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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume One

FEBRUARY 1917

Number One

SHALL WE BREAK THIS LAW?

By MARGARET SANGER

Fifteen cents a copy

One dollar a year



104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*
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ELIZABETH STUYVESANT, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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Note.—We ask our friends to help us make this Directory as complete as possible.—Ed.

IN LATER ISSUES:

- Attorney J. J. Goldstein's Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Section 1142 of the Penal Code.*
- The Allison Case in Boston.*
- Trials and Tribulations. A history of the various birth control prosecutions.*
- A Municipal Birth Control Clinic in New York. By Dr. Morris H. Kahn, the man who conducted it.*

To the Men and Women of the United States:

Birth control is the most vital issue before the country to-day. The people are waking to the fact that there is no need for them to bring their children into the world haphazard, but that clean and harmless means are known whereby children may come when they are desired, and not as helpless victims of blind chance.

Conscious of this fact, heretofore concealed from them by the forces of oppression, the men and women of America are demanding that this vitally needed knowledge be no longer withheld from them, that the doors to health, happiness and liberty be thrown open and they be allowed to mould their lives, not at the arbitrary command of church or state, but as their conscience and judgment may dictate.

But those to whose advantage it is that the people breed abundantly, well entrenched in our social and political order, are not going to surrender easily to the popular will. Already they are organizing their resistance and preparing their mighty engines of repression to stop the march of progress while it is yet time. The spirit of the Inquisition is abroad in the land. Its gaunt hand may even now be seen reaching out its sinewy fingers over bench and bar, making pawns of clergy and medical profession alike.

The struggle will be bitter. It may be long. All the methods known to tyranny will be used to force the people back into the darkness from which they are striving to emerge.

The time has come when those who would cast off the bondage of involuntary parenthood must have a voice, one that shall speak their protest and enforce their demands. Too long they have been silent on this most vital of all questions in human existence. The time has come for an organ devoted to the fight for birth control in America.

This Review comes into being, therefore, not as our creation, but as the herald of a new freedom. It comes into being to render articulate the aspiration of humanity toward conscious and voluntary motherhood.

It is not our property. It is yours. No one connected with it will receive any compensation for his services. It is not a money-making venture, but the forerunner of a new era, an era when men and women shall have thrown off the yoke of medieval superstition and be free!

If you welcome this Review, if you believe that it will aid you in your fight, make it yours. Its future is in your hands. It will succeed and grow strong only as you believe in it and help to develop it.

Men and women of America, write into the pages of this magazine your vision of what birth control will bring to the human race. Raise your voice, strong, clear, fearless, unconditionally pledged to the protection of womanhood, uncompromisingly opposed to those who, to serve their selfish ends, would keep her in ignorance and exploit her finest instincts.

**MARGARET SANGER
FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM
ELIZABETH STUYVESANT**

SHALL WE BREAK THIS LAW?

Margaret Sanger

"All our liberties are due to those who, when their conscience has compelled them, have broken the law of the land."—Dr. Clifford.

If some disease were found to be undermining the health and destroying the vitality of the women of the United States, I think it is safe to say that the manhood of the whole country would rise up and strive to abolish the plague.

And yet the men of this land are to-day shielding and fostering just such a disease—a disease which sends mothers to an early grave, condemns wives to ill-health and invalidism, causes children to be born feeble in mind and body and crushes strong men under the weight of a burden they never asked to carry; a disease which eats into the very vitals of family life, tearing husband and wife asunder, crowding the divorce courts, depriving children of a mother's care and robbing maternity of its keenest joys; a disease which brings in its wake poverty, unemployment, child labor, prostitution, war; a disease sprung from ignorance of the means of preventing conception, an ignorance enforced by a law so vicious, so arrogant, so inhuman that thousands of earnest men and women are to-day asking themselves: "Shall we obey this law?"

No law is too sacred to break! Throughout all the ages, the beacon lights of human progress have been lit by the law-breaker. Moses, the deliverer, was a law-breaker. Christ, the carpenter, was a law-breaker and his early followers practiced their religion in defiance of the law of their time. Joan of Arc was a law-breaker. So, too, were George Washington and the heroes of the American Revolution and, in more recent times, John Brown of Ossawatimie, Henry D. Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker and many more whose sturdy refusal to respect an inhuman law helped to emancipate a race and set free the chattel slaves of the Old South.

The law to-day is absolute and inexorable—it has even set itself above Justice, whose instrument it was intended to be.

In earliest times, there was no elaborate code of law; there was but a simple idea of justice. As the race moved forward, its conception of justice kept pace with the changing standards and customs of the times.

As society became more complex, a caste arose whose duty it was to administer justice. In the course of time,

however, the law grew up out of their decisions and accumulated a stolid mass of outworn tradition, until to-day legality has become so encumbered with lifeless relics of the past that the courts no longer express living social standards and the ideal of Justice, but merely the dead weight of legal precedents and obsolete decisions, hoary with age.

The whole function of Justice has become petrified and encrusted with the barnacles of antiquated tradition. The people's will has been diverted into blind channels leading always further and further away from the fundamental principle that *the will of the people is the supreme law*.

Civilization is dynamic; our judicial system is static. The race has progressed, but the law has remained stationary—a senseless stumbling-block in the pathway of humanity, a self-perpetuating institution, dead to the vital needs of the people.

Humanity and justice have been displaced by a legal despotism, the chief concern of which is the protection of established interests.

Woman has always been the chief sufferer under this merciless machinery of the statutory law. Humbly she has borne the weight of man-made laws, surrendering to their tyranny even her right over her own body. For centuries she has been the helpless victim of excessive child-bearing. Meekly she has submitted to undesired motherhood.

Incoherently she has spoken in the past. Her protests have been in vain. Her supplications have fallen on the deaf ear of the administrator of law. Her petitions have lain unheeded under the cold eye of the legislator, caught in the network and quagmire of politics.

Against the State, against the Church, against the silence of the medical profession, against the whole machinery of dead institutions of the past, the woman of to-day arises.

She no longer pleads. She no longer implores. She no longer petitions. She is here to assert herself, to take back those rights which were formerly hers and hers alone.

If she must break the law to establish her right to voluntary motherhood, *then the law shall be broken*.

DE PROFUNDIS!

_____, Texas.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger:

I read about you in the paper. I am a poor man's wife. We have nothing but our little children. We have had six children and we are not able to feed and clothe them. I am in very poor health, and I think it is a sin for me to have to raise any more children. You have a pamphlet on birth control. Can you let me have one?

We are very poor and money is scarce with us, but I am sure you have some little idea how the poor has to live.

Please let me hear from you.

From a sister.

Mrs. A. J. _____.

Dr. Frederick A. Blossom,
New York Birth Control League.

Dear Doctor:—

Will you tell me where we can get information on birth control?

I married young, had what I thought was a good job, could give my dear little wife most of the necessaries of life and some of the so-called luxuries. But soon the little ones came and for each it seemed that, instead of my wages increasing, they had gone down, and, with a few bad investments, all our savings for that rainy day were swept away.

For the last two years my wife has been nearer the River than I like to think, caused, I think, mostly by lack of nourishment—our last little one born dead. O God, how long, how long?

Much of this could have been avoided had we had the money to put up to the doctors for the information that the poorest man and woman should know, even more so than anyone else, for the reason that, the poorer the parents, the more reason there should be no babies. But it is the other way round.

Hoping you will answer my question,

Very truly yours,

M. M. _____.

Oklahoma.

_____, Ohio.

Dear Friend:—

My husband has been sick for three years, and I have to go out working to make a living for the children. I have four children. I think that is enough to support and besides have a sickly husband to work for. Please tell me how not to have any more children.

Faithfully your friend,

Anna _____.

R. F. D. 2.

_____, Indiana.

Dear Madam:—

There is a woman in this town who has six children and is expecting another. Directly after the birth of a child, she goes insane, a raving maniac, and they send her to the insane asylum. While she is gone, her home and children are cared for by neighbors. After about six months, they discharge her and she comes home and is in a family way again in a few months. Still the doctors will do nothing for her.

She is a well educated woman and says if she would not have any more children, she is sure she could be entirely free from these insane spells.

If you will send me one of your pamphlets, "Family Limitation," I will give it to her and several others equally deserving.

Hoping you will see fit to grant my request, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) R. M. _____.

What One Woman Is Doing

St. Louis, December 5, 1916.

"Birth control work is being done here, although we have no league or other official agency as yet. In connection with my work as pre-natal instructor in an obstetrical clinic, I am giving instruction in birth control daily to those who have been my patients in the past or who are sent to me by social workers or physicians.

"I usually try to find out something about the physician to determine whether he is setting a trap, as I am the only one here who has undertaken to do this work and I do not want to be arrested for two reasons: first, because there would be no one to carry on the work and, second, because this is such a conservative community that any publicity of that sort would kill my hopes for gradually extending the work. We are at present working quietly for the repeal of the law, so that I hope we shall in the near future be able to carry on the work on a larger scale.

"Although I am, of course, working under great difficulties, I find it tremendously worth while. When I see a woman only 28 years old, mother of 8 children, the youngest barely six months old, and again in the fourth month of pregnancy, I say to myself that, after this mother is delivered of the ninth baby, I will help her not to have a tenth.

"Should a judge be so heartless as to send me to prison for that, I shall accept my lot as one who knows that he has done his duty."

No one has ever given me a good reason why we should obey unjust laws. But the reason why we should resist them is obvious. Our resistance proves our manhood and our womanhood. The dignity of human nature compels us to resist what we believe wrong and a stumbling block to our fellowmen.—Helen Keller.

BIRTH CONTROL IN RELATION TO MORALITY

Havelock Ellis

Birth control can seem to be in opposition to morality only when we confuse the eternal principles of morality with their temporary applications, which are always becoming modified in adaptation to changing circumstances.

We are often in danger of doing injustice to the morality of the past, and it is important, even in order to understand the morality of the present, that we should be able to put ourselves in the place of those for whom birth control was immoral. To speak of birth control as having been immoral in the past is, indeed, to underestimate the case; it was not only immoral, it was unnatural, it was even irreligious, it was almost criminal.

We must remember that, throughout the Christian world, the divine command "Increase and multiply" has seemed to echo down the ages from the beginning. It was the authoritative command of a tribal God who was, according to the scriptural narrative, addressing a world inhabited by eight people. From such a point of view, a world's population of several thousand persons would have seemed inconceivably vast, though to-day, by even the most austere advocate of birth limitation, it would be allowed with a smile.

