insisting upon its own celibacy.

Nor are the degradation of the marriage relations and the emasculation of individual self-control the only moral objections the protagonists of "full quivers" raise. They vociferate more violently, if possible, over the fear that the free dissemination of Birth Control knowledge among the poorer classes would lead to a vast increase in sex immorality. The chief deterrent in this field, they feel, is fear of pregnancy.

"I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to the light I have."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Wait not till you are backed by numbers. Wait not till you are sure of an echo from a crowd. The fewer the voices on the side of Truth, the more distinct and strong must be your own."

—CHANNING.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Falconer, Martha P., Social Worker, on staff of American Social Hygiene Association. Associate Superintendent of Social Morality Nat. W. C. T. U.

Graham, Edith Paul, Writer from California.

Guest, May Peirce, Writer and Artist.

Hooker, Edith Houghton, President Just Government League of Maryland, Editor, "The Voice of the People", Baltimore, wife of Professor Donald R. Hooker, Johns Hopkins Medical School.

Parker, Valeria H., Executive Secretary, U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board; Assist. Educational Director American Social Hygiene Board.

Punké, Edward G. Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan.

Schrack, Blanche, Southern woman from Georgia, was in business in Pittsburgh, Pa. Died May 31 (Memorial notice on page 155).

Spaeth, Reynold A., Ph.D., Hygienist, School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University.

Whiting, P. W., Research Associate Professor of Eugenics, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.

Book Reviews

A Review by Mrs. Martha P. Falconer

RACE DECADENCE, by William S. Sadler, M.D., McClurg Publishing Company, Chicago.

Any book capable of stimulating the general public to an increased interest and intelligence regarding health, individual or racial, and to a wider application of this wisdom cannot be in vain. The author of this treatise has tried to understand and explain the causes of what he considers the mental and physical deterioration of the American people and to outline remedies of defense. His carefully collected material, presented in popular language, contains many facts too little understood by most people but of vital importance to the maintenance and improvement of personal health and race integrity. Hence the book undoubtedly will not fail in its purpose. All that he says is worthy of thoughtful consideration, but cannot be valued as a comprehensive or scientific treatment of the subject, either in the division on personal hygiene or in the one on racial health. In form it is too long and discursive with too many repetitions and digressions. The author is dogmatic and assumes an authoritative stand on the subjects outside the realm of his specialty. For example, his advice as to the treatment of delinquents on page 312, i. e., "Inflict proper punishment * * * if punishment were more swiftly and surely carried out, its deterrent effect would be commensurably greater." And on page 70:—"There are over 10,000 murders a year and only one in every 116 murders is executed"! And on page 9:—"Beautiful and deceptive political theories, like the doctrine of the melting-pot, only serve to deceive and delude us as long as peace and prosperity remain undisturbed."

He is orthodox and unoriginal and, unconsciously, no doubt, bases his opinions on preconceived ideas. As a 100 per cent. patriot his interest is confined to the *American* race, apparently unaware that there can never be perfect health in one nation and degeneracy in another. The problems of group health are international and not national. His main thesis, aside from advice as to personal hygiene, is that of the orthodox eugenist, i. e., that race deterioration is entirely a matter of germ plasma acting without the influence of environment. It would seem to the reviewer that since he has tried to present an impartial survey of the field, some reference to the now and rapidly increasing group of eugenists who believe that environment does not act on hereditary characteristics, should be included. True to type, he decries the work of humanitarians as only pleasant and palliative and does not see how rapidly they are joining hands with scientists in prevention as well as cure of degeneracy. He sees the hygienists and "uplifters" as kindly disgenists, prolonging the lives of the unfit and interfering with the eugenic processes of natural selection. The brevity of the late war was a sadness to him. A longer one would have purged us of more of our national dross. Shades of our noble dead! Curious the discriminating power of poison gas and shells in plucking lungs and heads from bodies of only the mentally and physically inferior! And does the author discredit the statistics showing that cancer and influenza kill more apparently fit than unfit? Over-population as an influence in causing wars is not touched upon, nor is the universal practice of Birth Control discussed either as of importance to the health of the individual or as a measure of natural selection a potent eugenic force.

A Review by Valeria H. Parker, M. D.

THE HEALTHY CHILD FROM TWO TO SEVEN, by Francis Hamilton McCarthy, M.D., the Macmillan Co., New York.

Several excellent books have been written on the care and feeding of infants. Dr. McCarthy's volume is a well planned manual on the care of the child of pre-school age, a period when lack of proper care and neglect of preventable physical defects may permanently undermine health. This neglect was evidenced in the draft for the World War when the majority of the men rejected were found to be suffering from defects which might have been prevented by proper care in early child-

hood. This book is scientific in fact, simple in language, adequate in scope. Emphasis is laid on the need of long periods of rest; the importance of proper methods of feeding, the danger of nervous excitement through evening entertainment, moving pictures, etc. Dr. McCarthy points out the importance of an early formation of proper attitude toward sex by frank and truthful answers to child questions concerning the origin of life and suggests methods by which this may be accomplished. City life with its restrictions is an unsuitable environment for healthful childhood. One rebels against the economic conditions which compel the rearing of children in crowded tenements. In spite of the limitations of the many in the providing of ideal environment for growing childhood, this book is of value to the city and country parent alike, and is recommended to those who desire assistance in assuming the responsibility of laying the firm foundations of health for the young.

A Review by A. G. Porritt

THE CONTROL OF LIFE, by J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., L.L.D., Henry Holt & Company, New York.

Professor Thomson was one of the pioneers in the field of genetics. In 1889, when he was not yet 30 years of age, he published, in collaboration with Prof. Patrick Geddes, "The Evolution of Sex," a book which presented in scientific and yet popular form facts of sex life throughout both animal and vegetable kingdom which were then practically unknown even to the educated, but which now form the basis of all constructive thinking on this vital subject. In his present volume, Prof. Thomson, after an interval of thirty years crowded with constructive work, makes a survey of the field of life—its development from the cell and the relation of offspring to parent. He treats with the caution characteristic of the truly scientific mind, the still unsettled question of the inheritance of individually acquired modifications. He refuses to accept a dogmatic negative answer, but is of the opinion that evidence in favor of any such transmission from parent to offspring is at present unconvincing. On the whole he concludes that it is better for the race that there should be no such transmission, for if advantageous gains could be inherited, so also could injurious modifications. The child has a better chance in inheriting from the general human stock than he would have in inheriting from his individual parents.

The main thesis of Prof. Thomson's book is "Science for Life"—the utilization of science for the advance of man. He points out that man inherits practically no well defined instincts—such as enable the untaught orioles to build their hanging nests. He is endowed with a marvellous brain and it is this brain that must function in the face of problems and difficulties. He regards as "unconscious impiety" such an attitude as that of the Boer farmer who refused to aid in checking a locust plague because "it was attempting to stay the hand of God." Human population problems are equally matters to be solved by reason and science. He gives a general survey of the recent rapid increase of population in civilized countries and of the falling birth among the more fit. He accepts the conclusion of the Registrar General of England that nearly 70 per cent. of the decline must be ascribed to voluntary restriction within marriage and 17 per cent. to postponement of marriage and increased celibacy. He considers both these latter factors "very regrettable" biologically and ethically. Concerning Birth Control he keeps an open mind but points out the advantage of a controlled family for both mothers and children. He quotes Havelock Ellis's championship of Birth Control with favor, and finds fault with Dean Fremantle in urging unrestricted families as a source of "the moral greatness of our people." There is considerable impiety" he adds, "in the saying that whenever the Lord sends a mouth he will send the food to fill it."

WHERE KNOWLEDGE MEANS HAPPINESS, by V. P. F.,
Cosmopolis Press, New York.

Too much marital unhappiness may be traced to sex incompatibility and lack of understanding of the importance of sex life in the companionship of married lovers. This little volume sets forth in simple language some of the things which, if more widely understood and observed, would bring about a larger number of happy marriages. It should be of value to those who wish information regarding the art of making the early glow of married life permanent. It is a practical and helpful contribution.

PERIODICALS

The Nation (New York) for June 21 stepped into the breach in an article entitled "Women, Great and Less Great." It must have seemed to hundreds of thousands of women who are looking to Birth Control for relief, something of an irony that the name of Margaret Sanger was not mentioned either by the *New York Times* or by any other periodical in the discussion of the twelve greatest living American women. If the greatness of a woman be measured by the number of her friends, plus the number of her enemies, it would be hard to find a living woman with a better right to a place on the list than Margaret Sanger.

Physical Culture (New York) for July contains an article by Have-lock Ellis, entitled "Some Difficulties of Marriage". While in no way minimising the difficulties, Dr. Ellis shows that by facing them with understanding and good will, society may hope to preserve that precious result of slow and painful evolution—the monogamous family.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, *SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS*, by Grove Samuel Dow.

From Oxford University Press., American Branch. *THE POPULATION PROBLEMS*, by A. M. Carr-Saunders.

A WAY OUT

(Continued from page 154)

anything very new to tell us after all, but maybe she can put things in a new way. It takes one person to have an idea, but soon everybody knows of that idea, and it gets sort of common, see? And nobody thinks much of it. Then along comes another person who makes that idea plain and practical—plain and practical, see? And then it seems different, and it counts as it ought to, and everybody looks at it with respect—with respect; yes sir, that's the way in life!"

TICK-TOCK; TICKETY-TOCK; tickety-tock! Ben's eyes fell on the face of the sentinel on the mantel, "Good Lord, Janey, it's three a. m. and you not gettin' a wink of sleep!"

With one sweeping movement he gathered Janey up in his great strong arms and carried her into the next room where he gently deposited her in bed, drew the covers over her, kissed her forehead, nose, mouth, all in one breath,—and she was alone.

But, ah, not alone: happiness, hope, an enveloping thankfulness, a wordless gratitude, an immense relief, were hers; within her, about her, holding her, comforting her. With a long, quivering sigh she closed her weary eyes and dropped gently into the arms of rest.

With Janey tucked safely away and little Leo sleeping for an unprecedented period, through the open flood gates of Ben's mind, thoughts continued to gush while he prepared for bed.

"Now there's men who pride themselves on their muscle, on their marvelous physique; but suppose you turned them inside out, sort of, to show what kind of men they really were! What would we find I wonder? Would they have any moral muscle? Any will-power? Any brain-power? Would they have their hand on the wheel and know just what they were doing and where they were going? Or would they just be joy-riding with their arm around some female girl and their eyes anywhere except on the road? I wonder!"

Ben smiled grimly and pushed off his shoes. "It would take some jolt to set them to watching out; probably they'd have to get all smashed up to learn some sense. That's me: didn't really have my hand on the wheel; didn't see life was a serious business; and study to know where I was goin'; just ran along, enjoyin' myself and trustin' to luck. Seein' how we act, I should think God would throw up his job; the way we don't use the brains he gave us, and then keep squealing to Him for help. Say, ain't it queer how different things look when you take time to really study 'em all round like?"

STRETCHING HIMSELF to his superb full height and staring at the light, his thoughts ran on,—“A great, big, strong chap like me, over six foot of surface-muscle, and the brains of a cootie! Bah! Nobody at home! Say, watch the next job I get; believe me, it'll be a big job for a big man, and I'll be big enough for it!”

He slipped into his pajamas, while on raced his ideas, his plans: “And outside the city, somewhere, there's rooms waiting for us, for Janey and little Leo and me; where they'll have air, plenty of air to breathe, and sunshine too, and good milk, and—and a square deal, a chance to get some health, to enjoy life a bit.

“My God, I'll do it or bust! Why, dash it all, I guess I've been only half alive, just sleep-walkin';—and me so proud of my sense and my muscle. But, oh boy, just watch me now! Just watch me!”

Ben threw himself down on the old red sofa. He grinned his wide, boyish grin; stretched luxuriously, yawned and slept!

Over the hushed city a ghostly moon serenely waned. It threw a lingering glance across the face of a sleeping babe. Leo's soft, rose-petalled lips parted and a seraphic smile was born. Was not he, too, dreaming of the better days to come?

Parents who can give three children an opportunity in life, prefer to do that than turn out, let us say, eight ill-trained children at a disadvantage, to become the servants and unsuccessful competitors of the offspring of the restrained.—H. G. WELLS.

THE fact is that, contrary to a public impression, the doctor is not familiar with the scientific aspects of the subject, which have not as yet been thoroughly worked out, and there is no easily accessible medical literature pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of the various methods of contraception in current use.—LANCET, London, England.

The American Birth Control League

MARGARET SANGER, *President*

PRINCIPLES:

The complex problems now confronting America as the result of the practice of reckless procreation are fast threatening to grow beyond human control.

Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by Church and State to produce large families. Many of the children thus begotten are diseased or feeble-minded; many become criminals. The burden of supporting these unwanted types has to be borne by the healthy elements of the nation. Funds that should be used to raise the standard of our civilization are diverted to the maintenance of those who should never have been born.

In addition to this grave evil we witness the appalling waste of women's health and women's lives by too frequent pregnancies. These unwanted pregnancies often provoke the crime of abortion, or alternatively multiply the number of child workers and lower the standard of living.

To create a race of well-born children it is essential that the function of motherhood should be elevated to a position of dignity, and this is impossible as long as conception remains a matter of chance.

We hold that children should be

1. Conceived in love;
2. Born of the mother's conscious desire;
3. And only begotten under conditions which render possible the heritage of health.

Therefore we hold that every woman must possess the power and freedom to prevent conception except when these conditions can be satisfied.

Every mother must realize her basic position in human society. She must be conscious of her responsibility to the race in bringing children into the world.

Instead of being a blind and haphazard consequence of uncontrolled instinct, motherhood must be made the responsible and self-directed means of human expression and regeneration.

These purposes, which are of fundamental importance to the whole of our nation and to the future of mankind, can only be attained if women first receive practical scientific education in the means of Birth Control. That, therefore, is the first object to which the efforts of this League will be directed.

AIMS:

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE aims to enlighten and educate all sections of the American public in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation and the imperative necessity of a world program of Birth Control.

The League aims to correlate the findings of scientists, statisticians, investigators and social agencies in all fields. To make this possible, it is necessary to organize various departments:

RESEARCH: To collect the findings of scientists, concerning the relation of reckless breeding to delinquency, defect and dependence.

INVESTIGATION: To derive from these scientifically ascertained facts and figures, conclusions which may aid all public health and social agencies in the study of problems of maternal and infant mortality, child-labor, mental and physical defects and delinquency in relation to the practice of reckless parentage.

HYGIENIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL instruction by the Medical profession to mothers and potential mothers in harmless and reliable methods of Birth Control in answer to their requests for such knowledge.

STERILIZATION of the insane and feeble-minded and the encouragement of this operation upon those afflicted with inherited or transmissible diseases, with the understanding that sterilization does not deprive the individual of his or her sex expression, but merely renders him or her incapable of producing children.

EDUCATIONAL: The program of education includes: The enlightenment of the public at large, mainly through the education of leaders of thought and opinion—teachers, ministers, editors and writers—to the moral and scientific soundness of the principles of Birth Control and the imperative necessity of its adoption as the basis of national and racial progress.

POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE: To enlist the support and co-operation of legal advisors, statesmen and legislators in effecting the removal of state and federal statutes which encourage dysgenic breeding, increase the sum total of disease, misery and poverty and prevent the establishment of a policy of national health and strength.

ORGANIZATION: To send into the various States of the Union field workers to enlist the support and arouse the interest of the masses to the importance of Birth Control so that laws may be changed and the establishment of clinics made possible in every State.

INTERNATIONAL: This department aims to co-operate with similar organizations in other countries to study Birth Control in its relations to the world population problem, food supplies, national and racial conflicts, and to urge upon all international bodies organized to promote world peace, the consideration of these aspects of international amity.

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SEPTEMBER, 1922

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE

AMERICAN DELEGATES IN LONDON

MARGARET SANGER'S IMPRESSIONS

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THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, INC.

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IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

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 HOLLAND (1885)—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
 GERMANY (1889)—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
 FRANCE (1895)—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
 BOHEMIA-CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1901)—Secretary, Michael Kaoha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
 SPAIN (1904)—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Louis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
 BRAZIL (1905)—Seccion Brasilena de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Viscande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janeiro.
 BELGIUM (1906)—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
 CUBA (1907)—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWITZERLAND (1908)—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
 SWEDEN (1911)—Sallakapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
 ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sexuale*.
 AUSTRIA—Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftszwang. Johann Ferch, President. Wien, XV/1 Gablengasse 31. Periodical, *Sexual Reform*.
 PORTUGAL—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
 AFRICA—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
 JAPAN (1921)—Voluntary Parenthood League. Baroness S. K. Ishimoto, President. 10, Hinoki-cho Akasaki-ku, Tokyo.
 INDIA (1922)—Hinduathan Janamvash Sabha (Indian Birth Control Society), Delhi. Honorary Organizer, Professor Gopalji.

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 MARGARET SANCER

Managing Editor
 ANNIE G. PORRITT

Circulation Manager
 RUTH ALBERT

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI

SEPTEMBER, 1922

No. 9

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE

The Sessions in Kingsway Hall, London, July 11, 12, 13, 14—The Foreign Delegations from Europe, Asia and America—Medical Research Society Formed—Resolutions and Manifestoes—Social Events and Public Meeting—Comparison Between English and American Birth Control Movements.

By Annie G. Porritt

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE—all had their place in the Fifth International Birth Control Conference which assembled in London on July 11. There were reports of work done and of progress made with greater or less difficulty in countries of the old and the new world. There were papers setting forth the present status of the movement and discussing the many problems connected with it—problems that are political, economical, biological and medical in character. There was also the forelook into the future, and one aspect of this especially concerned the American Birth Control League because it took the form of an invitation from the League to the Sixth International Conference to meet three years hence at Portland, Oregon. The place and date were chosen with reference to the World's Exposition which is to be held in Portland during the summer of 1925. It is the hope and expectation of the American Birth Control League that before that date arrives the movement will have attained proportions and momentum that will make of the Conference a really notable event in the history of civilization.

The proceedings of the London Conference when published in full will make a large volume. It is impossible here to give any adequate idea of any of the papers. Including that limited to the medical profession, there were in all ten sessions, with an average of five or six papers at each, in addition to the general discussion of the various aspects of the subject. The American delegation contributed fifteen papers including Mrs. Sanger's speech in introducing the "Individual and Family Aspects of Birth Control," as chairman of this section. The papers of Professor Knight Dunlap on Psychological Factors in Birth Control, of Professor W. F. Willcox on Economic Competition between American Races, Negro and White, and of Dr. Donald R. Hooker on "Effect of X-Rays on Reproduction in the Rat" were subjects of considerable comment in the English papers.

THE FIRST SESSION, after the address of welcome by the President, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, was devoted to reading of

greetings and reports. Among the delegates were eight medical officers of health, sent by British municipalities, a fact which shows the keen interest taken in Birth Control by local government authorities in England. There were fourteen representatives from India, and several from China and Japan. With the exception of Russia the European countries had all manifested their interest, and Frau Schwimmer from Hungary and Herr Ferch from Austria bore testimony to the deep need for control of population in these devastated and unhappy countries. The Dutch report was of peculiar interest. The advocates of Birth Control look to Holland for inspiration and enlightenment, since it is in that country that Birth Control has had the best opportunity of proving its beneficial results. The Dutch Neo-Malthusien League reported an active membership of 6,978—the population of Holland barely exceeds five millions—a death rate of ten per thousand and infantile mortality rate of under fifty per thousand. Birth Control in Holland is purely voluntary, but even the poorest have opportunities for instruction in hygienic methods. The League maintains fifty-five trained instructors, and the medical profession also responds readily to the general demand for information concerning contraceptives. In Sweden there is still a law against contraceptives, but the strong movement for its repeal has shown its effect in the fact that there is a large majority in favor of Birth Control in the Lower Chamber, and a bill introduced in the last session was defeated by a very narrow margin in the Upper House. The frantic efforts of the French Government to combat Birth Control are showing no results of value to the nation. In fact it is impossible by the offer of medals or bonuses to persuade thrifty and responsible French families to have more children than they can support and start in life. M. G. Giroud, who was unable to be present, in his summary of the situation in France, regretted this retrograde government policy, but had little doubt that France would continue to hold its own as a country of balanced population.

British and American Birth Control Movements

GREAT BRITAIN shares with Holland the distinction of being a country free from governmental prohibitions on Birth Control. It is possible in England and Scotland to maintain mothers' clinics at which contraceptive information can be given, and one of the most important outcomes for England of the Fifth International Birth Control Conference was the formation of a medical society for the study of Birth Control. The two leading medical papers in Great Britain, The "British Medical Journal" and "The Lancet" both gave respectful and interested attention to the medical phases of the Conference. The Lancet report ran to four columns, and included an excellent summary of the address of Dr. Norman Haire, the Chairman of the section. The medical session was attended by Lord Dawson, the King's physician, by many Medical Officers of Health, and by the medical men and women from among the foreign delegates. It is the object of the British advocates of Birth Control to secure the introduction of Birth Control instruction in every welfare clinic and woman's hospital ward, conducted under public or private auspices in England and Scotland. The clinic conducted by the Malthusian League is maintained simply as an object lesson, and will be turned over to the borough authorities as soon as such a transfer will be accepted.

One remarkable characteristic of the Birth Control movement in Great Britain is the degree to which it is dominated by men. The second session—Tuesday afternoon—was the only session which had a woman—Mrs. Sanger—in the chair. One result of this male dominance is that the humane and individual aspects of Birth Control were subordinated to the political, economic and eugenic aspects. It needed Mrs. Sanger's grasp of all sides of the question, combined with her infinite pity and sympathy for the griefs and difficulties of suffering women to restore the balance. There were four Englishwomen on the programme in Mrs. Sanger's section, but not one of them dared to "let herself go" and to express anything like sentiment or deep feeling in regard to motherhood and Birth Control. Strongly affected by the male tone of the Conference, they emphasized the material and economic benefits of Birth Control, and gave little attention to the supposedly subordinate matters of human happiness or misery, mother love, or the wrecking or salvaging of married life. The American movement, thanks to Mrs. Sanger, has never lost touch with these deeper realities of our being. It has been strengthened and reinforced by all the arguments of the economists and biologists; but throughout it has been a humane concern, and it has consequently appealed to women in tens of thousands. The American Birth Control League is the work of women, aided, encouraged and supported by a very large number of men. The British Malthusian League is primarily a man's movement, urged on and supported by the devoted work of a more limited number of women. Throughout the Conference, Mrs. Sanger stood as the type and embodiment of the woman's revolt against unlimited and irresponsible reproduction, and as the leader of the crusade which would lift women from darkness and despair into light and freedom.

The Sections at Work

NO PRAISE CAN BE too high for the excellence of the papers and of the chairman's address in the Economic and Statistical section. This is a department in which the British Birth Control movement excels, and Mr. J. M. Keynes, as chairman, made invaluable contributions to the subject, not only in his address but also in his incisive replies to questions and objections. His definition of over-population is especially worthy of quotation. A country or locality, he said, is over-populated, as soon as the addition of one person causes a diminution of its well-being. If you would be better off in home or city or county with fewer people you are suffering from over-population. There were other and equally interesting definitions of over-population. Dr. Knut Wicksell of Sweden, after discussing the constant need of emigration to keep down the population of his native land, where a fairly high birth rate and a very low death rate would quickly bring about congestion, put the definition in a negative form. Over-population exists, he said, as soon as population can be diminished with advantage to those left behind, and he added that at present there was not a single country in Europe that would not be immensely better off if the population were greatly diminished. Sweden especially had suffered during the war because emigration had been cut off, with the result of wide-spread unemployment and bitter poverty. Emigration, as a palliative, was severely scored by Professor Roberto Michels, of the Milan University, who represented both Italy, his adopted country, and Switzerland. Emigration does not permanently solve the problem, he urged. It is in fact an evil. It takes from the best of the inhabitants of a country and as soon as pressure is removed, a rise in the birth-rate renews the evil.

The Rev. Gordon Lang, who presided over the Moral and Religious Section, represented the English Nonconformists. He is a young man, full of enthusiasm and zeal for humanity. The papers in this section included three from American delegates—Birth Control as a Background for Monogamous Marriage by Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker of Baltimore, author of the *Laws of Sex*; The Control of Parenthood as a Moral Problem by Dr. Sydney Goldstein, of the Free Synagogue of New York, and Motherhood as a Profession by the Rev. F. W. Betts, D.D., of Syracuse. As we purpose to devote a considerable portion of a coming issue to the religious aspect of the Birth Control movement, I shall not occupy further space here with this section.

The Thursday morning session which was devoted to Eugenics, with Professor E. W. MacBride as Chairman, afforded the keenest satisfaction and delight to the scientifically minded. Every one of the six papers announced on the printed programme was from the United States. But this American predominance was balanced by the remarkable address of the chairman and by valuable contributions in the general discussion that followed the reading of the papers. Professor MacBride pointed out that it is the artificial interference of civilized man that has given rise to the present population problem. A pair of frogs with an average lifetime of five

years produces during that lifetime some 12,000 progeny, but the balance of frog population is not thereby disturbed, because the various casualties of frog life will in the meantime have disposed of all but two, leaving at the death of the parent pair just as many and just as few frogs as there were before. Similar conditions prevailed in the past in regard to man. Wars, plagues and famines and high infant mortality rates disposed of all the surplus population leaving in all the older countries a practically stationary population. Industrialism and the steady lowering of the death-rate have caused the upset of this balance, and no longer is it possible to dispose of the surplus by emigration. Professor MacBride pointed out the disgenic effects of preserving alive the poorer strains which in former years would have perished, and commented on the refusal of both foreign countries and British colonies to accept this poor material as immigrants, leaving no reasonable alternative for over-populated England but Birth Control.

THE NATIONAL and International Section, which held its session on Thursday afternoon was presided over by Harold Cox. The subjects chiefly stressed were the dangers to civilization and to the peace of the world from ever-increasing over-population both in the Far East and in all European countries. There were contributions from Sweden, Japan and Germany. Mr. Cox gave no extended address at this session but limited himself to summing up and commenting upon the arguments put forward and joining in the discussion when this seemed necessary. His wide understanding of population questions and his lucid and interesting presentation of them were shown not so much at this session as at the public meeting, at which he was one of the principal speakers.

Friday was the medical day—an open medical section in the morning, the session limited to the medical profession in the afternoon, and in the evening a session for the delegates in general, at which a report of the afternoon meeting was given by Dr. Norman Haire, and an informal and general discussion of contraceptives and methods resulted. In the afternoon, while the doctors were in session, there was also a meeting of the section devoted to propaganda methods and publicity for the movement. It was realized that the Birth Control movement, however scientific its basis, depends on publicity for its spread and success, and Professor Knut Wicksell of Sweden—a country where wide propaganda is being employed to overcome obstructive legislation—presided over the conference which was devoted to a discussion of propaganda methods.

The chairman of the open Medical Section was Dr. Killick Millard, Medical Officer of Health, whose address was devoted to a discussion of the healthfulness of the use of contraceptives. He described the results of a questionnaire sent to 74 prominent gynecologists. Of these 52 believed such use to be conducive to health, while 11 replied unfavorably, and of these eleven several were undoubtedly swayed by religious beliefs rather than by scientific observations. The sterilization of the unfit as a necessary means for the community to protect itself from the ever-increasing multiplication of the poorer

strains, which results from modern humanitarianism, was discussed by Dr. Norman Haire. Dr. W. H. B. Stoddard, as a psychologist, offered strong proofs that harmful results from the practice of Birth Control are frequently due to mental attitude, to fears and inhibitions due to education or lack of education, rather than to any purely physiological cause. Methods of contraception were discussed both by Dr. Millard and at the evening session with a freedom that would of course be impossible in America, but the discussion showed that even in England there is room for the new medical society that has been formed to make an exhaustive study of the question.

Social Events

THE SOCIAL EVENTS which had been arranged for the delegates, added greatly not only to the interest and pleasure of both guests and hosts, but also to the value of the Conference both from the educational and propaganda points of view. The first of these events was a reception given on the evening of the opening day by Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Wells. It would not be easy to over-estimate the importance of having a man of the constructive genius of Mr. Wells whole-heartedly in favor of Birth Control, and it was a forceful method of emphasizing his support of the movement when he threw open his house and offered gracious hospitality to the members of the Conference.

The public dinner, given on the following evening was not quite in the same category as Mr. Wells' private hospitality. It was given at the Holborn Restaurant—the scene of so many public and semi-public dinners in London, and a feature which was novel and amusing to the American delegates was the Master of Ceremonies, an official of the restaurant, who "prayed silence" for the speakers and at the appropriate moment announced the toasts. Dr. Drysdale, President of the Conference, acted as chairman or toastmaster at the dinner, and proposed as the first toast "Our Guests from Abroad" a toast to which Mrs. Sanger was called upon to make the first reply. Three other Americans—Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee, Miss Mary Winsor and Professor Willcox—were also among the speakers who included, among other notable names, Sir Arbuthnot Lane, Professor Westermarck, author of the History of Marriage, Professor E. W. MacBride who officially represented the British Eugenical Society, Professor Knut Wicksell and Dr. Anton Mystrom of Sweden, Herr Johann Ferch of Austria, Professor Roberto Michels of Switzerland, Dr. Bernard Hollander, Dr. C. Killick Millard, Dr. Norman Haire, Dr. Binnie Dunlop and Mr. Harold Cox. Sir Arbuthnot Lane who is one of Britain's leading physicians, sounded a note which is very familiar in America, when he deplored the ignorance of the medical profession concerning the subject of Birth Control and called upon the doctors to enter a field of research so necessary to human welfare and yet so neglected. Professor Westermarck, who is pre-eminent as a student of human institutions in their more primitive forms, made some humorous comparisons between savage and civilized customs, not wholly to the advantage of the latter. He urged that the ordeals imposed on the young man in many savage tribes were distinctly eugenic, and

wondered whether it was any worse to call for a tribute of human heads, sheared presumably from unfit bodies, than to permit the bringing into the world of children doomed from the outset to sickness and misery. Among so many good speeches it is perhaps invidious to pick out any for special comment. But there was one which calls for special notice, because of its severely practical character. This was the appeal made by Dr. Norman Haire for help with the Welfare Clinic which has been maintained under the auspices of the Malthusian League. Here, favored by the liberality of English law, definite contraceptive information has been given to all women applying for it, and the women have also had the advantage of skilled medical instruction in the use of such contraceptives. Dr. Haire is in charge of the clinic, which he hopes to make self-supporting; but, like other welfare institutions, it needs help in its early stages. Dr. Haire is an Australian who is now domiciled in England and is an enthusiastic advocate of Birth Control. The response to his appeal secured the continuance of the clinic for at least some months to come.

ANOTHER INTERESTING EVENT was an excursion to Dorking to the birthplace of Malthus, who is regarded in England as the father of the Birth Control movement. Large motor vehicles were secured to carry the delegates and if there were some of them who cared little about the historic associations of the spot, all enjoyed a glimpse of Surrey—the most beautiful of what the Londoners call “the Home Counties.” An interesting address on Malthus and his philosophy was made by Mr. J. M. Keynes. Not formally listed among the features of the Conference, but delightfully enjoyable was the generous hospitality of Mr. Harold Cox who threw open his apartment at 3, Raymond Building, in the purlieu of the ancient Gray’s Inn, for afternoon tea for the American delegates, after the fatigues of the long daily sessions, and who also invited them to his home in Kent for the Tuesday afternoon of the week following the Conference.

Another event after the close of the Conference took place on Monday, July 17th, when the Lyceum Club of London gave a dinner, with Miss Kitty Willoughby in the chair and with Mrs. Margaret Sanger as the guest of honor. In addition to Mrs. Sanger the speakers included Sir Arbuthnot Lane, Professor E. W. MacBride, Mr. Harold Cox and Dr. Hawthorne. As was the case throughout the Conference, Mrs. Sanger here again was able to speak for the women—to present that individual human point of view which is always in danger of being lost when a cause is in the hands mainly of men.

The Public Meeting

IN SPITE OF the presence on the platform of such men as H. G. Wells and Harold Cox, English newspapers in their accounts of the public meeting were unanimous in hailing Margaret Sanger as its principal attraction. The meeting was held on the evening of the third day of the Conference, in the large Kingsway Hall, and it is revealing no secret to state that its organizers were astonished at the popular interest shown in it. Little had been done in the way of advertising; but the great hall was filled, and the audience plainly showed, by its applause on Margaret Sanger’s appearance and by the vivid interest with which her speech was followed, which of the speakers had drawn them to the meeting. Mrs. Sanger told very simply and directly the story of her recent tour of Japan and China, and of the tremendous revolution in thought which has been started in the East through the readiness of the intellectual and moral leaders to accept the Birth Control propaganda. Mr. H. G. Wells, Chairman of the meeting, lacks the magnetism of the orator; but whatever he says commands attention. In his opening address, he praised the frankness of the Birth Control movement, and emphasized the fact that a subject can be perfectly decent when proclaimed from the housetops that would be salacious and shameful when whispered in the ear. The choice before the world, he insisted, was not between innocence and knowledge, but between furtive information on the one hand and candid, straightforward knowledge on the other.

Mr. Harold Cox set forth his ideas concerning the dangers of over-population both to the individual, the nation and the world with a force and clearness that compelled attention and forced conviction even on unwilling hearers. He paid a magnificent tribute to Mrs. Sanger for her leadership of the Birth Control movement in America—and not in America only but throughout the whole world. It was her courage, her sincerity and her devoted service of humanity which had given new life to the movement on both sides of the Atlantic. There were further speeches from Rev. Gordon Lang, Dr. Killick Millard, Mrs. B. I. Drysdale and Mrs. Swanick, each of whom had a definite contribution to make to the subject. Dr. Millard spoke from an intimate knowledge of English city slums; Mrs. Swanick on the danger of over-population to friendly international relations and Mrs. Drysdale on the practical question of increasing the membership of the New Generation League—the successor to the old Malthusian League, whose platform had proved too narrow for the increasing interest in the subject.

Resolutions and Manifestoes

AT EACH SESSION of the International Congress a resolution was passed embodying a manifesto of the Birth Control movement. Without wasting space on any preliminaries to these resolutions we print below the substance of the series.

1. The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference records the great pleasure with which it has received evidence of the rapidly growing appreciation of the immense benefits of Birth

Control for human welfare and race improvement. Above all it views with satisfaction the extension of the propaganda to the East and the readiness of its teeming populations to adopt it. It registers an emphatic condemnation of the short-sighted and reactionary policy of repression still exercised in a few countries, and calls upon the governments of all nations to facilitate the extension of Birth Control knowledge among the poor and hereditarily unfit, in the interests of human welfare, race improvement and lasting peace.

2. The Conference calls the attention of all the thoughtful men and women to the great benefits which Birth Control can confer on themselves and their children, by enabling young people to marry early and escape temptation, and by enabling them to regulate their families in accordance with their health and resources and to bring up their children in comfort to be happy and useful citizens. It calls in the name of humanity upon all those who have already experienced these benefits to join in the efforts to extend them to the poor and suffering, whose lives are burdened with unlimited families, and thus to help in getting rid of destitution, immorality and disease, and thus elevating humanity.

3. The Conference desires to point out that the practice of Birth Control is not contrary to the dictates or spirit of Christianity, but has been advocated from motives of the deepest compassion with the poor and suffering, and as the only practicable means of securing the highest ideal of marriage and sexual purity. It claims that this ideal can only be secured by making it generally known that young people can marry without the fear of unlimited families, and that universal and easy marriage affords the only possibility of eliminating sexual irregularities. It further points out that the spread of contraceptive knowledge can be and has been carried out through the medical profession and (in Great Britain) by means of sealed booklets, issued against suitable declarations in such a manner as to prevent its dissemination among young unmarried persons. It calls upon the Church and all those who have human welfare and public morality at heart to join in the provision of such instruction on these lines, and to supplement it with such moral sexual instruction as will help to guard it against abuse.

4. It desires to call the attention of the Public Health Authorities of all nations to the serious consequences to the quality of the race of the relatively great reproduction of the less successful, improvident, and hereditarily diseased sections of the community, and the consequent drain on the State for their maintenance and care; and calls upon these authorities to recommend or provide instruction in hygienic contraceptive measures to married persons at all hospitals or public health centers to which the poor and unfit apply for relief.

5. It calls attention to the now generally admitted fact that over-population due to high birth-rates is the most potent cause of international rivalry and war. It also wishes to point out that mere numbers are not an effective protection to a nation in the event of war, as modern warfare is becoming more and more a question of science and engineering, directed and carried out by highly trained individuals. The three conditions for securing universal peace and national security are (a) the limitation of the birth-rate of each country to its area and

resources, (b) increase of racial efficiency through abstention of reproduction of the unfit and (c) development of international law and international cooperation in place of national rivalries. It therefore calls upon the governments of all nations to promote the extension of Birth Control knowledge, especially among their least efficient inhabitants, and urges on the League of Nations to proclaim as a general principle that increase of numbers is not to be regarded as a justification for national expansion, but that each nation should limit its numbers to its own resources.