But the old religious command has become a tradition which has survived amid conditions totally unlike those under which it arose. In comparatively modern times, it has been re-enforced from unexpected quarters, on the one hand by all the forces that are opposed to democracy and, on the other, by all the forces of would-be patriotic militarism, both alike clamoring for plentiful and cheap men.

Even science, under primitive conditions, was opposed to birth control. Creation was regarded as a direct process in which man's will had no part, and knowledge of Nature was still too imperfect for the recognition of the fact that the whole course of the world's natural history has been an erection of barriers against wholesale and indiscriminate reproduction.

Thus it came about that under the old dispensation, which is now for ever passing away, to have as many children as possible and to have them as often as possible—provided certain ritual prescriptions were fulfilled—seemed to be a religious, moral, natural, scientific and patriotic duty.

To-day the conditions have altogether altered and even our own feelings have altered.

We no longer feel with the ancient Hebrew, who has bequeathed his ideals, though not his practices to Christendom, that to have as many wives and concubines and as large a family as possible is both natural and virtuous, as well as profitable. We realize, moreover, that the divine commands, so far as we recognize any such commands, are not external to us, but are manifested in our

own deliberate reason and will. We know that to primitive men, who lacked foresight and lived mainly in the present, only that divine command could be recognizable which sanctified the impulse of the moment, while to us, who live largely in the future, and have learned foresight, the divine command involves restraint on the impulse of the moment.

We no longer believe that we are divinely ordered to be reckless or that God commands us to have children who, as we ourselves know, are fatally condemned to disease or premature death. Providence, which was once regarded as the attribute of God, we regard as the attribute of men; providence, prudence, self-restraint, these are to us the characteristics of moral men, and those persons who lack these characteristics are condemned by our social order to be reckoned among the dregs of mankind. It is a social order which in the sphere of procreation could not be reached or maintained except by the systematic control of offspring.

We may realize the difference between the morality of to-day and the morality of the past when we come to details.

We may consider, for instance, the question of the chastity of women. According to the ideas of the old morality, which placed the whole question of procreation under the authority (after God) of men, women were in subjection to men, and had no right to freedom, no right to responsibility, no right to knowledge, for, it was believed, if entrusted with any of these, they would abuse them at once. That view prevails even to-day in some civilized countries. Middle-class Italian parents, for instance, will not allow their daughter to be conducted by a man even to Mass, for they believe that as soon as she is out of their sight she will be unchaste. That is their morality.

Our morality to-day, however, is inspired by different ideas and aims at a different practice. We are by no means disposed to rate highly the morality of a girl who is chaste only so long as she is under her parents' eyes; for us, indeed, that is much more like immorality than morality. We are to-day vigorously pursuing a totally different line of action. We wish women to be reasonably free, we wish them to be trained in the sense of responsibility for their own actions, we wish them to possess knowledge, more especially in that sphere of sex once theoretically closed to them, which we now recognize as peculiarly their own domain.

Nowadays, moreover, we are sufficiently well acquainted with human nature to know, not only that at best the "chastity" merely due to compulsion or to ignorance is a poor thing, but that at worst it is really the most degraded and injurious form of unchastity. For there are many ways of avoiding pregnancy beside the

use of contraceptives, and such ways can often only be called vicious, destructive to purity and harmful to health.

Our ideal woman to-day is not she who is deprived of freedom and knowledge in the cloister, even though only the cloister of her home, but the woman who, being instructed from early life in the facts of sexual physiology and sexual hygiene, is also trained in the exercise of freedom and self-responsibility and able to choose and follow the path which seems to her right.

That is the only kind of morality which seems to us worth while. And, in any case, we have now grown wise enough to know that no degree of compulsion and no depth of ignorance will suffice to make a girl good if she doesn't want to be good. So that, even as a matter of policy, it is better to put her in a position to know what is good and to act in accordance with that knowledge.

The relation of birth control to morality is, however, by no means a question which concerns women alone. It equally concerns men.

Here we have to recognize, not only that the exercise of control over procreation enables a man to form a union of faithful devotion with the woman of his choice at an earlier age than would otherwise be possible, but it further enables him, throughout the whole of married life, to continue such relationships under circumstances which might otherwise render them injurious or else undesirable to his wife.

All humanity, all civilization call upon us to take up our stand on this vital question of birth control. In so doing, we shall each of us be contributing, however humbly, to

"One far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

—*Physical Culture*, November 1915.*

If government knew how, I should like to see it check, not multiply, the population.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Arnold Bennett on Birth Control

The arguments against the use of contraceptives no longer count. In the polemics of the last few years they have been damaged beyond hope of repair. They cannot possibly survive. On the other hand, the arguments in favor of the use of contraceptives grow daily in force and persuasiveness.

The proof of these two statements is plain in the ever increasing vogue of contraceptives among all classes, but chiefly among the classes which are best educated and which, in moral sense and in the sense of the responsibilities of citizenship, are, to put it with moderation, certainly not behind the rest of the community.—Introduction to *Fecundity Versus Civilization*, by Adelyne More.

* By kind permission of the publishers.

CHANT OF MOTHERS

James Waldo Fawcett

We have waited too long for men to make us free:
We have waited through useless centuries
For Love, for Right, for Truth, to loose our bonds,
For Night to drift away before the Day,
For Dawn to show a free, wide path,
Soft for the tender feet of those sweet little souls
That grow beneath the beating of our hearts,
Sheltered and kept by our pain-given tears,
And calmed to rest by our own mother-song.

Oh, you, who were sons and fathers,
Where have you met our love
With grateful heart devotion,
With sense for pain and loss?

Now through the land runs the glad cry
Of womanhood intent on being free,
Of motherhood intent on being true.

And womankind shall not be crushed
Into the sorry dust again
By children not the flower of love,
By little lives for poverty to make
Sad game of and destroy at last
In the ruthless swirl of Fate.

We have waited too long for men to make us free!
Now, light up the torch of Truth,
And let its beacon flame sing
Through the whole wide world,
Speaking of Reason free of chains!

We have waited too long for men to make us free!

The Rehabilitation of Sex

With the regeneration of our social ideas, the whole conception of sex as a thing covert and to be ashamed of, marketable and unclean, will have to be regenerated.

That inestimable freedom and pride which is the basis of all true manhood and womanhood will have to enter into this most intimate relation to preserve it frank and pure—pure from the damnable commercialism which buys and sells all things and from the religious hypocrisy which covers and conceals; and a healthy delight in the cultivation of the body and all its natural functions, and a determination to keep them pure and beautiful, open and sane and free, will have to become a recognized part of life.—Edward Carpenter.

THE BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC CASES

J. J. Goldstein, Attorney for the Defendants

It will be the purpose of this article to set forth in simple language the successive legal phases of the cases against Margaret H. Sanger, Ethel Byrne and Fania Mindell.

There are four distinct cases:

1. Ethel Byrne is charged with violating Section 1142 of the Penal Code, designed to prevent the dissemination of information on "birth control."

2. Ethel Byrne and Fania Mindell are charged with violating the same section, not only in that they acted in concert to disseminate information relative to the prevention of conception, but that, in addition, Fania Mindell sold for twenty-five cents a supposedly indecent book by Margaret H. Sanger entitled "What Every Girl Should Know."

3. Margaret H. Sanger is charged with having conducted a clinic at 46 Amboy Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., for the dissemination of information to prevent conception in violation of the above-mentioned section of the Penal Code.

4. Margaret H. Sanger, having reopened her clinic, was arrested on the charge of "maintaining a public nuisance" in violation of Section 1530 of the Penal Code.

The hearings on cases 1, 2 and 3 were held before Magistrate Steers on October 30th, November 3rd and 6th, 1916, on which last date the magistrate held the defendants for trial in the Court of Special Sessions, fixing bail at five hundred dollars each.

The judges of the Court of Special Sessions, like the magistrates, are not elected, but appointed by the Mayor. By a schedule of rotation, three of them sit to decide cases without a jury.

On November 20th the defendants pleaded not guilty and the cases were set for trial for November 27th. Counsel for the defense objected to so short an adjournment on the ground that it did not afford him an opportunity to prepare the cases properly. Moreover, the defendants did not desire to have their cases tried before the judge presiding during the month of November, on account of opinions previously expressed by him in similar cases.

Counsel's objection was overruled.

In all parts of the State of New York except Greater New York, the defendant has a right to demand trial by jury for all offenses, no matter how insignificant. By constitutional amendment, this right was taken away from defendants charged with misdemeanors in Greater New York and a trial by jury is now granted in such cases only at the discretion of the Supreme Court or the County Court.

Accordingly, on November 22nd application was made to Judge Kelby to grant the defendants in cases 1, 2 and 3 a trial by jury. By order of the judge, pending his decision, these cases were adjourned to December 11th.

On December 4th Judge Kelby denied the application.

An appeal from this decision was immediately taken to the Appellate Division. The appeal was heard on December 8th and on the 11th the court dismissed it. In the meantime, pending this decision, the cases had been adjourned to December 27th.

As a further effort to take the cases from the Court of Special Sessions to a higher court, the defendants were surrendered on December 22nd and a writ of habeas corpus, returnable before Judge Aspinall of the Supreme Court, was sued out on the ground that Section 1142 was unconstitutional and that they were therefore being unlawfully detained.

Judge Aspinall dismissed the writ.

An appeal was taken from this order to the Appellate Division, consisting of five judges of the Supreme Court selected by the Governor to hear appeals. On December 29th counsel for the defense argued before this court that the trial in Special Sessions be postponed until the appeal from Judge Aspinall's decision had been heard and decided by them.

On January 2nd the Appellate Division denied this motion.

When the cases came on for trial in Special Sessions, January 4th, counsel for the defendants urged that an adjournment be granted, in accordance with the custom, pending the decision of an appeal to a higher court.

This request was denied and the cases marked ready for trial for that day.

Ethel Byrne's case was reached that afternoon and continued on January 8th. At its close, counsel for the defense was allowed only fifteen minutes to present his argument on the unconstitutionality of Section 1142. He offered to submit a brief, so that the judges might consider the question at their leisure. The presiding justice replied that, in view of the attitude assumed in the past by the Court of Special Sessions in convicting defendants for violations of said section, the court was bound to hold that section constitutional regardless of argument.

The defendant was thereupon found guilty and, on January 22nd she was sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse. A writ of habeas corpus, as a means of suspending sentence pending appeal, was refused by Supreme Court Justice Callaghan and defendant spent the night in jail.

Cases 2 and 3 have been set for trial on January 29th.

Although Section 1142 has been on the statute books since 1887, its constitutionality has never been challenged in the courts. Mrs. Sanger intends to carry these cases up to the Supreme Court of the United States on this issue.

In case 4 a jury trial was granted by Judge Hylan and on January 24th an indictment was returned by the Grand Jury.

On the subject of birth control, the American government has contributed nothing save senseless legislation and still more senseless enforcement. The American nation might as well understand that prison never solved any biological question.—*The New Republic*.

NOTICE.—As we go to press, word comes that Mrs. Byrne has declared a "hunger strike" and will neither eat, drink nor work while she is in prison. Commissioner Burdette G. Lewis has announced that she will be allowed to write only one letter a month and may see no one but her attorney—this, after 140 years of republican government and a generation of "prison reform"!—Ed.



In our next issue:

The Brownsville

Birth Control

Clinic

by *ELIZABETH STUYVESANT,*

social worker in the clinic,

with illustrations—like this one—

by William Sanger.

SECTION 1142 OF THE PENAL CODE OF NEW YORK

Shall eight thousand women in New York State die from abortion every year because of this LAW?

Shall thousands of little children be left motherless because of this LAW?

Shall the millions of women in this state bow their heads to the yoke of slavery imposed by this LAW?

Shall we sit quietly by with folded hands and wait—wait for our gentlemen LAW-makers to consider our right to voluntary motherhood?

Shall we not instead violate so brutal a LAW and thereby teach our LAW-makers that, if they wish women to obey their man-made LAWS, they must make such LAWS as women can respect?

MARGARET SANGER

WHAT THE BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUES ARE DOING

Note.—It is planned to make this department a permanent feature of the Review. Correspondence from the different centers of activity will be welcome.

Boston—“The prosecution—one of our speakers once unintentionally said persecution, and the meeting applauded—of Van Kleeck Allison last July for printing a theoretical discussion of family limitation by Dr. W. J. Robinson and for giving birth control information to a detective disguised as a laboring man, brought the Birth Control League of Massachusetts into being with a rush. The succeeding phases of the Allison case* have materially helped the league to become the flourishing organization it is to-day.

“Headquarters were opened at 36 Bromfield Street and an energetic campaign was launched in Allison’s defense. The league now numbers over two hundred paid-up members, including many university professors, social workers, physicians and nurses and others prominent in the community.

“A number of public meetings have been held, including an ovation to Mrs. Sanger at the Majestic Theatre, two mass meetings in Faneuil Hall and a public debate between Dr. William H. Ruddick, a prominent Catholic physician, and Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, which packed Ford Hall to the doors and did much to advance our cause. The league feels indebted to Mrs. Sanger, Dr. Blossom, Theodore Schroeder, secretary of the Free Speech League of America, Professor Ellen Hayes of Wellesley College, J. Prentice Murphy of the Boston Children’s Aid Society and others who have given of their best at our call of need.

“The movement will be extended gradually throughout the State. Initial meetings have already been held at Springfield and Malden, where Mrs. Grace Anthony MacMichael, cousin of Susan B. Anthony, is actively at work.

“The following officers were chosen at our first annual meeting: President, Mrs. Oakes Ames; vice-presidents, Prescott F. Hall, Mrs. Cerise C. Jack, Dr. Mabel A. Southard; treasurer, Stuart Chase; assistant treasurer, Humphrey A. Styles; secretary, J. Chester Crandell.”

Cleveland—After two crowded Sanger meetings on Easter Sunday, one in the Unitarian Church and the other at radical headquarters downtown, followed by two months of preliminary organization work, the Birth Control League of Ohio was formed on June 23, 1916, at a gathering of three or four hundred interested persons. Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, manager of the Cleveland Associated Charities, was elected president, officers and committees were chosen and the following statement of objects adopted:

First—The modification of existing laws in such a manner as to allow physicians, nurses and other competent persons to give information concerning methods of preventing conception.

Second—The extension, under proper auspices, of the practice of family limitation as a means of reducing poverty, immorality, crime, physical and mental defectiveness and other human ills.

* The Allison case has been retried and the original sentence of three years reduced to sixty days. It is being appealed to a higher court and will be fought to a finish. The full story will be told in later issues of the Review.—Ed.

A vigorous campaign was at once undertaken which put birth control “on the map” and soon made it the liveliest issue in town. The official endorsement of the Cleveland Congress of Mothers was secured, as well as the support of other influential organizations.

A weekly luncheon at a downtown restaurant during the summer doubled in attendance until it reached 150 and larger quarters had to be secured. A study class in the philosophy of birth control, meeting every Tuesday afternoon under the leadership of Mrs. Ed. O. Peets, now has two hundred members. A men’s group meets regularly at the home of Mr. A. W. Newman, to consider questions of policy and practical problems in the direction of the work.

The present officers of the league are: President, Professor Alfred F. Bosch of East Technical High School; vice-presidents, Dr. Thomas Adams, Rev. Dwight J. Bradley, Dr. Alice Butler, David Gibson; treasurer, H. G. Wellman; secretary, Mrs. Percy W. Cobb; assistant secretary, Miss A. G. Wasweyler.

Two regular monthly meetings, a Saturday luncheon downtown and an evening forum at the Music School Settlement, are being held during the winter, in addition to three or four public meetings a week, on the average, before various groups and organizations throughout the city.

An eight-page pamphlet, *Birth Control News*, published last summer, has reached an edition of 20,000 copies. A second number is nearly ready for publication.

In the meantime, systematic work has been done to put contraceptive information within the reach of those who need it. Fortunately, the Ohio law allows physicians to give instruction “in the regular practice of their business.” A personal canvass of the physicians of the city is being carried on to urge them to take advantage of this provision and give instruction freely. This is now being done regularly in one large hospital and in several public dispensaries.

A state-wide campaign is being worked out for the coming summer. A beginning was made in Painesville at a meeting on October 25th, when a committee was named to form a local organization. A similar movement will be started in Cincinnati in connection with President Bosch’s talk before the City Club of that city on February 3rd. Ravenna, where the movement already has many friends, will be tackled in the near future.

New York—At a meeting held December 18, 1916, The Birth Control League of New York was organized for the following objects:

1. To support Margaret Sanger in her legal fight for birth control.
2. To secure such amendment to the State and Federal Laws as will allow physicians and registered nurses to give scientific instruction in birth control.
3. To advocate and encourage birth control as a means of safeguarding the health of mothers and children and promoting the social welfare.

The officers chosen were: President, Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, managing editor of *The Birth Control Review*; vice-presidents, Rev. Sidney E. Goldstein, head of the social service department of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise's Free Synagogue, and Helen Todd, a national figure in the woman suffrage movement; treasurer, Dr. Morris H. Kahn of Mount Sinai Hospital; secretary, M. Louise Hunt; chairman of finance committee, Mrs. Augusta P. Hope.

Headquarters were opened at 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and an aggressive campaign in city and state was decided upon.

The first move in this campaign was the appointment of the MARGARET SANGER DEFENSE COMMITTEE, which has gone vigorously to work to raise the \$5,000.00 needed to carry the four Sanger clinic cases to the highest courts. It is organizing for this purpose a mass meeting to be held at Carnegie Hall, January 29th, and has issued an appeal to all friends of the movement to contribute to the Margaret Sanger Defense Fund.

The league is securing thousands of signatures to the following petition:

To the Governor and Legislature of the State of New York:

Whereas birth control would safeguard the health of mothers and children, check the growing evil of abortion, lessen divorce, prostitution, illegitimacy and venereal disease, decrease infant mortality and child labor, protect and strengthen the home, improve the racial stock and elevate the national character, therefore

We call upon you to enact such legislation as will allow physicians and registered nurses to give scientific instruction in birth control to the men and women of this State, as is allowed in every civilized country except the United States.

Pittsburgh—Following a series of nine meetings in this city addressed by Dr. Frederick A. Blossom in December, a strong nucleus was formed to organize The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania. Professor Roswell H. Johnson of the University of Pittsburgh, one of the leading eugenists in the country, is chairman of the committee on organization. The secretary, Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Avenue, Edgewood, Pittsburgh, would like to hear from all those interested.

Portland—Organized in May, 1915, the Birth Control League of Portland, Oregon, has been active in stimulating an intelligent discussion of the population question as a great factor in all economic, social and moral problems. Public opinion may not yet wholly endorse the position of the League regarding the repeal of laws against dissemination of birth control information, but there are thousands of persons in Oregon who uphold its contentions and give its work moral support. Public officers are obliged to take this body of opinion into consideration and they have done so, as is evidenced by the fact that three arrests recently made for the sale of the "Family Limitation" pamphlet were indefinitely continued by Municipal Judge Langguth.

The case of Carl Rave, arrested in September on a similar charge, has been taken to the circuit court on appeal. It will probably come up for hearing next month or in January. This is a test case, the first of the kind taken into a court of record in this State.

Many thousand pieces of propaganda matter have been distributed in Oregon and nearby States by the League, setting forth the grounds for advocating the repeal of laws which treat birth control information as obscene literature. The League has helped to bring the whole subject into the light of day, as its importance warrants, instead of having it discussed shamefacedly behind

closed doors. We have had large public meetings, addressed by some of the leading physicians and social workers of Portland, such as Dr. Marie Equi, Dr. Samuel Gellert, Dr. Mae Cardwell, C. E. S. Wood, Dr. Ella K. Dearborn, Dr. Bertha Stuart of Reed College, Charles H. Chapman, Ph.D., former president of the University of Oregon, and Miriam van Waters, Ph.D., formerly of the Boston Juvenile Court.

"Where Are My Children?" a film play purporting to deal with birth control, but really exploiting abortion, played for a week in a downtown theatre in Portland. The League objected to the method of advertising the film as a "tremendous preachment on birth control." The management allowed H. C. Uthoff, president of the local league, to speak to the audience of the theatre three times daily on the difference between contraception and abortion, outlining the position of the League. Thousands were reached in this manner who had probably never given the subject of birth control serious consideration.

The League meets in the Central Library every third Wednesday in the month. Prospects are excellent for the extension of its influence.

The address of the president, H. C. Uthoff, is 652 Elliott Avenue, and of the secretary, Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, Portland.
H. C. U.

Seattle—"There is plenty of interest in birth control here. The league receives letters almost every day from different parts of the State and various points in the United States and Canada.