6. The Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference sends its heartiest greetings to the Birth Control propagandists in all parts of the world, and especially to the newly-formed societies in Japan and India. It records with the deepest satisfaction the great advance of public appreciation of the movement in many countries, as evidenced by the success of this Conference, and urges all propagandists to use their strongest efforts to induce the Governments of their respective countries to recognize the movement and thus to promote individual welfare, race improvement and enduring international harmony and peace.

In addition to the resolutions passed at the general sessions, there are two of great importance which were passed by the medical members of the Conference. The first was passed unanimously at a meeting composed in large part of doctors, although others interested in the medical aspect of the question were also present. The second was carried by a vote of 163 to 3 at a meeting strictly limited to members of the medical profession. The resolutions were as follows:

1. That this meeting of the Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, consisting chiefly of members of the British Medical profession considers that it is of the greatest importance that the provision of hygienic birth-control instruction should become part of the recognized duty of the medical profession, and that such instruction should especially be given at all hospitals and public health centers to which the poorest classes and those suffering from hereditary disease or defectiveness apply for relief.

2. That this meeting of the medical members of the Fifth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference wishes to point out that Birth Control by hygienic contraceptive devices is absolutely distinct from abortion in either its physiological, legal or moral aspects. It further records its opinion that there is no evidence that the best contraceptive methods are injurious to health or conducive to sterility.

Margaret Sanger's Impressions

SUMMING UP HER Impressions of the Conference, after it was over, Mrs. Sanger expressed her deep satisfaction over the fine scientific backing that the Birth Control was receiving in England, and over the readiness of Englishmen, not only to believe in it privately, but to come out openly in favor. Her gratitude to such men as H. G. Wells and Mr. Cox was the keener, because of her experience of many men who were thoroughly convinced in their own minds but who were unwilling to take an open stand for Birth Control. Englishmen, she felt, had a moral courage in regard to opinion which she had often found lacking in America. Another point that had impressed her was the tolerance of the British and their readiness to hear anyone who had any contribution to make to a subject. At the conference, the German delegates were received and listened to with just as much attention as English or American—not because the English as yet had learned to

love their former enemies, but because they did not permit a feeling of personal enmity to interfere with the intellectual and scientific discussion of a subject.

Another impression that Mrs. Sanger had carried away from the Conference had to do with the absence of legal restriction. The fact that the proceedings could be carried on without fear of violating any law conduced to fair and open discussion, and to scientific candor resulting in a directness and delicacy of handling the most intimate questions which robbed them of any semblance of indecency. She spoke with high praise of the English press. The newspapers had carried the story of the meetings with their usual sincerity and sobriety. There was no attempt to single out the sensational nor to make the Conference an occasion of jokes and levity. The Malthusian group was evidently taken seriously in England. Dr. Drysdale, its leader, is fully recognized as a scientific man and while

the movement does not get the publicity which would be accorded it if it were treated more emotionally, it does win respect for its fundamental scientific truth.

Mrs. Sanger was struck by the fact that impressed every American delegate, that, in England, Birth Control is a men's movement. There is a disadvantage to this preoccupation of the field by men, and Dr. Marie Stopes has done something to break the ice and bring in the feminine element. But the scientific side predominates, and any lack of scientific accuracy and scientific training on the part of the leaders of the movement would have degraded it in the eyes of the important men who now openly support it. The whole Conference, including the public meeting, had impressed Mrs. Sanger by the dignity, balance and unparalleled sanity of the proceedings, while, along with these qualities there had been a remarkable intimacy of approach. Throughout the proceedings there had not been a discordant note. In concluding her impressions, Mrs. Sanger recalled that the crucifixion took place nineteen hundred years ago, and it took several centuries before any considerable impression was made upon the world. It was only about forty years since Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant had taken up the fight for Birth Control, and it was not to be expected that the world should yet be converted. The important thing was to stand by the principle, as Dr. Alice Vickery had done through thick and thin and to keep the clear vision and the zeal of humanity which had constantly inspired her in her almost single-handed fight through the early years of the movement.

NEWS NOTES

ON MAY 5TH, in Japan, shortly after Mrs. Sanger had completed her lecture tour, a new law, passed at the last session of the Diet, became operative. This law sweeps away the former restriction which prohibited women from attending political meetings or forming political associations. This enlargement of the rights of Japanese women is highly favorable for the spread of the Birth Control movement in Japan. The fact that women have been entirely unaccustomed to take part in public life, or in any publicly organized movements, makes it difficult to get them to organize for Birth Control. Under the new law they will undoubtedly enter gradually into movements for betterment that affect the family.

THE NEW GENERATION LEAGUE For Human Welfare through Birth Control was organized in London, England, at the time of the International Birth Control Conference. It includes the older Neo-Malthusian group which has so long upheld the cause of Birth Control in Great Britain. But the basis is broader and the principles more simple and general—the aim being to draw in many people who do not subscribe to the individualistic philosophy of Neo-Malthusianism. The objects of the new League to which all members subscribe are (1) To spread among the people by all practicable means, a knowledge of Birth Control and of its possibilities for human welfare, and (2) To urge upon the medical profession in general, and upon hospitals and public medical authorities in particular, the duty of giving instruction in hygienic contra-

ceptive methods to all married people who desire to limit their families or who are in any way unfit for parenthood; and to take any other steps which may be considered desirable for the provision of such instruction. Dr. Drysdale, who was president of the old Neo-Malthusian League, accepted the presidency of the organization, and Mrs. Drysdale again assumed the duties of honorary secretary. There are twenty vice-presidents, seventeen of whom are men and three women. The women are: Mrs. Edwin Drew, Miss Cicely Hamilton and Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery, one of the early pioneers of Birth Control in England. The men include some notable names, e. g. Sir James Barr, C.B.E., M.D., Arnold Bennett, J. O. P. Bland, Harold Cox, Sir W. Arbuthnot Lane, Dr. C. Killick Millard, M.O.H., Eden Phillpotts, Sir G. Archdall Reid and Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson. The International Conference gave an excellent send-off to the new League and a good beginning was made towards a nation-wide membership.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

MAJOR E. L. SWAN of the United States Health Bureau told members of the Rotary Club at their weekly luncheon yesterday that in the last year 856 children under the age of thirteen had committed suicide.

He was talking on "The Boy Question", and said that the condition of the country had its effect on the younger generation, and that often when a poor man could not take care of his family one of the children, "in a spirit of knight errantry, takes his own life in an effort to aid his parents."

—*Atlantic City News*, June 8.

MAYOR HYLAN'S factotum, Commissioner Hirshfield, who investigated a raid on the apartment of Mrs. Morris H. Elvidge by police in search of contraband liquor, denounces the affair as an outrage. "The police," he says, "cannot be too severely censured," and he has recommended that the District Attorney proceed against the policemen involved.

Commissioner Hirshfield is to be commended for his exhibition of apparently honest indignation. The public has nothing but indignation for official abuse of the rights of citizens, and particularly of those constitutional rights which are supposed to guard every person and every home against official injustice and meddling.

And yet in the same paper with the news of the Elvidge case there is an unpleasant reminder of another incident over which Commissioner Hirshfield did not wax so indignant. Last November some policemen raided the Town Hall and by force prevented respectable citizens from speaking. Hirshfield held an inquiry into this shameful affair. The investigation ended with the blame laid at the door of Police Captain Donohue.

Nobody was ever punished for the Town Hall outrage. And on Monday, when Hirshfield was denouncing the police for entering unlawfully an apartment, Captain Donohue was being promoted to be a deputy inspector. The Police Commissioner rewards a man who committed the very sort of offense which, according to the new temper of the Commissioner of Accounts, deserves the attention of the Grand Jury.

—*New York Herald*, August 8.

Mothers Who Love Their Children Demand Birth Control

Letters from Women Who Are Not Idle or Frivolous

BIRTH CONTROL is often stigmatized as resulting from a selfish desire for ease or pleasure—something demanded only by idle women who prefer pet dogs to babies. On the contrary, it is the experience of the advocates of Birth Control that the majority of appeals for help come from women who are devoted to their families, who love babies, and are willing to work and sacrifice themselves for their children; but who fear to have too many, because they know that the babies themselves will be the greatest sufferers from such over-crowding of the home. Some of them have had experience in their own childhood of what such over-crowding means, when food is insufficient and premature labor the lot even of the little ones. The ideal large family, so highly praised by many people who know little about it, is very far removed from the reality as it exists either in our crowded cities or in the lonely plains where the ranch woman is still pioneering for American civilization. The letters given below strike this note of mother-love in the cry for knowledge of Birth Control.

Dear Friend:

I have just finished reading a book written by you entitled "Woman and the New Race," which a very dear friend of mine lent me. I wish you knew how my heart warmed toward you, how I would like to meet you and talk to you personally. It seems as though so many people around me have contraceptives which must work good for them, but either they won't tell me the truth, or else they don't help me, and all I can get of the doctor is an antiseptic wash which doesn't help me at all. I was married when I was sixteen years old and married a man a good deal older than I was. He is a good husband and all that and we both dearly love our children. We have three little fellows, two boys and a girl and I have had a mishap once, not intentionally I assure you. Three months after we were married I had a mishap caused through ignorance on my part. I have never been very well and my husband don't seem to be strong. I guess he works too hard as he has no trade to work at but works as a day laborer. The wages are small and work is scarce. We don't own our own home so have to pay rent, which is very high and everything we have to eat we buy so you see it makes it very hard to try to raise a large family.

My little girl is five and my little boy three and it has surely been a struggle to keep the little fellow with us, as he has had the flu, as we all did, and he had pneumonia with it, and has had pneumonia twice since and now has chronic bronchitis. Some nights I think he won't live till morning, but God has spared us our darling till now and my constant prayer is that he will get over it. Our baby is fifteen months old and I still nurse him as that is the only thing that keeps me out of the family way so I am not going to wean him until I hear from you if it is in your power to help me I beseech you to do so. I think it is such a crime to get rid of children but I believe that if one can keep from getting that way there is no crime attached to that.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have just read your book, *Woman and the New Race*, or rather part of it as I am not yet through, and I decided to sit right down and write you. I have been married five years and have three children and I don't know what I would do if I had to have another. When my first baby, a boy, was born, my teeth began to crumble and my teeth have just all crumbled to pieces so that nothing but the roots is left and I cannot eat and I suffer from neuralgia until I think sometimes that I will lose my mind, and my last little one, our only little, dear girl, is a very delicate little thing and she may not live long, as from her hips down she seems thin and as if they wasn't growing, that is not growing like the rest of her little body, and she's the sweetest little thing, and never cries, just smiles whenever her eyes meet mine, but honest each smile is like a stab to my heart because I know that at the time I started to carry her or when I first knew I was that way again, I was suffering so from my teeth that I thought I would go crazy and I didn't want to be that way either. So you can imagine the way I feel when she lays there watching me with that smile, and my husband isn't well either, and I am sickly all the time now.

But I am just worrying and dreading all the time for fear I will have to have another. I just love little ones and I am never very sick during confinement either, but what is the use of having little cripples to reproach you and say they wish they hadn't been born?

Would like to talk to you as there is so much I would like to talk over with you that cannot be written. You may think I could have my teeth fixed, but I cannot afford it.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

Mine is merely a contributing phase of the composite ignorance which spells so much soul anguish and physical torment. Happily married in the sense of love, but seemingly damned in physical punishment: a baby every year for fifteen years—living on a farm, subjected to all its hardships, which are much more bitter because of near poverty: scarcely able to eke out an existence and now utterly worn-out by child-bearing, I face the ravages of tuberculosis. We simply cannot have any more children, it would be criminal.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

Three years ago I was a little girl with not a care in the world. Today I am the mother of a baby girl eleven weeks old. I am 18 years old and was delicate from childhood. My baby weighed seven pounds. She is very small but I am lucky in being able to nurse her.

I do not want another baby because I only weigh 115 pounds and am not able physically to bring a healthy baby into the world, as my doctor told me. My husband is only a boy and it will keep us both busy to do what is necessary for this one little baby. Won't you please advise me what to do. I intend to have a family after I am a little older and

have better health. But I certainly do not bring another into the world until I am better able to care for them both. I have read your book "Woman and the New Race" and have shown it to my women friends.

Dear Madam:

Just recently I happened to see an advertisement of your book "Woman and the New Race" in a magazine, and I immediately sent for one. I have read it through several times now and most heartily believe in your doctrine of Birth Control and especially this method of contraceptives for obtaining that end, although I had never heard of such a thing before. I had always supposed abortion to be the only means of obtaining Birth Control, and from that my whole being rebelled, believing, as I do, it to be murder. I am most thoroughly in accord with the use of a contraceptive though, which prevents life from beginning. Now I do not wish to take too much of your time but I would like to tell you a little of my own story.

I was married four and a half years ago when I had just passed my eighteenth birthday. Just five days before our first anniversary a little girl was born to us. My husband was a minister at that time and I had lots of leisure then to give to the care of my small daughter. But when she was just a year old, my husband left the ministry and we came here and

opened a store. It is quite a good sized country store and also post-office. When my daughter was eighteen months old a little son came to us. For three months previous to his birth I had the care of the business all alone as my husband had a vineyard which took all of his time. I took care of the post-office and store until my birth pains came and, because of overwork, I had a very severe confinement. However, I had to be up and at work again by the time my son was 2 weeks old. This is a summer resort and we are rushed to death in summer. Paul was born on June 12, and I was in the store all summer. My children were just neglected. It couldn't be helped. My baby never knew what it was to nurse without my having to put him down from one to three times during the process. If he had not been a model baby, I could not have done it. Now, of course my health is impaired and I shall ultimately have to be operated on as I suffer terribly from backache. The doctor says it is a matter of a few years, if the exercises I am taking now do not help, before an operation will be necessary. In the meantime, several pregnancies may occur and would be, the doctor tells me, probably very painful. I am now only 22, and my youth revolts from the pain which may be in store for me.

Is there not some way in which you could help me?

Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G. Punké

[Concluded]

THE INHIBITING POWER of social disapproval on motherhood out of wedlock doubtless exercised a large influence in the past. With certain people it probably exerts a restraining power yet today. Moreover, it is likely that a free knowledge of voluntary parenthood means would lead to greater sex looseness on the part of certain types of women—particularly some widows and divorcees. However, it must be recognized that chastity on the part of a woman is largely the result of her parentage, rearing, education, environment, the customs and times of her country, and the like. Furthermore, chastity based on fear of motherhood out of wedlock is at best a low form. To be of much real value chastity must be the result of voluntary individual self control and social discipline. It is admitted that the degree of check effectuated by the fear of illegitimacy is one impossible of exact measurement. All that can be done is to study objectively and impartially the factors and tendencies making for and against promiscuity, if Birth Control is in vogue.

The examination of such factors and tendencies naturally divides itself into three chief parts: The aprioristic argument that Birth Control tends to increase sex looseness by removing the fear of illicit children, or, the opposite, that it makes possible earlier marriages and hence lessens sex promiscuity; the comparison of the illegitimacy rate among Birth Control and non-Birth Control countries; and finally a comparison of the sex morality of the classes practicing voluntary parenthood with those procreating unrestrainedly within the same country.

The ability to avoid unrestricted procreation, thru the dissemination and use of contraceptive knowledge among all classes, may, just as plausibly, and perhaps more cogently, be said to raise as to lower the moral tone of a community. Indeed, there is much to be offered in favor of its elevating power. It is axiomatic among practical moralists that early marriage lessens sex looseness and raises the general moral sentiments of a community. Luther well recognized this fact when he advised those who could not readily remain abstinent to marry early. The Hebrew leaders were strong advocates of early marriage, and today early matrimony is comparatively prevalent among the Jews. Dr. Forel, the noted Swiss sex psychologist, favors early conjugality to diminish promiscuity.

MOREOVER, ALL STUDENTS of social life know late marriage and celibacy are conducive to promiscuity. This is especially true among the groups living in enforced celibacy, or the single state. It is only necessary to instance garrison and seaport towns, frequently visited by soldiers and sailors, to have this cogently demonstrated. Recently, too, European and even American university towns and cities have revealed somewhat similar conditions. The allied army of occupation in Germany has greatly increased sex immorality and the amount of venereal diseases in the occupied regions. For the normal person marriage is the natural life after the period of maturity; celibacy, on the other hand, is the abnormal.

Birth Control for all, it is felt, would conduce to this normality for a larger number of persons, and hence lessen rather than increase promiscuity, by indirectly allowing earlier marriages. Matrimony without capability of voluntary parenthood carries with it the likelihood of children within a short time. The coming of these little ones, however much they might be desired and welcomed at a more propitious time, would certainly prove a burden, often a grievous one, if they arrived too shortly after matrimony and before the young couple were so situated as to be able properly to care for them. With the knowledge and use of contraceptives, on the other hand, this same couple could postpone the advent of the little ones until they were able adequately to take care of them. Doubtless, this fear of inopportune children raises the marriage age of many young couples. Proof of this is readily seen in the check industrial depressions exercise upon the marriage rate and age. It is further indicated by the usually higher urban than rural matrimony age, as it is generally admitted that it is more expensive to rear children in cities than in country districts. In this connection, also, it should be remembered that it is usually marriage, not sex promiscuity, which brings to the male the responsibility of supporting children. If, however, conjugal relations could be entered into and yet the man be reasonably certain of the ability to postpone the arrival of children until he and his wife were in fairly easy circumstances, marriage would have the advantage over promiscuity.

THE HEALTH of a people, it is seen, if not actually bettered, is not injured by the proper use of scientific voluntary parenthood knowledge. Inseparably connected with the health of a nation, acting like a cankerworm, is the poverty class. The bold aim of modern social economists and social reformers is the abolition of the poverty class as a class. Doubtless, sporadic poverty will always exist. However, many of our best sociologists and economists are agreed that there is no valid reason why the self-perpetuating poverty group cannot be extirpated. The only way in which this can be done is by raising the standard of life of those in the poorer classes.

The elevation of the standard of living of the poverty group will without doubt depend chiefly upon two things: In the first place upon increasing the total amount of the social or national income, and next upon such an alteration in the present distribution of the social income as will give the unskilled working classes a larger share of that income than they now receive. Of the two possibilities, the second is much more important. This is true because it would make no difference to the poverty classes if the social income were doubled, or even trebled, if their share were no larger than before. If the increase in wealth went to the middle and upper strata of society, little would be done to abolish poverty.

The abolition of the poverty class, then, must depend chiefly upon a larger portion of the national income going to that class. An important factor in the determination of wages, and hence the income of the unskilled workers, is the relation between the supply of and demand for manual labor. When the

supply of unskilled labor is greater than the demand for it, the inevitable outcome is a low wage for that class. When the demand is greater than the supply, wages will be high. Usually, too, these unskilled laborers are the most difficult and the last to organize; they are, therefore, denied the benefits of collective bargaining. From the unskilled workers the poverty class is chiefly recruited.

The diminution of the size of the poverty class is one of the prime necessities for the elevation of the standard of life of that class. This means a lower birth-rate for the poor,—a condition already accomplished by the middle and upper classes through family limitation. Voluntary parenthood through the use of contraceptives is now legally denied all classes, but effectively kept from the poorer classes only. Hence the removal of all legal obstacles to the free dissemination of contraceptive information, and the encouragement of its use, is an important requisite for lowering the birth rate of the poorer classes. Those classes do not and cannot obtain that information in spite of the law, as do the other classes. Moreover, it would probably be necessary to establish Birth Control clinics along with public health departments where contraceptive information and materials could be obtained at cost or free.

IT MUST NOT be assumed that the free obtainment of Birth Control knowledge and materials would result in as great a decrease in the birth-rate among the poorer classes as has occurred in the middle and upper classes, or as great as is desirable—a mistake made by some advocates of voluntary parenthood. This is the case because children are often economically valuable to their parents, if the latter are poor. Furthermore, people of that class are more improvident and careless of the future than those of higher social strata. Educational campaigns among the lower classes aiming at the creation of a social atmosphere unfriendly to reckless procreation would be valuable,—indeed, necessary. In addition it is believed the strict enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws, preventing children from being economically valuable to their parents, would possess immense value. Moreover, if motherhood pensions are paid, they should be so graduated that they do not encourage reckless fecundity among the lower classes.

As just indicated, a variety of factors would enter into the diminution of the birth and survival rate among the poor. For voluntary parenthood to be possible, scientific Birth Control must become in vogue in the poverty classes. Throughout this brief study family limitation has been traced from primitive man to the present day. It would seem that the following conclusions, which were stated at the beginning of this paper and which may be iterated here, are justified.

First, some form of family or population limitation is as old as the human race.

Next, the population of the world has increased stupendously during the past century, notwithstanding various crude forms of family limitation. This growth makes the population problem one of profound significance.

Concluded on page 186

Cultus

By Charles Woodvine

MARY HAD GONE to school to the missionaries but after her husband, Chief George, had been laid to his last rest, she followed the customs of her people and reverently placed all his belongings on his grave. He would need them in that far country and, besides, if any single article were missing, who could say what dread thing might happen? So out on the wind-swept point she had exposed his rifle and his fish-nets and his cross-cut saw, together with all the precious household goods which had been her own as much as his.

She missed the gramophone most of all. Of course she missed the sewing-machine and the kitchen-range and the galvanized washtubs, to say nothing of the pots and pans and cutlery, but a gramophone is almost a mark of caste on the Pacific side of Vancouver Island. She still lived in the little frame house with its brave white paint, but she found refurbishing it to be a slow and expensive process and there were ever so many things of more immediate need than a gramophone.

"Cultus" Charley, the little Cockney, from his rocky holding on the opposite side of Muchalat Arm, was wont to cast covetous eyes on Mary's house as it shone bright against the trees. He was building a log-cabin for himself and making slight headway, for he was a poor hand with an axe. In fact he was a poor hand generally. Born and bred in the East End of London, he was a typical product of its swarming slums.

He had followed the sea, but not as a sailor. A berth as deck-steward fitted him better and in such capacity he had knocked about the ports of the world. Finding himself in Victoria one day he had shipped for a trip up the west side of the Island. There had been a party of settlers aboard, bound for the Nootka country, and their talk of quick money to be made from fruitlands had fired Charley's avarice. In his mind's eye he pictured a coastline bordered with smooth green fields which called to the casual voyager to stop and claim them for his own.

So at Friendly Cove he deserted the boat and bought a small camping outfit at the trading-post. Then, for a watch which a sea-sick passenger had not yet missed, he acquired a canoe from a wrinkled old squaw and away he paddled in search of his Eden.

STRIKING EASTWARD in the direction of the dim hills he had entered the narrow fiord known as Muchalat Arm and skirted its forbidding shores. He found that wherever a stream had built out an acre of flat ground at the base of the steep slopes, there an Indian always sat in possession. When night came he camped on a hillside which was a little less precipitous than the average and in the morning he could not find the courage to venture on. Perhaps also a desire for human companionship kept him on the spot, for across the scant mile of salt water he could see five or six Indian houses, the largest of which was painted a dazzling white.

Without waste of time he began a cabin and in the first rush of his enthusiasm he lost himself in his work. Towards the middle of the morning he looked up from a tree which he was struggling to drop and was startled to find that two Indians were standing not a dozen feet away and watching him intently.

"Well, wot d'yer think o' me?" he demanded.

"Cultus," gravely replied the nearer Indian.

"Cultus," impassively echoed the other. "Gim me," he added and, taking the axe from Charley's hand, with a few well-placed blows he brought the tree crashing.

"Thanks, ol' top," said Charley passing around a box of cigarettes.

The Indian pointed to the huts on the opposite shore. "Bime-by you come," he said. "Give you fish."

When the day's work was done Charley paddled across in the twilight. The entire population came to the shore to meet him and in trying to wave them a jaunty greeting he upset the canoe. His friends of the morning fished him out of the water and as they dragged him up the bank he again heard that strange word "cultus." Every Indian in the little group seemed to be sagely remarking it to his neighbor.

AS THE DAYS went by Charley found the building of his cabin more and more arduous. It was beyond his strength and beyond his skill and beyond his perseverance. And always when he straightened up from his work to wipe his streaming face, there was the little white house across the water, mocking him with its neatness.

So it came about that Charley began his courtship of Mary, but she would have none of him.

"What for Injun say you 'cultus'?" she demanded.

"I dunno," he answered. "What is 'cultus' anyw'y?"

"Dat mean no good," she informed him bluntly.

"Blyme it, Myry," he gasped, "can't yer give a bloke a show?"

Despite his unceasing rebuffs, Charley was far from giving up his quest and each day he came across in his canoe as persistent as ever. Now by this time the summer had arrived and most of the Indians, men, women and children, were away on the mainland picking hops. So Mary, being lonely, allowed Charley to continue his visits. She despised him for his worthlessness and for his little weazened face and his pipe-stem arms and legs, but he was not bad company when he refrained from love-making. And she found in him an attentive listener when she told of the former glories of her establishment.

"Dat gramophone," she lamented one day, "it sing so sweet."

"Never you mind," Charley comforted her. "I'll buy you another."

"You?" she replied with contempt. "You got no money."

"But I'm going aw'y pretty soon to work," he answered.

"Where?" she asked skeptically.

"A long w'ys," he replied. "M'bye to Port Alberni, m'bye Nanaimo. Going on the Princess Maquina—you know—big steamboat. Going to get a job and when I come back, so 'elp me, I'll bring you a bloody, bleeding music-box."

"Huh!" snorted Mary, unconvinced. "You git money, you git drunk. No buy nothing."

"You wyte and see," he pleaded.

"Cultus! cultus!" she taunted him.

IT WAS LATE in the fall when Charley returned. His face bore traces of recent dissipation, but he brought Mary a gramophone.

She, before wasting thanks, examined the instrument critically. It was smaller than the one which had formerly been her pride and it was plainly the worse for wear, but when she slipped a record into place, music was forthcoming. A satisfied smile spread over her broad face as she settled down to enjoy an orgy of melody.

Charley felt that this was the time to strike. "'Ow about it, Myry," he asked. "Going to marry me now?"

Mary held up an ecstatic countenance. "To-morrow," she said, "me—you—git canoe—go missionary." Then she tried another record.

Mike Muskrat and family, paddling toward Gold River, heard the tinkling of the music and made a landing to investigate. They were told of the approaching wedding and demanded a potlatch.

So Charley built a great fire of driftwood on the shore and Mary brought out fish and bacon and coffee. Other Indians arrived from all directions and the merriment was continued until the day had faded and there was darkness on every side.

The gramophone was grinding out the "Suwannee River" when Charley heard a canoe grate on the stony beach. He turned and from out of the shadows he saw emerge a very old Indian, tottering along with the aid of a stick. The newcomer was squat and bow-legged and of inconceivable hideousness. Moreover he seemed to be laboring under some great emotion, for his features twisted and contorted as he came toward the fire. He made directly for the gramophone, which he picked up, still playing, and attempted to carry away.

Mary was on him in a flash. She laid hold of the machine and fought to tear it from his hands. There was a short struggle, but Mary was the stronger and she recovered the gramophone and sent her antagonist sprawling.

The old man slowly regained his shakey legs and, turning from one to another of the assembled Indians, he launched into a piteous appeal in the native dialect. Charley could not understand the words but he saw Mary's expression change from anger to unbelief and then to fear. Finally he saw her snatch up the gramophone and thrust it upon the old Indian with horror.

Whereupon "Cultus" Charley slipped quietly from the fire-light and made for his canoe. For at Friendly Cove, where he had left the steamer on the morning of that very day, he had found that gramophone on a new-turned grave.

The Logic of the Situation

An Address Before the International Birth Control Conference

By Herbert M. Magoun

THE IDEALIST frequently chases rainbows. He delights in chasing them. Oftentimes he is certain that a pot of gold awaits him at the end of his run. Disappointment only seems to whet his appetite and stimulate his ardor. Those who venture to disagree with him he regards as pessimists or as sadly lacking in sentiment. Practical common sense he has little use for. It stands in the way of his theories and his precious theories outweigh all other considerations. Idealists include those who would abolish war. They forget that war has always been the result of economic pressure of some sort, due either to an excess of population or else to a lack of material things of which the inhabitants of some region less favored than another near by have felt the need.

Human greed, like the urge of animal hunger, has thus driven many a people into war, and it will continue to do so until the cause is removed. An adequate supply of what is needed, combined with a change of heart to correspond, is a part of the process; but it is not all of the requirement, and it never can be all of it while present conditions prevail.

Physicians who would abolish disease are idealists; for men continue to eat foolishly, and so store up in their systems vast amounts of waste material, and that waste material fur-

nishes an ideal lodging place for germs and other things inimical to human welfare. Meanwhile in other parts of the world, men, women and children are starving for the lack of food equivalent to what such people waste! Excesses are harmful, including an excess of food.

Famine men do not speak of abolishing. It is too elusive. It depends on too many circumstances. The element of chance in agriculture is too great. And the teeming population of parts of our teeming planet furnish too many mouths to feed with what they have as an available supply of sustenance.

Looking at things as they are one cannot but see that the idealist's dream of a warless world, and of one free from disease is a dream of Utopia which many seem to imagine is a sort of heaven somewhere, not knowing the word itself means literally "nowhere." It was originally intended to suggest the impossible, not a place of delight in reality, although the fact was obscured.

Impossible the idealist's dream certainly is, so long as present conditions are allowed to persist; for the abolition of war and disease can only mean, on the present basis, the enthronement of famine. This can be shown beyond dispute,

if one will but consider the matter on a logical basis. It will be explained shortly.

TO EXCHANGE WAR and Pestilence for the sword of gaunt famine the world over would hardly be suggestive of progress, but that is exactly what idealists are virtually seeking to do. An exception must be made to that statement; for there are idealists who are practical and offer an adequate solution of the difficulty. They are assembled in this convention. They advocate doing something that will make the abolition of war and the prevention of disease possible without at the same time plunging mankind into a condition far worse than that from which men now try to escape.

Many will dispute this, and some will even consign persons of the sort here assembled to a climate more than tropical, and, what is more, such people are common. They little know how short-sighted and foolish they are, or to what an extent they stand athwart the path of progress and serve to render impossible the very ideal they seek. If they could succeed, they would really be the enemies of mankind, not the friends that they profess to be so vociferously. To leap from the frying pan into the fire does not better one's condition; but that is what many idealists are trying to have us do, and that is why they are our foes and not our friends, regardless of their protestations. If any such are listening to these words, their indignation is doubtless being stirred to the depths. Until they have heard me through, however, it may be well for them to control their choler; for the case will be presented to the present assembly as a jury, and the point will be proved. Let them refute it if they can. Otherwise let them hold their peace and not presume to criticize men and women who are wiser than themselves.

We will attend to the matter in detail. Suppose we start with a single human pair and allow the population to double once in fifty years. That is a decidedly conservative estimate, taking the entire world into consideration. If we begin with two, we shall have four in fifty years and eight in one hundred years. That is all, because a century can only mean four times as many as we started with, on the basis laid down. A second century will therefore mean but thirty-two persons in all at its close. A third will end with one hundred and thirty-eight, a fourth with five hundred and twelve, and a fifth with two thousand and forty-eight.

"Well," you say, "it has taken five hundred years to obtain a paltry two thousand or more and what does it all amount to?" Listen, and you will soon find out. It may take a little patience, but it will profit you in the end.

Please verify the computation. Two times two are four. Twice that makes eight. Four times two is therefore the story for the first century. The rest is merely four times eight, then four times thirty-two, then four times one hundred and twenty-eight, and then four times five hundred and twelve.

WE WILL NOW DISCARD the forty-eight, that leaves but two thousand. Our multiplications for the next five hundred years will thus be exactly as before, except that we must place three ciphers after each number. The final result

will accordingly be two millions and forty-eight thousand. That will be the population at the end of one thousand years on the basis followed. To make it easy to go on we will call it only two million.

The third five hundred years will offer no changes in our figures save only the added ciphers. The two millions of our first thousand years are but a drop in the bucket, so to speak, of the world's population; but fifteen hundred years will require six ciphers after our amounts, and that means at the end two billion and forty-eight millions. Forty-eight million people cannot be wiped out without making a ripple in the world's affairs; but we will drop them just the same and charge them up to the world war. Two billion will answer every purpose and make our computation that much easier; for we will go on and complete a period of twenty centuries.

The figures will not change apart from the ciphers, of which there will now be nine. That means two trillion and forty-eight billion as the inevitable population of the earth in only two thousand years on the basis laid down. The result is uncontrovertible, for figures will not lie even if statistics will. The world war was called "impossible" and "out of date" before it happened; but it came for all that and some of us felt it. My own boy came home with a wound stripe as well as a *croix de guerre* and suffering made me think.

Now notice another thing. If we include those discarded forty-eights, we shall obtain a number more than one hundred and fifty billion more than we did, and then one hundred and fifty billion may be perhaps one hundred times the present population of the earth. Surely our allowance has been ample and the results are conservative.

"But," you say, with a fine show of indignation, "no such increase has ever happened or ever can in the population of the world." You feel free to blame me for the suggestion as well as to criticize me for making it? Are you honest enough to tell why there has been no such increase? Can you think of any possible reason apart from war, pestilence, famine and earthquakes? And you would blithely abolish war and pestilence, leaving to earthquakes and famine the task of keeping the population within bounds that the earth can feed. That means famine for all mankind. Can you dispute it?

You can—on one condition. If the world will practice Birth Control and keep the births on a par with the deaths, then you may abolish war and banish disease without producing something far worse. But—so long as births exceed deaths, just so long will war be inevitable in the long run; for grim necessity will compel men to fight for food or die of starvation.

Before the war Russia was increasing her population at a rate that meant a doubling in twenty-five years, and Japan is said to be increasing hers at the rate of about six hundred thousand a year. They do not want so many, and it is a common sight in their street cars to behold mothers nursing children two or three years old. That is their way of warding off too rapid an

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Birth Control Not Abortion

An Address Before the American Birth Control Conference

By John C. Vaughan

MADAM CHAIRMAN and Fellow Workers:

Various estimates, made by those entitled to know, place the number of abortions performed each year in the United States at from 500,000 to 3,000,000. This wide range in numbers is due partly to the difficulty in gathering statistics and partly to the difference in opinion as to what should be classified as abortion. I feel therefore that we should use an arbitrary and exact definition of abortion, one allowing no chance of misunderstanding or side-stepping, one so clearcut at both ends that our foes, as well as our friends, will know exactly what we mean when we use the word "abortion." To me abortion means the termination of the intra-uterine development of a fertilized ovum, and, using the word as so defined, I would like to have the following statement introduced as a permanent plank in our platform:

The bringing about of an abortion should never be necessary; can never be moral; and must rarely be legal.

I am aware that to reach the level represented by such a plank a great deal of educational work will be needed—for the male, as well as for the female; more frequent and careful examinations must be made of possible and prospective mothers, and more control and understanding must be taught to the fathers.

With this understanding of the term abortion, it should be easy to explain the difference between abortion and prevention of conception; but before going into this I will briefly state a few general facts regarding human reproduction, which it is necessary to keep in mind. These facts are:—First, Each girl baby at birth has in her ovaries roughly 50,000 cells of a certain type. These cells are the direct offspring of the fertilized ovum from which she grew and are therefore the direct descendants of her male and female parents. Her relation to them is merely that of a host. They receive nothing from her during their life except environment. At puberty these cells commence to be thrown off at the rate of one a month. One of these cells, fertilized, is capable of developing into an individual. Hence each woman warehouses the possibilities of 50,000 new human beings within her at the time she reaches puberty. Yet how few of these can she bring into actual existence even under the most favorable circumstances!

The male germ cells, on the other hand, are multiplying all the time in countless millions, and as only one male cell can enter the ovum on fertilization, we see that whereas not more than one female cell in 5000 has any chance of developing into a human being, of the male cells only one in many millions has the possibility of so developing. Therefore, if for any reason we find it advisable to keep apart the male and female elements, we are only doing on a very small scale for the betterment of the human animal what nature is constantly doing in the most lavish manner. It can also be seen that

these cells, both male and female, which are kept apart, are incapable of developing into human beings. Unfertilized they are no more worthy of consideration than the many cells shed from our skin each day; than the cells lost in menstruation, or those composing the hair which we shed or cut away.

I see no reason why the interposition of some moral, chemical, or mechanical means to keep the male element away from the female element can be considered immoral, nor why such an interposition should be made illegal. Any means used to keep the male and female elements from uniting is a preventative or contraceptive. But when once fertilization has taken place, then all the possibilities of a new soul, a new individual, are opened up, and an individual life is started that should be covered by the same protective laws that cover all human beings. The same laws that protect adults protect children. It is no less a crime to kill a baby than it is to kill an adult. Why should it be any less a crime, why should it be more moral or legal to destroy a life in its intra-uterine stages than it is after these stages are over and the baby has been born? And I say again that from the time the ovum is fertilized until the infant passes out of the uterus any destructive interference with it must be considered abortion, and that abortion should never be necessary, can never be moral, and must rarely be legal.