"Several individuals are distributing pamphlets on 'Family Limitation' in the small towns and mining camps throughout the State.

"We expect shortly to organize a league in Tacoma and are making plans for a Pacific Coast Federation of Birth Control Leagues.

"Long life to the Review!"

The Parental Instinct

When I see to what interminable trouble and expense some men and women go in order to have children; when I see what tortures and risks, endangering her very life (I am speaking of numerous Cæsarean sections) a prospective mother will undergo in order to have a living child, I have no fear that the use of preventives will result in the dying out of the human race.

It is the height of folly to argue that, because people object to six or a dozen children, they would object to two or three.—Dr. W. J. Robinson, *The Limitation of Offspring*.

To Readers of *The Woman Rebel*:—

We are anxious to make up a complete file of *The Woman Rebel* for reference. Will any of our friends donate copies for this purpose?

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

BIRTH CONTROL

Frederick A. Blossom

What is meant by "birth control"? What is claimed for it and what are the objections raised against it?

These are questions insistently in the public mind to-day. Amid the clamor and confusion of the present struggle, a dispassionate and comprehensive answer is needed.

Summed up in a word, by "birth control" is meant the regulation of conception by harmless means, with a view to preventing the birth of undesired children. By no stretch of the wildest imagination can it be made to spell abortion or any form of infanticide; it is not "race suicide" or any of the dire things conjured up by its overheated and not always scrupulously accurate opponents.

The most palpable justification for the rational control of pregnancy is found in the protection it would afford to the health and life of both mother and offspring. To subject a woman to the exhaustion of childbearing at too frequent intervals or at times when her general condition is not favorable, and thereby condemn children to be born into the world poorly equipped for the physical struggle of life, is neither humane nor intelligent.

Unregulated childbearing means a progressive decline in the mother's health accompanied by progressive debility in her offspring.

Ample proof of this statement—if proof were needed for such a simple truth—is furnished by the investigation conducted by Dr. Alice Hamilton* into the child mortality among 1,600 families in the Hull House district, Chicago. It was found that, as the number of children increases, the death rate goes up, so that in families having eight or more children, for example, the mortality among them is two and one-half times as high as in homes where the number of children does not exceed four.

Similarly, tables compiled by the Children's Bureau at Washington in its "Johnstown Survey" bring out graphically the grim fact that the large families lauded with such vociferousness by the advocates of large armies only serve to fill the ranks in our hospitals and the rows in our graveyards.

But these figures have a deeper significance than merely as mortality tables. Where there is death in such abundance, there must necessarily be abundant sickness and suffering, not only for the child, but also for the parent. A high rate of infant mortality is indicative of a high rate of infant morbidity, with concomitant ill health and death among the mothers.

Birth control would give protection to woman's health and ensure greater vitality in her offspring.

Closely interwoven with these physiological considerations is "the economic urge to birth control." With the steadily increasing cost of practically all the necessities of

existence and the more rigid stratifying of our industrial system, the pressure of the large family is making itself keenly felt both among the working class and in our so-called learned professions. Faced with the blank wall of insufficient income, parents are finding themselves more and more under the stern necessity of keeping down the number of their children.

It is this more than anything else which, coupled with the official repression of contraceptive knowledge, is responsible for the widespread and steadily growing practice of abortion, an evil far more prevalent among the working class and the poor than among the rich, who to-day are very generally instructed in birth control and fortunately shielded, therefore, from the necessity of resorting to harmful methods of family limitation.

The blame for these "economic abortions," it cannot be too often repeated, rests, not upon the women who, unwilling to bring into the world children that cannot be properly provided for and whose arrival would cut down the already scant portion of the other members of the family, adopt the only means known to them to avert such a calamity, but upon those forces of church and state which insist that these women be kept in ignorance of how to prevent pregnancy and thereby forestall any need of abortion.

With the improvement in physical and economic conditions indicated above, will necessarily come similar progress along less material lines. Intelligent limitation of offspring will mean better care and longer schooling for the children, closer companionship with their parents, full, normal comradeship—"joyous and unafraid"—between husband and wife, a richer home life and a sounder citizenship. The advantages to society cannot be calculated.

It is needless to say that a movement of this nature, designed to protect the mother's health and shield her home and her children, appeals with peculiar force to those who are striving for woman's right to recognition as a human being, with the freedom of action and control over her own person which that implies. Voluntary motherhood is an essential part of woman's program to-day. It is the initial step in her forward progress, the foundation stone of her new liberty.

As in every struggle between the demand to know and the command to obey, the fight for birth control has enlisted also the sturdy defenders of free speech and an unhampered printing press. Because "birth control" involves the fundamental question of the untrammelled communication of knowledge, it necessarily receives the active support of every friend of liberty who stands true to his philosophy.

There are many arguments in favor of birth control but the one great underlying principle is the right of the individual to know all scientific truth and to use it in shaping his destiny as his judgment and conscience may dictate.

(*In a later issue: The Objections to Birth Control.*)

* *Bulletin of The American Academy of Medicine, May 1910.*

NEEDLESS WASTE OF LITTLE LIVES

H. G. Wells

A portion of infant and child mortality represents, no doubt, the lingering and wasteful removal from this world of beings with inherent defects, beings who for the most part ought never to have been born and need not have been born under conditions of greater foresight.

These, however, are the merest small fraction of our infant mortality. It leaves entirely untouched the fact that a vast multitude of children of untainted blood and good mental and moral possibilities, as many perhaps as one hundred in each thousand born, die yearly through lack of sufficient food, lack of sufficient good air and lack of sufficient attention.

The plain and simple truth is that they are born needlessly. There are still far too many births for our civilization to look after adequately; we are still unfit to be trusted with a rising birth rate.

These poor little souls are born amid tears and suffering; they gain such love as they may; they learn to feel and to suffer; they struggle and cry for food, for air, for the right to develop; and our civilization at present has neither the courage to kill them outright quickly, cleanly and painlessly, nor the heart and courage and ability to give them what they need.

They are overlooked and misused, they go short of food and air, they fight their pitiful little battle for life against the cruelest odds, and they are beaten. Battered, emaciated, pitiful, they are thrust out of life, borne out of our regardless world, stiff little life-soiled sacrifices to the spirit of disorder against which it is man's pre-eminent duty to battle.

There has been all the pain in their lives, there has been the radiated pain of their misery, there has been the waste of their grudging and insufficient food and all the pain and labor of their mothers, and all the world is the sadder for them, because they have lived in vain.—*"Mankind in the Making."*

Blindfolded Justice

Dr. Morris H. Kahn, as he stated publicly at a meeting of the New York County Medical Society, has given instruction in birth control to 464 women patients at one of the city dispensaries.

And yet, when he was called to testify at the first birth control clinic trial, his testimony was ruled out as being "INCOMPETENT, IRRELEVANT AND IMMATERIAL"

The Agricultural Department of the United States distributes information on the best methods for breeding domestic animals and sends those to jail who advocate the higher stirpiculture for the sake of humanity.—Theodore Schroeder.

January 20, 1917.

To Jeannette Rankin,
Member of Congress elect,
Missoula, Montana.

My dear Miss Rankin:—

For the first time in our history, the women of this country are to be represented in the deliberations of our national legislature. This is an opportunity so rare, so rich in possibilities, that the champions of woman's freedom throughout the country are eagerly watching to see how you will use your privilege.

Will you labor in behalf of little children who must work and may not play? Will you bend your efforts toward easing the lot of the women who toil? Will you focus your activities on woman's right to a direct part in government? What will you demand for us, whose sole representative you will be?

Whatever reforms you advocate, whatever measures you secure for the women of America, they will remain to a large degree futile until woman is freed from the bondage of enforced maternity.

Will not your first demand, then, be that woman's right over her own body be recognized and written into the statute books of this country?

ELIZABETH STUYVESANT

THE MENACE OF LARGE FAMILIES

Scott Nearing

The large family is a menace to-day because each additional child in a wage earner's family lowers the family standard and renders it less probable that the members of the family will elude the clutches of poverty.

In 1903 the United States Commissioner of Labor reported on 11,156 families of workingmen. In the families with one child, the average income per person was \$212.76; in the families with three children, the average was \$133.18; while, in the families with five children, the average income per person was \$94.97.

In the average workingman's family, each additional child means additional hardship. "It is well known among social workers that the birth of a child is a serious menace to the prosperity of the ordinary day laborer's family and that, in the case of the unskilled poor in a great city, the birth of a second or third child, even in prosperous times, often brings disaster to the home." (B. C. Marsh.)

The large family of the present day, among the small earners in cities, is a menace to family welfare, but the large families of 1800, if they had continued their then rate of increase, would have been an even greater menace to rational welfare.—*Social Adjustment.*

IN OUR MORNING MAIL

THE WEEKLY PRESS SERVICE

OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

Peter E. Dietz, Editor, Hot Springs, N. C.

A RESOLUTION TO SECURE THE RETENTION OF ANTI-BIRTH-CONTROL LAWS, ADOPTED BY THE WHITE CROSS NURSES, DECEMBER 13, 1916

WHEREAS, There is abroad to-day an utterly inhuman tendency to violate the natural and moral law of marriage by the use of various contraceptive devices, alleging liberalist, eugenic, economic or other specious pleas in defense of this lower than beastly perversion; and

WHEREAS, This tendency, in making public opinion, has consolidated into a nation-wide movement, under the aegis of the so-called "Birth Control League," seeking a character of respectability in the name of "race-betterment, eugenics-registry, health-aristocracy," etc.; and

WHEREAS, This unnatural and utterly anti-Christian propaganda is now forced upon the American public by the parliamentary action of the New York City Woman's Club, in demanding the repeal of anti-birth-control laws; and

WHEREAS, Similar action has been taken by woman's clubs in other cities and is likely to make still further progress, abetted in part by the medical and journalistic professions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon all Catholic women to antagonize in private life and by organized force the vicious tendencies pointed out, to *sever all connection with clubs and societies already vitiated*; and be it furthermore

RESOLVED, That we heartily express our approval of the laws prohibiting every unnatural and immoral birth-control propaganda, and ask all Catholic associations to *so inform their legislative representatives as against any attempt to repeal such laws*; and be it

RESOLVED, In conclusion, that we send copies of these resolutions to the Bishops and the Catholic press of our country and that we *boycott all journals, magazines and publishers who have become partisans to the propaganda that has called forth this set of resolutions*.

Anna Hourigan,
Gladys Bronner,
Sarah Shea,
Ruth Norris,

Public Morality Committee, White Cross Nurses.

"BETTER THAN BIRTH CONTROL"

"Natural and inevitable conditions, over which we can have no control, will assert themselves wherever population becomes too dense. This has been exemplified time after time in the history of the world where over-population has been corrected by manifestations of nature or by war, flood or pestilence. . . .

"Belgium may have been regarded as an over-populated country. Is it a coincidence that, during the past two years, the territory of Belgium has been devastated and its population scattered throughout the other countries of the world?"—*John S. Sumner, Secretary of the New York Anti-Vice Society, speaking against birth control in a debate before the Women's City Club, New York, November 17, 1916.*

Mr. Sumner has given voice to the uncritical parlor Darwinism of the "survival of the fittest" type, which is still authentic science to many people, and to the very widely held belief that nature attends to the too presumptuous races.

Ultimately, nature does attend to them. But surely the advocates of birth control are entitled to claim that what they propose is less an affront to nature than that reckless breeding which, according to Mr. Sumner himself, is always punished by the whips of flood, disease or war. Interference with these particular forms of "natural" selection has become the task of nine-tenths of the progressive and liberal people the world over.

Posing as a glib apologist for the invasion of Belgium because of one's opposition to birth control is hardly an inspiring intellectual performance. The old-fashioned religious temper which found ingenious theological uses for the wrack and pain of the world here has a curious modern parallel.—*The New Republic.*

The Enemies of Birth Control

"Foxes think large families among the rabbits highly commendable. Employers who want large supplies of cheap labor, priests who want large numbers of parishioners, military leaders who want plenty of cheap food for gunpowder, and politicians who want plenty of voters, all agree in commending large families and rapid multiplication among the poorer classes."—Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, Harvard University, President of the American Economic Association.

Woman is given to us that she may bear children. Woman is our property, we are not hers, because she produces children for us—we do not yield any to her. She is, therefore, our possession, as the fruit tree is that of the gardener.—Napoleon Bonaparte.

Notice

We are planning to publish a chronology of the birth control movement in this country and should be glad to receive items giving date and place of noteworthy events, past and current.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW.

A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY ON BIRTH CONTROL

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Note—We are preparing a complete bibliography on birth control and ask the readers of the Review to send in any memoranda they think might be helpful.—Ed.

Two books by Margaret Sanger:
"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"
and
"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"
Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.

Jailed for Birth Control, the story of the trial and imprisonment of William Sanger, edited by James Waldo Fawcett, ten cents a copy.

CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH

Park Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street

New York City

October 24, 1916.

I support the Birth Control doctrine as one more step in the direction of man's full and absolute control over the destinies of his own life.

To mould the world of nature to the fulfillment of his own spiritual purposes, is man's unique achievement. It is this which raises him from the rank of a creature to that of a creator.

*Birth Control marks one more extension of this achievement and is, therefore, a challenge to our wisdom and our courage.**

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

AWFUL PROBABILITIES

At last we have a real argument against birth control. And, to give it more weight, it comes from a learned judge, Justice J. J. McInerney, of Special Sessions.

Justice McInerney is thus quoted in the press: "Abraham Lincoln would probably never have been born if birth control had been practiced."

Probably, mark you. Not possibly or maybe, but probably. A probable Daniel, come probably to probable judgment. And if Abraham Lincoln had never been born, how we all would probably miss him and wish that he had! Just as we now probably miss all those indispensable persons who never were born, and have to struggle along without them as best we may.

Lincoln would probably never have been born! Wonder if the same probability extends to Jefferson Davis? How would we have got along without him?

Of course, there are a number of people "that never would be missed," if they probably had never been born because of the practice of birth control. Over against Washington we may probably place George III. and Benedict Arnold. Probably we should have had no Wilson to keep us out of war and then, too, we would probably have had no Hughes, either. Probably there might have been no Kaiser, no Henry Ford, no W. J. Bryan, no Jesse Pomeroy, no Becker, Rosenthal or "Dopey Benny."

The probabilities are simply infinite. Probably we might even have had no Justice McInerney to put us next to these fearsome probabilities.—*New York Call*, December 5, 1916.

* Part of a letter read at the birth control banquet at the Brevoort House, New York City, October 29, 1916, on the eve of the trial of Jessie Ashley for disseminating information on birth control.

MARGARET SANGER DEFENSE COMMITTEE
of the
BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

104 Fifth Ave., N. Y., Jan. 23, 1917.

To the People of the United States:—

For the past three years, Margaret Sanger has been carrying on her fight for birth control practically single-handed. She has had powerful forces arrayed against her but has not hesitated to put all she had into the cause, with no hope of return.

She is now carrying four law-suits, two against herself and two against her assistants, Ethel Byrne and Fania Mindell, for conducting a birth control clinic—to demonstrate the practical value of the clinic idea and test the constitutionality of the law.

These cases should be fought through to the highest courts, so that the legal questions involved may be settled.

Margaret Sanger cannot do this alone—she should not be asked to—it is our fight as much as hers—we must do our part.

Five thousand dollars will be needed for the legal expense of this fight. This sum can be raised quickly if everybody will do his share. What will YOU give?

Give as liberally as you can and, above all, give quickly so that we may know what we can count on.

Let us show that the people of the United States are back of Margaret Sanger in her fight for humanity.

MARGARET SANGER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

"The cause combatted for is yours—the efforts and sacrifices made to win it ought, therefore, to be yours."—Mazzini.

THE MALE DECIDES

- Anita C. Block

The Manchester Guardian reports the case of a lino-type operator, the father of six children, who claimed exemption before the Morecambe Tribunal on the ground that he was doing more good by staying in his present occupation and looking after the proper training of his numerous family than by going off to war.

The following dialogue is reported to have taken place:

The Mayor: "Have you stopped at this number?"

The Applicant: "I hope so."

The Mayor: "It is of national importance, you know."

The Applicant: "I would make no promise of increasing the number with the idea of getting exemption."

"Conditional exemption," concludes the report, "was granted."

Conditional on what? Conditional, of course, on his increasing the number of his children. To read of this procedure in an English court makes one wonder whether such a person exists as the mother, or whether there is at home a mere breeding machine of which the mayor and the husband dispose at their pleasure.

The men in power want children, more children, to take the place of those they have slaughtered; the husband knows he can win safety from war's dangers by supplying them, and woman is regarded by both as nothing but their needful tool. What a picture! And what an argument for woman's mastery over her own body, so that the male, neither individually nor collectively, can traffic in her any more.—*New York Call.*

January 1, 1917.

I am very glad to have my name used as one who believes in the educational campaign which Margaret Sanger is making.

SCOTT NEARING

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

[It is our plan to publish from time to time manifestoes, letters, public statements and other documents which have played a part in the birth control movement in this country. We shall be glad to receive any such papers for publication.]

The following letter was addressed by Margaret Sanger to the gentleman then presiding over the court before which she was to be tried, her efforts to secure a jury trial having been effectively blocked by the District Attorney.

The next afternoon, Judge McInerney was reported in the press to have "made application to the District Attorney to be taken off this case."

An Open Letter to Judge J. J. McInerney

November 26, 1916.

Sir:—

As a man, as a citizen of a democracy, as an American pledged to the principles and spirit on which this republic was founded, as a judge obligated by oath to fair and impartial judgment, do you in your deepest conscience consider yourself qualified to try my case?

In those birth control cases at which you have presided, you have shown to all thinking men and women an unflinching prejudice and exposed a mind steeped in the bigotry and intolerance of the Inquisition.

To come before you implies conviction.

Now, in all fairness, do you want a case of this character brought forcibly before you when the defendant feels and believes that you are prejudiced against her?

MARGARET SANGER

Obey the law? That is not so clear, for the law is often naught else but the will of those who impose it. The name of the law does not sanction despotism and all men have the right to resist oppressive laws.—Saint-Just.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume One

MARCH 1917

Number Two

THE BROWNSVILLE BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC

HUNGER-STRIKING AGAINST AN UNJUST LAW

Fifteen cents a copy

One dollar a year

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

MARGARET SANGER, *Editor*

FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM, *Managing Editor*

ELIZABETH STUYVESANT, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- HOLLAND (1886).—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 Española de Regeneración humana. Secretary, Señor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza 177, Präl. 1a, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salud y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascoux, Echevin, Courcelles. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*, 27 rue de la Duée, Paris XX.
- 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. *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasileira de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua de Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua 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 Berggren Vanadisvägen 15, Stockholm Va.
- FLEMISH BELGIUM (1912).—National Verbond ter Regeling van het Kindertal. President, M. L. van Brussel, Rue de Canal, 70, Louvain.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

.....1917

ELIZABETH STUYVESANT, *Treasurer*,
The Birth Control Review,
104 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Enclosed find one dollar (\$1.00) for one year's subscription to THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, to begin with the issue of

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Please write clearly
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BIRTH CONTROL CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES

- Ann Arbor, Michigan. Miss Sallie Clarkson, Tappan Road.
- Boston, Mass. *The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*, 687 Boylston Street. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president. J. Chester Crandell, secretary.
- Cleveland, Ohio. *The Birth Control League of Ohio*. Professor Alfred F. Bosch, 1611 East 73rd Street, president.
- Denver, Col. Mrs. May Courtney Wey, 1633 Court Place.
- Detroit, Mich. Dr. Anna Karlin, 161 Canfield Avenue.
- Los Angeles, Cal. Lillian J. Haley, 826½ Kensington Road. Georgia Kotsch, 933 Everett Street.
- Minneapolis, Minn. *The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- New York. *The Birth Control League of New York*, 104 Fifth Avenue. Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, president. M. Louise Hunt, secretary.
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 280 West 97th Street, chairman.
The Mothers' Birth Control League of Brownsville, 46 Amboy Street, Brooklyn.
The National Birth Control League, 280 Madison Avenue. Mrs. Augusta Cary, secretary.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, 9 East 81st Street, chairman.
- Painesville, Ohio. George E. Allen, 125 South State Street.
- Patterson, N. J. William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Street.
- Pittsburgh, Pa. *The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, secretary, 117 Linden Avenue, Edgewood, Pittsburgh.
- Portland, Ore. *The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Uthoff, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, secretary.
- Rochester, N. Y. A. I. Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue.
- St. Louis, Mo. Clara Taylor, 5063 Page Avenue.
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- San Francisco, Cal. *The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Mrs. L. H. Montgomery, 1263 E. 37th Street, E. Oakland Hts., president. Caroline Nelson, organizer.
- Seattle, Wash. *The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Rimer, 19 West Thomas Street, secretary.
- Spokane, Wash. Mrs. Lillian Fassett, 2127 Pacific Avenue.
- Summit, N. J. Rev. Franklin C. Doan.
- Trenton, N. J. Dr. Lewis Augustus Young, 28 South Broad Street, secretary.
- Washington, D. C. *The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia*. Mrs. Anna Wexler, The Hudson, 14th and S. Streets, N. W., president.