It can readily be seen that the definition we have adopted brings within the classification of abortion the many cases of so-called delayed menstruation that are brought about by manipulation, medication or some one of the common devices so well known to those in the medical profession.

Time does not allow me to enter into the discussion as to whether it is more or less moral, or whether it should be more or less illegal to destroy an individual pre-natally, or to destroy it after birth by allowing it to come into a world where it cannot have the freedom of mind and body that alone can develop a soul. But I will take time to state that as long as children, brought into the world, are throttled by poverty, racked by inherited insanity, snuffed out by inherited diseases, wasted by wars and by our social system, thoughtful mothers choose abortion, when they feel it necessary, unless they are given some better alternative.

No one can doubt that it is better to prevent crime and immorality than it is to attempt to cure the criminal, and as abortions have steadily increased regardless of the fear of death and of threats of punishment, both legal and religious, I maintain that there is only one safe and scientific way in which to handle the situation, and that is to prevent abortion from being necessary. Therefore I demand that we be given the right to instruct those who find it necessary for any reason to refrain temporarily or permanently from having children and that we be given freedom and help in order that we may find the best methods of prevention of conception.

LITTLE MOTHER

IT WAS IN the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. I had stopped with my little daughter before a case containing some eighteenth century doll houses, in which every detail had been perfected with the most painstaking care. She was lost in admiration in a perfect wonderland of delight as she examined these little miniature ladies and gentlemen, who looked so proper and were so properly arranged in their very proper houses. My interest was greatly enhanced in watching her features become radiant with childish enthusiasm. After we had stood for several moments before the case I became aware that some little figures were timidly approaching us.

Turning I saw a pitiful little group of five children, of wretched appearance and stunted growth. With their hands held tightly together, they resembled a chain that needs every link to make it durable. The eldest was a girl about ten and beside her and reaching to her shoulder was a boy about eight. A girl six, a boy about four, and the youngest, who appeared scarcely three completed the group. They looked unspeakably ragged and forlorn, five little stray kittens, who had been frightened by the great world and crushed into a state of silent submission. One felt instinctively that they were grateful for crumbs thrust under the table and came to look upon them as their share at the feast of life. Poor little ones! Already the spirit of childhood had been crushed out of them and in its place had been planted a passive humility.

They did not dare to approach too near the magic dolls or the other visitors. I beckoned them to come nearer and they advanced a few steps, but cautiously. I addressed the eldest. "Have you seen the pretty dolls?" Unused to being noticed she drew back instinctively with fear then "Yes'm," she gulped. "But come closer. You cannot see them well," I urged as gently as I could. She looked at me suspiciously as she was accustomed to eye strangers but being somewhat assured by my tone she drew her little flock about her with mother instinct and stepped forward again but still avoiding conversation with us.

I WAS PERSISTENT and eager to know the story of this little mother who guarded her charge so jealously. "You have come a long way?" I questioned. The others were absorbed in the magic before them but never once relaxed their hold on each other's hands. She became a little more friendly. "Not very far. Daddy says it's about three miles." And then she added confidentially, "You see we come often." "Alone?" "Of course!" she answered with a look of surprise. Would one expect her to need a guardian, she who was the care-taker of the family? "But you do not walk?" I asked. "Oh, yes, you see it is not far and then brother and I can carry baby. I looked at their miserable little buttonless shoes and dared not ask if these poor little waifs were motherless. All unconscious of my trend of thought my little friend became communicative, anticipating my question. "You see mother has three little ones at home. There's Violet, she's two and the twins. They just came. Mother named them Lilly and Rose." I began to understand.

"And was your mama glad to get these little flowers?" An

expression of pain crossed the sensitive little face. Then with a brave little attempt to conceal a tear that trickled down her cheek she responded in a low tone. "You see mommy is not strong and she gets so tired. And Lilly can't live the doctors say." It was all clear now. These last little flowers in an overcrowded garden. The frail little lily that never would raise its head. The little white mother, who had forgotten how to smile and these poor little babes already thrust into a cold world. What would become of them if their parents were to be crushed by the burden? I wonder.

"THE MOTHER INSTINCT"

"It is disgusting to hear childless social matrons tell us how we should raise our offspring. It seems that some women in order to push themselves into the limelight are willing to say almost anything that is crosswise with nature. God gave women the mother instinct, and women who bear children know better how to raise them than these childless women who specialize in writing books about how growing children should be brought up. I have had no trouble in raising my brood. Eleven are dead; but it is God's will that they were taken from me. And so I do not complain about that."

From an interview in the International News Service, dated from New Orleans, May 13th, and purported to have been given by Mrs. Jacob Caranek, a Czecho Slovakian by birth, who is hailed by the newspapers as the "champion mother." She has had 21 children, and lost eleven of them—an infant mortality rate of over 523 per 1,000. (The infant mortality rate of Birth Control New Zealand is about 48 per 1,000.)

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Magoun, Herbert W., Ph. D. College Professor, Editor Bibliothek Sacra, Oriental Scholar.

Punké, Edward G., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan.

Vaughan, John C., M. D., Surgical Director, Volunteer Hospital, New York.

Woodvine, Charles, Nome-de-plume.

Young, Virginia C., Deaconess, Episcopal Church.

If a woman becomes weary, or at last dead, from bearing, let her simply die from bearing. She is there to do it.

—MARTIN LUTHER.

THE LOGIC OF THE SITUATION

Continued from page 182

increase in the family; but it is a broken reed on which to lean.

An honest and open minded consideration of the matter forces one to the conclusion that Birth Control is the only logical way of meeting the situation, if a way is to be opened for the abolition of war and the banishment of disease on our planet. Nothing short of that will do. Nothing else is practicable. If it involves some increase of immorality, it will also involve a decrease of the number of criminals born to curse the world. In any case it offers the only road to a peaceful future. That is the logic of the situation.

Book Reviews

A Review By Virginia C. Young

PARENTHOOD AND CHILD NURTURE, by Edna Dean Baker, M. A. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is one of the books that one closes with the feeling of having spent a few quiet days in a country-house with a wise and kindly friend and adviser who has herself, and begets in others, a deep and lasting respect for "The Fine Art of Being a Parent."

There are various more pedagogical and learned treatises on the various side-lines of this greatest of subjects; but books like this one would seem to have been written for the special questions and needs of those every-day women who are startled to find themselves, rather suddenly, expected to be the mothers of a new Race. For these women this book will prove educative, helpful and encouraging.

No longer may the careers of marriage and parenthood be entered upon in the light-hearted and haphazard fashion of those pre-historic days before the World War, which swept the better if not quite the larger part of a generation off the face of the map. Not only do most of us feel an utter incapacity to meet even a few of the unsolved problems with which we find ourselves confronted; but many of us are eagerly and a little wistfully urging that the young ones must do it! And it is indeed true that there are heaping up problems aplenty to be solved by the babies in their perambulators.

Yet, there rests no small responsibility upon those who must guide these young feet in "paths of pleasantness and peace," and in a sense never realized before the mothers of today must be the teachers and guides of a whole Race of Law-makers and Commonwealth-builders.

Let us then buy copies of books like this one, and pass them on, being careful to read them first! There are solemn writers who have made thoughtful and conscientious men and women hesitate to assume the responsibilities of parenthood; the author of this book has done a better thing: she has made us afraid of being less than the wisest and best kind of parents! All honor to those who refrain from bearing any but the best in brain and body for the meeting of such colossal tasks as lie just ahead; all honor as well to those who prepare themselves to be the New Order.

Dr. Frank Crane says: "We could attain any Utopia, and hasten the Golden Age and hurry the Millennium if we would only begin with the Babies."

A Review By Juliet Barrett Rublee

THE REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION, by Lothrop Stoddard, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

"A re-examination of the problem of social revolution," Dr. Stoddard explains, is the purpose of his new book. The volume is full of interesting facts, theories and suggestions and is written in a forceful and vigorous style which carries the reader to the end, whether he finds himself agreeing with Dr. Stoddard's opinions or not.

The existing trend towards social revolution Dr. Stoddard attributes chiefly to the quality and quantity of human beings in the world today. He points out that the mediocre and inferior outnumber so vastly the superior, and increase proportionately so rapidly that, unless immediate steps are taken to bring about a better balance between quantity and quality, we shall have very serious problems to face in the future. He makes out an eloquent case for the supreme importance of heredity as compared with environment. He assumes with great positiveness, and without regard for the large body of authoritative opinion that, recognizing the primal importance of heredity, holds also to the modifying and moulding power of environment, that heredity and not environment is "the basic factor in life and the prime lever of human progress." He gives quotations from Galton, Woods and others, bearing out this position.

Existing world conditions, Dr. Stoddard believes, are much more serious and alarming than is generally recognized. "We have among us," he writes, "a rebel army, the vast host of the unadaptable, the incapable,

the morose, the discontented, filled with instinctive hatred of civilization and progress and ready on the moment to rise in revolt." He points out that "in every civilized country today the superior elements of the population are virtually stationary or actually declining in numbers, while the mediocre elements are rapidly increasing." "In New York, for example, the birth-rate on the East Side is over four times as great as the birth-rate in the smart residential section." He also emphasizes that "the great majority of even the most civilized populations are of mediocre and low intelligence" and that "intelligence is today being steadily bred out of the American population." The danger of revolution, he feels, exists chiefly in three types of men—the "undermen," the "disinherited," and the "misguided superior." The "underman" rebels against civilization because it is too far ahead of him. He knows he can never keep up with it. The "disinherited" is he who, though capable of success, has a grudge against society owing to some injustice against himself or some crime he has committed against society; the "misguided superior" is the man of marked intelligence who in revolt against obvious evils joins the forces of revolution. In order to fight these enemies of civilization there must be an improvement in the quality of the race. This can be effected in two ways: through the more rapid multiplication of the superior, and through preventing the propagation of the unfit. The first step recommended by Dr. Stoddard is "the prevention of all obvious degenerates from having children." "The mere presence of hordes of low-grade men and women, condemned by their very natures to incompetency and failure," he writes, "automatically engenders poverty, invites exploitation and drags down others just above them in the social scale. Here is the need for action most apparent." The first steps, he believes, and steps that need to be taken with no loss of time, if we are to prevent a universal revolt against civilization, are "segregation of defectives, appreciation of racial principles, wise marriage selection, Birth Control: these are the main items in the programme of race purification."

The book is courageous and full of fine enthusiasm and vigor of thought and spirit. It is written with ardent conviction and sincerity, and will be read with interest by many who do not share in the pessimistic view it presents of the condition of the world.

A Review By Edward G. Puské

SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS, by Grove S. Dow.

In his book, *Society and Its Problems*, Prof. Dow has attempted a brief survey of modern society and its most pressing problems, together with the best present-day opinion relative to them and their treatment. He has treated such things as population, the family, the state, religion and ethics, education, social interest, control, and organization, poverty, immorality, crime, and the defective classes.

This book is really an extensive revision of Prof. Dow's 1920 edition. He has availed himself of the wealth of social material furnished by the 1920 census. Considering the difficulty of the task, he has produced a worth-while book. It will be found particularly valuable for classroom use, for which he primarily intended it. It will also be of much interest to the general reader, though the style, now fairly readable, might have been improved. It contains, however, little or nothing new.

I feel, moreover, that on a few points Prof. Dow assumes a positiveness unwarranted by the present state of our information. For example, in his chapter on "Variation, Heredity, and Eugenics," he implies that Mendel's Law makes it certain the whites of the United States cannot absorb the negroes, but that any extensive mixture would create a mulatto race. I doubt if the historical examples of Portugal, Italy, and Northern Africa warrant so sweeping a conclusion. Furthermore, it is doubtful if his idea of encouragement of segregation of the negroes and whites will make for an amelioration of the negro problem. Perhaps, absorption and gradual extinction of the negroes is the ultimate solution, and extensive south European immigration into the South would most likely accomplish that.

Again, with regard to the family and divorce, it does, I feel, no good to speak of the family as sacred. Like other social institutions, it is valuable so long as it promotes society's best interests, and when this is no longer done, it must be so altered that it does. Moreover, I believe with Prof. J. P. Lichtenberger that a high divorce rate flows naturally from a high family life. If a low divorce rate means a low standard of wedded life, we don't want a low rate.

Then in the matter of race restriction Prof. Dow appears to take a lukewarm position. Many sociologists deem family limitation vitally important, particularly for the working classes and colored folk.

In conclusion, I want to iterate the statement that Prof. Dow's book will be one of much practical value in the classroom and to the general reader. It should be widely read.

The Maternity Center Association, New York, has issued a set of twelve brief talks to mothers, under the title "A Fair Chance for Your Baby and You." The advice given in these talks is excellent—as far as it goes. But to any one who knows conditions of life for the poor, it is a mockery to talk of a "fair chance" either for baby or mother, unless parents are instructed in what is really the first essential for such a chance—the proper spacing of births. There is nothing in these talks to aid the woman who has recently given birth to a child from an immediately recurring pregnancy, and no amount of good advice will ensure health for mother and infant, when babies come too rapidly and when there is consequently overcrowding and poverty in the home, as well as depleted health and strength for the mother. With the addition of a plain talk on the necessity of Birth Control and proper instruction in regard to this vitally important matter, as soon as this can be given under the law, the set of leaflets would indeed prove a charter of health for both mothers and babies.

PERIODICALS

In *The Changing East* (*Saturday Evening Post*, August 12) Mr. Isaac F. Marcossou, in describing modern Japan, tells of the tremendous popularity of Margaret Sanger during her recent visit there, and attributes it to attempts at government repression of her propaganda. He also gives a brief sketch of the romantic career of her host and hostess, Baron and Baroness Ishimoto. It will be recalled that Mr. Marcossou described Margaret Sanger's visit in an earlier article (May 27) when he told of his audience with the Crown Prince.

The Ladies Journal of Shanghai, Vol. VII No. 6, is printed entirely in Chinese; but the illustrations indicate that a considerable portion of it is devoted to Margaret Sanger and her views on Birth Control.

The Eugenics Review (London) for July contains an article by Harold Cox on "The Reduction of the Birth Rate as a Necessary Instrument for the Improvement of the Race." Mr. Cox makes a plea for the immediate tackling of the problem of over-population, and especially over-population by the unfit, as a patriotic duty and a duty that this generation owes to posterity. "Our individual span of life is short," he writes, "the world is ours only for a tiny scrap of its long history. But our race goes on and out of gratitude for the many good things we have inherited from the past, it is our duty to improve the inheritance of the future." In the same issue there is also an article by Dr. C. V. Drysdale, entitled "A Guiding Principle for Practical Eugenic Reform." Dr. Drysdale is President of the "New Generation League of England," and was also President of the International Birth Control Congress which was held in London in July. He sees in voluntary Birth Control reinforced by sterilization, either voluntary or compulsory, of the manifestly unfit, the best means of general eugenic improvement—negative eugenics as contrasted with the almost impossible programme of positive eugenics advocated by some scientists. It is worthy of note that the Eugenics Education Society of England has taken a more advanced stand on the subject of Birth Control than the Eugenists in America, and has come out openly in support of the principle.

The July number of the *Woman's Outlook* of Manchester, England, devotes special attention to the subject of Birth Control. This magazine is the official organ of the Woman's Cooperative Guild—the largest and most influential woman's organization in Great Britain. The Cooperative

women were deeply interested in the Birth Control Congress in London, and this magazine contains an account of Birth Control activities in England under the auspices of the Malthusian League with a forecast of the programme of the Congress. It also prints a resumé of the annual report of the Dutch League, with its wonderful story of progress in checking infant mortality and improving the quality of the Dutch population. In addition there is a sympathetic review of "*The New Motherhood*"—the English edition of Margaret Sanger's "Woman and the New Race," with a picture of Mrs. Sanger and a short biographical note.

IT IS certain that there is an immense amount of remediable misery among us. Unless this is effectually dealt with, the hordes of vice and pauperism will destroy our modern civilization as uncivilized tribes of another kind destroyed the great social organization which preceded ours.—HUXLEY.

THE first essential in any civilization is that the man and the woman shall be the father and the mother of healthy children, so that the race shall increase and not decrease.

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Oxford University Press (American Branch) *THE POPULATION PROBLEM*, by J. Carr-Saunders.

From J. L. Nichols and Co., Nashville, Ill. *SAFE COUNSEL*, by B. G. Jeffers and J. L. Nichols. To which has been added *The Story of Life* by Ozora S. Davis and Dr. Emma F. Drake.

From the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology. *THE SEXUAL LIFE OF THE CHILD*, by Eden Paul, M. D.

From the George H. Doran Co., New York. *LITTLE ESSAYS OF LOVE AND VIRTUE*, by Havelock Ellis.

From the Macmillan Company. *SOCIAL CIVICS*, by William Bennett Munro and Charles Eugene Ozanne.

BIRTH CONTROL IN RELATION TO POVERTY

Continued from page 179

Moreover, the modern, scientific form of family limitation is through the use of contraceptics. Their employment does not necessarily—though it may and often does—lessen the rate of increase of the whole population. Further, they do not lower the moral tone or impair the health of their users. On the contrary, their proper utilization may, and sometimes does, elevate the morals and better the health of those employing them.

In the fourth place, a diminution of the rate of increase, and particularly of the birth-rate, among the poverty class is a prime necessity for the elevation of the standard of life of that class, and for its final abolition.

Again, the free dissemination of contraceptive information and materials to the poverty class is an important requisite in lessening birth and survival rates of that class.

Finally, in addition to the free dissemination of contraceptive information and materials and instruction in their use, other means, such as the strict enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws, the discouragement of irresponsible procreation, and the like, will be required to diminish the birth-rate and rate of increase of the poverty group to a salutary point.

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

WELCOME HOME TO

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MEETING AT CARNEGIE HALL

NEW YORK CITY

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, 8 P. M.

Come and Hear Her Story

Official Organ of
THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES:

- ENGLAND—Malthusian League, President Dr. C. V. Drysdale, 124 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
 HOLLAND (1885)—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
 GERMANY (1889)—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
 FRANCE (1895)—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
 BOHEMIA-CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1901)—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
 SPAIN (1904)—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Louis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
 BRAZIL (1905)—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapex 25, Rio de Janeiro.
 BELGIUM (1906)—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascoux, Echevin, Courcelles.
 CUBA (1907)—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWITZERLAND (1908)—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
 SWEDEN (1911)—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
 ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
 AUSTRIA—Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftszwang. Johann Ferch, President. Wien, XV/1 Gablengasse 31. Periodical, *Sexual Reform*.
 PORTUGAL—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
 AFRICA—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
 JAPAN (1921)—Voluntary Parenthood League. Baroness S. K. Ishimoto, President. 10, Hinoki-cho Akasaki-ku, Tokyo.
 INDIA (1922)—Hindusthan Janamvash Sabha (Indian Birth Control Society), Delhi. Honorary Organizer, Professor Gopalji.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor
 ANNIE G. PORRITT

Circulation Manager
 RUTH ALBERT

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

Vol. VI

OCTOBER, 1922

No. 10

Editorial

NO ONE TOOK very seriously the suggestion that emanated from the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, that a committee should be created with powers of censorship over manuscripts submitted for publication, and that only those which were approved by this committee should go into print. The suggestion met with instant opposition from newspapers and periodicals of high standing. Hundreds of men whose names are honorably known in the scientific and literary world, voiced their disapproval of a proposal which, if it had been carried into effect a hundred years ago would probably have prevented the appearance of Darwin's "Origin of the Species", and of hundreds of other books which laid the foundation for modern scientific and religious thought. The disapproval was so vigorous, that the idea of such a press censorship seems for the present to be dead. It received something like a funeral oration when Magistrate George W. Simpson, on September 12, handed down his decision in regard to three books published by Thomas Selzer. These books had been seized by the energetic Secretary of the S. P. V., as in violation of the law against obscene literature. One of these books—"A Young Girl's Diary" was reviewed in our columns last April. It was highly commended in reviews in other periodicals of the highest standing, and it certainly threw much light on the psychological injury done to young girls by the lack of proper sex education. In commenting on the three books complained of, Judge Simpson said, "I do not find anything in these books which may be considered obscene. On the contrary I find that each of them is a distinct contribution to the literature of the present day. Each of the books deals with one or another of the present phases of thought."

WHAT WOULD have happened to these books if the manuscripts had been submitted to the Censorship Committee? There can be little doubt of the answer. To quote from a comment on the subject in Collier's Weekly: "The censors would be only human and liable to make mistakes. Their identity would be known, and whenever they O. K.'d a manuscript that some people thought improper—and there have been people who took that view of any love story—they would be targets for violent criticism as soon as the book appeared. Naturally they would always want to be on the safe side. They would "draw the line" most conservatively—and this is a field

where a line can't be drawn; each case must be judged by itself". For the present, the idea of a censorship committee is dead. But it is never safe to assume that there will be no revival. For lack of vigilance laws have been passed that already curtail grievously our liberties. We are cut off by our obscenity laws from distributing information which would enable parents to exercise intelligence and choice in regard to the birth of their children. Excellent books on this subject are in circulation in England, but debarred from the United States. A recent book which ought to be in the hands of all social workers and thoughtful parents has now been added to this list. This is Ettie A. Rout's "Safe Marriage", much of which would come in the same class with many Government publications put out during the campaign for the checking of venereal disease. But Ettie Rout sees venereal disease only as a part of the great question of social purity and she is convinced that this question is bound up with that of responsible parentage and Birth Control. Because she treats the whole of the question rather than a part of it, her book comes under the prohibition which forbids the circulation of such literature, which holds our mothers in darkness and misery, and condemns so many children to come into the world only to suffer and die.

THE BIRTH RATE in France continues to fall in spite of much noisy propaganda in favor of large families. The figures for 1921, published in July, were most discouraging to the propagandists. The total number of births in excess of deaths was only 117,083, as compared with 159,790 for 1920. Such an increase, on a population of twenty millions, means that the number is practically stationary, especially when it is recalled that the figures include the recently recovered provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, where the birth-rate still approximates more nearly to that of Germany than to that of France. In September, the National Alliance for the Encouragement of Larger Families issued some more statistics. They were for the ten largest cities of France, and covered the first half of the present year. During this time, in these ten cities, 48,528 children were born. The number for the corresponding period of 1921 was 53,551, showing a decrease of 5,023. If the same proportion holds for the whole country, and for the twelve months, there will be 80,000 fewer children born in France in 1922 than in 1921. It is very evident that the strenuous campaigns of the militarists have

been entirely ineffective in raising the birth-rate. People will not have children in response to exhortations from above. Neither do they increase their families in order to gain medals, decorations or cash bonuses. When methods of prevention are thoroughly understood, parents will act according to their own judgement in this intimate matter, and no Government can compel obedience to its command, "*Faites des enfants.*" And the parents will be influenced, not by considerations of the comparative advantage to a country of stationary or growing populations, but by the advantage to their own immediate families of having one, two, or more children.

It is usually taken for granted that it is bad for a country be stationary in population, and that "healthy growth" is necessary for national welfare. This is an extraordinary conviction in view of the fact that all the countries of Europe, until the latter part of the eighteenth century, had practically stationary populations. It is natural for a new and developing country, as for a young individual, to regard growth as a sign of health. But the adult, who becomes larger and heavier, does so usually at the expense of health, and at the expense also of activity and efficiency. Much might be written to prove that the stationary population of France represents the ideal for all fully settled nations, and that—not only for the sake of international peace and security, but also for the welfare and happiness of the people—the country that merely maintains its numbers is likely to be the most healthy and prosperous. It will also be in the best position for self-defense, because it will not have an undue number of dependents and ineffectives to carry, if it is called upon to devote its resources to the repelling of aggression. Such considerations, however, will never have much weight in deciding the actual course of events in regard to population. When once the power of Birth Control is in the hands of the parents of a nation, the question of stationary or increasing population will be decided not in the Halls of Government but in the homes of the people. All that Government can do will be indirect and not direct, and a militaristic policy, or any policy unfavorable to the welfare of the mass of the people, will defeat itself. The heavier the burdens the Government lays upon the people, the fewer will be the children of the nation; and, without children, a nation cannot devote itself to military aggression. France seems already to afford proof of this assertion, and the other countries of Europe, which have suffered so bitterly from the Great War, are following in her footsteps, and opposing to militarism the Birth Strike.

THIS MONTH WE present several articles from ministers of religion who see Birth Control a means towards human improvement. We feel that these articles are peculiarly timely in view of the action taken on Birth Control by the Protestant Episcopal Convention at Portland, Oregon. The bishops and clergy misunderstood the aim of Birth Control when they stigmatized it as "involving grave dangers to physical health as well as moral innocence, and threatening the future of the human race." An answer to this pronouncement is given by Dr. Goldstein, Rev. F. W. Betts and Dr. Coffee.

News Notes

WHEN THIS ISSUE of the REVIEW went to press Mrs. Sanger had not returned from her long tour of the world, but her arrival in America was immediately expected.

A committee, with Mrs. J. B. Vandever as chairman, is planning to have an educational Birth Control booth at the Physical Culture Exhibition to be held at Madison Square Garden, October 23-28.

INDIA—A REPORT of the first six months of work has been received from the Indian Birth Control Society. The Society was extremely anxious that Margaret Sanger should visit India after she left Japan and China and it was a great disappointment to Professors Gopalji and Shastri, when she found it impossible to make time for a lecture tour there. Such a tour would undoubtedly have been of great value in spreading the propaganda, but in spite of the disappointment, the Indian Society takes its place bravely in the international movement. The report reads as follows: "Indian Birth Control Society was started at Delhi on Tuesday, 31 January, 1922, through the single-handed efforts of Professor Gopalji, M. Sc. of Delhi University. For more than a year he gave it an anxious thought before giving it a practical shape. The anxiety was perhaps the keenest at a time when Messrs J. O. P. Bland and Lothrop Stoddard were inviting the attention of devoted Birth Control workers to Asiatic population problems at the First American Birth Control Conference, New York, 11—18 November, 1921. It was a silent but sure sympathy of thought, as Professor Gopalji learnt about the holding and proceedings of the American Conference sometime in March 1922, three months after the start of Indian Birth Control Society. Inscrutable are the ways of Heaven, which men appreciate more as they get their more glimpses.

"Now, Indian Birth Control Society is rapidly progressing. Its activity is directed in interviewing the cultured and the illiterate for sounding their views and suggestions, arranging informal talks and formal lectures from time to time, distributing free leaflets and pamphlets in English and Indian languages, conducting a Birth Control Reference and Circulating Library, recommending book-sellers to encourage and push the sale of Birth Control literature and above all meeting the real need of the people for practical information, with the help of a few medical friends and through the courtesy of the Malthusian League, London, for kindly sending their Practical Birth Control Leaflet to such as need it. The Society requests every person interested in the movement to do his mite. But oh! ours is a huge task. It is an uphill struggle against superstition, ignorance and false enlightenment. Of all places in the world Birth Control is needed most in India. Only the nobility of the cause nerves us. We heartily thank our co-workers abroad for the keen interest they take in the working of our Society."

According to the circular attached the name of the Society is "Hindusthan Janamvash Sabha"; and its objects are to "further the principle and practice of Birth Control with a view to rationally control population, effectively check

race degeneration and materially advance race regeneration." It looks to the formation of local branches, and the calling of an annual Indian Birth Control Congress. As fees, it is suggested that each member contribute one one-thousandth part of his annual income, a suggestion that would indeed put members on an equal basis. Such an arrangement of dues also makes it possible for the poorest to join—people to whom a dollar in dues would be an impossibility.

CHINA—The following extract from a letter, dated Shanghai, July 31st, written to the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW by Mr. T. P. Wong, gives some account of the progress of the movement for Birth Control in China. "It may be of interest to you to know," writes Mr. Wong, "that soon after Madam Sanger visit here, a B. C. League was organized in a similar line as yours in New York, and the first book translated is "Family Limitation" already out from the printing office about 10 days ago, and is now on sale in one of the biggest Chinese Educational Book Store of China."

A LETTER, DATED August 10th, and received September 11th, from Principal A. G. Butchers of the John McGlashan College of Maori Hill, told of the formation of a Sex Education Council in Dunedin, New Zealand. "We have succeeded," writes Principal Butchers, "in securing the support of the majority of the medical fraternity, and some of the younger medical men and women are very keen, but they have to proceed carefully. The new professor of bacteriology, Dr. Hercus, who is a young man of outstanding ability and enthusiasm, will be able to do a great deal in connection with a course of lectures which he delivers annually on Public Health. He has promised to include in the course in future lectures on Eugenics and Birth Control."

August 18.—The Honolulu Birth Control League voted in favor of presenting a bill to the legislature providing for the sterilization of the feeble-minded, insane, imbeciles, lepers, and habitual criminals of the felon class. A committee to draft the measure was appointed with Judge Sanford B. Dole as chairman.

Control of Parenthood as a Moral Problem—The Case For and Against Birth Control

A Paper Presented at the International Birth Control Conference

By Sidney E. Goldstein

BIRTH CONTROL, or the control of Parenthood, is a scientific problem; it is a legal problem; it is an economic problem; it is also a moral problem. Because it is as much a matter of morals as of economics and law and science it comes within the range of religious discussion and must concern all ministers and every man interested in the establishment of ethical standards and the development of their implications. No one of us can escape the duty to study a program so world-wide in its sweep; and to declare ourselves upon a movement so elemental in its appeal, a movement that some men welcome with hope in their hearts and others condemn as a menace to our social and spiritual welfare.

Many ministers of both the church and the synagogue believe in progress, in the furthering of social programs, in the construction of a new social order. But it is evident to these ministers as well as to scientists and social economists that we must lay hold of forces more fundamental and potent than any we now widely exercise if we are to create on earth a Kingdom of God. Havelock Ellis reminds us that during the last one hundred years we have advanced through several stages in the improvement of social life; and he tells us that the next stage cannot fail to take us to the very source of life itself, lifting us above the task of purifying conditions and laying upon us the higher task of regulating the quantity and raising the quality of life at its very source." This is the task and the meaning of the new science of Eugenics. It is also the meaning and the task of Birth Control. Birth Control is pledged to relieve the world of much unnecessary misery, but its highest purpose is to give men some measure of con-

trol over racial development and human destiny. It insists that the new knowledge coming to us concerning ourselves, almost incredible in its promise, must be placed at the service of the creative spirit of man, and employed in the shaping and the ennobling of posterity.

FEW MEN ARGUE against the application of this teaching to the different groups included within the general term of mental defective. For from these groups, it is manifest now, come the largest number of the unhappy host that swarm into our reformatories and prisons, our homes for the vagrant and the wayward and the insane. These men and women, young and old, represent a tremendous burden in both cost and care; much more serious than this, however, is the fact that they constitute a constant source of danger in our communal life. It may not be possible to eliminate mental defectives altogether from human society. Defective children may be born now and then, because of conditions that we cannot control, to even the healthiest parents. But this we can do. We can prevent the defectives from bringing forth abundantly and peopling the earth after their own kind. We can agree that the birth-rate of the defective now living, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, many of the insane and the criminal whose criminality is due to a deep-seated and transmissible cause, shall be controlled and cut off. The right to adopt this procedure comes clearly within the police-power of the State; and it is probable that the courts of our country will in time rule that no individual is invested with either the legal or moral right to impose unbearable burdens upon the

community through unrestrained and reckless reproduction of defective children.

Doubt comes not when we discuss the defective but when we turn to Birth Control among those who are physically, mentally and morally fit to become parents. Before we consider the case for and against Birth Control, however, let us acknowledge what we know to be the truth: that large sections of society are everywhere consciously and deliberately limiting the birth-rate. This is not a matter of personal opinion; it is a statement based upon close observation, special investigations, and a study of the vital statistics of civilized countries. These statistics prove that the birth-rate in England and on the continent and in America has fallen steadily since 1877, the year in which Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant were tried not only in the court but in the press and in the homes of London. The verdict in this case is written not in the records, but in the fact that the birth-rate in England has dropped from 36 per thousand in 1877 to less than 25 just before the war; and in the fact that a similar story is told in almost every State in Europe and in America. The question today is not: Shall we control the birth-rate? The question now must be framed in this way: Is the control of parenthood wise and right? Shall the knowledge that is now in the possession of some sections of society be extended to all? By "extended" I do not mean, let me emphasize, indiscriminate and promiscuous distribution of information. I mean the scientific instruction and education of men and women, married or about to be married, by licensed and expert physicians and nurses.

THE ARGUMENTS against Birth Control sum themselves up in four sentences. First, Birth Control leads to race suicide; Second, Birth Control is contrary to the law of the State; Third, Birth Control encourages immorality; Fourth, Birth Control violates the commandments of God. What validity and value have these arguments? Do they rest upon the solid foundation of fact? Those who speak of race suicide point as a rule to the large number of wealthy women who are without children. It is true that many women of the wealthier classes do not have children; but it is also true that these women are more conspicuous than representative of womankind and that their childlessness is not altogether a matter of regret. If there be women in whom the maternal instinct is so weak or perverted that they would rather fondle a puppy dog than cuddle a baby, we should not grieve but rather be grateful that some child has escaped the mistake of choosing such a mother. There is only one answer to be made to those who claim that Birth Control leads to race suicide: It does not. In Holland, Birth Control has been taught the people with the sanction of the government for over forty years. The birth-rate has fallen, it is true, from 37 per thousand to about 28; but the excess of births over deaths is still about 15 per thousand. This does not seem to prove that the people of Holland are bent upon self-extermination through Birth Control. The population of this, as of every country, is composed, we must remember, not of those who are born, but of those who survive.

The second argument is that Birth Control is contrary to the law of the State. This is true. It is contrary to the law of almost every state in the Union for licensed physicians and nurses to instruct married men and women and those about to be joined in wedlock in methods of contraception. But who made these laws found upon our statute books? It is not generally known but it should be that both the Federal and the State laws that make impossible the cautious and judicious and scientific distribution of knowledge are traceable directly to the activities of Anthony Comstock, a man who manifestly suffered from a morbid moral sense, if not with a well-recognized form of dementia. The laws that this man succeeded in having introduced into our codes do not reflect, I am convinced, either the belief or the practice of the majority of intelligent men and women. They do not express the safe and mature judgment of many scientists. They are contrary to social welfare and imperil the progress of the race. These laws must, therefore, be re-interpreted or re-written or repealed. And it is the constitutional right of every citizen, though the police may not know it and some district attorneys may not have learned it and some judges may have forgotten it, to urge a revision of the law when we believe the law is obsolete and obstructive of the highest good. No legal tradition can be allowed to curb or cripple a movement that means improvement and progress of the human race.

THE THIRD ARGUMENT is that Birth Control encourages immorality and desecrates marriage. The burden of proof rests upon those who advance this argument. It is for them to prove that there is more immorality and a lower standard in married life in America and England and Holland today than there was forty or fifty years ago. Nowhere have I found even an attempt to prove this contention. To say that Birth Control leads to immorality among the unmarried means only one thing. It means that the morality and the chastity of women is based upon fear. No fouler indictment could be framed against the virtue of womanhood. Women are virtuous not because they fear the consequences of sin, but because they reverence the right. No knowledge that we can place in their hands will shake the foundation upon which their ethical life is built. To say that Birth Control leads to a desecration of marriage is to assume that there is more immorality and lower standards in small families than in large families. I have taken considerable pains to study the moral standards in families both large and small, and I do not find that the standards in small families are lower than those in large families. On the contrary, I frequently find that in families in which there are many children, all of them herded into a small home, there is neither the time nor the room nor the privacy that is necessary for the cultivation of the finer sentiments and the sanctities that we associate with married life. The holiness of marriage does not depend upon conception; it does not depend upon contraception; it depends upon the sense of consecration that a man and a woman feel who come together to live in the spirit of an exalted ideal of love. When this sense of consecration is present no shadow of immorality

can enter the temple of married life; when it is absent nothing can save us from destruction.

THE FOURTH ARGUMENT, the one that is expected to silence all opposition, is that Birth Control violates the commandments of God. There are some ministers of religion, I know, who speak as if they had received a special and privileged divine communication. No such message has come to me; nor have I ever seen a message that bears within itself the evidence of being an authentic mandate from the Deity on the subject of Birth Control. There are certain commands in the Bible, of course, which men quote against us. The most formidable is the ancient command: "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth." It is well known to those who read the Bible and do not merely quote it, that this command is found in the Book of Genesis, at the beginning of the ninth chapter, and that it comes immediately after the story of the flood, when there were just eight people living upon the face of the earth. Men must forgive us the heresy if we appeal from the God of this ancient myth to the Deity we worship in our own generation, the Deity who speaks through the long ages of evolution and whose mysterious message science is slowly translating into the accents of the human tongue. This Deity teaches, we are certain now, a doctrine not contrary to our own. He reveals the significant fact that the lower down we descend in the scale of life, the less limitation we find placed upon the spawning process. The higher we rise through the stages of animal development, the more restricted, the more controlled becomes the power of reproduction. In other words, a deeper understanding of world forces and world development leads us to conclude that in Birth Control we are merely giving sight and intelligence in human society to what in the rest of nature is a blind and groping impulse.