NOTE.—We ask our friends to help us make this Directory as complete as possible.—Ed.

EDITORIAL NOTICE

Because of lack of space, we have been obliged to omit the department entitled *What the Birth Control Leagues Are Doing*. We expect to print in next month's issue a full report of the movement in the various centers of activity, with special notice of the legislative campaigns in Massachusetts, Minnesota and California and the strong movement launched in Los Angeles and by the Woman's Club of Chicago.



"Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."



"I am not at all unhappy. Loving thoughts seem pouring in to me and protect me from other thoughts."—Extract from prison letter from Margaret Sanger, February 9, 1917.

GROWTH OF THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT IN THE U. S.

Frederick A. Blossom

Exactly three years ago, a lone woman, filled with a vision of the new era which is dawning for her sex, set forth with the courage of a Joan of Arc to combat the enemy. In a fearless publication, *The Woman Rebel*, repeatedly suppressed by the postal authorities, she sounded a clarion call to the women of America to arise and assert their right to the dignity of independence.

From the beginning Margaret Sanger realized the fundamental importance of what she very early entitled "birth control." She saw clearly that economic independence, civic and industrial justice, equality of the sexes in the eyes of the law and the church would be of little avail without freedom from "the slavery of involuntary motherhood."

Here and there an occasional male champion, from Ezra Heywood and Moses Harman to Jacobi and Robinson in our own time, had raised his voice in ineffectual protest against the enforced ignorance of American women. It remained for a trained nurse, herself one of the working class, to announce in the first article of the first number of her publication, with that unswerving directness which has always been a marked characteristic of Margaret Sanger's methods: "It will be the aim of *The Woman Rebel* to advocate the prevention of conception and to impart such knowledge in the columns of this paper."

Seven of the nine issues of *The Woman Rebel* were suppressed by the enlightened paternalism of our post office department but the birth control idea, like John Brown's soul, has gone "marching on" until to-day, with the sole exception of the temporary war flurry, it is unquestionably the most universally discussed topic throughout the length and breadth of this land. After centuries of officially fostered ignorance, the women of America know at least that unwelcome motherhood is unnecessary.

Under the inspiration of Margaret Sanger's leadership, "birth control leagues" have been organized in a score of cities and states to work for more humane and modern legislation on this topic. Five such organizations exist in New York City alone. Two bills have already been introduced at Albany and two more are in course of preparation. A Pacific Coast Federation of Birth Control Leagues is projected and an eastern federation will undoubtedly be consummated in connection with the annual charities convention to be held in Pittsburgh this spring. A national organization will be the next logical step.

A steadily increasing number of articles on birth control in both popular and scientific publications, the most noteworthy of the recent ones being those of Professor Warner Fite in the *International Journal of Ethics*, Dr. S. A. Knopf in the *Survey* and Professor Robert J. Sprague in the *Journal of Heredity*, attest the growing importance of the family limitation idea.

Even that model of cautiousness, the city editor, so careful not to point the way but merely to indicate the trend of public opinion, is feeling the new breath and, like a well-

greased weathervane, changing his position to suit the prevailing current. Newspapers which a few months ago could scarcely find courage to print the dreadful words "birth control" tucked away in the center of a news paragraph, are to-day bravely setting them in cold type in their headlines.*

Birth control meetings are becoming the order of the day and so thoroughly respectable that "first citizens" now occasionally venture to be seen in attendance. City clubs, women's societies, public forums are opening their platforms to the discussion of the limitation of offspring. Sermons favoring the new gospel have been preached in several churches and synagogues. The Woman's Club of Chicago is considering the establishing of a clinic in order to test the law by "direct action." The corresponding organization in more conservative New York, after two months of travail, has created a special birth control committee.

Although adhering in the main to its traditional role of blindfolded enforcer of existing law, the bench is showing sporadic symptoms of an awakening to the changing public opinion on birth control. It is no longer an unusual occurrence for a more enlightened judge to suspend sentence or acquit a violator of the present outgrown statutes. Occasionally a Wadhams of New York, a Phillips of Cleveland or a Stelk of Chicago actually endorses the criticism of those statutes. The action of a Des Moines judge who judicially advised a couple to secure and eat of the forbidden fruit is as yet rare and only too likely to remain so.

A surprising feature of the present status of the movement is the failure of the social worker and the physician to give organized support to a cause the deep and vital social meaning of which cannot fail to strike them at every turn in their daily work.

Individual instances of vision and courage, however, offset the backwardness of their professional organizations in taking the stand indicated by a sense of justice and an intelligent, far-seeing interest in the welfare of humanity. Settlement workers, Jewish social workers, district nurses and occasional representatives of "organized charity" are giving public endorsement to this youngest but most vigorous of "social reforms," which has from the start received recognition amounting almost to support from the *Survey*, official organ of the social worker in America.

That birth control is not a medical problem has been unintentionally made very clear by the action of the medical profession itself. The untiring efforts of such men as Jacobi, Robinson, Knopf, Wile and Goldwater and of practically the entire body of women physicians can only partly offset the effect of the three-to-one hostile vote of the New York County Medical Society in convincing the public that this important social problem cannot safely be left in the hands of their profession.

* They recently stained—just once—the lily-white page of that watchful guardian of the morals of New England, the *Boston Evening Transcript*.

It is clear that the birth control movement is entering upon a new phase. The period of agitation, necessary in order to arouse the public mind, is gradually giving way to a period of constructive work. The original aims of the movement and the demands of its leaders are changing insensibly as the movement develops. The first unconditional demand for the abrogation of all laws on this subject is being supplanted by more deliberately considered plans for making accessible to all who desire it the most reliable scientific instruction in the prevention of conception.

Margaret Sanger's daring experiment of a public birth control clinic in open defiance of the law, coupled with Holland's thorough demonstration of the clinic idea, has shown the country the practical solution of the birth control problem.

It must be evident even to the most blindly partisan members of the opposition that the birth control movement in this country cannot be checked. At best it can only be retarded at this point or that. The ultimate triumph of the principle of rational limitation of offspring is as certain as anything within human reach. It is as immediate as the civil enfranchisement of our women and will come hand-in-hand with that forward step.

When Margaret Sanger leaves her prison on March 6th, unlike the Joan of old, martyred by the same mercilessly reactionary forces of church and state, she will not go to the stake but will come forth a free woman, spiritually, intellectually and physically stronger to resume her leadership. She will find the band of comrades not disorganized or disheartened, but increased in numbers, confirmed in faith and immeasurably strengthened in their devotion to her as their leader in the fight to free humanity from the bondage of ignorance and superstition.—*Published simultaneously in the New York Call.*

THE NEED FOR FREE DISCUSSION OF BIRTH CONTROL METHODS

A. L. Goldwater, M.D.

There is one phase of the subject of birth control that appeals, if not exclusively, at any rate with the greatest force to the medical profession. We are frequently asked by other medical men: "Tell me the very best and safest method of contraception, one that is positively certain and at the same time free from danger to health, besides being acceptable from an aesthetic standpoint. Are the best means chemical, mechanical or a combination of both?"

Now, while I think that it is possible in any given case to give advice that will meet the special indications and requirements of that case, the fact that so many injurious, harmful and unsafe methods and devices are not only used by the ill-informed laity, but even prescribed by experienced physicians is to my mind one of the strongest arguments that can be advanced for removing the veil of secrecy with which the law has enveloped the subject.

If there is no ideal method of birth control, then there ought to be. The eugenicist, the sociologist, the hospital and

charity worker, the penologist, the specialist in tuberculosis, epilepsy, bone deformities, heart and kidney diseases, not only has the right but it is his duty to demand: "Tell us, and at once, what we can do to prevent the multiplication of the imbecile, the epileptic, the consumptive, the host of mental, moral and physical defectives and perverts who are increasing so much more rapidly than the more normal members of the community." And the economist swells the chorus with this righteous demand: "Tell this poor man and poor woman how they can keep the size of their family within reasonable proportion to the size of their income."

But science is not able to answer at present with complete authority: "Do so and so."

Through private endowment and public appropriation, millions are spent each year to help the farmer improve the quality of his potatoes, corn and apples; to help the stock breeder raise cattle that will have better flesh and better pelts; cows that will yield more milk, horses that will have better speed or stamina; sheep that will yield more wool—all for the use of man. But if I wish to test out a certain method of contraception on a series of cases at my clinic, while other observers are testing out other methods at their clinics, and then after two or three years we wish to publish our combined results to the scientific world for further test and application, it is not only a violation of the law punishable by fine and imprisonment but, in this state, the physician is threatened with the further penalty of the revocation of his license to practice.

Is this not almost unbelievable? Just imagine the situation. In every other field of scientific endeavor and investigation, the realms of art and science co-operate with each other to add even the smallest new item to the sum of human knowledge. I have read that Edison spent five million dollars and called to his aid the botanist, the geologist, the chemist, the explorer, the worker from every technical field, before he perfected the film for his first commercial incandescent lamp. The Rockefeller, the Widener and the Brady Foundations are devoting millions of dollars to the investigation of the problems of polyomyelitis, pneumonia, psoriasis and other ailments. The astronomer, the chemist and the physicist, with the financial help of a Yerkes or a Lowell, work for years to determine the weight of Jupiter and the number of its satellites, the amount of helium in the sun, or the distance of the North Star from its nearest neighbor and the length of time it will take to travel from the furthest star to the earth.

Yet when, after weighing my patient and her three children, I find that they are continuously undernourished because the amount of her husband's income is insufficient to properly feed, house and clothe them and I wish to advise her upon the length of time that should elapse before she adds another child to her family, I am a criminal.

Is it not inconceivable that intelligent persons should claim that such laws ought to remain on our statute books?

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—Dr. Goldwater made the motion for the appointment of a committee of the New York County Medical Society to investigate the question of birth control from the medical point of view and presented the minority report of that committee in favor of a revision in the present law.]