WHAT NOW IS the case for Birth Control, what are the arguments that have convinced so many men and women that Birth Control is a legitimate and necessary social movement with deeper moral and spiritual implications? The first argument is the child. No one can study child-life in large families and not realize the danger to childhood. The statistics gathered by the Children's Bureau at Washington show that the death-rate among children in families in which there are eight children and more is two and one half times that in families in which there are four children or less. In large families moreover, it is impossible for each child to get the tender care and thoughtful supervision needed if they are to be equipped for a serviceable career in the complex life that is ours today. How often older boys and girls in trouble tell us the same story: I did not get much care when I was little, how could I? There were too many of us. Fathers and mothers do not mean to neglect their children; but when they have too many crowded about them in their home, they cannot give to each child the study and the stimulation and the guidance that each one requires. It is because we love little children that we want to guard them against the dangers that develop in large families and that make tenderness and devotion and fulness of love on the part of parents almost impossible.

The second argument is the mother. No one outside doctors and nurses and those associated with hospitals can know the terrible price that women pay for their own ignorance and our indifference. Too many and too frequent confinements undermine the strength and health of mothers and lead too often to premature and preventable death. Here and there women may survive large families and have their pictures published in the papers. The fact that they appear in the papers proves that they are exceptions. But not only do women suffer and die prematurely because of unwise spacing of children, they die for another and a more tragic reason. They die in numbers now unknown because they realize their own and their children's distress and attempt to destroy the new life that has begun to develop within them. When we know that women with four and five and six children feel that they cannot go any further, and that they would rather walk into the very valley of the shadow of death than bring forth another child, what right have we to withhold from them the knowledge for which they plead? Woman is no longer either the property or the sport of man. She has freed herself from the serfdom of the centuries. She has won for herself many rights, and one of the most sacred is the right of voluntary maternity. Women have every reason to rejoice in this right, for voluntary maternity means a longer life for mothers; it means a continuance of the precious influence of the mother in the life of her children; it means that the mother will have the time and the strength to cultivate those powers that are peculiarly her own, and that, when cultivated, introduce into the world a richness and fragrance and beauty without which we would be deprived of some of our rarest treasures.

SOCIAL WELFARE IS the third argument. Twenty years and more in social service teach me that families often become a liability and a burden solely because they grow too large and increase too rapidly. My studies show that many and many a family slips down to the line of need and destitution for the simple reason that too many children are born to parents who have a very limited working and earning capacity. If you ask me how many children are "too many," I answer frankly that no man has a right to have more children than he can adequately feed and clothe and educate. I believe that it is not too much to say that an excessive number of children acts as a heavy weight upon our whole wage-earning group. In sections of the country where child-labor is allowable, children enter the mills and the factories and the mines not only to be destroyed by conscienceless exploiters of childhood, but to compete with and to lower the wages of their elders. In every section of the country they make it difficult for wage-earners to rise to a higher economic level, as they should; to attain new standards of living, as they should; to enjoy the advantages of more leisure, better education, fuller development of mind and spirit, as is their right. The great mass of workers the world over will free themselves much more speedily when they come to see that ignorant and irresponsible procreation only impedes their own advance.

Th fourth argument is national and international peace.

(Continued on page 206)

A Christian Attitude Towards Birth Control

A Paper Presented at the International Birth Control Conference

By Frederick W. Betts

I AM NOT a propagandist for Birth Control. These are the first words I have ever written on this subject for publication. I am a Christian minister. I shall be sixty-five my next birthday. On November 1st, I shall have completed thirty-three years as pastor of my present parish and church. I did preach a sermon last Mothers' Day on "Motherhood as a Profession". In this sermon I urged that motherhood is, after all is said, the noblest business to which a woman can consecrate herself. But I also said that in order that motherhood may be a profession for women in any profound and satisfactory way, it must be voluntary and not involuntary. A newspaper reporter in the congregation that Sunday smelled a sensation in my remarks, asked for my notes, and published an abstract of my sermon. Such is fame, as ordained in newspaper headlines. I am first of all, above all, a minister of Jesus Christ. I have few illusions about my own faith. I despise the self-righteousness of pietists. But I count this ministry my chief joy and blessing in life, except my wife and children, and I am supremely interested in trying so to interpret the Gospel as to make it an inspiration for righteousness.

Yet here I find myself most emphatically out of sympathy with much that passes without question in official and ecclesiastical Christendom. It is an increasing conviction in me that official Christendom is unable or unwilling to face reality regarding some of the most vital matters of conduct and morality. There is an artificial, manufactured public opinion in most ecclesiastical circles, that silences the slightest deviation from the conventional codes. A good illustration is the divorce question. God knows I want men and women to lead pure lives. But God also knows the difference between cant and the eternal truth about life. Official Christendom goes on its way, insisting upon "no divorce", without the courage or the candor, or the honesty to face the miserable truth. How any human being who has made a study of the facts, can find anything in the present state of morality in those countries, where the Church has been able to promulgate "no divorce", to encourage us to go that way, is one of the puzzles of human logic and intelligence. I heard a keen observer and traveler, speaking on another subject, remark of a certain country, from which he had just returned, that rumor there credited the whole population with being ninety per cent. afflicted with syphilis. I do not charge this to the church. But in that country there is no divorce, and I submit that from that country we have nothing of importance to learn about how to solve the problem of sexual immorality. There are conditions of human existence inside of what we insist on calling the sacred precincts of the marriage vow, that are as base, as bestial, as degrading as any state of sexual promiscuity that ever existed among barbarians. Why not face the facts? Why go on forever deluding ourselves and salving our consciences by passing codes and prohibitions that are

unworked and unworkable? The reliance of official Christendom upon divorce laws to cure the sexual evils of society is one of those pathetic delusions which mark the history of ecclesiasticism.

This brings us directly to the problem of Birth Control, for this is part of that piece of mind and way of thinking, that has often vitiated and defeated the real influence of the Gospel. I believe in children. I believe in motherhood. I believe that the healthy, married woman who deliberately avoids motherhood is a short-sighted fool who is usually preparing for unhappiness. Children and motherhood are the crowning glory of every real home. But, I repeat, and repeat again that motherhood is a blessed state and woman reaches her beatification in motherhood only when the act is voluntary, joyous, the free expression of the deliberate choice of those who must suffer the travail and pain of child-birth. Shall we then make it possible for every woman to decide for herself whether she shall become a mother? What a shocking thing to put this choice within the reach of all! What awful things will happen when women are allowed to decide that issue which is the most important in their whole lives! What sexual looseness may we not expect as the result of such information!

WHAT SOLEMN nonsense is all this to one who is familiar with the facts. A few years ago I headed a committee that was the means of wiping out the "segregated district" of a large city. We rounded up at one time over two hundred inmates of the "parlor houses" of this district. These women entertained an average of ten men every week, but none of them ever had any children. I had a friend who was a minister of a great marble church on a beautiful avenue. His Sunday school was preposterously small. I asked him why. He answered that it was not fashionable to have children in that neighborhood. I have a church that has been wonderfully faithful to me in every good work. I wish every minister could be blessed with such a people as I have ministered to for over thirty-five years. In that time I have married many of my young people and their children. There have not been five divorces among all my people in all that time. There has been a very high average of happiness in our family life. My people are not childless, but as my attention is called to it, and as I make a careful survey of them all, I discover that the average number of children among all our families is less than two for each home. Are my people unsexed? Are they celibate? Have they denied themselves sexual joy? I do not believe this. They have simply practised Birth Control.

The problem simplifies itself as we proceed. Our ecclesiastical brethren, who insist on condemning any general spread of information or education concerning Birth Control, do

not seem to understand that half of society is already familiar with the thing they would deny them. Almost certainly the vast majority of the people to whom these brethren minister are practising Birth Control. If the ministers themselves and their wives are not practising it, they are either celibates or eunuchs. This does not lessen my respect for them; but it does raise the question when are we to out with this hypocrisy which makes so many professional moralists a laughing stock for honest men who face the facts of sex relations courageously and candidly. The immoral, the self-indulgent, the prudential, the intelligent are, most of them, practising Birth Control. Even the moral and the decent are most of them in this class. It is the same old story. We deny the poor, the ignorant, the knowledge which we use. For ten years I have been in charge of the work of a group of public-spirited men who furnish money for working among the children of the poor. It is among the poor that we meet this problem of Birth Control at every turn. What little they know about this, and what little they practise of it, filters into their minds through the sluices of society or the miserable practise of cheap abortionists. I am not so certain of my own infallibility as to undertake to settle this problem, but a few things are clear to me. Sexual desire is elemental. When nature and God made man, they staked the perpetuity of the race on the potency of this desire. So elemental is it that all that time and that teaching and that literature devoted to its repression and denial are wasted. Sexual desire laughs at codes and smiles at the ignorance of moralists who are unwilling to reckon with it intelligently and patiently.

AS BETWEEN THE whispered insinuation, the corrupting breath, the rotten sources of secret information, such as multitudes depend on now, and a careful, patient, open education concerning Birth Control, there is but one choice for those whose morality is real and not conventional. Let us have light. Let us have our instruction and information in broad daylight from those educators and doctors who do not deal in the poison of evil suggestion or insinuation. When the critics of Birth Control convince us that they are not practising what they condemn in others, we shall have more confidence in their advice. But not even that would convince us that the present system of Birth Control, based as it is on what information stews up from the gutter, out of licentious minds or from remedies confidentially dealt in by medical quacks, is preferable to some method of information that comes from untainted sources.

Again I say that motherhood is the noblest profession of womanhood. The woman, who under decent circumstances denies herself this responsibility and this experience, is denying herself the joy and blessedness which, in spite of pain and care, have crowned womanhood as divine in Mary and in all the consecrated mothers of the world. But motherhood can bring this joy, this crown, only when it is in an ecstasy and not a cursed martyrdom. Morality and religion have everything to gain and nothing to lose by getting back to reality, beginning with facts, and building codes and

ideals, on the freedom, the choice, the glad desire of womanhood which finds in motherhood the finest and divinest expression of its own personality. The world needs every child that is born of such an experience. The others it can get along without until they too can be born right.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

TOKIO, AUGUST 26 (Correspondence of the Associated Press).—The question of how to dispose of Japan's surplus population, ever present with the Japanese Government, is more acute than ever this year owing to the large increase in unemployment. There is room in the Japanese colonies and in Hokkaido, the comparatively new agricultural country on the northern island of that name, where the soil and the climate are much like that of Northwestern America, and where cattle, cereals and fruits are successfully grown.

The majority of Japanese who wish to leave the main island of Japan, in spite of these advantages, are always seeking assistance to do so. In addition, the Government and the colonization companies are faced with the fact that in the countries bordering on the Pacific the Japanese immigrant is unpopular, and they have to look elsewhere for new homes for their people.

At a recent conference of officials of the home, foreign and agricultural departments, it was decided to encourage migration to Hakkaido and other outlying portions of the empire and to ask for a grant to assist emigrants to go to South America, which is regarded by officials as the most suitable destination for them.—*New York Times*.

PORTLAND, ORE., Sept. 15—The House of Bishops put itself on record this afternoon as against Birth Control. This was a feature of a report by the Joint Commission on Home and Family Life presented by Bishop Moreland of Sacramento, Cal. It is one of the few reports which so far have gone through without discussion.

"This commission," said the report, "heartily indorses the warning uttered by the great Lambeth conference of Bishops in 1920, gathered from all over the world, against the practice of means for the avoidance of conception as involving grave dangers to physical health, as well as moral innocence, and threatening the future of the human race.

"We make our own the words of the Conference Committee as applying in particular to the United States. Where family life is dishonored, wedded unfaithfulness lightly regarded, parental responsibility neglected, filial respect and obedience slighted, there, we may be sure, society is rotten at the core. We tremble for the future of a State or nation where lax theories concerning domestic life gain ground. Even laxer practice will certainly prevail.

"The remedy for the frightful dissolution of the marriage tie going on in America and its inevitable consequence of race suicide is to be found in Christian training alone."—*New York Times*.



"MAYBE IF THEY DIDN'T HAVE SO MANY OF THEM, MORE OF THEM WOULD TURN OUT BETTER."

—By courtesy of Collier's, The National Weekly.

The Cry of Oppressed Motherhood

Letters from Mothers Who Suffer for Lack of Knowledge

Again we present to our readers a small selection from the many letters that continually come to us from women enslaved to involuntary motherhood. Willing motherhood sets woman on the highest pinnacle of bliss, and entitles her to the honor paid her by painter, sculptor and poet. But motherhood forced on a woman against her will, her judgement and her conscience degrades her body and soul and inflicts on her the torments of the damned. What right has Society to decree that woman shall not free herself through reason and knowledge from chains which debase and degrade the high function, committed to her, of carrying on the life of the race. The nation needs her cooperation to solve the problems of race deterioration and the multiplication of the unfit. She is ready to give her aid. In the name of the unhappy mothers of this Free Land, and for the sake of future America, we ask the help of every reader in the work of making legal and accessible the knowledge of Birth Control.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have just finished "Woman and the New Race," and was so interested in its vital message, I could not stop reading until I had completed the book. It is certainly a message to the thinking women of America to urge more just legislation

and to teach our less fortunate sisters. I have always been a firm believer and advocate of Birth Control, but, alas, I have not the essential knowledge. I understand the sexual functions thoroughly, having studied advanced biology, but have never received the desired information about contraceptives. I am absolutely opposed to abortion, from a moral standpoint, but I feel that it is every woman's right to limit her family by preventing conception.

I am a college woman and the wife of a teacher. We have two lovely boys, aged five and two years. I do not feel that we will be able to give more children the college education or the business advantages that we desire for them,—a teacher's salary is notoriously small. We have the means to care for our two comfortably, and I have sufficient time for their proper care and training, but, with more, the outlook would not be so bright and my home, now so dear to me, might become a place of drudgery. So I have joined the thousands searching for a reliable safeguard against unwelcome babies.

I am a member of a woman's civic organization and a study club, and will be glad to use my small amount of influence with them, for the purpose of better legislation regarding contraceptive information.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

I was married on February 12, 1919, and my first baby was born on January 12, 1920. The second one was born on March 25, 1921, and now I am living in constant fear that there will be one every year. Where or how can I obtain information as to a harmless and certain means of preventing conception? I sent for your book, "Woman and the New Race," in hopes that I would get some help, but of course, got none. One of the magazines, I think it was Pictorial Review, printed a paragraph stating that the New York Federation of Women's Clubs is working for the repeal of that law which prevents us getting that information. When will we know whether or not they are successful?

I was born and brought up in New York City and how I wish that I could have attended that clinic in Brooklyn!

I am the oldest of a family of eight, and my husband also comes of a family of eight. We don't want that size family ourselves, because we've seen the drudgery, the striving to make ends meet, that such a family brings. Everything is so high now that even the two we have make it difficult for us.

We are not what you would call poor but I never waste a cent. I have bought no new clothes since I was married, and my husband has bought only one suit, so you can see it isn't because we are selfish or extravagant that we don't want any more children. It is because we really can't afford them, if we are to give these two a better education than we had ourselves.

When I look at some of the large families in my neighborhood and see their untidy homes, I shudder. Yet it is impossible for one pair of hands to do all the work required. I have no leisure now, and my feet are so tired at night that I'm glad to fall into bed. That isn't living! When I think of having any more babies, I feel as if death would be preferable.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

Just today I received your book "Woman and the New Race" and already have read practically all of it, but am as much at sea as before. Both my husband and myself heartily agree with your ideas, but still we are as helpless as before.

We have all the children we can care for now, in fact we have a new baby boy only four weeks old, who was ordered and a mighty welcome guest; but to add another child to our family would not be giving our children we have now a fair chance, as our financial income is limited.

We are a wonderfully happy family and without the slightest trace of disease anywhere. We wish to continue to be happy and I feel sure that a little personal advice from you will make our happiness everlasting. Won't you be kind enough to write me, giving me enough specific scientific information that I may prevent further conception until at such time we can afford another baby in our home.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

A friend sent me your book *Woman and the New Race* and I can't resist writing to you and asking for information and advice. I am the mother of three fine children, the oldest just passed four years, the youngest thirteen months, and I am several months pregnant with the fourth. I have had good health, but I feel it failing and it worries me. We are very poor and cannot afford to hire proper help at confinement times, and it is very hard to get help here. We have to work hard and long hours so we have little or no time to spend training our children, and when I think of my own life—the twelfth child in a family of thirteen raised in poverty and ignorance, I feel that I would use any means to prevent bringing more children into the world to be raised as I was raised. I want to do what is right, but if I cannot find a contraceptive I will practise abortion if it kills me. So won't you please help me?

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I saw an advertisement of a book on Birth Control and I sent right away for a copy. It is a Godsend to me. I am a mother of nine living children. I have suffered untold agony, not only at childbirth but while carrying them. My doctor knows how I suffer these last years and he has said that if I keep on having children so fast it will kill me. I have asked him to help me, but he will not do it. I work very hard during the day and nursing a four-months-old baby at night nearly kills me. I am just as tired when I get up as I am when I go to bed. We are nothing but poor people, and are not able to take care of these children as they ought to be cared for. Please tell me what to do.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I have read your book *Woman and the New Race* and heartily approve every word in it, and after much hesitation have decided to write to you personally. I am a member of a family of twelve children, and we are every one victims of tuberculosis. One of my brothers and three of my sisters have already died from it. I have been married two and a half years and my second child is three months old, and very weakly, being sick all the time. I lost my oldest at 14 months old, and I don't believe my baby will live that long. I dearly love children, but I don't believe it is right to bring little diseased children into the world to suffer and die, beside I am very weak and don't think I can stand to have many more. I kept my husband away from me for six months when my first baby was born, and have kept him away since my last came, but I can't keep him away from me always. If I tried it would cause discord, perhaps separation. I love my husband and I want to treat him right, and he is awfully good to me and we could be very happy if only we knew how to prevent having so many children. My doctor told me I could not stand to have another child for several years, but still he wouldn't tell me how to prevent it—only to stay away from my husband, and you know that is almost if not quite impossible. Mrs. Sanger can't you find some way to help me. I am poor but I would give anything I possess to know some safe and sure way.

Consumation—The Story of a Woman's Soul

By Percy Norwood Stone

STREET SMELLS pushed their heavy way through the single inadequate window. From the hallway came the indefinable but disgusting air of a house with limited plumbing. Inside the room they clashed, then mingled with the odoriferous steam from a pot of boiling cabbage. The combination was a perfume nauseating to nose-governed stomachs unused to tenement attack. To persons olfactorially accustomed to the scent it was—and is—the aroma of home. On days when no cabbage was spreading its fetid incense, onions or garlic proved a sufficient substitute. Cooking smells, blending unwholesomely with the thick atmosphere of hall and street identified the room for habituated noses.

Before the boiling cabbage stood a woman. Her hair was flat and drab, as any hair would be if weeks of housework were not interrupted by washing. The hair was dirty—unmistakably dirty. Two unmated bone pins kept most of it away from a damp face, though stiff bunches regularly slumped from her forehead over her eyes. Her body was graceless. A soiled blouse, held in front by three buttons still clinging where once there were eight, was intended to be a covering for the grayed underwear that showed its ribbed harshness through gaps below her breasts. A torn petticoat was fastened under the exposed bottom of the blouse. Through a tear in this skirt appeared an old corset string gartering her stocking just below the knee. Her shoes were replicas of those seen shriveling to hardness on a street neglected by the garbage man.

The woman's face accorded with the monotone of her body. Sweat had moistened it, but the regular wiping away of the perspiration—an operation which included shoving back the sticky sprouts of hair from her eyes—failed to make it clean. Sunken eyes, unlighted by any hope; weak, drooping mouth—the mouth and eyes showed spiritless resignation, although occasionally they struggled into a short-lived, pitiable determination.

The ebullient cabbage and sputtering meat were presently drowned out by the wail of an infant. The woman, turning her head, looked at the baby lying on a blanket in the corner of the room closest to the window.

"Annie," shouted the woman into the darkness of the hallway.

But Annie didn't answer. The woman shoved the frying meat away from the flame. With almost one movement she opened her waist at the top—the only place it had been closed—and wiped away the sweat from her face as she turned to the baby. She lifted the child, pulled her breast above the loose, gray undershirt and let the infant suck. The resulting deglutition made crying impossible, so the woman, with the babe hazardously held under one arm, pulled the meat back to the fire.

A MAN CAME IN. He looked towards the stove, his eyes for what was cooking there, not for the nursing mother. He said nothing.

As dinner was being placed upon the bare table not far from the stove, three children came into the room. They were dirty from the streets where they had been trying to play. They talked a bit among themselves, but said nothing to their parents. Nor did their parents say anything to them, except when the mother told Annie, the oldest of the three, to put the baby back on its blanket.

There had been a quarrel that morning between the man and woman. The children always refrained from conversation on days that started that way. The quarrels were frequent, generally being suspended in the same masculine monologue.

"Get to hell out o' here if you don't like it," the man had said as he picked up his lunch bucket and went out of the door. The woman had not answered. She had listened to that remark dozens of times. All clashes, it seemed, ended just that way.

Flies glugged themselves on the bread and on the cooling fat from the meat. They were undisturbed except when one of the grimed hands reached for another thick slice of bread. The meat had all gone at the first helping—the father taking most of it before the others reached with their forks into the black pan.

Occasionally during the short meal the woman looked at the man as though she were about to speak. But she said nothing. Nor did the man. His only noise was an animal sound as he suctioned in his food. Finished, he pawed his mouth, cleaned a diseased tooth by the use of his fore-finger, and moved his chair to the window. His form there blocked most of the opening. The children, having done their bit in cleaning the dishes, went back to the street. The woman changed the single cloth that was wrapped about the baby, washed the one she had removed, and sat at the table.

"Let's go to the movies," she finally said.

"Too damned hot," was his answer.

ACROSS THE FILTHY COURT below the window a young girl was getting ready to keep a date. The reality of the picture he saw was more interesting than the movies. More interesting, too, though no more real, than the view behind him. He pulled his chair back from the window just a little that he might not attract the gaze of the disrobing girl, so reminding her of the unclosed blind. While his interest was centered on the sight before him, the mind of the mother was elsewhere, though, in a way, they pondered on the same human question.

"Just like I told you last night, we can't have any more kids." The woman interrupted the phantasy the man was dreaming.

"And just like I said, what did you marry me for?" was the man's retort.

"If you was the woman, standing for what I've stood for, you'd think the same like I do."

There was no spirit in the woman's voice, no more than there was in the slouching body that sat limply at the table.

"There ain't going to be no more babies for me. You can do what you please. There ain't going to be any."

"Aw, you're nutty."

The girl across the way had finished her toilet. The man turned to face the woman. In the dusk he could hardly see her. The darkness took away the unattractiveness and left just a woman to be shaped and clothed by imagination.

"You're nutty. And I'm getting sick of this talk. And the way you act, too. It ain't a picnic for me to work and then hear your crabbing all night. Shut up."

The woman did shut up. It was a quarter of an hour before she said:

"Well, there ain't going to be no more."

The man's mind had drifted back to the girl across the court, now gone to keep her date. He didn't like the interruption. He wouldn't have liked any interruption from the woman.

"Aw, for Christ's sake, lay off that. You make me sick. You married me didn't you? And you knew what it meant, too, didn't you? I guess you knew too much. There ain't no use belly-aching about it. If you don't like it here, get to hell out. If there's much more of this noise, I'll get out myself."

THE CHILDREN CAME up to go to bed. They unfolded a blanket, spread it on the floor, and naked lay down. The man knocked the ashes from his pipe, took off his clothes and pulling the bed close to the window spread himself out on it. The woman sat at the table, looking at her hands.

Somewhere in the dusk, hanging on the wall, was a marriage certificate. The glass in front of it was fly-specked and dusty. In recent years it had missed the careful attention given it before. Marriage had become too much of a reality for this printed proof to arouse any pleasant interest. But the woman's eyes were raised from her hands to stare through the dark at the spot where hung the parchment.

There were but two things that came to her mind. One of them was continuing on as she was. The other was suicide. More and more often of late the thought of ending her life had come to her. The bestial life under which she was suffering urged her on. An inherent fright of the unknown fought the suggestion. She knew but little of religion. It was not that which held her back. Instead, some instinct always intercepted—an instinct that revolted against self-destruction. There was no conscious thought of the children already born. Gone was whatever maternal instinct she might have had in the struggle following her marriage six years before. There had been seven children born. Three had died. She wanted no more. She felt certain that suicide

would end it if ever she were pregnant again. Even fear of death would be conquered by that. There was no love for her husband. There never had been much. A youthful animal, tired of clerking in a dry goods store, she had married the first man who asked her. Romance had been short.

"Come on to bed," her husband ordered.

"I think I'll sleep here at the table," she answered.

The bed squeaked as he sat up.

"Like the devil you will. Get off your clothes and come here." There was a threat in every word.

"I won't do it," she said slowly in a dull voice.

"You won't, huh? We'll see about that."

His bare feet struck the floor with a thud. The woman stood up behind her chair. He walked up to her snarling.

"We'll damned soon see. Get over there.

Without emotion she said "No."

The children on the floor quieted from their tossing and listened. The man lit the gas. They looked.

"Turn over, all of you," he snapped.

They turned their faces to the hot wall.

The woman didn't cower. She just stood where she was, unresisting, unmilitant. The man grabbed her by the arm and pulled her to the bed.

"Now, damn you, undress and get in there."

She did. There were no sobs, no words.

Sometime later, when the man was asleep, the woman got up. She felt her way in the dark to where she kept the big knife. She found it. She lifted it to her breast. Then she dropped her arm. The courage wasn't there. For the first time since her husband had forced her to bed, she sobbed. She sunk to the floor, buried her head on her arms and wept. For fifteen minutes her naked body shook on the floor. Then she forced herself to rise. She walked slowly to the bed, lay down and slept.

WE STOPPED to see Adam Yonolovic, who lives on Cusick Street. It is a nice clean frame house, and old Adam himself, who is sixty years old, was sitting out on the porch, smoking a clay pipe.

He called his fifteen-year-old daughter Anna, who keeps house for the family of seven children, and she invited us in. Last year Adam had his arm smashed in the mine. He received compensaion for four months, and then was told he would have to go back to work. He couldn't move the injured arm, so he had to get a job in the breaker, just like the little boys who begin there.

"Sometimes I think I'll be following my mother to the insane asylum where she is put," Anna said. "When my father brings home just \$13 in two weeks how can I get along? We had a few hundred dollars saved, but with my father sick and all, now we got nothing. Gee, I was going to go to high school and everything, but it's all I can do to keep the kids dressed good enough to go."

The baby of the family is now four years old, and besides the seven living children there are six who died as babies. —Sketches of Striking Miners' Families, *Daily News*, Aug. 16.

The Church and Birth Control

By Rudolph I. Coffee, Ph. D.

THESE LINES ARE written before the Protestant Episcopal convention has convened in Portland, Oregon. They are penned as a reply to newspaper statements that strong action will be taken in condemnation of Birth Control at the conference. Our question is why should men and women there assembled go out of their way to stultify the church and brand its leaders as hopeless reactionaries?

One pressing matter before this convention is the prayer book, now used for the past three hundred and seventy years. The conference will vote on eliminating that part of the marriage service which compels the woman to promise that she will "obey" her husband. No self respecting woman can or will honestly promise that, and how any equally self-respecting minister of the church can ask such a question continues to puzzle us. Another equally mediaeval matter, with which the convention will wrestle, concerns the Jews. At present the prayer book asks for God's mercy on them, together with Turks, infidels and heathens. Broad minded men in the conference realize that such a prayer is hardly in keeping with brother-love as taught in the twentieth century and will move to substitute less objectionable wording. For the sake of the fine men and women within this church, we hope that progressive thought will prevail and quickly excise these evidences of outworn theology.

Another resolution seeks to revise and shorten the wording of the Ten Commandments. If Americans can be made to obey these fundamental laws, by abbreviating their length, no one should object. We agree that the third commandment is redundant, and the fourth could lose its qualifying phrases, while the reward offered in the fifth might possibly be omitted; but we emphatically object to any change in the second commandment. Whether the Protestant Episcopal Conference likes it or not, God *does* visit "the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me; and show mercy unto the thousandth generation of them that love Me and keep My commandments." (Exodus XX, 5.6). Instead of wiping out, this great body should emphasize these words and tell the whole world that they refer to the deadly ravages of venereal disease. Here is the very sanction for the church to teach social hygiene and sex education, and no better text is needed to explain the dangers of ignoring the laws of Nature. These words deny that a young man may with impunity sow his "wild oats." Whether this powerful assembly of citizens at Portland will retain or omit the concluding words of the second commandment, its delegates may rest assured that God's law will continue to function without favor, with death for those who refuse to heed. There must be but a single standard of morality and a militant church of all religious bodies should lead in teaching this lesson.

*As foreshadowed here the Convention condemned Birth Control, though evidently without any real understanding of the subject.

ALL OF THESE changes, however, are of minor consideration when compared with the subject of Birth Control. Whether or not a Protestant Episcopal woman promises to "obey" her husband, the position of woman today will rapidly continue to approach that of total equality to man. The twentieth amendment to the Constitution, with woman being made equal before the law to man, is not far off. Jews will continue to serve humanity and our blessed America to the best of their ability, whether the prayer book continues to list them with other undesirables or not; and whatever action is taken on abridging the ten Commandments, their truths will be as fundamental tomorrow as yesterday.

But with Birth Control it is quite different. Here is a fundamental and vital principle of life seeking public recognition. True the Bible command says "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it" (Genesis I, 28), but these words were spoken to Adam and Eve when the world lacked population. Today, the universe seeks not quantity but quality. Population is increasing very rapidly, and building sufficient houses as well as providing enough food for our increasing millions are pressing problems. Theodore Roosevelt made a grievous mistake when he wrote against "race suicide," and his later silence on this subject would indicate that he recognized his error. President Harding rendered a disservice last year when he congratulated the poor father of a family of seventeen children, thereby encouraging large rather than select families. We, who stand for Birth Control, prefer that children should come into the world by choice and not by chance. We plead for intelligence in the rearing of wanted children. And realizing the power over its church members of the conference, we hope it will not deliberately oppose itself to sane and sensible child-rearing propaganda.

We should like every delegate who votes against Birth Control to stand up and state the number of children in his family. Ministers of well-to-do congregations are not blessed with large families, and we are confident that most of the delegates voting against Birth Control have for years practiced it in their own lives. Why not help the poor people, who most need it, to this valuable information? If the members lack the daring to openly square their votes with their lives, let them ignore the subject altogether. The Protestant Episcopal church did precious little to end the iniquitous twelve-hour day in the Pennsylvania coal mines, and it continues to this day, despite many prominent church leaders whose influence could have strengthened the miners' appeal. How much has it aided the fight to end child labor? When there are so many economic problems, on which we all agree, calling for church assistance, why should the delegates invite trouble by condemning a principle, old but now seeking public recognition? If the assembled delegates cannot openly favor Birth Control, at least let them preserve a dignified—and discreet—silence.

The Problem of The Unfit

By Horatio M. Pollock, Ph. D.

A Paper Presented at the International Birth Control Conference

THE DIVERSE ELEMENTS comprising human society have been roughly placed into two groups, namely, "life-givers" and "life-takers." To the former group belong the intelligent, industrious, thrifty and generous people who do the work of the world and carry its burdens; to the latter group belong those who fail to a greater or lesser degree in meeting their responsibilities and become dependent in part at least on the former group. Life-givers are the promoters and upbuilders of civilization; life-takers block the wheels of progress and undermine the foundations laid by the life-givers.

Life-givers may be rich or poor, or of high or of low rank. It is not their possessions or their position or station that counts, but, rather, their personal contribution to human welfare. An autocrat who lives in luxury and rules unwisely and unjustly is a life-taker of the grossest sort, while a humble artisan who does useful work in a skillful way is a life-giver and is entitled to the respect and gratitude of his fellow men. Life-givers of genius like Jesus and Buddha who are able to work out universal principles governing human relations, or like Pasteur and Edison who search out the secrets of nature, represent mankind at its highest and best. Through their efforts the whole human race of the present and future is made richer and happier.

The life-takers are not a homogeneous group but are composed of many types. Some are intelligent and well educated, but lack tact and adaptability; some are temperate, but also lazy and shiftless; some are rich through inheritance, but useless and vicious; some are religious, but lack capacity and initiative; many others are alcoholic, feeble-minded, psychopathic or delinquent. All are parasitic to some degree and therefore are to be counted as unfit for independent existence. A considerable part of the life-takers might become useful by proper treatment; the others constitute a hopeless assortment of wrecks. The latter group of defectives and incurables are the big problem with which we must deal. Destroy them we must not; reform them we cannot; care for them we must, whether we like it or not.

With the influx of the population into cities the care of the mentally defective and the insane in homes has become less practicable and consequently institution care is fast displacing home care. The burden of support of these classes is also being rapidly shifted from the family to the state. In states and countries where a high standard of institution care has been provided, the rate of increase of insane in institutions has far exceeded the rate of increase of population. Most state hospitals in America are now crowded far beyond their capacity. State care of mental defectives is usually limited to the lowest grades and there are always more applicants for admission than can be accommodated. Apparently the burden

of both the chronic insane and the mentally defective is continually becoming heavier.

Is the problem then hopeless? Must we go on building institutions to house a continually increasing number of the unfit? Must the products of the thrifty and industrious be forever depleted to supply the non-productive? Must the general level of society always be kept down by the mixture of disintegrating elements?

Many measures for temporary relief are being advocated. Among the more promising of these may be mentioned the careful study and supervision of school children, the organization of special classes for abnormal pupils, systematic vocational guidance for children who leave school early, mental clinics, and psychopathic hospitals for the early treatment of incipient mental disorders, special institutions for defective delinquents, colonies for high grade mental defectives where they may become self-supporting, and occupational therapy along productive lines for the mentally and physically sick.

THESE, WITH BETTER laws regulating the production and distribution of wealth, should do much to improve conditions, but I see no hope for permanent relief unless society awakens to a full realization of the situation and becomes willing to cast aside some of the prevailing rules and regulations relative to the procreation of the race. It is commonly observed that at the present time much more intelligence and wisdom are exercised in breeding domestic animals and plants than in propagating the human species. The latter is very largely a haphazard matter. Under our present marriage laws there is no opportunity to conserve in large measure for the benefit of the race the capacity, vigor and moral and physical beauty of specially gifted men and women. On the other hand, practically nothing can now be done to check the rapid multiplication of inferior stocks.

In spite of the rapid advancement of science and practical arts of the past half century, in spite of the general extension of institutions of learning, in spite of the higher standards of living and the improved conservation of life, there is practically no evidence that the human race is improving physically, mentally or morally. How could it improve under present methods of propagation? The few eugenic marriages of recent years are more than offset by the many matings of defectives. We have no racial ideals, no standards of selection. We know enough of the laws of heredity to give us a basis for definite measures for race improvement but apathy and social and religious customs have thus far prevented any concerted action in this direction.

"**A**S YE SOW, so shall ye reap", was a common observation many thousand years ago. This great biological principle has been used with marked success in the raising of grains

and vegetables, cows and horses; but practically not at all in the raising of men.

What does it profit us to advance in the arts of civilization if the human race is to deteriorate? What avail physics and chemistry if their discoveries are to be used for destructive purposes? Advanced civilization demands highly developed men and women with strong moral purposes. Without these it cannot endure.

What we need is both positive and negative Birth Control; positive Birth Control to insure the reproduction of men and women with superior gifts, and negative Birth Control to prevent the reproduction of the unfit.

It is time to cast aside precedents, prejudices and laws that stand in the way of racial progress and to take a decided stand for race improvement. Mental defectives and psychopaths should not be permitted to procreate, and negative Birth Control should be encouraged among inferior stocks. Society is fully justified in using close supervision, segregation or sterilization whenever necessary to prevent reproduction among the markedly unfit. Aggressive measures will be necessary to accomplish desired results.

We can never expect to be entirely free from the burden of the unfit, but by taking thought we can lighten the burden for ourselves and future generations. The emphasis must be continually placed on the prevention of disease and defect. The laws of physical and mental hygiene must become common knowledge and must be observed in the rearing of children. Venereal diseases must be stamped out. Sentiments that stand in the way of health and social safety must be disregarded. The knowledge of how to live that has been gained through many years of study must be diligently applied for the benefit of the race.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Betts, Rev. Frederick W., Pastor for thirty-three years of the First Universalist Church of Syracuse, N. Y. Chairman of Committee of Eighteen for Moral Survey of Syracuse.

Coffee, Dr. Rudolph I., Rabbi of Temple Sinai, First Hebrew Congregation of Oakland, Cal.

Exner, M. J., M. D., Director, Department of Educational Activities of American Social Hygiene Association.

Goldstein Dr. Sidney E., Associate Pastor of Free Synagogue, New York.

Little, C. C., S. D. Biologist, engaged in research work, Station for Experimental Evolution, Carnegie Institution. Member of Board of American Birth Control League.

Pollock, Horatio M., Statistician, Editor, Member N. W. State Hospital Commission.

Rosanoff, Aaron J., Mental Specialist, Formerly Clinical Director King's Park State Hospital, N. Y. In practice in Los Angeles.

Stone, Percy Norwood, New York, author.

THE CONTROL OF PARENTHOOD

(Continued from page 197)

It is difficult to study the history of India and China and not come to the conclusion that much of the misery of these unhappy countries is the result of centuries of uncontrolled breeding of children. Excessive increase of population means periodic visitation of famine and plague and the horrible custom of infanticide. It is difficult to study world history and escape the conviction that over-population is often the cause and more frequently an excuse for war. In 1914 Germany demanded more territory to accommodate her people. Today Japan is seeking a section of China and Siberia in order to care for the Japanese who overflow the island empire. The hollowness of her position is found, of course, in her desire to pour a part of her surplus population into China, which is already over-populated. If we can restrict the population of each country of the world to a reasonable limit, we may not end war, but we shall at least remove one of the excuses and causes of international conflict. It is for this reason that I have come to have more faith in Mrs. Sanger's visit to Japan and China and India than in the visit of our statesmen to Washington or Genoa or the Hague.

THE FINAL ARGUMENT is that Birth Control vouchsafes us some measure of control over the future. We have not hesitated to extend our control over nature, we do our utmost to bend nature to our use; we have not hesitated to extend our control over vegetation, for decades we have been experimenting with seeds and plants and flowers. We have not hesitated to extend our control over the animal kingdom, for centuries we have watched the breeding of sheep and cattle and horses, and within recent years we have turned breeding into a science. In truth, we seem to be more concerned about the racial development of bugs and beasts than about the racial destiny of man. It is possible through Birth Control to relieve ourselves and society of many imperfections; it is possible through Birth Control to free ourselves for the realization of those splendid visions that summon us from time to time to vaster enterprises and loftier levels of spiritual culture. Those who feel a passion for finer realms of thought and conduct and comradeship find in Birth Control an instrument of exceeding promise and power.

No movement that can do these things, no movement that can guard the child, preserve the mother, relieve the extent and pressure of social distress, remove one of the excuses and causes of war; no movement that can invest us with the power to determine to some degree the character of posterity, that can teach us to so control our creative instincts that we shall create not suffering and sorrow, but joy and beauty, a world in which each baby will be wanted and welcomed and cherished, can be anything but moral.

YOU may say children are from God. I reply, so is the cholera. I suppose you are here, among other things, to determine when and how God's laws shall operate.

—REV. R. HAWES.

Book Reviews

A Review by Dr. Aaron J. Rosanoff

BI-SEXUAL LOVE. THE HOMOSEXUAL NEUROSIS. By Dr. William Stekel. English translation by James S. Van Trealaar, M.D. Boston; Richard G. Badger. 1922.

There is a bit of current gossip among psychoanalysts which alleges that Freud, in exasperation, once explained to a small circle of his disciples, "Will some one please sublimate Stekel for me!" The truth of this I am not in a position to vouch for, but a reading of the book under review would soon convince one of its plausibility. When one considers that neither psychoanalysts as a group nor Freud as their leader are squeamish—as prevailing standards go—about discussing matters of sex, then it can readily be understood why this book of Stekel's is "for sale only to members of the medical profession."

One copy was sent me for review by the Editor of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, but it never reached me. May be the post office authorities are keeping tabs on the manner of its distribution. A second copy sent direct to me by the publisher reached me promptly.

The book is devoted to a study of human homosexuality. Detailed histories of the author's and other investigators' cases are cited and an attempt is made to formulate a theory of the nature of homosexuality on the basis of this material.

The question principally considered is: How much of homosexual behavior is traceable to inherited or inborn constitution and how much to environmental influences? It can hardly be said to have been answered either by Stekel or by his predecessors, whose works are referred to. The available facts are most difficult to analyse into measurable elements and an unequivocal conclusion could hardly be drawn from them.

Stekel may be right in disagreeing with Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Albert Moll, Magnus Hirschfeld, Iwan Bloch, and others, who rather arbitrarily assert homoexuality to be inborn; and he is perhaps also right in saying that, "All persons originally are bi-sexual in their predisposition" and that, "There are no monosexual persons" (i.e., exclusively either heterosexual or homosexual). But it would seem that he is equally arbitrary in his conclusion that homosexuality, as well as heterosexuality, arises out of bi-sexuality and is wholly determined by environmental conditions, for the most part in childhood but occasionally also in later life.

The criticism I should offer of Stekel's manner of dealing with data is that he, like many others, seems to be fundamentally lacking the quantitative view point, which, of course, is the essence of scientific method.

For instance why should he assume, as apparently he does, that bi-sexuality implies no variation, as between different individual, in relative strengths of its hetero- and homo-sexual components? Instead of taking for granted that the distribution is always 50-50, should not one rather consider the possibility that, for either component the relative strength may be anywhere from a fraction of one per cent. to nearly one-hundred per cent.? Similarly, granting *a priori* the influence of environment, why assume that in all cases it must be either all-determining or wholly negligible, and develop the discussion on that basis as Stekel does? Is there not a third alternative? Is it not possible that all cases are not the same and that the relative part played by either of the two etiological elements—inborn and environmental—may also be from a fraction of one per cent. to nearly one-hundred per cent.?

Such variations would seem, indeed, almost certain, from analogy with all the more readily observed and measured biological properties of structure and function.

Moreover, although we are dealing, in this particular connection, with data which cannot easily be subject to exact measurement, yet a more scientific attitude might have enabled Stekel to size them up roughly in a quantitative way and thus be guarded against extreme dogmatism.

A Review by Dr. C. C. Little

GENETICS, By Herbert Eugene Walter. The Macmillan Company, N. Y. \$2.25

Doctor Walter's new book on Genetics represents not only an enlargement but almost a complete revision and re-organization as compared with his former book on the same subject.

Being as he is, an excellent teacher and free from a close entanglement with experimental genetics, he is in a position to act as an open minded critic and to make use of his special abilities, in order to present the subject in a way which is interesting to laymen. This he succeeds in a notable measure in doing. The first part of the book dealing with the broader questions of variation, heritable differences, and acquired characters, takes up three matters well known to any intelligent reader of the broader biological literature. In presenting them, Doctor Walter uses, with great success, diagrammatic methods of visualization which add greatly to the clarity of his text.

The experimental evidence, which during the past fifteen years has been accumulated in enormous amounts concerning the methods of inheritance in domestic plants and animals forms a considerable proportion of the foundation of modern biology and is given the extensive and dignified consideration which it deserves. A chapter on Mendelism which forms the first of this group takes up Mendel's own work and extends it to various of the earlier and well known examples such as coat color in rodents, and hair color and shape in humans. Following this is a discussion of the pure line hypothesis and the effects of selection. The "Law" of Galton is reviewed and it is shown how the later work of Johannsen and others have furnished us with an interpretation of troublesome cases which is consistent with simple Mendelian results.

A chapter has been given to the Factor Hypothesis which, with students of biology, holds quite as important a position as would the table of chemical elements to the chemist. By using a consistent method of visualization Doctor Walter is able to lead the reader from the observed to the theoretical aspect of this subject without any break or difficulty. In doing this, the examples are drawn largely from mammals, thus adding to the interest of the reader.

Blending inheritance, another stumbling block to Mendelists, is also taken up. The examples of this relatively complicated group of cases are clearly and interestingly supplemented with a series of diagrams. In the final chapter of this "experimental" group, a discussion of Reversion and Atavism is given and the distinction between the two is brought up.

The next matters of major importance to be considered are the carriers of the heritage and the architecture of the germ cells. In the two chapters dealing with these subjects are contained many of the main points which have served to give the chromosome hypothesis of inheritance the prominent position that it now holds. The fascination of this topic has evidently seized the author and has by him been transferred to the reader most successfully. He has, with simplicity and sustained enthusiasm, recorded the chief results obtained by the modern representatives of this school. Inasmuch as the work done represents probably the greatest contribution by Americans to Biological Science for half a century or longer it is of great interest to all.

Development and immergence of bodily structures from hereditary sources is then taken up. The longer of the two chapters on these topics deals with a matter of the greatest popular interest; namely, the determination of sex. The viewpoint taken is the one most widely prevalent at present; namely, that sex is intimately connected with the number and type of chromosomes, thus resembling all other bodily characters. The cases of sex-linked inheritance are gone into with considerable detail and the matter of secondary sexual characters is brought up in connection with the nature and function of hormone action.

The final chapters deal with the application of genetic theory and principles in the case of man. In dealing with this matter

the author shows an understanding, unhappily altogether too rare, of the relative importance of the experimental and applied viewpoints of his science.

There is no comparison between a well judged presentation of the experimental and human aspects of genetics such as that given by Doctor Walter, and the more frequent type of long-winded books on Eugenics containing a multiplicity of theory and speculation with a trace of fact or experimental basis for conclusions. Approximately seven-eighths of Doctor Walter's book is devoted to the experimental aspects of the fields of genetics, but since the treatment is both clear and interesting, and since the viewpoint is broad and the illustrations many and aptly chosen, the layman need have no hesitation in approaching Doctor Walter's book with the feeling that time and effort put into its reading and study will prove to be well spent.

A Review by M. J. Exner, M. D.

SAFE COUNSEL, by B. G. Jeffries and J. L. Nichols; J. L. Nichols Company, Nashville, Ill.

The book, "Safe Counsel," by Dr. B. G. Jeffries and J. L. Nichols is clearly an effort to put a new patch on an old garment, in which the results are not very happy. The book was first published in 1893. The present revision is apparently an attempt to bring an old and very poor book somewhat in line with modern knowledge and opinion on the complex subject of sex in order to make the book still salable.

The book is a curious hash of sex matter, a little being said on a lot of subjects to make filling. It consists in large measure of platitudinous stuff which to the untutored layman may have sound if not substance.

A bad feature of the book is the fact that it addresses itself to young and old of both sexes. It is pedagogically vicious. It is one of the many popular crude sex books which do much to hinder progress in sex-social education.

A fairly sound section of the book under the title "The Story of Life" prepared by Dr. Ozora S. Davis, President of the Chicago Theological Seminary and Dr. Emma F. A. Drake, does not redeem the book as a whole. It is amazing that a man of the position of Dr. Davis should permit himself to collaborate in the publication of so poor, conglomerate a volume on a vital subject.

PERIODICALS

Scribner's (New York) for August, contains a remarkable article by John Corbin. It is one of a series on "The Return of the Middle Class," and is devoted to Democracy and Womanhood." Mr. Corbin sees in the new liberation of woman the one hope of escape from what he views as the present rapid deterioration of society, through the excessive multiplication of its inferior elements.

The Century (New York) for September in an article on "Our Medicine Men" scores preventive medicine on the ground that it is saving the lives of too many people and thus bringing about an acute population question, and that in especial it is saving cretins, morons and defectives who will multiply their kind and so threaten civilization. To advocates of Birth Control such attacks on preventive medicine seem foolish, when the evils complained of can be avoided in ways so much better than by permitting the premature death of helpless babies.

Della Thompson Lutes in *Beautiful Womanhood*, (New York) for October attacks the opponents of Birth Control for "Blaming it on God." She asks why God should be handed the responsibility for large families and infantile mortality rates any more than for the pneumonia "bug" which carries off a respected citizen. "Sickness," she writes, "is natural law; accident is natural law; poverty, death and the bearing of children are natural law. These or the acceptance of them may be controlled by spiritual law."

Health and Life (New York) for September contains an informing chapter from Ettie A. Rout's new book "Safe Marriage." In it she discusses venereal disease as a danger to the family. Through some oversight, when Anthony Comstock framed the obscenity laws which

he managed to get through Congress and through so many of the State Legislatures, he omitted to include as obscene any discussion of or warning against the venereal diseases. This omission—which we are certainly justified in regarding as accidental—made possible the nationwide campaign against these diseases which now bids fair to curb their ravages and finally to eliminate the terrible race poisons of syphilis and gonorrhoea. Unfortunately much of Ettie Rout's book is concerned with the question of responsibility of parents for the birth of their children. In the United States this is an obscene subject, and our laws are framed to prevent all knowledge of the possibility of responsible parenthood from reaching the people who most need it. Consequently, while the part of the book that refers to venereal disease can be published here, the remainder of the book is held out of reach by our careful government.

The Woman's Outlook (Manchester, England) for September printed an interview with Margaret Sanger, in which she described her tour of the East. The article is illustrated with a portrait of Mrs. Sanger and a reproduction of the cover picture of the July BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW.

The Labor Leader (Manchester, England) has been conducting a vigorous correspondence on Birth Control. *The Leader* is the organ of the Socialist Independent Labor Party, and many of the letters have voiced the stock Socialistic objections to Birth Control. But it is evident that opinion on this question is changing in the ranks of the Socialists, especially when the women make themselves felt as an intellectual force. Writing editorially in the issue for August 10, Katharine Bruce Glazier writes:

"So far men only have taken part in this correspondence. Yet it is pre-eminently a woman's question. Some of the writers have professed themselves scandalized that well-known Socialists should take part in a Conference where it was sought to give practical expression to the thought that if Man has been given dominion over the animal kingdom that dominion should assuredly include control over his own bodily powers of pro-creation. They have, moreover, discussed the question only from the standpoint of the earth's potential food supply.

"I. L. P. men and women who are wrestling alike with the war mind and the capitalist mind in the world today, from the rock foundation of the sacredness of *all* human life, will recognize that the child's right to be nobly born and reared—fathered as well as mothered to the full, and the woman's right to the conditions that will enable her to do her mother's work *well*, are, rights that will need quite as much emphasis in the Holy Human Empire of our dreams as even the right of access to the land. We need to save our children, born and unborn, as well as our dockers, from what Bevin termed the Fodder Basis."

The Sunday Chronicle (London, England) for August 6th published a front page article by Robert Blatchford, under the title "Give the Child Its Rights." In this article he rebuked sternly those people who complacently rest contented in the assumption that "this is the age of the Child." He showed how far the present generation is falling short, not only in England, but all over the world, in its duty towards the children. He quotes figures of child labor, facts concerning inadequate education, and especially statistics concerning delinquency and dependency among children. Terribly he proves that the parents' betrayal of the unborn child, that comes unwelcomed into the home, may make the "condemned to die" sentence of the judge on the bench, passed on an adult man, a sentence of merciful relief compared with the "condemned to live sentence" passed on the child of irresponsible parents.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From the A. C. McClurg Co., Chicago. *THE COST OF LIVING*, by Walter E. Clark.

From the T. Y. Crowell Co., New York. *CRIME, ITS CAUSE AND TREATMENT*, by Clarence Dartow.

From the Haldeman-Julius Co., Girard, Kan. *THE PUZZLE OF PERSONALITY*, by William J. Fielding.

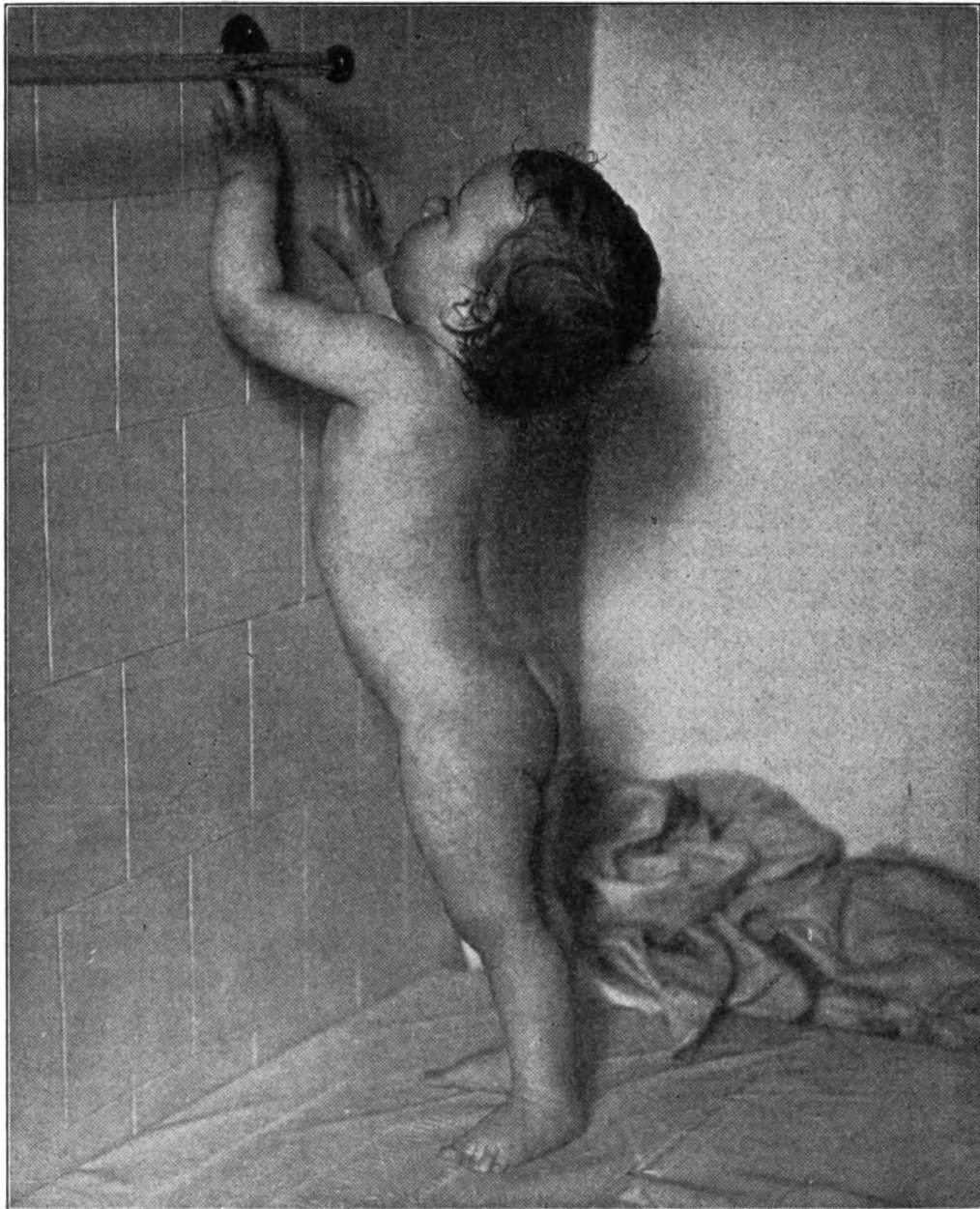
ERRATUM—In the Review of "Society and Its Problems," by Grove S. Dow, in our September issue, the name of the publisher was accidentally omitted. The book is published by the T. Y. Crowell Co., New York.

NOVEMBER, 1922

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger



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- ENGLAND—Malthusian League, President Dr. C. V. Drysdale, 124 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.
 HOLLAND (1885)—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Martina G. Kramers, Apeldoorn. Periodical, *Het Gelluckkig Huisgezin*.
 GERMANY (1889)—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart. Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*.
 FRANCE (1895)—G. Hardy, 29 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
 BOHEMIA-CZECHO-SLOVAKIA (1901)—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, *Zadruhy*.
 SPAIN (1904)—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Louis Bulffi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
 BRAZIL (1905)—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janeiro.
 BELGIUM (1906)—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
 CUBA (1907)—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWITZERLAND (1908)—Groupe Malthusien. Secretary, Valentin Grandjean, 106 Rue des Eaux-Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*.
 SWEDEN (1911)—Sallakapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Bergegren, Vanadivagen 15, Stockholm, Va.
 ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sexuale*.
 AUSTRIA—Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftzwang. Johann Ferch, President. Wien, XV/1 Gablengasse 31. Periodical, *Sexual Reform*.
 PORTUGAL—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Liabon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
 AFRICA—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.
 JAPAN (1921)—Voluntary Parenthood League. Baroness S. K. Ishimoto, President. 10, Hinoki-cho Akasaki-ku, Tokyo.
 INDIA (1922)—Hindusthan Janamvash Sabha (Indian Birth Control Society), Delhi. Honorary Organizer, Professor Gopalji.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor
 ANNIE G. PORRITT

Circulation Manager
 RUTH ALBERT

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation.

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. VI

NOVEMBER, 1922

No. 11

Margaret Sanger to the Readers of The Review

ONCE IN A WHILE we should look at our work from a distance, with a clear and impersonal vision, to try to see ourselves as others see us. Wherever I have gone, even in the most remote places, such as Ceylon, Kandy, Aden, Alexandria and Cairo, I have found in bookshops where foreign literature is sold, that people come requesting literature on this subject, asking particularly for some literature from America. It was also a keen pleasure to find so many people had first heard of Birth Control and "learned more about it" from buying a magazine on Broadway from our faithful co-workers. One very shy little English stewardess who was working on a small boat coming from Hong Kong said to me, in a conversation during which we discussed large families and the cost of living, that she had once seen a "paper" being sold in the streets of New York "telling all about that," and she had regretted ever since that she hadn't the courage to go up and get one—wouldn't I see if I could get one for her when I got back. She had three children and "quite enough too." Indeed it has been my happy experience during this trip around the world to find out for myself that even at the other end of the earth the American Birth Control Movement stands out upon our national horizon as the most vital social movement on this continent.

It was not without a certain fear and reluctance that I set out for the Orient eight months ago. Our movement in this country was entering a dangerous and crucial period. Could it survive the attacks and the risks following our first Birth Control Conference and the breaking up of the Town Hall meeting? In addition there was confronting us the gigantic task of organizing the Birth Control League, and raising funds to carry it forward. Nevertheless, convinced that if we could extend our sphere of influence to Japan and China, if we could in short "girdle the globe," our American movement would thereby be incalculably benefitted, I set forth.

IN VIEW OF THESE fears, the splendid work accomplished during my absence is therefore all the more gratifying. Due to the unceasing and energetic endeavors of my co-workers, the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW has doubled its circulation. Our organizers are busily planning three State conferences for the near future—in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana. A strong, live list of new members of the League is constantly growing. During my absence of eight months, the American Birth Con-

trol movement has proved that it is a live, healthy, growing organism, daily gaining in strength and widening its influence. These results are all the more remarkable in view of the deplorable apathy and bland indifference to this greatest of all contemporary problems exhibited by our politicians and the official representatives of our American civilization. By contrast, the intense and intelligent interest evidenced by the finest minds both of the Orient and the Occident acts as an inexhaustible source of courage and dynamic power. Fighting with us, in every country of the world, are the bravest and most courageous and far-seeing intellects of this age.

To realize this triumph, to point to the concrete irrefutable evidence that this is a fact, one may turn to the remarkable edition of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* of August 17, in which, under the brilliant editorship of John Maynard Keynes, the problems of population and Birth Control are discussed by such prominent authorities as Mr. Keynes himself, Signor Benedetto Croce, the most powerful and influential intellect of contemporary Italy, Guglielmo Ferrero, the eminent historian, Baron Keikichi Ishimoto of Tokio, Professor Alfred Franzis Pribram of the University of Vienna, and a number of other distinguished students of these problems. Both the Baron Ishimoto, a representative of Japanese thought, and John Maynard Keynes are in agreement concerning the world importance of the problem of Birth Control. "Birth Control is now the most important question of the world," writes Baron Ishimoto. "In England, America, France, and Germany the stage of argument is already past, and these countries are now entering on the stage of practice." Speaking of the population problem of Japan, this authority asserts that "there is no other adequate remedy. It is most important for the people of Japan to make a serious and careful study of the question."

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES concludes a striking analysis of the population problem from the point of view of the economists with the challenging declaration that this "is not merely an economist's problem, but in the near future the greatest of all political questions. "It will be a question," this brilliant thinker goes on, "which will arouse some of the deepest instincts and emotions of men, and feelings may run as passionately as in some of the earlier struggles between religions . . . When the instability of modern Society forces

the issue, a great transition will have begun, with the endeavor by civilized man to assume conscious control in his own hands away from the blind instinct of mere predominant survival."

Let us never forget that what is called the Problem of Population is always, in the final analysis, the problem of Birth Control. Birth Control, we advocate as the only feasible, intelligent and practical solution to population problems. The latter problem is not merely the question of over-population, or underpopulation. Essentially this problem is not of the too-many or the too-few. It is a problem of *quality* rather than of *quantity*. Our concern is not so much with the mere number of men, women and children in this world, but with the creation of a healthy and efficient race. If we can, through Birth Control, develop all the latent powers of the coming generations, we may rest assured that they will more readily solve problems of adjustment and adaptation. We are indomitably convinced, in brief, that if we apply our fullest powers of intelligence, enlightenment and keen-sighted vision to the task of the creation of the next generation, we shall, in the long run, do more to bring order, sweetness and light out of the present social and sexual chaos than by complacently relying upon sentiment or tradition.

In conclusion: it is with renewed and rejuvenated enthusiasm and increased vitality that we take up again our work in America, encouraged and grateful to our loyal and energetic co-workers who have so courageously "carried on" in our long absence.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU at Washington has recently issued a report on "The Working Children of Boston," which contains food for reflection on the subject of mothers who go out to work. From 15 to 19 per cent. of the mothers of children, in a group of about 4000 investigated, were working outside of their homes as well as caring for their families. Of these working mothers, the largest percentage were wives of native American men, and next in order came the mothers of native-born children of foreign fathers. The foreign mothers of foreign born children formed the smallest group—most of these women confining themselves entirely to work in the home. Some critics will undoubtedly lament the degeneration of American women which tends to drive the mothers into wage-earning. It is significant that Dr. Helen Sumner Woodbury, who compiled the Report, attributes the readiness of mothers to go out to earn to an entirely different cause. The difference between the American and the foreign mothers in this respect, she writes, "is probably in part due to a greater tendency on the part of mothers whose children were born in this country to go to work themselves, rather than send their children to work." The reports of the Children's Bureau do not include in their tables of statistics the number of children in each family. It is impossible from these reports to deduce how much child labor and how much of mother labor is due to the size of the family. "Insufficient earnings of father" does not indicate whether these wages are insufficient because there are too many children to be maintained out of them. The only indication in this report that large families do cause

both child labor and mother labor, is contained in a statement concerning reasons for leaving school in which there is a reference to their earnings being needed at home "because of large families." It would surely be worth while for the opponents of child labor to make a careful investigation into this question of large families and to ascertain to what degree child labor is due to the fact that parents bring into the world more children than they can properly support and educate. That the mothers are willing to make any sacrifice for their children is shown in their readiness to go to work themselves rather than take their children from school to aid the family income. Such mothers are crying out for Birth Control, and the legalizing of its teaching would release them from a double task which is more than the nation has a right to demand of them.

WE CALL ATTENTION this month to the remarkable article by Dr. Donald Hooker, on the effect of the X-Ray on Reproduction in Rats. The researches here described open the door to a whole new field of scientific achievement. The work is yet in its infancy, but its possible results are beyond our present comprehension.

IN THIS ISSUE Mrs. Anne Kennedy, Executive Secretary of the American Birth Control League, gives a sketch of the movement for Birth Control in this country from its earliest beginnings to the present time. Such a summary of the movement ought to be of great interest to our readers.

THE ARTICLE BY Dr. Holmes on "The Church and Birth Control, is an honest, fearless and outspoken protest against the chains of sacerdotalism which would restrain the progress of mankind.

READ WITH ATTENTION and sympathy the facsimile letter from Anna J. and judge of the depth of the need to which our mothers are giving voice.

News Notes

THE COMING WINTER will see much activity in organizing State Branches of the American Birth Control League. Mrs. Sanger will leave New York on November 13 to attend the First State Birth Control Conference of Indiana, which will be held at Indianapolis, and to make a tour of the States of Indiana, Missouri, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, speaking in the larger cities.

THE FIRST OHIO STATE Conference on Birth Control will be held in November. It is intended to hold this conference at Cincinnati. In New York a State Birth Control Conference will be held at Buffalo. The date has not yet been fixed, but it will be in early part of December. Mrs. Sanger's lecture tour will close at Syracuse, on December 7th, with an address before the Woman's Congress there.

MR. EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER of Baltimore, at the request of the President, Miss Florence M. Dibert, spoke on Birth Control at the convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Women's Clubs, at Reading, Pa., Oct. 11.

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE had a booth at the Physical Culture Exhibition at Madison Square Garden, New York October 23-28, where Birth Control literature was sold and distributed. The arrangements were made by a committee of which the chairman was Mrs. J. B. Vandever.

MR. GEORGE H. DAY, Sr., member of the Board of the American Birth Control League, and Mrs. A. G. Porritt, Managing Editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW attended the annual convention of the Conn. State W. C. T. U. in New London, on October 18th, with the purpose of interesting the delegates in Birth Control.

SO GREAT IS THE popularity of the Birth Control Clinic in London, which was started last year under the auspices of the Neo-Malthusian League, that additions have had to be made to its medical staff. The Clinic forms part of a Welfare Center for prenatal care and child welfare, but the most important part of its function has proved to be the instruction

by medical experts, in contraceptive methods. The women are given individual care and teaching, and the method recommended to each one is adapted to her personal needs. The absence of any legal restriction on prevention of conception in England, makes possible this skilled instruction, which takes the place of abortion, or of the clumsy, disagreeable and non-hygienic methods that women often resort to when they can get no better instruction. Dr. Norman Haire is the Medical Officer in Charge of the Clinic.

PROGRESS IS REPORTED from Germany by Dr. Helene Stöcker. She writes that she has discussed the question of Birth Control clinics for Berlin with the legal adviser of the German Mutterschutz society. This man is a member of the Prussian Senate and he promised to bring up the question at the next meeting of the Berlin Council. Whether any step has been taken towards establishing municipal clinics for the instruction of mothers in methods of preventing conception has not yet been reported.

THE WELCOME MEETING to Mrs. Sanger was held in Carnegie Hall on the evening of Monday, October 30. An account of this meeting will be given in our next issue.

The Effect of X-Ray Upon Reproduction in the Rat

A Paper Presented at the International Birth Control Conference

By Donald R. Hooker, M.D.

IN THIS REPORT I wish to make four points which are of especial interest in connection with the present Conference.

Those who have worked on mammalian breeding experiments realize how slowly convincing results mature. Therefore, while I have been working for two years on this problem, I still regard it as essential to emphasize the fact that what I say is strictly a preliminary statement.

Clinical experience and such animal experimentation as has previously been done have demonstrated that x-radiation will cause sterility, but we are ignorant of the dosage, duration and by-effects of such treatment. If the x-ray or radium is to be applied to human kind as a means to control and regulate procreation, it is desirable first to study the effects produced on the lower animals. We need to know what such exposure does not do as well as what it does do.

In the reproductive glands, of the male at least, are certain structures which are not known to play any part in the elaboration of the reproductive cells, but which exert a significant influence on the general bodily economy. These structures—interstitial cells, as they are called—function in growth, the development of secondary sexual characteristics, etc. It is the absence of these cells and not of the reproductive cells proper which is responsible for the physical characteristics of the castrated animal. While the interstitial tissue is not regarded as necessary to normal sperm formation, its absence, except

in special conditions, precludes normal sexual life in that it is requisite to normal sex desire.

My first point then is to show that x-ray sterilization does not destroy these interstitial cellular structures. This is of moment because any method applicable to Birth Control must not abrogate the natural expression of love in marriage.

A SERIES OF RATS of approximately the same age were paired and their increase in weight observed. At 70 days of age some were castrated, and some were suitably exposed to x-ray, while others were run as controls. If it were possible to exhibit the growth curves of these animals you would see that those which were castrated (male and female) exhibited the typical over-growth characteristic of this condition. The x-rayed and control rats (male and female) grew at corresponding rates. The x-rayed and control males were examined for sperm motility at 147 days (21 weeks) of age. In the former no sperm were found. In the latter sperm motility was entirely normal.

Both control and x-rayed females had offspring, the former, however, at a much earlier date than the latter.

It should also be stated in this connection, although demonstrated in other experiments, that males rendered sterile by exposure to x-rays continue to exhibit normal sexual activity; that is to say they copulate with the females.

This experiment therefore shows that x-ray sterilization in

the male (1) does not lead to bodily overgrowth characteristic of castration; and (2) does not inhibit the expression of normal sex activity.

My second point bears upon the dosage requisite to establish sterility. It is no doubt known to this audience that x-ray exposures are defined for clinical purposes in terms of an erythema or skin dose, that is the dose sufficient to cause a reddening of the human skin. It is likewise known that excessive exposure to x-rays leads to serious burns. Obviously therefore, the application of the x-ray in Birth Control would not be considered unless the dosage required fell well within the margin of safety from burns or other ill-effects.

MALE RATS are rendered sterile by an exposure of a total of two skin doses applied in four treatments at intervals of three or four days. This has been shown in breeding experiments. Such treatment does not always produce non-motile sperm, but apparently the vitality of the spermatozoa is so affected that the fertilization of the ovum does not occur. Larger doses given in the same fractional treatment destroy all sperm motility or establish a condition of aspermia. The duration of a sterility brought about by an exposure to two skin doses has yet to be established with nicety. It is a matter of some weeks in the rat. The span of life in the rat is about one-thirtieth that of man, twelve days in the rat's life roughly corresponding to a year for you and me.

The production of sterility in the female rat is much less easy to accomplish. For example, fractional doses, as indicated above for the male, up to a total of five skin doses may be given without striking effect. There is some indication that pregnancy may be slightly delayed, but this is not convincing. The difference in result for the two sexes is no doubt due, in part at least, to the fact that to reach the ovaries the radiation has to penetrate deeper than is the case with the testes. I have thus far worked only with unfiltered rays. It remains to be seen whether or not those of a suitable screen relatively intensifying the more penetrating rays will produce the desired result.

The fact that x-ray sterility (in the male) is not permanent constitutes a third point of present interest. This fact rests upon clinical observations as well as upon laboratory experiment. Since the clinical observations have been essentially accidental and give us no information as to the dosage and duration of effect, it is desirable that work on animals should be much extended before we attempt to orient ourselves in the field of practical application.

MY FOURTH POINT concerns the procreative normality after a period of x-ray sterility. Is there danger that offspring or children will be abnormal? In a quite considerable number of observations, I have failed to find any indication; the litters have been normal in size and there have been no monstrosities. Dr. Raymond Pearl, who has worked with fruit flies, with which experiment may be done wholesale, tells me that his incidental observations on this point have been similar to mine. It must be stated however, that Dr. Little, working on white mice at the Carnegie Laboratory for Experi-

mental Evolution, is of the opinion that the offspring of x-ray parents are not uniformly normal. Obviously our data on this phase of the question must be extended until unqualified conviction is attained.

No experimental attack on the problem of Birth Control would be complete without consideration of the control of the oestrous cycle insofar as that regulates the external manifestations of ovulation. The work of Stockard and of Evan in America has shown that the domesticated rat is especially suited to such study, since in this animal the oestrous cycle can be readily followed. The results of my studies are still inconclusive, but either the x-ray or radium emanations may prove to be effective in regulating the oestrous cycle. At any rate it is not too much to ask of science that she shall establish control over the feature of sex life as well as over procreation. In modern civilized life the efficiency-wastage incident to periodic menstruation in women, unless related to presumptive pregnancy and childbirth, is a matter of practical concern. Consequently the ideal method of Birth Control should be to eliminate menstruation except when children were desired. Some day esthetic methods applicable to the broad control of procreation in both men and women will be placed in our hands; it will remain for us to use them with intelligence and wisdom.

FROM ANNIE BESANT, P. T. S., MARCH, 1922.

Extract from Official Letter.

THERE IS ONE general matter to which I invite the careful consideration of the thoughtful among you. The sex problem is everywhere in the air. The hygienic condition of modern society in the West has become so terrible that it is now publicly discussed, lest Society itself should perish. It is poisoned with a disease which is the direct result of vice, and we are all publicly appealed to, to help medical men to fight the disease, and to save women and children who inherit it from vicious fathers. . . . To men and women is committed the divine power of creation on the physical plane, committed the divine power of creation on the physical plane, and Nature significantly points out that this power creates on two planes, the physical and the mental, and that as it is exercised more and more on the mental, it diminishes on the physical; the higher the human evolution of the mind and the non-physical emotions, the less the power of physical creation. The least evolved human types multiply the most rapidly, "genius is sterile" very often, science says. The largest families are found among the poor and less evolved, and those who are most plainly and even insufficiently fed.

I am inclined to think that, along this line of higher mental evolution, will come the lessening of the sex impulse, but this is too slow a process to save mankind in the near future. Early marriage with Birth Control—which less than fifty years ago was regarded as a mere excuse for profligacy outside marriage, and as justifying the use of the foulest language towards its advocates—is now taught by men and women of the highest repute, of learning, of science, by religious teachers as well as by doctors.

Freedom

By Bolton Hall

A FREE PEOPLE" should take notice of the movement for Birth Control, regardless of whether they have any interest in prevention or any special information about population or misery.