THE BROWNSVILLE BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC

Elizabeth Stuyvesant

With Illustrations by William Sanger

Perhaps we were conscious, intellectually, that we were launching the most important sociological experiment since the establishment of babies' dispensaries, when we opened the doors that crisp morning of October 16th to the forty-five mothers who had waited patiently for the coming of Margaret Sanger. As propagandists, too, in the first dramatic thrill of that bold step, we may have felt that we were doing something sure to arouse the attention of the American people and furnish a constructive answer to the question of "birth control." But as four very human women, at the entrance of those forty-five earnest mothers, the big, absorbing thing for us was their impelling human appeal.



For weeks we had watched the plans for the clinic take shape, Mrs. Sanger having come home from her study of the birth control clinics in Holland determined to demonstrate to America the social value of this way of getting clean, reliable instruction to those who need it most.

Her sister, Mrs. Ethel Byrne, also a trained nurse, had declared her readiness to share in the work and in the legal responsibility.

Miss Fania Mindell, interpreter in three languages and one of the leaders in Chicago's earliest interest in birth control, had waited eagerly for this opportunity to prove her faith in the idea, as well as her attachment to Mrs. Sanger,

although knowing as well as the others what would be the legal consequences of her act.

As for me, it was hard to imagine any illegality in doing for Margaret Sanger's clinic what I had for several years done for the Associated Charities of a large city and for a chain of five day nurseries where the children of the poor were cared for while their mothers worked. It had even seemed a natural and straightforward thing to accompany Margaret Sanger while she purchased the necessary equipment for the clinic, the desks, chairs, scrubbing brushes and soap, in addition to a set of the articles necessary to demonstrate to these mothers, most of them foreign-born and all unused to medical terms, just what they should ask for at the drugstore.

The week preceding our "formal opening" at 46 Amboy St., Brownsville, Brooklyn, was spent visiting the homes in that neighborhood to spread the news. This was the only form of announcement possible, as we did not wish the police or King Comstock II to block the experiment before it had had a fair chance. The newspapers, which had announced this newest move in the fight for birth control, were eager to discover and publish the address of the clinic, but in this case we could not use that ally, so valuable in the agitation phase of any reform; we had to carry the message ourselves to the women of Brownsville.

With a small bundle of handbills and a large amount of zeal, we fared forth each morning in a house-to-house canvass of the district where the clinic was located. Every family in that great section received a "dodger" printed in English, Yiddish and Italian:

Mothers!

**Can you afford to have a large family?
Do you want any more children?
If not, why do you have them?
Do not kill, do not take life, but prevent.**

Safe, harmless information can be obtained of trained nurses at

**46 Amboy Street
Near Pitkin Ave. BROOKLYN**

Tell your friends and neighbors. All mothers welcome. A registration fee of 10 cents entitles any mother to this information.

Margaret Sanger.

Brownsville is the most thickly populated section of Brooklyn. Here the working people live. Here are the dwelling-places of the very poor, a whole city of Jewish and Italian inhabitants housed in the most assiduously investigated and frequently condemned type of tenement. Block after block, street after street, as far as one can see in every direction, there is an endless stretch of dreary walls bursting

with their excess of wretched humanity. Unkempt children swarm the alley ways and fire escapes and you seldom see a woman without her inevitable baby.

Not one of the women in that section but must have heard Margaret Sanger's clarion call: "Do not take life but PREVENT." Everywhere we were received in the friendliest spirit and with surprised expressions of gratefulness and joy. Not once were we rebuffed or our motives misunderstood. Women—and men—themselves took up the work of spreading the news throughout Brownsville, but the authorities who were scouring the city to unearth the proposed den of iniquity never secured any clue from these people.

Our landlord and his friendly wife were our most active assistants. Mr. Rabinowitz spent hours of his own time

For, by this time, our location had been discovered and widely published. People began coming from far beyond Brownsville, not only from every part of New York and Brooklyn, the East Side, Manhattan, the Bronx, Long Island, Staten Island, Coney Island, but from New Jersey and New England as well. One young carpenter came from Philadelphia to tell Margaret Sanger about an invalid wife and three children born dead.

That receiving room of ours was the liveliest social service office I have ever seen. Two jovial policemen called each morning—and discussed the weather. The postman never forgot his exclamation of wonder with each day's offering of fifty to a hundred letters and never left without his cheery: "Farewell, ladies. Hope I find you here to-morrow." Then there was the friendly chat with the daily gath-



adding touches here and there to make the two bright and spotless clinic rooms more snow-white still—"more scientific looking," as he said. His wife gave out handbills to every person who passed the door and also to the mothers who came to the Babies' Dispensary across the way, so that every woman who applied there for help in the care of her babies was told of the other help across the street. Later, when the work became so overwhelming that we could not go out for lunch or supper, we were sure to hear, as the day wore on, Mrs. Rabinowitz call downstairs: "If I bring a little tea now, will you stop the people coming?"

Stop the people coming? Nothing, not even the ghost of Anthony Comstock, could have stopped those people from coming! All day long, and far into the evening, in ever increasing numbers they came—a hundred women and a score of men on our banner day.

ering of reporters, always speculating on how much longer we'd "last." And the visits from neighbors to wish us good luck—the grocer's wife on the corner, the widow with six children who kept the lunchroom down the street, the fat old German baker with his daily donation of doughnuts and an occasional foreign-born doctor to say he hoped all would go well with us.

It seemed cruel to ask those women—their need was so obvious—even the simple facts we wanted for our records: name and address, nationality, number of children, husband's trade and earnings. But these everyday questions touched a spring that let loose a flood of experience so real, so deep, that you felt you were looking at life for the first time. So much cold truth, so many hopeless facts to show how little there was in life for these people, such heart-breaking confidences in response to a word of sympathy,

that you came, at the end of the day, to wonder how the world could go on with so much sadness in it.

To Miss Mindell and me these women told the constantly reiterated but ever varying story of low wages and high rent, of irregular employment and steadily rising prices for beans and lentils, of no work at all and a diet of black bread and black coffee. They told us of so-called homes with two rooms and only one window, with two beds for a family of seven, three cots and a soap-box for eight children, of years of heavy toil by fine, hopeful men and women with, at the end, only sickness, funerals, debts—stories of wives broken in health and husbands broken in spirit, sons sent to prison and daughters to prostitution, and always the helpless tale of children that were not wanted but came in never-ending numbers.

Newly married couples, with little but faith, hope and love to go on, told of the wee flat they had chosen, of his low wages and her still lower earnings, but of their determination to work it out together if only the children would not come too soon.

Wrecks of women came just to tell their tragedies to Margaret Sanger and urge her to save other women from the sorrow of ruined health, overworked husbands and broods of sickly, defective and wayward children growing up on the streets, filling the dispensaries and hospitals and fling through the juvenile court.

A gaunt skeleton of a woman suddenly stood up one day and made an impassioned speech to the women present: "They come with their charity when we have more children than we can feed and, when we get sick with more children or trying not to have them, they just give us more charity. I tell you, some day they will make a monument to Margaret Sanger on this spot where she came to help women like us." She had been married fifteen years, had seven living children, four dead, and had undergone twenty-eight self-induced abortions.

Women of every race and every creed flocked to the clinic with the determination not to "have more" than their health could stand or "he" could support. Jews and Christians, Catholics and Baptists made this confession to us, whatever they may have professed at home or in church. Some said they did not dare talk this over with their "men" and some came urged on by their husbands; men came themselves after work and some brought timid, embarrassed wives, dragging a string of children apologetically.

When I asked a bright little Catholic woman what she would say to the priest when he learned that she had been to the clinic, she answered indignantly: "It's none of his business. My husband has a weak heart and works only four days a week. That's twelve dollars and we can barely live on it now. We have enough children."

Her friend, sitting by, nodded a vigorous approval. "When I was married," she broke in, "the priest told us to have lots of children and we listened to him. I had fifteen. Six are living. Nine funerals in our house. I am thirty-six years old." She looked sixty.

As I walked home that night, I made a mental calculation of fifteen baptismal fees, nine funeral expenses, masses

and candles for the repose of nine little souls, the physical suffering of the mother and the emotional suffering of both parents, and I asked myself: "Was it fair?"

A socially significant group were the puzzled, groping women, misled and bewildered in a tangled jungle of popular superstitions, old wives' remedies and horse-block advice—all the ignorant sex teaching of the poor, their unguided fumbling after truth. Unconsciously they dramatized the terrible need of intelligent and scientific instruction in these matters of life—and death.

The most pitiful of all were the reluctantly expectant mothers, who had hoped here to find a way out of their dilemma. It was heart-breaking to have to send them away but there was nothing else to do. Their desperate determination to risk all, their threat of suicide haunted one at night. For them, birth control came too late.

The inflexible rule of the clinic in this respect did not, of course, prevent the fabrication of slanderous rumors, for which, however, even the searching investigation of the authorities failed to find the slightest confirmation. The records of the four clinic trials do not contain a shred of evidence or a word of testimony to bear out the malicious charge of malpractice.

The woman detective who finally brought to an end the clinic's usefulness had no trouble in learning all there was to know. Mrs. Whitehurst, a police matron, walked into the clinic one morning with a borrowed baby and an old shawl thrown over a stylish suit. Looking very well fed and comfortable, she told Miss Mindell a terrible tale of many children, many abortions and a superhumanly terrible husband. To Mrs. Byrne she told a similar story, but with accidental modifications.

Miss Mindell and Mrs. Byrne understood. All the contraceptive methods known to Mrs. Sanger were told to this representative of the law. She was shown the equipment of the clinic and even the plans for the birth control movement were explained to her.

She insisted upon purchasing part of the equipment used for demonstrating, which, notwithstanding Mr. Sumner's gratuitous insinuations to the contrary, was sold to her for just what it had cost Mrs. Sanger. Her two-dollar bill was pasted on a sheet of paper, labeled "spy money" and pinned to the wall, where the police found and seized it when they raided the clinic on October 26th.

No one else purchased anything but friendly counsel and instruction, which was "sold" for the nominal registration fee of ten cents—to such as could pay that much.

As Mrs. Whitehurst left that morning, she paused in the outer office to listen to the conversation of some women waiting their turn:

"I was the youngest of twelve. My mother died when I was born."

"I married at fifteen. We have had fourteen children. Eight are dead."

"I have never been well since my first baby came. My children are all poorly and my man he has the consumption."

I have often wondered if Mrs. Whitehurst liked her profession that day.

"HAVE WE A SON NAMED SAMUEL?"