The question at issue is freedom, not only of the press, but of thought and of speech. It is the policy of modern restrictionists to attack Liberty in its most woundable spots. Of all of these, that one most exposed to prejudice at present is the vital field of sex. Invasions, arrests, search warrants, brutal punishments will be condoned when they are supposed to be in the interest of morality, although lesser outrages would raise a storm of indignation if they were directed against gambling in stocks or in land.

The older writers seem to have a better grasp of the fundamental necessity for liberty than we have; as witness the following from Buckle, the great author of the *History of Civilization*:

"Liberty is the one thing most essential to the right development of individuals and to the real grandeur of nations. It is a product of knowledge when knowledge advances in a healthy and regular manner; but if under certain unhappy circumstances it is opposed by what seems to be knowledge, then, in God's name, let knowledge perish and liberty be preserved. Liberty is not a means to an end, it is an end to itself. To

secure it, to enlarge it, and to diffuse it, should be the main object of all social arrangements and of all political contrivances.

"The proposition which Mr. J. S. Mill undertakes to establish is that society, whether acting by the legislature or by the influence of public opinion, has no right to interfere with the conduct of any individual for the sake of his own good. Society may interfere with him for their good, not for his. If his actions hurt them, he is, under certain circumstances, amenable to their authority; if they only hurt himself, he is never amenable. The proposition thus stated, will be acceded to by many persons, who, in practice, repudiate it every day of their lives."

Mill's Essay on Liberty, appropriately bound up with his forcible Essay upon The Subjection of Women, is great literature and no one can read Mill's Essay without a thrill.

Eternal vigilance is not the full price of Liberty. The price of Liberty is Resistance, Contempt, Martyrdom and Death for those who wage the unpaid and ungloried war for our liberties. For men like Moses who sacrificed their lives for the right to speak the living truth, and for the countless others who have suffered scorn and poverty and sickness for Liberty, we should bring not only admiration, but our humble help, though it can be expressed by many of us only with a dollar.

An Extract From H. G. Wells

"BEGGING—FROM FOREIGNERS—is just a sport in Italy," said Sir Richmond. "It doesn't imply want. But I agree that a large part of Italy is frightfully over-populated. The whole world is. Don't you think so Martineau?"

"Well—yes, for its present social organization."

"For any social organization," said Sir Richmond.

"I've no doubt of it," said Miss Seiffert and added amazingly, "I'm out for Birth Control all the time."

"The world swarms with cramped and undeveloped lives," said Sir Richmond. "Which amount to nothing. Which do not even represent happiness. And which help to use up the resources, the fuel and surplus energy of the world . . . They do nothing to carry life on. They are just vain repetitions—imperfect—dreary blurred repetitions of one common life. All that they feel has been felt, all that they do has been done better before. Because they are crowded and hurried and underfed and under-educated. And as for liking their lives, they need never have had the chance."

"How many people are there in the world?" she asked abruptly.

"I don't know. Twelve hundred, fifteen hundred millions perhaps. I'd have two hundred and fifty millions, let us say. At most. It would be quite enough for this little planet . . . Any 250,000,000 would do, they'd be able to develop fully, all of them. As things are, only a minority can do that. The rest never get a chance."

"A new age," said Dr. Martineau, "a new world. We may be coming to such a stage, when people, as much as fuel, will be under a world control. If one thing, why not the other? I admit that the movement of thought is away from haphazard towards control—in things generally" . . .

"I wish I could imagine your world," said Miss Grammont, "of two hundred and fifty millions of fully developed human beings with room to live and breathe in and no need for wars. Will they live in palaces? Will they all be healthy? Machines can wait on them. No I can't imagine it. Perhaps I shall dream of it—my dreaming self may be cleverer."

—H. G. WELLS, in "Secret Places of the Heart."

WHEN Sol Stephen, manager, and his assistants at the zoo went to clip the stork's wings today, three of the birds flew out of the pen and one of them flew out and circled above Oklahoma settlement in Avondale. The dusky female citizens looked up, recognized the visitor and immediately were smitten with consternation. Chattering with superstitious fears they tried to "shoo" the long-legged visitor away, but the stork lighted on a porch and regarded them with serious disapproval.

"For de love of Gawd, Mr. Sol," one of the women told Mr. Stephen when he arrived in pursuit of the recreant. "Keep da stork away from up dere. We got too many chillun already." —*News Despatch* from Cincinnati, dated July 5, 1922.

The Birth Control Movement in the United States

A Paper Presented at the International Birth Control Conference

By Anne Kennedy

THE FIRST DEVELOPMENTS of the Birth Control idea in America were entirely sporadic. Among the early champions of the thought were Dr. Knowlton and Robert Dale Owen. These men were responsible for pamphlets dealing directly with methods of family limitation. Moses Harman was also a member of this group of pioneers, but the idea of family limitation was not crystallized or organized into a movement until 1912, when Margaret Sanger came into the field as a crusader for Birth Control.

She began a practical study of the subject in France as well as in the United States, and found at this time no books available in America dealing with this subject—even theoretically. However, her investigation led her to the federal statutes where she discovered that in 1873 Congress had enacted a law prohibiting contraception information from passing through the United States mails. Many State Legislatures followed the federal precedent by classing Birth Control as obscene and passing statutes penalizing the giving of contraceptive information. At this time, there were isolated members of the medical profession, such as Dr. Abraham Jacobi and Dr. William J. Robinson who came out in unqualified terms for the voluntary control of procreation.

In February, 1914, Margaret Sanger began her agitation for Birth Control with the publication of the *Woman Rebel*, and organized the First Birth Control League in America. In the columns of that remarkable paper she stated her aim to be "to advocate the prevention of conception." The directness of her attack led men of science to come out openly and emphasize the importance of the idea of family limitation. "Birth Control" was used as a slogan to express the aim of the campaign. It immediately found its way into print and public discussion.

THE YEAR 1915 WAS notable for several arrests in connection with Birth Control agitation. Margaret Sanger was arraigned in the federal courts to stand trial for obscenity. This case, however, was dropped in 1916, after an appeal had been made by prominent men and women of England and America to the President of the United States. The support of this group of well-known English people did much toward stabilizing the idea in America. William Sanger was also arrested for giving a pamphlet, outlining the practical methods of family limitation, written by Margaret Sanger, to a Comstock agent. In Boston, Mass., Van Kleek Allison was sentenced to three years imprisonment for circulating a pamphlet dealing with the practical discussion of the subject. Great indignation was aroused by this prosecution in Boston, and the first state group was formed in Massachusetts.

The year 1914 was eventful in the agitation for Birth Control. Margaret Sanger aroused attention by challenging the New York State law. She chose Brownsville, one of the poor

districts of Brooklyn, and opened a clinic or mothers' health centre. She was assisted by her sister, Mrs. Byrne, and Fania Mindell. Newspaper publicity, combined with spectacular crowds of mothers, with babes in arms, waiting for admittance, brought about her arrest and those of her assistants by the New York State authorities. Mrs. Byrne was sentenced to thirty days in the Workhouse. She immediately went on a hunger strike which lasted eleven days. Governor Whitman of New York granted her a pardon. Fania Mindell appealed her case to the higher court and the decision was reversed. Margaret Sanger served thirty days in the Queens County Penitentiary rather than accept the immunity offered by the presiding judge of the Court of Special Sessions, who said he would suspend sentence on condition that she would agree not to violate the law again. "I cannot obey a law I do not respect", was the phrase used by her, and this phrase embodies the spirit of the pioneer workers for the cause.

In the same year of 1916, the National Birth Control League was formed around the nucleus of the Birth Control League founded by Margaret Sanger in 1914. Leagues were also organized in various cities throughout the United States. The arrest of many people for their activities in connection with the work served as an educational means for extending the idea.

THE FOLLOWING year, in New York City, a Committee of One Hundred was formed—and a group of influential men and women signed a statement of their belief in voluntary motherhood as essential to individual and national welfare. The Committee aroused among the intellectuals much local enthusiasm for the cause of Birth Control.

February 1917 saw the first issue of the *BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*. From a circulation of two thousand, in a few months it reached ten thousand. Although the World War claimed the services of many of the workers for Birth Control, the magazine steadily advanced into a wider field. It was truly a crusading spirit that carried the workers in this cause into a street-selling campaign. Day after day the magazine is held aloft in the crowded thoroughfares of New York City. Kitty Marion is entirely responsible for the unflagging zeal of this work.

Step by step the prejudice, both individual and authoritative, has been fought with great success, until now this phase of the educational work is respected by the police authorities throughout the City of New York. The selling of this magazine on the street with its caption "Birth Control" has attracted and interested thousands in the cause. It is interesting to note that Japan received her first constructive thought on Birth Control, as a means of limiting the population, through the *BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*. The circulation of the magazine has become international. South America, Mexico, China, Japan, Australia, India, New Zealand and European countries are

all on the mailing list. College libraries and social agencies place it in their reading rooms. The REVIEW has been published every month since its first issue, and is a tremendous lever in forming constructive public opinion.

The publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets—both practical and theoretical—has run into the hundreds of thousands.

MARGARET SANGER'S own books "What Every Girl Should Know" and "What Every Mother Should Know" were of special interest in that they offered the first direct appeal for simple sex education. Today there are many books published on hygiene, economics and sociology that have some reference to this movement. Fiction has also embodied chapters on the Birth Control idea. Plays and scenarios are being produced in New York dealing with many angles of the question.

In 1919 the National Birth Control League went out of existence and its director, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, formed the Voluntary Parenthood League, with the definite aim to secure the repeal of the federal law, which closes the mails to contraceptive information and devices. Up to this time there has been no success in securing this amendment.

Margaret Sanger, during her years of work, has outlined a definite and constructive program for the movement. It is embodied in these four words: "agitation, education, organization and legislation."

The third step in this progress was reached in 1921 when a three days' National Conference, the first in America, was called. It brought together biologists, economists, sociologists and medical men and women from all parts of the country; aroused the widest interest and attracted attention from the labor and social groups. This Conference proved a tremendous success. The sessions were crowded, especially the medical session, where six hundred doctors were present and many failed to gain admittance. Great eagerness for definite contraceptive data was displayed by some of our most eminent physicians.

THE LAST EVENING of the session was a notable one in the history of the Birth Control movement, for through the dictation of an archbishop of the Church of Rome, a police captain closed the doors of the hall where the session was to be held, and caused the arrest of Mrs. Sanger and Miss Mary Winsor. More than national publicity was given to this incident. As the Hon. Harold Cox was also scheduled to speak at this meeting, it aroused great indignation not only among the thousands awaiting entrance to the hall, but also among the advocates of free speech and fair play throughout the country. It proved of vast educational advantage and won thousands of supporters to the cause.

A public investigation of this outrage was demanded by some of the most prominent men of America. A city commissioner held sessions which were of great publicity value, but his report to the mayor of New York is still awaiting publication.

At the time of this Conference, the American Birth Control

League was formed with the support and active interest of some of our ablest men of science. A charter has been granted to this League by the State of New York, and in so doing, the League is recognized as an educational institution under the law of New York State.

In the few months since its inception, the League has grown enormously. The BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW is its official organ. There are several other departments connected with the work of the League. That of the organization department must be especially mentioned for its excellent work during the last eight months. The States of Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and Massachusetts have State groups where definite leadership has been organized to meet the individual needs of the separate States. Hundreds have been enrolled in the national organization as life members. Organizers and speakers have been sent to different cities to develop interest and support for the national as well as the State groups. Colleges, clubs and welfare organizations—both civic and private—are asking for speakers on the subject. A book shop is also part of the educational effort of the organization.

The interest in the American Birth Control League in America is not confined to any group or class. The League has found it necessary to permit international affiliation to Leagues in Mexico, Hawaii, Japan and China. Through the opportunity to take part in this most interesting Congress, the American Birth Control League feels that it is in touch with the world on this most important work. It looks forward to a tremendous campaign during the next few years, in which it will have the cooperation of prominent medical and scientific men and the stimulation of undiminished zeal and inspiration on the part of our own board, president, officers and members.

WHAT ABOUT THE WIVES?

The following extract, clipped from the "Philadelphia Record" of June 8, is reminiscent of the inscriptions on old New England tombstones. There is this difference, however, that the average number of wives in colonial days was not more than three; while it has taken the lives of six of Mr. Baker's spouses before he could boast the thirty-three children of whom he seems so proud.

Harlan, Ky., June 7.—Robert Baker, 84, father of 33 children, told American Birth Control advocates today their "stuff was bunk." "I've heard tell of these people in the cities who claim there ought to be law against having all the kids you want," Baker, self-styled world's champion papa, asserted.

"If a man's got a good herd of cows and a house there's no sense in limiting the number of kids he can have."

Baker is the milkman of Harlan. "What America needs is birth-release laws instead of Birth Control laws," he continued.

"No, I can't say when it is best to have your first child. But don't wait until you are certain you're able to support it."

"Have the child first and that'll give you something to work for. You'll support it, all right."

Baker said he was father for the first time when he was 17. His last child, Bobby, was born this week. Bobby's mother is Baker's seventh wife.

“For Lack of Knowledge My People Perish”

The question is sometimes asked whether the letters we publish are genuine, whether they really come from living mothers who are describing actual facts of their own lives. It is easy to answer this question. Not only is every letter that has ever been printed in our pages the actual and literal utterances of the woman who appeals for aid, but these letters are but a very few of hundreds and thousands that have reached Mrs. Sanger during the short period since she started her agitation for Birth Control. This month we give a reproduction of one of the letters. With all its mistakes and imperfections it shows that the mothers of the nation are to be trusted, and that, if only they have the teaching they are so earnestly seeking, they will build well and wisely the living substance of a greater and better nation.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I wrote for your book, entitled “Woman and the New Race” and received it yesterday. It is a wonderful book and I think you are a wonderful woman. The only expression that I can think of is that you are the savior of women.

My mother died in childbirth and I am told that before each child was born, she became despondent to such an extent that she lost her senses, and the last child was the cause of her death, and I have lived without a mother’s love or care.

My baby is eleven months now, and I am in constant fear of another pregnancy. The fear that is born in me I cannot help, but the worst of it is the fear of poverty. We owe still for the birth of my first child. We have no money to buy furniture, so we live in a furnished apartment, three rooms, and pay so much that we just exist. The thought of another baby would drive me crazy, I am positive. Even now the baby is in need of clothes, and I have nothing but clothes I had before I married. Please help me and God will bless you. Tell me what I can do to prevent any more misery and I will have new courage to fight the battle of this existence.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

Mother sent for one of your books “Woman and the New Race” and we both read it. We think your book expresses the truth, and are willing to help you in your good work in any way we can. I think the knowledge of Birth Control should be freely distributed among the people.

I wish you would tell me what to do so I don’t get any more children. I have a dear little boy of three months and have had one abortion.

Mother had six children and one miscarriage—four living and two dead. My father was a heavy drinker and rarely made more than forty dollars a month. I never wanted any children (although I love them) as our lives as children were very hard, and I did not want them to have to go through the same miserable existence that I did. We were deprived of many things we actually needed, and there was always an insufficient amount of food to go around, and it is the same today. I had to work when I was but ten years old.

I married a man who has six children by a former marriage, believing things would be better for me. But no—I worked the first eight months of my married life, and had to go out and do general housework for just my food and bed when I was four and a half months pregnant. There were weeks at a time during last year when I had nothing to eat, and how my baby lived I do not know. Often I prayed that it might die (knowing it was sinful to think that way, but also believing it was more sinful and a shame to bring children into the world to starve) but God would not have it so. I nurse my baby, but as soon as he is old enough, I will have to go back to work.

Some time ago several working girls and myself visited a Babies’ Home, where mothers leave their children while they go to work, and also some were left there for adoption. It truly made me sick at heart to see those little bodies wasting away and dying by degrees, for lack of the love, food and other necessities of life to which they were justly entitled, but of which they were sadly deprived.

Please help me! I will be very grateful for any information you can give me. I want also to tell my sister—she has four little children, and they are striving hard to make ends meet. I know very little about my own body and the care of it. If I am ignorant, how can I teach my children anything.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am taking a liberty in writing to you and hope you will not be offended. I have read your book “Woman and the New Race.” I would do anything in my power, even risk my life, to help you in your great work.

I am the mother of four children three of whom are living, the oldest nine years old. I would thank you with all my heart if you would tell me sure means to prevent me from having any more. I had the flu three years ago and it left me with such bad health. I have bronchial trouble. I was three months in the family way when I had the flu, and when my baby was born he had t. b. glands from the time he was three months old, and died when he was thirteen months old. I feel so bad at times I almost wish I was dead. I almost worry myself sick from one month to the next for fear I will have more children. These I have, do not get proper care and I am not able to hire help.

I have a little boy seven years old, who gets spasms and he has as many as three a day, and part of the time he goes to school, and then I am worried almost to death about him. I also have a sister who has three children, the oldest four years old, and she has missed two weeks and thinks she is pregnant again. If you could tell me something to bring her around all right, I am sure she would bless you. She says she will kill herself but that she will get rid of it, and I am afraid she will kill herself if she doesn’t find some relief, and I don’t know what will become of her children. She is only twenty-one years old. I am twenty-six.

Mrs. Sanger if you will please answer this letter as soon as you can I will certainly thank you with all my heart.

What Shall Our Answer Be? Tell Us!

East Steeltown, O. Feb 21-21.

Miss Margaret Sanger
104 5th Ave N. Y.

Dear Miss Sanger

I received your respectable letter that promise my future Happiness. I am Slavick nationality Married for three years, have two children Boy and girl this is Dearer to me than anything else in the world. Now Miss Sanger, to keep this children Dear to me for ever and to see them Healthy and Happy we need your Help, to make them the man and women that the Future society will need. I am 24 years old, my Husband 25. Live very Happy so far. But to maintain the Love and Happiness in the family of Steel worker is Hard thing to do. under social system of today That why we need your Help here in the Big steel center Dear miss Sanger here is thousand of other cases that would make the Hardest stone to Break to peaces if he fel the pain and suffering in our Town. we will gladly send you the contribution for this cause whenever possible.

Respectfully Yours,
Anna & Tony J

Too Many Children!

Give Each Child Its Chance

**Child Labor
Brings Down
the Father's
Wages**



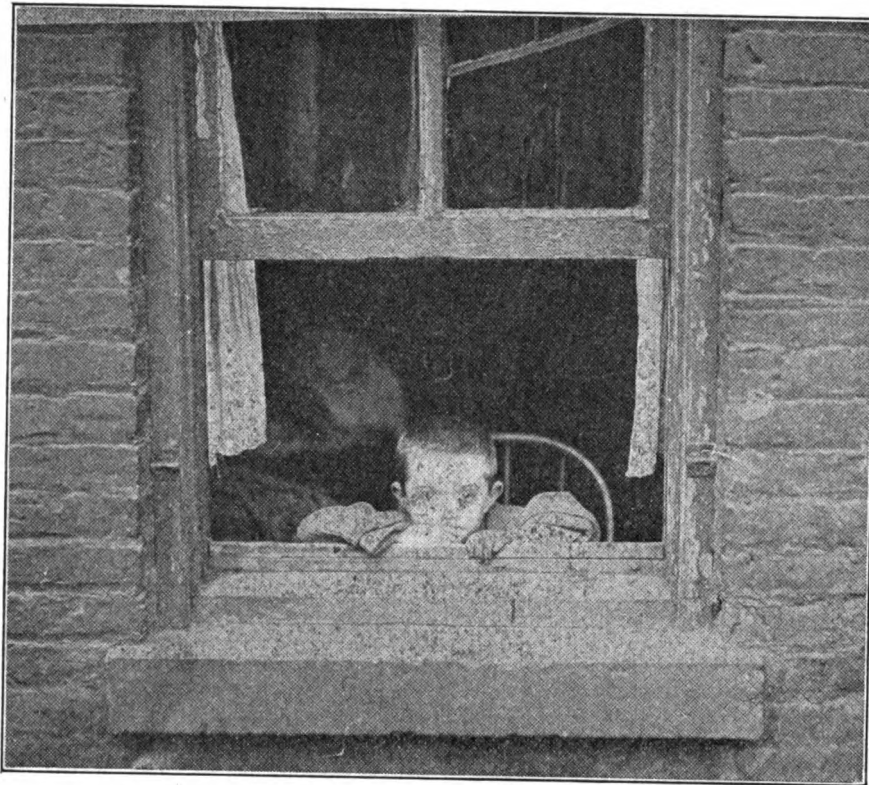
No Time to Play—Fetching Home Work After School



**Overcrowding
and Health
Can Never Go
Together**

Eight Persons Sleep in This One Room

**The Lonely Child
Develops Neither
Mentally Nor
Physically**



Left at Home While the Mother Goes to Work



Enjoying His Birthright of Mother Care and Happiness

**A Happy
Childhood
Lays a Sure
Foundation
For Life**

The Church and Birth Control

By John Haynes Holmes

NOTHING IS MORE discouraging today in the field of religion than the extraordinary attitude of the church, and most churchmen, toward the various perplexing problems of married life. Divorce, of course, presents the outstanding illustration of this lamentable fact. On the authority of one of the most questionable texts of the Gospels, and in defiance of the whole tenor of the New Testament that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," the church clings fast to the rigors of ecclesiastical tradition, and makes the slaves of unclean bondage persons who may be guilty of no more terrible a sin than that of an honest mistake as to their fitness to live together as husband and wife. The shocking part of the church's attitude on the divorce question is its utter disregard of moral values. It would seem to be an elementary proposition of ethics that, as a man and woman should not be joined in marriage unless they love, so they should not be held in marriage unless they continue to love. Absence of love would seem to be as imperative a reason for ending a union as for not beginning it. But the church, like Shylock, must "have (its) bond." Though the spirit of life perish, the letter must be sustained.

An equally intractable, if less conspicuous, attitude is that held prevailingly by the church on the subject of Birth Control or voluntary parenthood. Here again is the citation of Scriptural authority—the matching of the legendary injunction to our first parents, to "increase and multiply," against the accumulating biological, psychological and sociological data which make up the substance of modern knowledge! On this question, as in so many others that have preceded it—see Andrew White's "Warfare of Science with Theology"—the church refuses to learn anything. It prefers myths to facts, tradition to experience, darkness to light. It insists that life shall continue to be lived as it has been lived, for no better reason than that it always has been lived in this way and in no other. Stupidity can go no farther, as ignorance can be no grosser.

BUT THERE IS a more serious question involved here than that of knowledge of the facts of life. It is the question of life itself—of what life is and how it is to be guarded and controlled. The church, oblivious of its high spiritual function, is utterly materialistic in its contention that production is the one standard to be observed in married life. It is the husband's business to beget and the wife's business to bear, children. As many children as possible, the more the better, regardless of the mother's health, the child's prospect of life and proper upbringing, the rights of other children, the economic condition of the family, and other conditions which would seem to have some relation to the problems as to whether a couple shall fructify or not—this is the dictum solemnly laid down by the church! Production, quantity—as though human life today were on no higher level than that

of early tribesmen, or of pigs and rabbits, or, for that matter, of automobiles and cotton cloth. If such a standpoint is not materialism, I frankly know not what materialism is. Certainly it goes far toward making of the home a factory, of parents a machine, and of children an economic product!

To any one who has any sense of what we know as human values, it seems an elementary proposition that there is something else involved in the facts of conception and birth than the mere problem of large-scale production. Not quantity but quality, not how many children but what kind of children, is a question that takes us straight from the basis of material to that of spiritual standards. To "increase and multiply" may be a sound principle for animals, or primitive man, but for those who have attained to some understanding of existence, some consciousness of the power of direction or control in human evolution, some vision of a better world and a desire to fulfill it, this principle is so inadequate as to be immoral. It robs man of his dignity as a creative being, removes him from his place in the universe of the spirit, denies him kinship with God. To control his destiny, to guide his life to highest issues and accomplishments—this is the task of man if he be an immortal soul. And this means, among other things, to bring children into the world when they are wanted, when conditions are most favorable for their reception, and only in such numbers as may not hazard the perfect flowering of each separate individual life. Birth Control, or voluntary parenthood, rightly understood, is only one more chapter in the history of man's emancipation as a spiritual being, by which we mean his dedication to spiritual uses.

THE ONE IMAGINABLE answer which can be made to this contention is that we are confusing ends with means. Substitution of the standard of quality for that of quantity in child-bearing is all right, but the method proposed and advocated these days, says the church, is all wrong. Birth should be controlled, of course, but by abstinence and not by contraception.

The answer to this answer might well be the simple statement that the logic of abstinence as advocated by the church, has been the abrogation of marriage. But such an argument is of course unsatisfactory, as it is unworthy and unnecessary. What really matters here is the fact that, in its plea for abstinence in the marriage relation, the church is again betraying the arrant materialism by which its thought is dominated upon this question. Abstinence, not contraception—why? Because, from the ecclesiastical viewpoint, sexual intercourse is a shameful thing, a mere physical or animal indulgence, wholly degrading if not redeemed by the process of child-production. Now if there is an uglier or a more sordid interpretation of a great life function than this, I do not know it. Sexual intercourse outside the marital state is, of course, abhorrent—here abstinence is a moral law to be rigorously observed. But what

is marriage but the establishment of the conditions under which intercourse is right? It here has a two-fold character, of which the lower is the physical which concerns procreation. Along with this, and higher because essentially spiritual, is the amative or love character of the rite. Intercourse is here to be justified quite as much as a means to the mutual expression between two wedded souls of the tenderness and devotion which hold them together and makes their lives a single life, as a means to the mutual creation of a new life. No one who does not see this truly divine character of intimate relationship between husband and wife, can begin to comprehend what marriage is. There is no severance here between physical and spiritual. Sexual intercourse in the marital relation is no base concession to the animal part of life—an experience to be hidden, thrust aside, tolerated simply as a necessary function for the continuance of existence upon this planet. It may be ugly, as a thing of lust, very true. But it may also be beautiful, as a divine expression of love. In this case, it has rights of its own, which make abstinence itself a sin.

What the church needs is comprehension of the significance of its own essentially spiritual attitude toward life. It needs to discover moral values as related to the institution of marriage. When this is done, the church will advocate and not deny contraceptive Birth Control.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

THE WELFARE OF the state does not depend upon the number of its inhabitants, but upon their character. Imbeciles, epileptics, syphilitics and tuberculines are undesirable. Therefore the state has a right to limit their number as far as possible.

If we take just a casual survey what do we find? Hospitals, supported largely at public expense, for the blind, for the deaf, for the insane. All of these disasters—I say “all” in not too strict a sense—might have been avoided by the proper selection of husband and wife. But this is not all that we see. Everywhere there are institutions for children with deficient moral development, as well as for those that are imbecile or nearly so. Reformatories are springing up all over the country where the State attempts to eradicate a naturally implanted instinct to crime, the possessor of which should never have been born. Finally, we see the organization of poorhouses, where the flotsam and jetsam of humanity are collected: men and women who have made a failure of life from every point of view, but who are neither insane nor necessarily the subject of hereditary disease, but simply lacking in those qualities of industry and judgment which mark the dividing path between success and failure. If I were to collect statistics showing the enormous burden upon the community of all these derelicts the result would be simply astonishing. Thus, from an economic point of view—and that should never be lost sight of—the prevention of bringing the imperfect and defective into the world should never be lost sight of.—HARVEY W. WILEY, “The Rights of the Unborn,” *Good Housekeeping*, October 1922.

YESTERDAY I SAW a young man and woman and their three children. And I was told: Four of their children are dead. I said: “That is a crime! It is not simply a misfortune—it is a deliberate crime which deserves condign punishment.” No woman can bear seven children in ten years and preserve her own health and theirs. No man who asks or permits this deserves to be a husband or father.

Birth Control is science and sense applied to the bringing of children into the world, and of all who need it we Negroes are first. We in America are becoming sharply divided into the mass who have endless children and the class who through long postponement of marriage have few or none. The first result is a terrible infant mortality: of every 10,000 colored children born 1,356 die in the first year, while only 821 die among whites. The second result is the senseless putting off of marriage until middle life because of the fear that marriage must necessarily mean many children.

Parents owe their children, first of all, health and strength. Few women can bear more than two or three children and retain strength for the other interests of life. And there are other interests for women as for men and only reactionary barbarians deny this. Even this small number of children should come into the world at intervals which will allow for the physical, economic and spiritual recovery of the parents. Housework is still a desperately hard and exacting occupation. It can and should be simplified and lightened by the laundry, the bakery, the restaurant, and the vacuum cleaner; but with all that, it remains a job calling for strength, time and training. Social intercourse, which is largely in the hands of wives, is a matter of thought, effort and delicate adjustment. The education of children in the home calls for intelligence, study and leisure. To add to all this the physical pain and strain of child birth is to give a woman as much as she can possibly endure once in three, four or five years.—W. E. DUBOIS in *The Crisis*, October, 1922.

MOTHERHOOD

GEORGIA DOUGLASS JOHNSON

Don't knock on my door, little child,
I cannot let you in;
You know not what a world this is,
Of cruelty and sin.
Wait in the still eternity
Until I come to you.
The world is cruel, cruel, child,
I cannot let you through.

Don't knock at my heart, little one,
I cannot bear the pain
Of turning deaf ears to your call,
Time and time again.
You do not know the monster men
Inhabiting the earth.
Be still, be still, my precious child,
I cannot give you birth.

—*The Crisis*, October, 1922.

Cradle Slackers!

By Edith Paul Graham

MUCH LAMENTATION has ascended towards heaven concerning the Cradle Slackers. But why shouldn't the women of the world strike?

Do Nations and Men and God expect women to enter the jaws of Death that they may produce stalwart sons to be the forfeits on the fields of crimson?

By the practice of Birth Control women hold the power of preventing war. Is it not better never to be born than to be used as "cannon meat?" If women refuse to give birth to sons to die in gore and to be food of screaming vultures, and cease raising daughters to face the loss of *their* sons and so on down the line—there can be no more war. War must be fed. It must be fed strong men and young. Women must do the feeding.

Therefore, it is high time for the mothers of the World to demand the disarmament of *all* Nations and to claim the super protection of World Federation.

Make the World—Safe!

When it becomes a sane proposition to rear sons and daughters the cradle forcers will not have to lament over the evil of Cradle Slacking! Women, the world over, are ready and willing to do their duty even when that duty calls for the exercise of more heroism than does the facing of death on the battle field, providing those in authority stop the ruthless waste of young life.

Modern justice requires, not the destruction, but the *conservation of life!*

Instead of paying gigantic board bills to appease that most craven of gods—Mars, let us spend our money for schools, colleges, free amusements, the bettering of all living conditions, and for the raising of a better grade of humans. We do not need *more* humans, but we are in dire need of superior ones!

Remember the fable of the lion and the mouse. It is not *quantity* but *quality* that counts!

Fear kills quality.

Remove the fear of war and of over-production. Give women the guarantee of a warless world, give them the safety of Birth Control, and they will repay with that greatest of all earth's blessings—the super-baby!

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Fielding, William J., New York, author and critic.

Edith Paul Graham, writer, California.

Bolton Hall, Lawyer and author, New York, active in movement for land-law reform.

John Haynes Holmes, Unitarian, Pastor, Community Church, New York.

Donald R. Hooker, M.D., Professor Johns Hopkins Medical School, Baltimore.

Anne Kennedy, Executive Secretary, American Birth Control League, Inc.

Martina G. Kramers, Secretary, Neo-Malthusian League of Holland.

WITH THE CURRENT number the price of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW per single copy is reduced to 20 cents.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Editor, BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW:

In an article in a well-known monthly review last month I was arrested by a singular assertion concerning the rights of children.

The writer claimed the right of the child not only to "life, liberty and happiness," and the right to "legal parents," but also the right of the next generation to "Exist." Most of these inherent rights of the child are maintained by all advocates of Birth Control. But the right of a child unborn to *exist* can hardly be contended. The right of the child, born, to subsist is the categorical demand of all who have faced scorn, ridicule, opprobrium, to bring home the earnest message of limiting population at this crucial time by means of Birth Control.

E. F. R.

A LETTER RECEIVED FROM New Jersey brings an echo of the Town Hall Meeting last November. It reads as follows: "I want to go to the meeting on October 30, in honor of Mrs. Sanger, and my sister wants to go too. She has a boy eight years old, and we cannot leave him alone. Please tell me if you think the New York police will interfere with me if I bring him; as I remember last year they said they closed the meeting because little children were there."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Birth Control Review, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1922, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Annie G. Porritt, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Managing Editor of the Birth Control Review, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, New York Woman's Publishing Co., 104 Fifth Avenue; Editor, Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Avenue; Managing Editor, Anne G. Porritt, 104 Fifth Avenue; Business Manager, Ruth Albert, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and address of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of stock.) New York Woman's Publishing Co., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee, 242 East 49th Street, New York City; Mrs. Mary Knoblauch, 7th Avenue and 55th Street, New York City; Mrs. Frances B. Ackermann, Bronxville, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ANNIE G. PORRITT, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1922.
(SEAL)

Frank M. Davis, Jr., Notary Public.
(My commission expires March 31, 1922)

Book Reviews

A Review by Martina G. Kramers

DAS SEXUALLEBEN IN SEINER BIOLOGISCHEN BEDEUTUNG, ALS EIN HAUPTFAKTOR ZUR LEBENSENERGIE FUER MAN UND WEIB, FUER DIE PFLANZEN UND FUER DIE TIERE. (Sexual Life in its Biological Importance as a Chief Factor of Life Energy for Man and Woman, for Plants and Animals). By J. Rutgers, M.D. First Part, Dresden, Giesecke.

Dr. Rutgers' long experience as a physician in Rotterdam and his sympathy for suffering arising out of the repression of natural feelings and instincts, enabled him to understand his patients, and prompted him not only to bring them relief, but also to set his great intellect to work on the ailments of the human race due to these causes. He resigned his practice as a physician, and devoted fifteen years to Neo-Malthusian propaganda; not only among the well-to-do but also among the proletariat. This was possible in Holland, since we enjoy perfect liberty of the press and of assembly. During his active life, this real benefactor of mankind never ceased his scientific researches in biology, trying to build up a new system of evolution of organic life which might complete Darwin's theory. His increasing age made him realize that he could not do both practical propaganda and scientific work, so he abandoned the former and began writing pamphlets and essays on sexual life and Birth Control. This year appears his standard work in German, and in this short review we will try to convey some—though inadequate—notion of its importance.

The book is not a compilation of well-known facts, but an entirely new aspect of evolution. In the beginning of organic life on earth when sex did not exist, multiplication was by cell division. Subsequently sex became the principal instrument of regeneration. Dr. Rutgers shows how, when further growth is inhibited, single cells are again produced by atavism, as in the original life on our planet, after which the whole series of evolution is repeated during the embryonic stage of the individual, but with better chances of success than in the previous race evolution. So here is a new theory of evolution, apart from Darwin's. This new aspect of life, more fully developed in Chapters 5, 7 and 40, throws an entirely new light upon questions of individual life, since the reaction of sex impulse on the adult individual is of primary importance for him- or herself as well as for the race. Thus Dr. Rutgers' book is a new guide for sex life in all periods of human existence. The details of our sexual life are studied in their causes and effects after the comparative method, always seeking parallels among plants and animals. The author shows that it is not only desirable but practically possible for each individual to govern his or her sexual life in positive or negative directions, as seems best, an attainment never reached through religious exhortations or parental lamentations.

The book is planned in six parts or pamphlets: anatomical, physiological, ethical, biological, psychological and pathological, all written in simple and comprehensible language. Part I, the fundamental one, The Formation of the Organs, has now appeared, the others will follow soon. It is hoped that it may soon be translated into English.

In the Italian Review *Raspegna di Studi Sessuali*, Dr. Aldo Mieli notices Rutgers' work in highly appreciative terms. He says: "Rutgers is a man who has thoroughly thought out his subject and has even lived it through. In a new and all-embracing vision he puts together scientific truths until now considered apart, and thus makes his work not only a magazine of science but also a revelation of life. His fundamental principle is the beauty and triumph of sexual love, but apart from this we find many new and interesting ideas in the work of this Dutch sexologist, of which the first part contains only a glimpse but which are to be more fully developed in subsequent chapters. We recommend everyone to read this book. No one will regret the time thus employed, for the abundance of new ideas and original and sometimes startling combinations of familiar truths cannot fail to interest the reader whilst the great sincerity and the kind heart of the author breathe through the whole work."

A Review by William J. Fielding

LITTLE ESSAYS OF LOVE AND VIRTUE, by Havelock Ellis. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922.

Havelock Ellis is perhaps unique among all contemporary writers in the range of his qualifications to discuss the intimate problems relating to sex and love and life. Surely, we know of no individual possessing at once his scientific grounding, philosophic insight, human understanding, penetrating wisdom, subtle humor and, above all, the infinite capacity for combining and blending these manifold qualities into rich, harmonious expression.

The subjects included in the present volume are "Children and Parents", "The Meaning of Purity", "The Objects of Marriage", "Husbands and Wives", "The Love-Rights of Women", "The Play-Function of Sex" and "The Individual and the Race". Two of these essays, the third and fifth in the order given, had previously been published and widely circulated in pamphlet form by Mrs. Sanger. However, when reread as a part of the complete text of the book, an added value is imparted to them by supplementing material in the associated essays.

The counsel given is so uniformly wise that it is difficult to refer to any examples that are outstanding. Anything cited must therefore be considered representative. In answering one of the leading spokesmen in England, the Anglican Bishop of Southwark, who denounced Birth Control, Dr. Ellis aptly characterizes this assumption as "the attitude of a handful of Pharisees seeking to thrust the bulk of mankind into Hell." Besides the obviously hypocritical, there is a large group, apparently suffering from social myopia, who cannot distinguish between the primary and the secondary end of marriage; the secondary functions in human evolution being frequently more important than the primary, as the author clearly shows.

To those who maintain or pretend that the conjugal act is degrading, and especially to the theological exponents of this contention, he says: "Sex intercourse is the great sacrament of life . . . it may be the most beautiful sacrament between two souls who have no thought of children. . . . To many the idea of a sacrament seems merely ecclesiastical, but that is a misunderstanding. The word 'sacrament' is the ancient Roman name of a soldier's oath of military allegiance, and the idea, in the deeper sense, existed long before Christianity and has ever been regarded as the physical sign of the closest possible union with some great spiritual reality".

It is a pleasure to follow the sound reasoning of a eugenicist like Dr. Ellis, who is also cognizant of the far-reaching environmental factors that vitally influence mankind. It is characteristic of his mature thought and intellectual balance that he gives full consideration to both genetics and environment in discussing human problems.

The old charge of race suicide, which had once been hurled with much vehemence at Birth Control, has practically fallen into desuetude. But Dr. Ellis turns the enemies' old guns on themselves. He not only proves, logically and statistically, that general contraceptive knowledge results in a healthier and more prosperous population, but that in the final analysis it is unrestricted human breeding, with its inevitable concomitants of disease, poverty and war, which is the real menace of race suicide.

A Review by H. M. V., Cambridge, Mass.

SOCIAL CIVICS, by William Bennett Munro and Charles Eugene Ozanne 697 pp. 1922 New York, The Macmillan Company.

The only serious question which could be raised about this interesting text-book, is whether there is such a field of study as Social Civics. With the increasing complexity of modern living it is, however, quite right and natural that high school boys and girls should be given a knowledge of all the factors possible in their environment. But these factors lie, unfortunately, in various fields of knowledge, in sociology,

history, government, economics, ethics and religion. These fields are by no means mutually exclusive and government in the broadest sense touches them all. The authors have, therefore, tried "to link up with the drift and purposes of governmental action and policy" factors lying in these diverse fields. The result is a textbook which in spite of all difficulties has a reasonable unity, is interesting to an extraordinary degree, and is by no means the manual of generalities which books on social civics are apt to be. The treatment is singularly free from dogmatism and sentimental emotionalism. There is little recourse to preaching. Though patriotism is described as "a mixture of pride, gratitude and faith—pride in the great community to which a man belongs, gratitude for what it is doing, and faith in what it may do for posterity," the patriotism which the book as a whole stimulates, is based not on the blind exercise of these emotions but on a careful analysis of what our government does and stands for. Combinations of capital and combinations of labor are discussed with candor and insight. The arguments for, and the arguments against socialism are given side by side. The influence of Russian communism on our own radicals is presented without venom, and an excellent chapter is devoted to the United States and The League of Nations. The final five chapters of the book, in fact, give a good foundation for the much needed study of the United States as a factor in world politics.

The first five chapters deal with the origin and forms of government. Then follow three chapters of special merit which present the problems of popular control of government, the status of suffrage and the methods of elections, the aim and practices of political parties. Chapters IX to XVI describe with great clearness the organization of government in the United States, local, state and national, and discuss the present day problems involved. This section of the book embraces the material which is commonly taught as civics. The particular value of these chapters is greatly enhanced by the eleven following chapters, in part economic, in part social, which cover the dry bones of government with living flesh. It is here that the authors discuss such vital subjects as industry and commerce, public utilities and public ownership, education and public health, and the various welfare problems.

Of the seven hundred pages of the book, over a hundred are devoted to reading references, suggested group problems and short studies, stimulating questions and topics for debate. A word of commendation should be said for the illustrations which are wisely chosen from masterpieces of American mural art.

PERIODICALS

The North American Review, (New York) for September, contained a ridiculously inadequate article by Mary Vida Clark on "The Rights of Children". The writer urges the right of a child to life—to be at all. Apparently she would deny the right of a mother to any choice in the matter. Every child that can possibly be born must have this "right to exist". There can be no drawing of lines. Reasoning from her own emotions she writes: "We . . . could hardly conceive a world in which we were personally deprived of participating. How monstrous it would seem to us if we had actually been denied existence because of the preference of our parents for French millinery or what not!" Naturally a writer who can set down such rubbish as this, has nothing to say, worth saying, about how a child is to secure such essential rights as food, clothing, housing, education and opportunity

in the over-crowded world which would be the consequence of the supposed right of every potential human being to exist.

Mr. G. Stanley Hall, in "Salvaging Civilization" in *The Century* (New York), for October, gives a dismal picture of the present condition of the world. Or rather he gives a composite photo of many dismal pictures which have been painted by such men as McDougal, Ross, R. H. Johnson, Ireland, Klein, Couper, Hyndman, Stoddard, Irwin, Day, Morris and Young. He then offers for consideration various proposed remedies, including that of improving the human race by checking the propagation of the unfit and increasing that of the fit—in short by wise and deliberate Birth Control. The end of the matter as he sees it is that salvation depends on love and service and that these must spring out of the soul of the individual man and woman.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From The Century Co., New York. *THE SOCIAL TREND*, by Edward A. Ross.

From E. P. Dutton and Co., New York. *HEREDITY AND CHILD CULTURE*, by Henry Dwight Chapin, M.D.

From Julius Püttmann, Stuttgart. *SEXUAL REFORM UND SEXUAL-WISSENSCHAFT*, by Dr. A. Weil

From G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. *SEX AND COMMONSENSE*, by Maude Royden.

From Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., London. *SAFE MARRIAGE*, by Ettie A. Rout.

From Leonhardt-Verlag, Wien. *DIE NIGHT MÜTTER WERDEN DÜR-FEN, AND ZÖLIBAT*, by Johann Ferch.

From C. Barth-Verlag, Wien. *AM KREUZWEG DER LIEBE*, by J. Ferch.

From Cambridge University Press. The Macmillan Co., New York. *AGE AND AREA*, by J. C. Willis.

"A great work."—G. Stanley Hall.

"It has the rich and satisfying truth of Art."—Katharine Anthony in the Nation.

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Gertrude Gogin, of the YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD, Executive of the Department for Work with Younger Girls, urges parents, teachers and leaders of girls to read A YOUNG GIRL'S DIARY.

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DECEMBER, 1922

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger



Official Organ of
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Editor

MARGARET SANGER

Managing Editor
ANNIE G. PORRITT

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

VOL. VI

DECEMBER, 1922

No. 12

Our Fight in New York

THE VITALITY OF the Birth Control Movement in this country may be gauged not merely by the friends we have made, but even more emphatically by the fear shown by our enemies. To tell the truth, an honest, courageous, open enemy is often a greater help to a cause than a passive, spineless group of adherents. There are too many people in the United States who proclaim they "are for Birth Control" and let it go at that. Their indifference, their passivity, their timidity is of value neither to themselves nor to the cause of civilization. Better a thousand enemies who come out bravely in the open, challenge us, attack us fairly and thereby arouse new interest and further discussion; but such enemies, alas, are too few, and timid adherents are too numerous.

I wish to call your attention to another brand of enemy, far more dangerous, more dastardly, more insidious. These are those who, from time immemorial, have been too tricky to fight in the open. Calumny, falsehood have been and are today their insidious weapons. Through the centuries these forces have attempted to check the progress of civilization. There is the underground root of fear and threat. They weave mysterious, intangible networks of influence. They place their intimidated henchmen in every sphere of public life. The respectable elements of our national community, on the other hand, sit good-naturedly back, while these powers of darkness steadily spread their sphere of influence. Today they have centered their efforts on the Birth Control Movement. They have decided that they will crush out its life. They realize that the splendid youthful vitality of this movement is a symbol of the growing power of science, human intelligence, enlightenment and liberty. Crush this, and the clock of human progress will be set back; human society will stagger through centuries of darkening obscurity into new dark ages, for upon the ruins of civilization, upon lies and deceit and ignorance these sinister influences flourish. Today we have ample evidence of their machination. They have sought to terrorize our workers. They have sought to intimidate our supporters. Not only have they openly violated the laws they are sworn to uphold, but they have caused to be written—perhaps indelibly—into the records of the police and of the courts, dastardly lies concerning noble and disinterested adherents of our movement.

THIS IS A MATTER of importance not merely to the Birth Control Movement in itself; it is of the gravest importance to the national life—to every true citizen of these United States. Are we to sit supinely back and witness without protest this insolent domination of American life and morals, by a small sect which has, for centuries, been inimical to the true interests of civilization and obstructive to the finer flowering of human genius? Are we to permit these demagogues to batten on human misery, ignorance and stupidity?

The brave men and women who founded this Republic, did so to insure freedom of thought and religious opinion. They sought primarily to avoid the domination of the political structure by any sect or creed, yet through fear, intimidation and a deplorable blindness to the spiritual values that lie at the foundation of liberty today, we have lost the courage to fight for this glorious heritage handed down to us by our noble forefathers.

Peculiarly, the Birth Control Movement seems to be active enough, strong enough and vital enough to bring this enemy out into the open. Now let us, who stand for science, sanitation, hygiene and a cleaner world, expose the corrupt source of this sinister opposition. Let us unmask the enemy fearlessly and frankly and drive it out of the various avenues of our social and political structure, for no one can truly expect the benefits of freedom or liberty who is not willing to volunteer in this new and greater war of defense, who is not willingly active and aggressively ready to defend our ancestral freedom against the dogmas of superstition.

In the face of these undisputable facts and knowledge, we shall go undiscouraged to the Legislature at Albany this coming year. We want to bring the campaign against Birth Control into the open. It is the right of the people of this State to determine whether our politicians are really interested in the tragic sufferings of the mothers of New York State, or are dominated by the fear of a hierarchy.

In the meantime, of our more distant friends, we ask an active personal investigation of the dominating religious and educational forces which are determining the political and social life and conditions in your own community. Find out for yourself the source of the unsleeping opposition to the Birth Control Movement. Let us together watch, stand guardian at the gate of liberty!

M. S.

THERE IS AN interest for the advocates of Birth Control in the decision of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, holding invalid the minimum wage law passed by Congress for the women of the District. That the reasoning of the judges was totally out of harmony with the facts of industrial life goes without saying. The United States Supreme Court has already decided, that the fact that women are voters does not deprive the States of power to afford them special protection, if this protection is in the interest of society. It is evident, under our present industrial system that women-workers, on account of their youth, their impermanence in industry, and the general low level of their wages, are incapable of protecting themselves from exploitation through trades-unions and the strike, and it is unlikely that the U. S. Supreme Court will reverse its decision and upset the whole system of protective legislation by sustaining the Court of Appeals in its decision. Nevertheless, the danger threatening these laws shows the vital need that women should be able to protect themselves, that they should be free to strike at the root of the discriminations against them, at the root of low wages due to over-keen competition among the workers, at the root of the evil which forces married women into industry to help to keep alive a too-numerous brood of children. If these working women had the choice, if they had access to knowledge already in existence, but carefully withheld from their reach, they would exercise such control over population as would make many of our protective laws—undoubtedly necessary at the present time—obsolete. Woman it was, who first set the feet of the race on the upward path. Women are the civilizers of mankind. They are the eugenists. Give women the right to control their own bodies, give them the knowledge which will enable them to exercise that right, and they will wipe off the face of the earth those black stains of modern life—prostitution and the exploitation of the girl and woman worker.

A picture in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for November, illustrating an interview with Mary Anderson, Chief of the Woman's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor at Washington, carries the undercut "No matter how much she produces, nor how skillful her fingers, she may not be able to keep soul and body together." What an indictment of our present system! What a commentary on the need of limitation of population! The picture represents the weary women workers coming from their toil. But it is safe to say that the basal lesson to be learned from the picture will escape the attention of most of the readers of the *Journal*. It does matter—it matters exceedingly—how "much she produces." It is just the over-production of woman's greatest creation—of babies—that brings about her bitter inability to keep soul and body together for herself and for the children that she has borne. In a single generation women could make human beings so precious that there would be an end to the exploitation of the workers. Freed from the millstone of families too large to support, the workman and the workwoman could stand erect and demand a fair share of their own product; and minimum wage laws, and eight-hour working day laws would become a tradition of an evil past when they had been a pitiful necessity.

A. G. P.

THE DOCTRINE OF over-production has lost its terror for modern society." So says Mr. Roy L. Garis, in his controversy with Professor Raymond Pearl in the *New York Times*. Professor Pearl had pointed out that the safety limit in the United States—200,000,000 people—would soon be reached and that if man continued to multiply according to natural laws—as the *Drosophila* flies bred in his experiment—"our children's children will have to face a standard of living much below that which we enjoy." There is not, however, any great difference between Mr. Garis and Professor Pearl, because while Professor Pearl points out the inevitable results of leaving to "Nature" the whole question of breeding, Mr. Garis points out that "If the fruit flies had human intelligence and foresight, and the ability to produce as well as consume, and if they had the conscious power to limit offspring, then the analogy might contain some elements of comparison worth while." "The conscious power to limit offspring" is what can save the world from the dire fate which our biologists and economists see in store for it. And yet this power of control is refused by our government to the very people who most need it—to the men and women who are already facing the lowering of standards which results from over-crowding and from permitting nature to dominate mankind in the immensely important matter of breeding. The lesson to be learned from both Professor Pearl and Mr. Garis is that man must show his superiority to flies or mice, and take control over his supreme function of procreation that it may be used for the welfare instead of for the destruction of humanity—in fact the lesson of Birth Control.

A. G. P.

AN ENCOURAGING LETTER

To the Editor:

I do not know whether I am doing the proper thing in writing to you or not. But there is something I would like well to know, so I am prompted to write.

What I want to know is: Can I do anything in November at the general election to help the cause of Birth Control. I mean in voting. I would like to be able to help win the victory. I will vote to help Birth Control if I can. If you should write to me, tell me how to vote, because at present I would not know how to vote down the obscenity laws.

M. T., Missouri.

This letter shows vividly the extent of the task which the advocates of Birth Control face before the law can be liberalized in the various states. There is no direct way of voting down the obscenity laws—or rather of so amending them that prevention of conception shall no longer be classed as obscene. In most states people have not yet awakened to the need of such amendment, and until public opinion is created, no candidate is going to take any stand on this question. The whole process has to be gone through before Birth Control shall be included in the social moral standard. This process consists in: Agitation, Education, Organization and Legislation, and in many states the very first step has still to be taken. Nevertheless it is hopeful and encouraging to receive such a letter.

Editor.

Birth Control in Ohio

State Conference Held at Cincinnati, November 21, 1922

AN IMPORTANT EVENT in the history of the Birth Control movement was the holding of a State Conference on Birth Control at Cincinnati. Arrangements for the Conference were made by Miss Clara Louise Rowe, and the list of patrons and patronesses, given below, contains the names of representative people from Cincinnati, Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown and Columbus:

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	Dr. Harry L. Wieman
	Mrs. Warren P. Williamson

The Conference opened at 12 noon, and the first brief session was followed by a luncheon. Among the speakers at the afternoon session were Dr. David I. Wolfstein, of Cincinnati, on "Some Psychological Factors in Birth Control;" Dr. Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, of Cleveland, on "The Social Values of a Controlled Population," and Mr. Jerome Fisher, of the law firm of Thompson, Hine and Flory, Cleveland, on "The Ohio State Laws Concerning Birth Control." Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee, of New York, Vice President of the American Birth Control League, addressed the Conference on "The Need of Birth Control in America." Mrs. Margaret Sanger was the principal speaker at the evening meeting. She took as her topic her recent experiences in Japan and China and spoke of Birth Control as a world movement, which was about to usher in a new and better civilization.

On Friday evening, November 25th, in connection with the Conference, a meeting exclusively for doctors was held at the Literary Club. Dr. Julian Benjamin, President of the Cincinnati Public Health Federation, took the chair and introduced Mrs. Sanger, who presented the case for Birth Control.

News Notes

A WELCOME meeting to Mrs. Sanger was held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on the evening of Monday, October 30th. The audience, which numbered about 2,000, was evidently in sympathy with the movement for Birth Control, and there was no indication of any dissent or opposition. The chair was taken by Mr. Heywood Broun. In his opening remarks, he paid a high tribute to Margaret Sanger, and to her able leadership of the movement for Birth Control in the United States. An abridgement of Mrs. Sanger's speech is given in this issue. There were also speeches by Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, who spoke on the moral aspect of the question, and by Dr. Lydia A. De Vilbiss, who took as her subject the legal hindrances to Birth Control.

NOVEMBER 17—Mrs. George H. Day, Sr., and Mrs. A. G. Porritt attended the Annual Convention of the Conn. League of Women Voters in Bridgeport with the object of bringing before the League the bill to be introduced in the Conn. Legislature, legalizing medical clinics for instruction in methods of preventing conception.

NOVEMBER 18—Mrs. Sanger spoke on Birth Control at a luncheon at the Hotel Claypool, Indianapolis.

NOVEMBER 19—A meeting for Mrs. Sanger, arranged by Miss Esther Griffen White, was held in the ball room of the Eagle Club, Richmond, Indiana.

MRS. B. H. BARNETT of Jacksonville, Fla., spoke on Birth Control before the Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs on November 21. The invitation came from the President of the Federation, as a consequence of the meeting of the General Federation in Buffalo when the subject of Birth Control was considered and referred to the individual State Federations and Clubs.

NOVEMBER 28—Mrs. Sanger spoke at a mass meeting at the Schenley Theater, Pittsburgh. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Western Pennsylvania Branch of the American Birth Control League.

IT IS ANNOUNCED that Mrs. Margaret Sanger will speak at the monthly luncheon of the Women's Congress of Syracuse on December 7th. The luncheon will be held at the Onondaga Hotel, and has been arranged by Mrs. L. E. Whittic.

A MOTHER'S CLINIC was established in November in Vienna, under the auspices of the League Against Compulsory Motherhood. Women too poor to pay are given free instructions and appliances for the prevention of conception.

THE LEGISLATIVE Committee, which will be in charge of work at Albany during the coming session of the N. Y. Legislature, is under the chairmanship of Mrs. Richard Billings of New York. Mrs. Dexter Blagden is Vice-Chairman. It is planned to hold a conference in Albany to which all who are interested in the amendment of the laws of New York State which prohibit the giving of Birth Control information are invited.

World Aspects of Birth Control

Margaret Sanger's Speech at the Meeting of October 30.

AT THE WELCOME Meeting held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on October 30, interest naturally centered in the speech by Margaret Sanger. It was her first appearance in America after her world tour, and in opening, she expressed once more her faith in her vision of a new world, a vision that she hoped, through the instrumentality of Birth Control, would become before long a beautiful reality. She paid a high tribute to the Chairman of the meeting, Mr. Heywood Broun, whose presence on the platform she described as a new and distinct victory for the cause of Birth Control. "For years," she added, "I have been amazed at the timidity of our younger writing men. They say they are for Birth Control, but they are careful not to commit themselves publicly. How different is the situation in a country like England, when a great intellectual force like H. G. Wells throws the weight of his tremendous influence into the Birth Control movement; where a great churchman and mystic like Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral comes out boldly and fearlessly in favor of this new philosophy; where that inspired prophet and visionary, my dear friend Havelock Ellis, lifts the subject of sex into the realm of the spiritual and divine. Today the most popular and brilliantly representative of the younger generation has shown his open adherence to the movement, and I cannot adequately express my appreciation to Mr. Broun for throwing great influence on the side of our movement."

Taking up the story of her tour of the world, Mrs. Sanger told of the invitation from a group of young Japan intellectuals—the Kaizo—which had been extended to her. Similar invitations had been extended to Professor Einstein and H. G. Wells, and she herself immediately followed Mr. Bertrand Russell—as she described it, "in good company." She was to give five addresses and had no idea of any opposition on the part of the Japanese Government when she booked her passage. Two days before the date of sailing the Japanese refused to visa the passport. Then followed the long interchange of communications, with a rising tide of protest from the Liberal elements in Japan, which ended with her being accorded permission to enter the country, to speak in public on War and Population, and to private groups freely on Birth Control. The whole incident reacted strongly in favor of the Birth Control movement, affording it a publicity which it could have received in no other way.

IN THE MEANTIME Mrs. Sanger had sailed, nominally for China, and she told of the brief stop in Honolulu with crowded meeting, of addresses given on board ship that won over the Japanese representatives who were returning from the Washington Conference, and of the friendly intervention of one of them, Mr. Hanihara. She also told of the many radio messages she received from Japan, while still uncertain whether she would be allowed to land, and of the long official preliminaries when harbor was reached at Yokohama. For

her final victory, she said, "I must thank intelligent, wide-awake young Japan, expressing itself in agitation and protest, that showed the power of organized public opinion over official autocracy." The final ordeal was at the hands of the customs officials. "They must have thought," she declared, "that I possessed some magic wand to depopulate Japan. After confiscating most of my books, I was allowed to go."

Intelligent, wide-awake young Japan was not limited to the upper classes. "Just as I was at last free," she remarked, "I was approached by several rickshaw men, who came as representatives of the Rickshaw Men's Union to welcome me to Japan. One spoke a little English and courteously apologized for the Home Office. 'You not mind,' he said. 'Sometime Japanese Government, he a little autocratic.'"

It was a remarkable picture of the new Japan that Mrs. Sanger painted. "The old order has been swept away by modern industrialism. In Yokohama and Kobe one hears factory whistles and sees the tall smokestacks of industrial plants. There are great cranes in the new shipyards. The war quickened the transformation of Japanese society, and great changes are in making in the lives of the working millions. The industrial change has come with little preparation and sharp suddenness. Without warning, Japan has been thrust from a feudal system into an industrial system not unlike our own. The Japanese people have no background of experience in meeting these new conditions. The masses of the people, mostly peasants, had been ruled by feudal loyalty, by clan and guild bonds, by a religion of personal submission, by centuries-old racial superstitions. Under the old order the power of money played practically no part. Long hours, low pay and the growing realization that a new class is springing up which is reaping the profits of industrialism are awakening the masses to the new order of life. The people are thirsting for education, aiming for higher standards of living and spurred on by the desire to get rich too."

MRS. SANGER WENT on to describe the industrial unrest in Japan, and the great part taken in industry by girls and women. "These women factory workers," she told her audience, "forming seventy to seventy-eight per cent of all factory workers, are sent out of the rural districts and villages, practically sold, to the factories for periods of two to three years. In most cases, the greater part of their wages is sent to their families by the employers. The economic value of girls is increasing, but at the same time they are undergoing the cruel education of modern industry."

The factors which make Birth Control of such enormous importance to Japan were then enumerated. The area of Japan is about equal to that of California but with five-sixths of it mountainous and untillable. The population, which is now about sixty millions, is increasing by seven or eight hundred thousand a year, and the density of population in the tillable

areas averages two thousand to a square mile. Every available inch of land is under cultivation. "There are few playgrounds," added Mrs. Sanger, "there are fewer lawns and fields in which children can play. I never saw so many children, the babies are carried upon the backs of the older children, even in play, and while you see a country of one-story homes, you see also a country of two-story children."

"Such then," summed up Mrs. Sanger, "is the situation in Japan—a rapidly increasing population; a lack of tillable land. She is dependent more and more upon imports for food and clothing. She may increase her shipping and her foreign trade; but she cannot keep pace with her babies. There are two alternatives: expansion, emigration, imperialism, enforced by armaments and militarism on the one hand; on the other, a drastic national policy of Birth Control, limiting the numbers, improving living conditions, and aiming at the perpetuation of peace and the development of art and science. As for emigration and expansion, we must realize that Japan cannot imitate the older colonial policies of the European powers. She cannot send her surplus millions to foreign countries. If she could or did, it would be but temporary relief, and would complicate international problems tenfold."

FROM JAPAN, MRS. SANGER went to Korea, where she addressed a group of bankers, missionaries, physicians and business men. She was much impressed by the alertness of the Koreans and their readiness to accept the new thought of the Western world. After leaving Seoul, she proceeded to Peking, where she had the opportunity of addressing an audience of 2,500 at the Government University. She also spoke at the Rockefeller Institute of Peking, and at a luncheon of bankers, given in her honor. After the meeting in the University she was invited to dinner at the home of the Chancellor. The guests included a number of professors and others of the intelligentsia. The Chinese apparently act more quickly than we of the Western world realize, for that very evening a league was formed, Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet Family Limitation was taken in hand and translated, and the next morning five thousand pamphlets in Chinese were printed and ready for distribution!

If the need for Birth Control was great in Japan, Mrs. Sanger found it far greater in China, where the balance of population has been upset by Western humanitarian ideas and modern sanitation. "We cannot go into China," she told her audience, "with our sympathies and our moral codes, saving her babies from infanticide, without increasing her problems. We find that after we have rescued 200 infants from the river one year, 2,000 additional "sing-song girls are in the ranks of the prostitutes the next year." "In China," she continued, we witness the last act in the national tragedy of over-population. Here is a great Empire prostrate in the dust. China, the mysterious fountain-head of art, philosophy and the deepest wisdom of the world, has been brought down by the superabundant breeding of its worst elements. It is difficult for anyone who has not visited China to realize the situation. Here are masses of human beings who live below the level of animals.

They eat, sleep and breed in the crowded streets and sunless alleys. Thousands have not even a foothold on the land. They are compelled to live in make-shift boats on the crowded banks of the river. We have respect and reverence for the ancient culture of China. We bow before the ancient civilization of Asia, the original fountain-head of human wisdom. Therefore all the greater is the tragedy of China. The flame of Asiatic civilization is flickering. It is threatened with extinction. There is a rising tide of famine, of wretchedness, of disease, a flood which because of the incessant fertility of those millions spreads like a plague. To contribute to famine funds and to the support of missions in China is like trying to sweep back the sea with a broom. But as long as the American public prefers sentimentality to science, this waste of funds, thrown into the bottomless pit of charities, will continue. The Chinese do not need our missions. They need our science, our sanitation, our hygiene, our Birth Control.

“YOU CANNOT MEASURE the greatness of a country by the numbers of its population. We cannot gauge civilization in terms of industrial expansion and growth. National greatness is not a matter of large standing armies and invincible navies. Is a country breeding great men? Will its sons and daughters leave for the generations to come a record of immortal poetry, art and philosophy? Then it is a great country, for it has attained the only immortality worth striving for. In holding this as our ideal as we strive upward, the human race should first be freed of the millstone of militarism, famine and the fatal burden of inherited disease. There are other hindrances in the long march toward our unknown goal, but we are not helping ourselves by adding to them bad breeding and blasted childhood.

"After my eight months' tour of the world, I have come to agree with H. G. Wells, when he says that the world at present is swarming with cramped, dreary, meaningless lives, lives which amount to nothing and which use up the resources and energies of mankind. Our world is overcrowded with masses who are merely the breeding ground of admitted misery and wretchedness. They do nothing to carry life forward. They are just the vain, defective, imperfect repetitions of all that has gone before. Our charity to them is in reality a crime against future generations, against the finest blossoming of the human spirit. Upon these docile, herdlike masses, the sinister demagogues of the churches and nations batten. To the best of our ability we must undo the work of these blind leaders of the blind who are urging the unfit full speed ahead in their mad spawning and swarming. The world is over-populated in more ways than one. There are too many people for our limited intelligence. There are too many people for the social systems evolved. There are too many people for our present equipment—transportation, housing, schools—everything which should advance our civilization, and in the great majority of countries there are too many people for the means of subsistence.

(Continued on page 256)

The Joys of Controlled Parenthood

By Dr. C. Killick Millard, M. O. H.

A Speech Delivered at the Public Meeting of the Fifth International Birth Control Conference.

I COME BEFORE YOU this evening as Medical Officer of Health of one of our great industrial centers. In connection with my official work I have been closely connected for many years with problems of maternity and child welfare, as they affect the lives of the poor. I speak also as an individual who has been married over twenty years and happily married. Like Mrs. Sanger, I have a son. In fact, I am proud to be the father of two sons and two daughters. I mention these personal details, because I venture to suggest that in a question such as this they are by no means a negligible qualification.

It is a strange reflection that some of the most vehement condemnation of Birth Control comes from men who are themselves celibate, men who have had no personal experience of the joys of marriage and parenthood, men who, no matter how distinguished they may be, and no matter how good work they may be doing in their own sphere, in this matter, concerned as it is with the intimate details of marriage and parenthood, are mere laggards in the battle of life. Such men are not, and cannot be, in the nature of things, the best judges. There is, of course, a scientific explanation of the extreme hostility which some of these men manifest towards Birth Control. In the terms of psychology, it is one of the manifestations arising from an undue suppression of the sex complex.

We have heard of the hostility of the churches to Birth Control. Now I venture to suggest that it is not without significance that the oldest established of our churches, the one which has been most active in its hostility to Birth Control, which has set an example and influenced the teaching of other churches, requires all its priesthood to be celibates.

BEFORE I GO further, I want to emphasize how greatly I appreciate the value of children. People who have never had children have missed one of the supreme and most permanent of the joys of existence. Parenthood is one of those satisfactions of life which increase, instead of diminishing with advancing years. In a sense, our children and our children's children make us immortal. It is easier for us to reconcile ourselves to the waning of life's flame, when we have handed on the torch to others.

Childless marriages are generally to be deplored. Too often they represent a real domestic tragedy. It is not without good reason that we congratulate the young couple on the birth of their first child. So important do I feel it that every marriage should come to fruition that personally I can never recommend young couples at the outset of their married life, unless there are exceptional reasons, to practice Birth Control, until they have made sure of at least one child. We must remember that fertility is a very precious fountain, which in many cases it is much easier to turn off than to turn on.

Therefore, I say that, no matter how great the inconvenience

and the sacrifice which the advent of the first child within a year of marriage may entail, make sure of it. It is worth it, well worth it.

Then after an interval which I suggest ought not to be less than about two years, nor more than about three, there should be a second child. One-child marriages are not in the same category as childless marriages, but still are very much to be deprecated. It is bad for the child, who too often becomes self-centered and spoiled. It is bad also for the parents. Besides, everyone knows it is foolish to put all your eggs into one basket. In the parish church of the town of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, there is a beautiful monument which represents a little girl lying asleep, marvellously sculptured in white marble. It bears this pathetic inscription:

To
Penelope
Only Child of Sir Brooks and Dame Susannah
Boothby,
Born, April 11th, 1785
Died, March 13th, 1791

She was in Form and Intellect Most Exquisite. The Unfortunate Parents Ventured Their All on this Frail Bark, and the Wreck was Total.

AFTER TWO CHILDREN have been born, many young couples will feel in serious doubt about incurring fresh responsibilities. Many circumstances have to be considered. There is a limit to what one woman, single-handed and without assistance, can accomplish, if she is properly to attend to her home, her children and her husband, and retain her self-respect. Then provision has to be made for the children's future, for it is right to encourage parents to do well by their children, using that term in its best sense. There may have to be a longer interval before further children arrive, but so greatly do I appreciate the value of children that I urge all healthy young couples who can see their way to it, not to be satisfied with less than three children. Personally, I regard four children, two of either sex, as the ideal family. It is well to have duplicates in case of contingencies.

I am aware that many people still hold the old idea that married people ought to have as many children as are sent to them. That extreme doctrine is dying out. Very few people hold that view today. My gardener tried it, and his wife presented him with eighteen babies in twenty-five years, all born one at a birth.

In place of that old-fashioned doctrine, the view that most people hold now is that the begetting of new life—the most important and sacred function we human beings are called upon to perform—should no longer be undertaken recklessly, but be brought within the sphere of reason and forethought. I have to admit that at the present time young couples of the A1 class tend perhaps to err on the side of excessive caution,

but I believe that is a reaction from the excessive families of half a century ago. I have little fear but that it will right itself. I am more concerned with the reckless lack of caution of the C3 class. The disastrous fertility of the C3 class has now become recognized as a world-wide danger. There is no gainsaying the fact that people who in all human judgment are least fitted in character or constitution to be parents, who are least able to support a large family, are just the very ones who have the largest families. That cannot be good, either for the individual, the nation, or the race. I sometimes think that the short and simple annals of the poor can be expressed in four words—"bearing babies, burying babies."

IF WE BELIEVE in the laws of heredity, we must realize that the children of C3 parents today tend themselves to become C3 tomorrow, and will be parents of C3 children a few years hence.

Let me close by quoting from an American writer: "The improvement of the human race, if not the future evolution of man, will depend in part on conscious human endeavor. To

us it is given to cooperate in this greatest work of all time and to have a part in the triumphs of future ages, not only by improving the conditions of individual life and development and education, but much more by improving the ideals of society, and by breeding a better race of men who will mould things nearer to the heart's desire."

"Men at some time are masters of their fates.

"The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,

"But in ourselves, if we are underlings."

If men are really to be masters of their fate and not always underlings, if they are to rise to the greatest heights of which, through the divine attribute of reason, they are potentially capable, then, I say, it means learning to free themselves from the handicap of constant toil for the bare necessities of life, which is so largely the outcome of the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, and learning to control that strange fertility which throughout the whole of nature tends to become excessive. If mankind is effectively to control fertility, we believe it is necessary and desirable that they should adopt and put into practise the principles of Birth Control.

British Eugenists and Birth Control

Statement from Professor E. W. MacBride, Vice Chairman, Eugenics Education Society.

I THINK THAT THE best answer to your letter of October 9th and to the request contained in it, would be to give you a brief account of what occurred in the Eugenics Education Society with regard to Birth Control.

Under the wise and moderate presidency of Major Leonard Darwin, the majority of the Council of the Society were gradually brought to see that some form of Birth Control was a most urgent and necessary measure of practical Eugenics in Great Britain—The situation as it presented itself to us was as follows:

Great Britain is, relatively speaking, an over-crowded country with an increasing population. The increase is relatively greatest amongst the lowest and most incompetent strata of the population. This increase in former times was balanced by a large infant death rate, but in recent times owing to the adoption of humanitarian measures at the public expense, the infant mortality has been brought down from about 150 to about 75 per 1,000, and the death rate among children has been much lessened. The support for these measures has been provided by greater taxation of the more thrifty and competent members of the community, and Birth Control amongst the middle and upper classes of Great Britain is an almost universal practice, so that the birth rate has been reduced to a fraction over two per family.

The Council was formerly reluctant to commit itself to the support of Birth Control owing to the fear that a widespread practice of this control would prejudice the production of sufficient babies by the competent and far-seeing section of the community. They feel, however, that the damage which might have been apprehended from this source is already done; and whilst they feel that the logical remedy is the sterilization of the unfit, they recognize that public opinion in this country is not yet ready for such a measure.

THEREFORE THEY ARE ready to listen to the arguments of the Malthusian (New Generation) League and to view with sympathy the efforts of this society to spread a knowledge of the means of Birth Control amongst the poor. They invited Dr. Drysdale, the president of the Malthusian League, to address one of their meetings on the subject. A resolution was drafted by Lady Chambers, secretary of the Eugenics Education Society, requesting the Ministry of Health to determine the best form of Birth Control and to arrange to have this method taught at public health centers; such as, dispensaries, workhouses, hospitals, etc. This motion received the support of the president and of the majority of the Council, but a minority objected on the following grounds:

- (a) That to prevent a woman having children injured her health and made her neurotic. (This, if true, would lead to the conclusion that the married women of the middle and upper classes are neurotic.)
- (b) That the business of the Eugenics Education Society was to collect data, not to inculcate practical measures. (This, if true, would make it a Society for the Theoretical Study of Heredity, which is not in accordance with our constitution.)

Ultimately it was decided for the sake of unity to send the petition to the Ministry, not as from the Council, but as from the individual signatories.

As you are aware, however, the Council, to mark its sympathy with the International Congress on Birth Control, appointed me as a delegate to the same.

"Children Troop Down from Heaven"

Letters from Mothers Who Dread Their Coming

IF IT IS TRUE, as the poet Wordsworth sang many years ago, and as we have recently been told by an eminent ecclesiastic, that "children troop down from Heaven," that they come "with clouds of glory trailing from God who is their home," it is a fearful responsibility that society assumes when it forbids parents to exercise any responsibility for their birth. Surely the first requisite should be that these celestial visitors should have a sincere and hearty invitation and that a royal welcome should await them when they arrive. The home should be fit to receive the new-comer and everything should be prepared to be worthy of it. There can be no hurry for the child to leave Heaven and come to earth, and no injustice will be done by allowing the little soul to dwell longer with God. Better let it stay until there is a fit place for it. In hundreds of thousands of homes, babies come to find no welcome, no place prepared for them. This must be so, as long as motherhood is forced upon women against their will, or as it occurs by chance—parents running the risk but hoping to escape the consequences. How can those who devoutly believe in the Heavenly origin of the babies approve of a state of things that permits their birth under circumstances described in the following letters? Can they justify transplanting babies from Heaven into homes like these? What is there to make such treatment of babies moral, and Birth Control immoral? Is not Birth Control far nobler than such trampling on the rights of human beings?

Four Children and Four Miscarriages in Eight Years

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am writing you as I obtained a book of yours, "Woman and the New Race." I have read it, and now feel in hopes I have found some-one that has a heart for a poor woman that has to suffer with children being born—isn't the terrible thing ever was?

I was married when I was a girl of only seventeen, as there were thirteen children of us, and my father always drank, so we had to go to work very young—myself when I was eleven years, caring for boarders in a large boarding house. I have been married eight years. My first child was only a six months baby. She only lived three days, and had to be taken. She was born in July and about January 1st, a miscarriage of another. The next January a little girl was born. In about four months time another miscarriage; then the next January 27 another girl; then twenty-one months and a boy, who is now two years old, and I have had two miscarriages since that. I have never had a chance to gain my real strength, and every one of the children had to be taken, and I did not get chloroform on account of my heart being so weak. When my second little girl was born, I suffered almost a week, almost paralysed. I said that if ever I was that way again I would commit suicide, but in twenty-one months again, I

had the baby boy. I have tried every means to save myself from getting that way, but all seems useless. I many a time sit and cry to think of it, and ask myself what shall I do. I had a sister, 26 years old, left three little children through miscarriage and blood poisoning, and I have thought many times that if I did keep on I would be of something similar. Besides caring for my children, I have to do about a man's work to help support what I have, and if I could now only have the three living ones, I could probably bring them up as they ought to be. If there is anything you can do for me I do not know how to express the thanks in words, it will be to me, and now a doctor wants forty-five dollars, and then have to go to get him and take him back, it keeps a poor person trying to pay these bills. I do hope there is something you can do for me.

Mothers Should Not Bear More Children Than They Can Care For

Dear Madam:

We have just received a copy of your wonderful book, "Woman and the New Race." I was married at the age of 18. We have been married just 8 years. We have had five children, the first born dead a boy, and in fifteen months a girl, and in nineteen months another boy and in twenty-three months a pair of twins, a boy and girl, the girl just being with us seven months. And now we are expecting the stork next month again. We have all we can properly care for and clothe and educate.

My health is not very good, and the doctor tells us we ought not to have any more, but that is all the advice he gave us, and I would like to gain my health back before we have any more. I think every married couple should have the knowledge of Birth Control and not bring more children in the world than they can care for.

Refuses to Bear Defective Children

Nebraska.

Dear Madam:

I have recently read a book of which you are the author, entitled, "Woman and the New Race."

I am very much interested and as I read your book I wondered if you could help me.

In your book you mention a number of times preventives that are sure and are not injurious to one's health. Can you explain or tell me what they are that I may be safe from pregnancy again?

I feel it is no more than right since I have a little boy 9 years old who is defective in every way. I have lived these 9 years in constant fear of this happening again, and at times it almost causes trouble between my husband and I.

Although his father has never drank at all, his grandfather was a drunkard, and I am told by physicians that is what caused our boy's trouble. Can you help me out? Please, I cannot go through this again with perhaps the same results

and bring into this world another defective for someone to care for. For I am nearly all in myself. This child is such a care, more than an infant. Doctors tell me to not get that way again, but that's as far as their advice goes.

Your work will be blessed and I will surely be grateful to you for any information you can give me.

No Crops But a Baby Every Year

North Dakota.

Such damnable laws we have on the books. Is this question coming to a vote? I hope so, I for one, if I had ten votes, would cast them all in favor of Birth Control.

Am a homesteader's wife in this dried-out district. No crops, but a baby every year for four years. If I have another right away I'll be a fit subject for Jamestown, as we are not able to feed these poor darlings, and no one but a mother knows what it means to see them want.

May God bless you and your noble work. You are surely a redeemer to the working mother.

Wants More for Her Children Than She Had Herself

Kentucky.

I read your book "Woman and the New Race" a short time ago, and I became so interested in it, I read it over twice and I just felt like I had become acquainted with a dear friend when I was through.

I am 24 years of age, have been married 5 years, and have three babies which I love very dearly, but I do not want any more. I think it one of the greatest sins we can commit to bring large families here to suffer, and I do not feel that we could possibly take care of one more, as it will be a great cost and responsibility to raise and educate three as they should be, and that is my greatest desire for them to have an education, even if I was refused it myself. We are only renters, do not even own a home, but expect to try and be able to in the near future, and the thought of another baby just worries me to death, as more babies mean more ex-

penses and never a chance to own a home. I wanted two children when I married, and I first had a boy and then a girl, just as I wanted them, and did not want any more. I began to inquire on preventives and my husband went to our family doctor and he would not tell us anything, so I did things that other women told me were safe remedies, and three days before my little girl was a year old I had another little girl. Then I began to lose heart. Please pardon me for writing such a long story, but I just feel like I am talking to a friend and can't help it.

Please, Mrs. Sanger, send me help. Please pardon my long letter and answer me.

Looking for a New Era for Women

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

I am a mother of two children, my oldest 21 months and my youngest 6 months. My oldest baby was only 6 months old when I realized I was again pregnant. I didn't have the strength, nor finance to carry another young life so soon, and as a result my health has suffered for it. My husband and I are real pals and are eagerly looking forward to the good times we are going to have together with our kiddies. But, dear Mrs. Sanger, if babies keep coming and coming, we'll fall in the same nervous, tired-out rut that all parents before us have bitterly experienced, who have their babies so fast that they have no time to enjoy their children or joy in educating them properly.

I have just finished reading your book, "Woman and the New Race." It's great and, believe me, after reading it, I glowed all over with the warmth of the conviction that a New Era is coming (and I hope quickly) for woman.

Now Mrs. Sanger, my mother had ten children and only six lived and besides she suffered so much (premature births and abortion) physically and financially that I'd do almost anything to escape her trials and she asks me to solicit your help. Will you help? Oh please do. I just can't go through what she did.

Whys and Wherefores

By Noel Leslie

AS THESE WORDS are being written* the first reports of the Disarmament Conference are coming in. They are better reports than most of us dared hope for, and go to prove that the world is more than ever sick of the needless burdens laid upon her by ignorant or selfish governments. Once more we find cause for hope and encouragement as we read of this more than usually sincere effort of a group of statesmen to declare war, not on fellow men but upon the deep-rooted evils from which all types of war spring.

Those who appreciate the true meaning of the words *Birth Control* know that these same statesmen would be infinitely nearer success were they to advocate and adopt the principles

and aims of the American Birth Control League of which Margaret Sanger is head. For what is it that these statesmen are doing? They are endeavoring better to govern or control life—life which at this moment is more uncontrolled and uncontrollable than ever before. But, since without birth there can be no life, it follows that the best means of controlling life is to govern its origin; in other words, to control birth. Not only is this likely to be the best means to secure happiness and peace for present and future generations, but it is the surest, for it starts at the very beginning.

Those who are opposed to the doctrine of family limitation have either jumped to a hasty conclusion from religious or sentimental prejudices; or else, after a brief but not careful study of its principles and practice, are so thoroughly

*November, 1921.

unconventional—though the term will surprise them—as to believe that this vital question must be treated in an exactly opposite fashion to all other customs of modern civilization. Haphazard, accidental and unpremeditated birth is a custom, doubtless beneficial in earlier and less crowded stages of human existence. But when a custom ceases to be useful and becomes not merely antiquated but positively dangerous, then we have to deal not with a custom to be tolerated but with a bad habit which should be, and eventually must be, eradicated.

RIGHT OR WRONG? LOGICAL OR ILLOGICAL? Either Birth Control is right or it is wrong, there is no middle course. Control, in some form or another, being applicable and applied to every other phase of our existence save birth, it follows that those who oppose such control act, by so doing, in direct contradiction to all other rules which govern their earthly life.

Before any of us can enter a business or profession it is necessary to study its nature and procedure. It is necessary before we are qualified to practice our chosen profession or trade to pass certain tests or examinations, sometimes very difficult ones. Does it never occur to us that Motherhood, the most sacred of all professions, has, and should have according to these opponents, no qualifying examination? A large percentage of mothers today are physically, mentally and spiritually unqualified to bring children into the world. The same, of course, applies to the fathers who pass on some taint to their offspring owing to the lack of proper knowledge to prevent such contamination.

To be logical we must accept and advocate Birth Control or cease to submit to qualifications and restrictions in other walks of life. The most successful businesses are built up by specialization. The most successful families are reared by specialization. Rash speculation in business spells disaster just as unpremeditated gambling with life leads to ruin. To propagate by chance is to gamble with life.

ORDER OR CHAOS? Without control, which means government, life would be chaos. Our Federal, State, City and Municipal forms of government are still far from perfect but there is a constant striving for improvement. They at least give some semblance of order to the conduct of the individual and the nation, preserving us from the chaos which would ensue were there no system of government at all. Similarly, Reproductivity at present conducted recklessly, might be fashioned toward the perfecting of the race, granted that a control of life's origin were enforced.

It is true that Nature makes provisions for controlling life's haphazard tide by means of War, Famine and Disease—drastic remedies involving untold suffering for humanity which has “civilized” itself into conditions demanding such “natural” outlets. The control of birth provides a more humanitarian relief which in time will limit the peoples of the earth to numbers ensuring an equitable and contented enjoyment of the world's resources, as opposed to the present unequal and miserable struggle for what, for most of us, is becoming a mere existence.

It may be argued that it is unwise and even wrong to oppose or circumvent Nature in this way. Since when has man grown so squeamish? Has he not from the very beginning controlled Nature for his own ends? Long ago primitive man dammed the streams, diverting their courses to water his dry lands. Today he harnesses Niagara, by whose power light is generated for his cities. Mark it well, man can not live without controlling Nature.

THE WISDOM OF BIRTH CONTROL. Since the more educated and intelligent classes practise Birth Control its wisdom would seem to be apparent. Is it that they fear to share their knowledge with the mass, lest by so doing these same lower classes, by whose labors they subsist, awake to the realization of the true cause of their intolerable burden? Is it from fear of punishment deserved? He who is not self-supporting is unfit for life. Each man must bear his share. Those of us who are mere parasites deserve death, for we thrive only on the blood and sweat of those who work. But the mass of workers cannot be other than unintelligent, while indiscriminate breeding demands a constant struggle for existence that takes up every moment, saps their whole strength. Given some respite, the mass will evolve an intelligent, efficient class of workers which will merge with those worthy of survival in the present governing class. We live in a selfish age, but the dawn of brotherhood and selflessness is at hand. Ethically, then, Birth Control is wise.

A good farmer does not sow seed on unprepared ground. He cultivates the soil until it is ready for the seed's reception. Neither does he sow any seed that has not been carefully selected from many samples. Good seed in good soil brings forth a fine harvest, with its resultant benefit to mankind. Bad seed and poor soil produce bad crops, choked with weeds: the labor of the sower goes for nought; the farmer faces failure.

How much more important is the seed of human life? It is our duty to see to it that only those who are fit and worthy are permitted to hand on the torch.

A BLANK WALL. How shall such benefit be gained? How shall this all-important knowledge reach the masses? Too often, in striving to free themselves from the toils of custom and ignorance, they find themselves faced by a blank wall. The very ones who should first proffer aid are likely to be the last, for despite the fine example of the more cultured members of the profession of medicine, too many doctors are apt to treat the subject of Birth Control in a spirit of levity that can only be poorly excused by their possible ignorance.

Is it not amazing that medical practitioners pay so little attention to, and evince but small concern for this very vital matter? One thing is certain, that so surely as they ignore this essential condition of life, so surely will there come into being another professional class of men and women—particularly women—who will devote their lives to the science of reproductivity; a science the culture of which will eventually bring life to a state of perfection where there will be few

(Continued on page 256)

What the Birth Control Movement Stands For

By H. G. Wells

From His Address as Chairman of Public Meeting, Fifth International Birth Control Conference, London.

THE FOLLOWING extracts from the speech of Mr. H. G. Wells, the famous English novelist, are of especial interest in connection with his candidacy for Parliament on the Socialist ticket. In introducing Mrs. Sanger, he said:

"Essentially, the Birth Control movement stands for frankness. It is for telling plainly and simply to the people, who are likely to be the willing or unwilling fathers and mothers of the next generation, the plain facts about birth and population, and about the separation of desire from procreation, so that the next generation, or as much of it as we can affect, shall not be begotten in ignorance and heedlessness, shall not be by-products of blind desire and thoughtless passion, and shall not be unwanted children in an unsympathetic world; but that they shall be born well and graciously, as acts of will, out of a deliberate and honorable desire for parentage."

The differences among the advocates of Birth Control on all other questions are extraordinary. As Mr. Wells pointed out at the public meeting, the men and women who made speeches or read papers during the Fifth International Birth Control Conference included Liberals and high and crusted Tories.

They included intense individualists and thorough going Socialists. Among them were representatives of the Rational Press, leaders of the Free Thought movement, and ordained priests of protestant churches—and, he might have added, Jewish Rabbis.

"What is it," he asked, "that we have in common? We have this, that we believe in knowledge, we believe in openness, we believe in cleanness. We distrust emotional darkness, we distrust base excitements, suppression and shame-faced ways, for in these matters that we discuss here, there is a paradox. In these matters concealment is more indecent than plain knowledge. Things may be shouted from the housetop, and said from the platform with perfect decency and dignity, that become shameful when they are whispered in the ear, for rest assured, that in these matters people will have knowledge.

"The choice before us is not a choice between innocence and knowledge. It is a choice between whispering, leering, red-eared and furtive-eyed knowledge on the one hand, and candid, straightforward knowledge on the other. We stand in this movement for the open ways, for the scientific method and for light."

Press Clippings

ALFRED E. SMITH, Democratic candidate for Governor, in reply to a query from H. J. D. Colladay, of No. 259 West 92nd street, yesterday told of his accomplishments toward alleviating the crowded condition in the State hospitals for the insane. In his letter to Mr. Colladay, he said, in part:

"I had pointed out in my inaugural address that the task of providing more adequately for the mentally sick was one of the most humane duties which confronts the State.

"With this in mind I signed appropriations for institutions for the insane, feeble-minded and epileptic amounting to \$7,278,233, out of which \$4,175,900 was for new construction.

"I approved a bill for constructing a psychopathic hospital for early treatment of mild cases of insanity in New York City.

"I approved a bill increasing the wages of State Hospital employes, especially those actually engaged in the care of patients in wards, so that the hospitals could get more employes and get men and women of a better grade.

"At the end of my term the hospitals were over-crowded 18.2 per cent. Now, under Governor Miller, the over-crowding is 23.8 per cent.—*N. Y. American*, Oct. 25.

AGAIN John S. Sumner and his Comstocking organization have met a well deserved rebuke. In a comprehensive and scholarly statement on the complaint of Mr. Sumner made against the limited edition of "Satyricon" offered by Boni & Liveright, Magistrate Oberwager expressed the sound opinion

that:

"The Legislature did not intend to confer upon any individual or society general power of censorship over literary works."

This was well said.

Boni & Liveright intend to institute a counter suit for damages against Sumner and the Comstockers, but in the mean time they are under unjustifiable expense for defending an entirely lawful procedure.

When the Vice Society has so weak a case as it had against the classical "Satyricon," it should be the rule that loss of the case would mean legal fees and damages for the aggrieved publisher without need for further court action.—*Evening World*, September 29.

ROMAN CATHOLIC priests implore the Pope to relieve them from "the impossible observance of ecclesiastical celibacy" in a memorandum signed by cardinals and bishops, says the newspaper *Epoca*.

"Purity of life, the highest aim of the Church, is reached through the free working of man's nature, not by coercion and the imposition of laws against nature," says the memorandum, which describes its authors as victims struggling desperately against a martyrdom worse than death, and prays the Pope to consider relieving their cruel position.—*London Daily Mail*, July 15, 1922.

Cannon Fodder

By Cicely Hamilton

(Address to the International Birth Control Conference.)

IN THE SHORT time allotted to me I shall permit myself the impertinence of dealing with military matters—that is to say, I shall endeavor to refute what I call the “cannon fodder” argument against Birth Control and restriction.

That argument appeals to many honest and admirable persons, who believe—some regretfully—that it is necessary to produce big battalions of children that the country may be saved from its enemies. I propose this morning to point out to you that, in the changed conditions of modern scientific warfare, that argument no longer carries weight; I suggest, on the contrary, that in war as we shall know it—air warfare developed—a teeming population will be a real handicap to a belligerent nation; and that military strategy and tactics in the future will be directed less towards the destruction of armies in the field than towards the terrorizing and stampeding of large masses of disorganized civilians. I put it to you that the stampeding of London, Paris or Berlin—the flight *en masse* of the inhabitants of industrial Westphalia or the Black Country—would inflict more damage on the nation affected than an enemy in occupation. Cities and industrial districts stampeded will resolve themselves into hordes of famished nomads—men and women who are dangerous as well as useless because deprived of their means of livelihood. If sufficiently panic-stricken when they take to flight, they will avoid railways and roads—which are likely to be targets from the air—and not only devour the countryside, but trample it beneath their feet—in a day or two a vagrant and millionfold starvation—grown reckless. A widespread invasion by famished plunderers; more terrible, far, than invasion by an army that is fed and disciplined.

A very little consideration should convince you that I do not speak without warrant; there is nothing new in the idea of using the non-combatant as a weapon against his own side. It was the root-idea of blockade and submarine warfare, and, long before the World War, inspired the strategy of Labor. A strike on a large scale is usually an effort to inflict so much hardship upon the non-combatant—the consumer of coal or the user of railways—that he insists, in self-defense, on concessions to the striking party; while the whole idea of a general strike must inevitably fall to the ground unless there is a large non-combatant population who will suffer acutely from the lack of their daily necessities. What we have to point out to advocates of the cannon-fodder policy is this: in the type of warfare in which the civilian—the non-combatant—is used as an auxiliary destructive force, the larger the population the more efficient the weapon of destruction.

If you are under the impression that orthodox military leadership will decline to follow the example of Labor in using the civilian as a weapon, I can only refer you to the report of Air-Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard on the British

Independent Air Force. Having read it, I suggest that you try to visualize the results of such a plan of campaign as is there outlined—the daily and nightly bombing of industrial centres, with the avowed object of making them impossible for industry. That plan of campaign, sufficiently intensified, means starvation on the run—nomadic anarchy.

It is not necessary to be an expert in military matters to realize that starvation on the run is the military objective of the future; that the aim and object of the “scientific” soldier of the future will be to produce nomadic anarchy and break an enemy Government by burdening it with useless mouths. Neither is it necessary to be an expert to realize that the thickly populated country where masses of men can be stampeded at once will be at a real disadvantage compared to the country whose population is less vulnerable, because more scattered. The advantage, in war as we shall know it, will lie with that people which is not hampered with overflowing millions; which, living comparatively scattered, can reduce an enemy to famine and anarchy by the agency of panic-stricken hordes.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Cox, Harold, *Economist*, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, ex-Member of Parliament, Expert on Indian affairs.

East, E. M. Biologist, special field, Genetics. Professor, Harvard University. Author of papers and monographs on physiological chemistry, plant physiology and plant genetics.

Hamilton, Cicely, English playwright, actor and public speaker. Prominent in English feminist movements.

Hardy, G., well known French novelist and writer.

Leslie, Noel, playwright, actor and author.

MacBride, E. W., Professor of Zoology, Imperial Coll. of Science, South Kensington, prominent in Eugenics movement.

Millard, Dr. C. Killick, Medical Officer of Health for Borough of Leicester, England.

Wells, H. G., well known English novelist and historian.

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Book Reviews

MARGARET SANGER'S PIVOT OF CIVILIZATION

Reviewed by Professor E. M. East

This book is a distinct surprise, a delightful surprise. It is even-tempered and analytical; it shows a background of detailed knowledge which instead of unbalancing the picture, brings out both breadth and perspective; and it has style, a vivacious style shifting from the boldly didactic to the subtly persuasive, yet always clear and to the point. One does not expect to find all these qualities in doctrinal preachments which indict social custom, at least after the first score of samples. The odds are in favor of uncovering emotional appeals to prejudice, which, no matter how well written, serve usually to arouse the passions of those who are already of the same mind rather than to win the wavering.

But Mrs. Sanger, despite her original approach to the subject of Birth Control through personal contact in the hospital and in the home with the distressing effects of enforced maternity, has never been deluded into abandoning herself to the feverish ardour of the moment, though at times the temptation must have been strong. Her zeal and enthusiasm have carried her through trying times at the cost of much personal discomfort, but she has always remained impressively rational in her point of view. And what is more, she is able to carry this sane, judicious, intellectual quality to the printed page without overlooking any justifiable appeal to the inmost sympathies of the readers.

When one closes the covers of the volume, it is with the feeling that it justifies its title. Man's physical evolution up to a certain point may have required a slavish competition for numbers. No one knows. Twentieth century civilization makes no such demands. Man has become the captain of his soul. His future lies in his own hands. If he is to develop, he must use his powers to their fullest extent; if he does not, he is doomed to a fall which never threatened his predecessors. The world has become a little neighborhood house where even the whispers are public property. No unknown aliens can arise out of the mist to smite him down. No new garden spots remain to be discovered and exploited when he has made the old unlivable. He is chained to what he has, and the time approaches speedily when his possessions become small. Certainly no more than a century of grace remains until population pressure will no longer be a local matter, or a national matter; it will be world-wide—if Nature takes her course. Is it then strange that Mrs. Sanger should maintain that a sane solution of the population problem is the pivot upon which civilization moves either to higher things or to decay? And has man a better solution of this problem than to change the Love instinct from a wild ungoverned inheritance from a simian past, which heeds not a mother's strength and offers her sons no comfort but an unending ferocity of struggle for mere existence, and to transform it into a means of giving every human soul an opportunity to rise to what heights it may?

The truth is, our race has been bound by chains which it has allowed to be forged by its primal instincts, Love and Hunger; and these chains become more grievous as the years go by, so grievous that many are only heartened by belief in a better life to come. But the twentieth century has come to realize that hope for a Heaven above forms no excuse for the sin of being accessories in the production of a Hell on earth below. And the twentieth century has found the means of lightening these chains. It remains to use them. As the author says so forcibly: "Not by denying the central and basic biological facts of our nature, not by subscribing to the glittering but false values of any philosophy or program of escape, not by wild Utopian dreams of the brotherhood of man, not by any sanctimonious debauch of sentimentality or religiosity, may we accomplish the first feeble step toward liberation. On the contrary, only by firmly planting our feet on the solid ground of scientific fact may we ever stand erect—may we even rise from the servile stooping posture of the slave, borne down by the weight of age-old oppression."

Mr. Wells, in his thoughtful introduction, says these essays have lifted the subject of Birth Control "from out the warm atmosphere of troubled domesticity in which it has hitherto been discussed, to its proper level of a predominantly important human affair." To the reviewer, the point seems well taken. The author modestly disclaims an objective approach to her subject, appearing to regard conclusions formed by personal observation and experience as a subjective—or feminine—mode of approach. Fortunately, this is not true. The subjective argument, the black beast of science, is an argument from an ideal which exists only in the mind, as opposed to the objective which is supported by what really exists in nature. Mrs. Sanger is wholly objective, and being so, has made her book a real contribution. There is not a plethora of facts tumbling over each other, to the great perplexity of the reader; but there are sufficient concrete illustrations to enforce the argument.

The sickness of society is diagnosed with medical precision, and the remedy supplied. Other specifics are then considered, and their weaknesses pointed out. Perhaps the best chapter is where the pale pink pills of Marxianism are given a thorough chemical analysis. Such euthenical patent medicines come in for a just exposure. And eugenical measures do not escape. Of course Birth Control itself is a eugenical measure, as the author realizes; but she cannot conceal her contempt for the biologist who sees clearly where the facts point, and yet has the audacity to say that all will go well with society if it segregates the *feeble-minded* and preaches birth release to the *high-minded*, because he is so frozen with Victorian prudery that he cannot bring himself to use the words "Birth Control" much less to recommend it. As pointed out here without mincing matters, diminishing the reproductivity of the parasites of society will not even eliminate them in the future. They will continue to appear from most respectable quarters. And "cradle competition" with them by those of social worth is not only impracticable, but leaves the problem of population where it was before.

An Appreciation by Harold Cox

I was asked to write a review of Mrs. Sanger's "Pivot of Civilization." Unfortunately other engagements rendered it impossible for me to do this by the date required. But I hope that the managing editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW may still be able to find room for what I will not call a review, but an appreciation, of the latest and unquestionably the best of those excellent little books in which Margaret Sanger has helped to make known to the world the importance of Birth Control.

Her new book would deserve appreciation if only for its courageous title. Boldly she claims that Birth Control is the pivot of civilization. And she is right. For until the production of children becomes universally a matter of conscious volition, instead of a matter of chance, the human race will have no adequate control over its own development. This is the keynote of her book. Again and again in striking phrase she insists on the fact that hunger is not the only driving force in primitive human nature. Sex is also a force from which human beings cannot escape, and little progress can be made towards the true civilization of the world as long as we attempt to ignore the existence and power of that force.

In this book Margaret Sanger discusses the position taken by the various groups of people who for one reason or another imagine the power of sex can safely be ignored. She refers to the "idealists and reformers who think that by the ballot society may be led to an earthly paradise." She deals faithfully with the Marxian socialists, who flatter the labourer with the comforting doctrine "that all the fault is with someone else, that he is the victim of circumstances, and not even a partner in the creation of his own and his children's misery." She

criticises the eugenists who, instead of frankly demanding that steps shall be taken to check the fertility of the mentally and physically defective urge that the better educated and better equipped classes should imitate this fertility, in the apparent hope that the race can be saved from decline by "a cradle competition between these two classes." She also replies effectively to the Catholics who profess to believe that "children troop down from heaven," and to the sentimentalists who talk as if all the ills of the world would be cured by extended systems of public and private charity.

The book is full of good phrases which emphasize sound arguments. For example: "Today we are living in a world which is like a forest of trees too thickly planted"—hence the fierceness of the struggle for existence. Again in dealing with the problem of child labor she happily says: "Cheap childhood is the inevitable result of chance parenthood."

Specially valuable are Mrs. Sanger's criticisms of the attitude of the socialists to the problem of Birth Control. She points out that the Marxians attack Birth Control because by relieving the sufferings of the poor it would diminish their desire to wage war against private capital. The socialists are in effect adopting exactly the same attitude as the German imperialists, who demanded that the women of Germany should produce sons to fill the German armies. In summing up her criticism of Marx, she says:

"In rejecting the Marxian hypothesis as superficial and fragmentary, we do so not because of its so-called revolutionary character, its threat to the existing order of things, but rather because of its superficial, emotional and religious character and its deleterious effect upon the life of reason. Like other schemes advanced by the alarmed and the indignant, it relies too much upon moral fervor and enthusiasm. To build any social program upon the shifting sands of sentiment and feeling, of indignation or enthusiasm, is a dangerous and foolish task."

This wholesome warning against the danger of attempting to rely upon sentimental solutions of hard practical problems, equally applies to the teachings of the charitably-minded, who directly they see any evil begin to clamour that something must be done, without pausing to think whether that something may not do more harm than good. As Mrs. Sanger will say: "The warm heart needs the balance of the cool head." Her criticisms of the charitable sentimentalist and of the mischief which he is capable of doing cannot be too strongly emphasized. "There is," she writes, "a point at which philanthropy may become positively dysgenic, when charity is converted into injustice to the self-supporting citizen, into positive injury to the future of the race. Such a point, it seems obvious, is reached when the incurably defective are permitted to procreate and thus increase their numbers." In particular the maternity centres often do much mischief by encouraging women to bring into the world children whom they have no adequate means to provide for. "The poor woman is taught how to have her seventh child, when what she wants to know is how to avoid bringing into the world her eighth."

I cannot better conclude this brief appreciation of an admirable little book than by referring to the emphasis which Mrs. Sanger rightly lays on the social and human value of Birth Control. To quote her words:

"Birth Control is no negative philosophy concerned solely with the number of children brought into this world. It is not merely a question of population. Primarily it is the instrument of liberation and of human development."

This is an absolutely sound doctrine on which the advocates of Birth Control cannot too strongly insist. Even if there were limitless space on the surface of the earth for an unlimited population, Birth Control would still be needed to liberate women from the terrors of compulsory maternity, and to ensure that children shall be brought into the world through the conscious desire of their parents and not as the result of mere chance.

A French Estimate

Paris, 3 Novembre, 1922.

Chère et grande amie

Je suis, avec l'admiration enthousiaste de ceux qui savent l'importance de la question, vos merveilleux efforts. Et c'est avec la plus vive attention et la plus vive joie que j'ai lu votre nouveau livre. Je souhaite vivement qu'il ait dans les pays de langue anglaise tout le succès qu'il mérite. Il contribuerait à modifier par le monde les idées éculées sur la natalité, il amènerait une mentalité nouvelle capable de régénérer notre si malheureuse humanité.

Merci pour votre bonne dédicace.

Croyez à mes sentiments bien cordiaux de sympathie et d'admiration.
G. Hardy.

(Dear and great friend, I follow, with the enthusiastic admiration of those who know the importance of the question, your marvellous efforts. And it is with the most lively attention and the most vivid joy that I have read your new book. I wish vehemently that it may have in English-speaking countries all the success that it merits. It would contribute to modify among people the narrow ideas on birth, it would bring about a new mentality capable of regenerating our so unhappy humanity. Thanks for your kind inscription. Believe in my very cordial sentiments of sympathy and admiration.—G. Hardy.)

PERIODICALS

It is a curious fact that *The World Tomorrow*, in its November number omits all mention of the influence of over-population as a cause of war. The issue is devoted to the "Search for Peace." The failure of socialism, the churches, philosophy and economics to prevent war are noted, and influences on the side of peace are commented upon by various writers. But the impossibility of preserving peace when populations outstrip means of subsistence, is not noted, and the work for peace that is being done by the advocates of Birth Control is given no place among the efforts for a peaceful reorganization of the world.

The North American Review, (New York) for October, contains a notable article on "The Forgotten Woman," by John Corbin. In it he defends the educated woman from the charge of race suicide, or at any rate shows that the race suicide is not of her own choosing, but is thrust upon her. "Those who still have a child or two," he writes, "do so, not as an act of happy normal functioning, but as a deed of rare personal heroism. And confronted by a vanishing birth-rate among the well-born and well-bred, we scold our women because they do not do their duty by the future." Mr. Corbin finds the reasons for the difficulties under which our most desirable potential parents labor to be partly economic, partly political. Our system of taxation weighs most heavily on this class. "The more they do for their children," he states, "in short, the greater their service to the State, the more severely they are penalized." Birth Control for the well-to-do, not balanced by Birth Control for the poor and those who are a charge upon the State, is resulting in rapid deterioration of the race. The remedy lies in the immediate application of Birth Control where it is most urgently needed.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From the Macmillan Company, New York. *THE THEORY OF ETHICS*, by Arthur Kenyon Rogers, and

ACUTE CASES IN MORAL MEDICINE, by Edward F. Burke, M.A., Ph.D.

From Health and Life Publications, Chicago. *SEX CONDUCT IN MARRIAGE*, by Bernard Bernard.

From the Crucible Publishing Co., Seattle, Wash. *DIANA, OR THE SECRET OF A HAPPY MARRIED LIFE*, by Henry M. Parkhurst. New edition.

From Longmans, Green and Co., New York. *OUTSPOKEN ESSAYS* (Second Series), by Dean Inge.

THE PIVOT OF CIVILIZATION

By Margaret Sanger



WHAT THE PRESS IS SAYING:

"To read 'The Pivot of Civilization' is to bring the blush of shame to every sane-minded woman's face, shame because she has not given her help to Margaret Sanger in her noble crusade against the injustice done her own sex. Almost alone, Mrs. Sanger has fought the evil of enforced motherhood. But unjust opposition and cruel persecution have only strengthened her in her purpose and now she has gathered around her many of the greatest minds of the day . . . This is not a long book considering the enormous subject it so ably deals with; the style of writing is vivid, the facts horrifying—were it not that Mrs. Sanger has a solution of the problem."—MAUD DAVIS WALKER in *The New York Call*.

"She sees in voluntary motherhood the only way in which a better civilization can be started, and to the reader she gives most vividly her reasons for this belief."—*Bookman*.

"Mrs. Sanger's book is a clear and impressive statement of the case for Birth Control."—*N. Y. Herald*.

"Mrs. Sanger does not reveal herself as a professional feminist carried away by the emotional thrill of reform, but as a practical seer, unhampered by any sentimental glamour."—NALBRO BARTLY in *Philadelphia Ledger*.

"'The Pivot of Civilization' is an intelligent, courageous expression uttered with the breadth of the modern

spirit and on the plane of a rational understanding of the complexity of social problems."—HARRY L. LURIE in *Detroit Free Press*.

"Steel-cold in its assembly and analysis of the facts accenting the discords in modern life, yet white-hot in its conviction that a new answer must be had for our social riddle, Mrs. Sanger's book is perhaps the most important, because the most challenging of the year.

"Mrs. Sanger is wholly convincing as to the urgent need of Birth Control, especially as to its greater promise than the program of the eugenists for the improvement of the race. . . . To whatever extent one agrees or disagrees, this is one of the books that should be read."—*Coast Artillery Journal*.

"A stimulating, moving, and genuinely valuable study of Birth Control viewed from the standpoint of its effect upon the race at large and upon the current confusion. Mrs. Sanger has done much and is doing much to make it clear that life can be better if women are more free and children are less cheap than they now are."—*N. Y. Nation*.

"Mrs. Sanger's book deserves a wide reading because it sets forth sanely and dispassionately a cause that has been much misunderstood, much of the misunderstanding being due to intentional misrepresentation."—*Boston Herald*.

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WORLD ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 245)

I COME BACK FROM my eight months' trip around the world more convinced than ever that the people of the world are ready and eager for the practice of Birth Control. The officials of all Governments seem blind to its importance. The leaders of the churches are opposed to Birth Control. But the masses are looking to it for deliverance. Birth Control is not merely a problem of the individual woman. It is not merely a national problem. As John Maynard Keynes stated at the time of our London Conference, the problem of population is going to become in the near future the greatest of all political questions. Already the very mention of Birth Control arouses some of the deepest instincts and emotions. Feelings are running, as Mr. Keynes suggested, as passionately as in the earlier struggles between religions. We stand today at one of the great transition points in human history. If civilization is to survive, men and women must wrest control from the blind instinct of Nature, and they must develop the intelligence and the wisdom to direct the energies of life into the realms of the spirit.

"This is a problem that requires every ounce of courage and constancy of which we are capable. Our enemies are not sleeping. They are aggressive, bold, insulting. We look to you to have the courage to back us up. Above all, have the courage of your convictions. It is the duty of every one of us not merely to give a passive assent to this new vision, this new morality, but to do everything in our power to extend and strengthen the growing current of public opinion in favor of Birth Control for the individual, for the nation and for the world. We are fighting for the women and children of the present generation. We are fighting for the children, the women and the men of the next generation. We want a world freer, happier, cleaner. We want a race of thoroughbreds. Do not be discouraged. Remember that no great movement in history ever attained its maturity in one generation. Remember that it took two hundred and eighty years for Christianity to be accepted in the Roman Empire. Remember that one hundred and fifteen years elapsed after the discovery of the New World before the first English colony was planted here. No one who saw the beginning of these great historical movements could grasp their full import. Nor shall we, who are advocating the cause of Birth Control, ever witness its culmination. But it is good to remember that the first step towards international peace has been taken; for the idea of Birth Control has already triumphantly girdled the globe.

WHYS AND WHEREFORES

(Continued from page 250)

patients in need of medical care. After all, the practice of medicine only thrives on conditions brought about by ignorance, on the cure of disease which proper Birth Control will largely eradicate.

Perhaps this is, unconsciously, the chief reason for the amused, indifferent and even callous attitude of so many doctors toward fearful motherhood. They need not fear the loss of their own livelihood. Perfection is not attained in a day, nor in a century; but the time has come for them to face the truth, to look into the heart, to get at the root, of a problem whose solution will lift a load of misery from a weary world.

IS LIFE A LOTTERY? Life is often referred to as a gamble, and usually in terms of regret. The wise man eliminates the possibilities of chance and accident by means of insurance. He insures not only his worldly goods but his life—life being a supreme importance. Birth, the beginning of life, demands equal consideration with life itself. Should we not insure our children not merely a bearable existence, but as happy a life as a well-governed earth can afford? Should we not agitate, organize and legislate—through those officers whom we ourselves *elect*—until we are assured that the least fortunate and intelligent of these our brethren has, with us, the knowledge and power to give to his offspring the true benefits of a healthful and happy mortal span?

Here are we indeed our brothers' keepers if we by withholding such knowledge are, perhaps not consciously but yet deliberately, storing up misery for generations that are to come.

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