Charles Hiram Chapman

"One of the greatest perils in America to-day is that women do not permit themselves to bear children.

"Think of the crime to the unborn generations! Think of the children who might become John Wesleys and George Washingtons. Thank God, Susannah Wesley was not that kind of a woman! They had seventeen or eighteen, maybe nineteen children. They used to call the roll, it is said, every evening.

"One evening Mrs. Wesley is said to have told her husband that their son Samuel was missing. 'Have we a son named Samuel?' he is said to have asked her. They called the roll again, and, fortunately, Samuel had appeared in the meantime and all was well. She was a woman of the right kind.

"If I were to make the best wish I could for this country I would wish that it had a million mothers like Susannah Wesley."
—*Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

Dr. S. Parkes Cadman is long on sentimentality and short on common sense. His failing, so common among preachers, is that he judges by his emotions without regard to facts. If we lived in a world where emotions governed and facts were of no account, he would make an admirable administrator and his advice would be inestimable. As matters stand, his sermon was nonsense.

He does not even seem to know what birth control, or family limitation, aims at. His remark that "more children are murdered than can be computed" shows his ignorance in all its glory. Family limitation seeks to stop this child murder, which Mrs. Sanger and the rest of us deplore as deeply as Dr. Cadman or any other preacher can. Child murder is effected principally by way of abortion. The prevention of conception when children are not desired would make abortion a useless crime. Is it possible that such men as Dr. Cadman perceive no moral difference between the prevention of conception and the murder of a living child?

Conception may be prevented by abstinence as well as by medical and mechanical devices. If we are to follow Dr. Cadman all these are equally wicked. Abstinence prevents "John Wesleys and George Washingtons" from being born even more effectually than medicine does. What a load of guilt our brethren, the Catholic priests, must bear about with them on Dr. Cadman's theory. What a sinner every man is who does not produce children as rapidly as he can, since each one might be a Wesley or a Washington!

Dr. Cadman throws the whole blame on the women, after the manner of the pulpit in all ages, but to my mind the man who does not beget babies in rapid succession is as guilty as the woman who does not bear them. I seem also to see a heavy load of sin weighing down the maiden who delays matrimony, or who does not marry at all. Think of the John Wesleys and George Washingtons every spinster of your acquaintance has kept out of existence.

I speak particularly of the John Wesleys that spinsterhood consigns to non-existence because Dr. Cadman makes so much of Mrs. Wesley's radiant fecundity. She had certainly eighteen children and Dr. Cadman inclines to believe

that she may have had nineteen. One of the brood seems to have been mislaid. The good preacher "thanks God that Susannah Wesley was not the kind of a woman" who refuses to do her full duty in the line of babies. He wishes "this country had a million mothers like Susannah Wesley." It has. There are probably several million just as thoughtless and improvident as she was. Dr. Cadman can rest in the sweet confidence that Providence has granted him this wish if it never grants another. The country is full of foolish women who continually bring into the world babies for whom there is no place and no prospect of usefulness or happiness.

I might point out to Dr. Cadman that most of Susannah's babies were of no use. Only John and Charles amounted to a hill of beans. The rest were nonentities, like all the Washington brood except George. I might also point out that, while large families are a social and economic good in pioneer times when population is thin, they become a distinct evil when population grows dense, since they are sure to exacerbate the bitterness of the struggle for existence.

What we want in families is not so much mere numbers as quality; and the quality of offspring, as every breeder knows, depends largely upon the nutrition and care they get both before and after birth. The fact that poor parents cannot properly nourish and shelter large broods of children ought to be decisive of the birth control question for minds which are accessible to reason.

If ministers like Dr. Cadman really wish to see workingmen produce seventeen and eighteen children to the family like Susannah of holy memory, let them begin by making adequate provision for their support. The good Doctor might start the ball rolling by giving half his salary to the cause.

Birds of a Feather

"My wife has borne to me fifteen children. Anything short of this would have been less than her duty and privilege."—*Elder George F. Richards of the Mormon Church.*

"A woman has the right to be the help-mate of man. That is all the right she has. That is enough."—*"Medicus," in the Medical Review of Reviews, February 1917.*

"God's command, while it did not specify the exact number of children allotted to woman, simply implied that she should exercise the sacred power of procreation to its utmost limit."—*Elder Rudger Clawson of the Mormon Church.*

"Even if the life of the mother is in danger, a physician has no moral right to destroy the child's life. I say now and with all seriousness that it is better that one million mothers die than to have one innocent little creature killed."—*Father A. J. Schulte, professor of Liturgy in the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, Pa.*

HUNGER-STRIKING AGAINST AN UNJUST LAW

E. F. Mylius

Ethel Byrne's successful hunger and thirst strike in protest against her imprisonment for spreading knowledge of birth control is a brilliant victory for woman in her long fight against laws debarring her from freedom of mind and body.

Not since the days when Mary Wollstonecraft first raised the standard of revolt against the iron despotism of convention and law has such bitter censure been cast upon an educational movement as that with which the birth control propaganda is now assailed. The young are forbidden to acquire this knowledge and the married are warned that the miseries they endure through compulsory motherhood are the just ordinances of God and Nature.

Ethel Byrne was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment in the workhouse for giving birth control instruction to poor women. Immediately she declared a hunger and thirst strike and for five days and nights neither food nor water passed her lips. Separated from her friends, surrounded by callous, cynical custodians, she never wavered—she remained true to the cause of woman, true to humanity, true to herself.

When her life was ebbing, forcible feeding was resorted to. The violence that was inflicted upon her at this time, despite her weakened condition, is a blot on the escutcheon of American chivalry and a stain on the character of those who carried out the ignoble work assigned to them by Commissioner Burdette G. Lewis.

The whole country seemed to stand still and anxiously watch this lone woman's fight against an iniquitous law and

against the authorities who were mercilessly enforcing it. The sneers of Commissioner Lewis, who scoffed at the idea of "an honest-to-goodness hunger strike," the surly brutality of the prison officials, the gibes of her attendants, all failed to shake the indomitable courage of the woman upon whose shoulders, in this supreme moment of a great reform movement, had fallen the mantle of liberty.

Finally the authorities had to acknowledge that Mrs. Byrne's spirit was unconquerable and that to inflict further torture was futile. Governor Whitman hurriedly gave the necessary order for her immediate release, conditional upon a promise to refrain from again violating the law. The promise was not given by Mrs. Byrne, who was too weak and ill to be consulted, but by her sister, Mrs. Sanger.

Mrs. Byrne, by her hunger and thirst strike, has *broken the back of the law*. In forcing the State to release her after only one-third of her sentence had expired, she has demonstrated that the will of the individual can be more powerful than outgrown legal formulae.

While hundreds of thousands of men are dying abroad in pitiless combat, here was a woman dying for love, that the world might be bettered and that knowledge and light might illumine the dark corners of the land. Her stand has rallied thousands to the ranks of the birth control movement. Legislators, lawyers and those high in office now see that women are determined, that they are not afraid to resort to extreme measures in order that mankind may be aroused to the responsibility of parenthood and lifted out of the quagmire of ignorance and superstition.

Everett, Wash., Jan. 31, 1917.

Dr. Frederick A. Blossom,

Dear Sir:—

The Women's Christian Socialist League of this city has requested me to write Mrs. Margaret Sanger to tell her of our appreciation of the good work that both she and her sister, Mrs. Byrne, are doing and to say that we admire their courage and self-sacrifice.

We believe that the time has come when all should have knowledge of birth control, no matter how humble or poor—indeed, it is all the more reason they should have enlightenment.

When birth control is fully understood, we will have a finer and more perfect race. It certainly would be a great help to overcome poverty and the present wage problem.

Thanking you in advance for forwarding this to Mrs. Sanger, I am

3521 Hoyt Ave.

Yours truly,

Mrs. J. Westberg.

"In the long run the basic social problem is that of population."—Professor Albert Benedict Wolfe.

"The poor wouldn't use birth control if they had it."

Dear Miss Todd:

February 21.

The women here in Brownsville need help very bad. Mrs. Sanger has got put away in the penitentiary for being friends with us, but she said we was to use her place while she was gone. If we can have a meeting over here in the clinic, I will put a fire in the stove and ask the women to come Saturday.

We women here want to find out what the President, the Mayor, and the Judges, and everybody is trying to do. First they put Mrs. Sanger in jail for telling us women how not to have any more children, and then they get busy for the starve of the ones we've got. First they take the meat and the egg, then the potato, the onion, and the milk, and now the lentils and the butter, and the children are living on bread and tea off the tea leaves that is kept cooking on the back of the stove.

Honest to God, we ought to call a meeting and do something about it. Yours,

Sarah Goldstein,

125 Amboy Street, Brownsville, N. Y.

NEW YORK'S TRIBUTE

It was high time. For three years Margaret Sanger had been giving unsparingly of everything she had for the liberation of the women of America. Untiringly she had traveled east, west, north and south, calling on them to throw off the shackles of ignorance and demand their right to voluntary motherhood. She had been persecuted and fêted, slandered and praised for her self-sacrificing work for humanity, until she had become one of the most famous women in America to-day.

But her own city, where she had toiled for years among the workers themselves and where her first-hand contact with the many-sided tragedy of enforced motherhood had first roused her to her daring crusade of emancipation, had never yet given appropriate voice to its admiration and approval of her work.

It came with dramatic suddenness. Within half an hour after Ethel Byrne had been declared guilty in the first of the Sanger clinic trials, plans had been made by the Birth Control League of New York for a monster mass meeting in Carnegie Hall. With the enthusiasm and devotion that only a leader such as Margaret Sanger can inspire, the small group of workers in that young organization threw themselves into the big task of preparation. In less than three weeks, the most impressive birth control meeting ever held in New York took place.

The circumstances could not have been more dramatic. Coming fresh from the court room, where the attitude of Judge Freschi, replacing the over-harassed Judge Garvin as presiding justice, had suddenly given hope that the remaining Sanger cases might possibly be tried on their merits, without fear or prejudice, Margaret Sanger stepped out on the platform, the embodiment of the faith of America in the coming liberation of her women from the age-old bondage.

It was a woman's meeting, with Helen Todd, the stately suffrage leader and vice-president of the Birth Control League of New York, as chairman, and Dr. Mary Halton as the additional speaker, while women from the Brownsville clinic filled the platform.

The rapt attention and the salvos of applause which accompanied Margaret Sanger's address equally testified to the deep impression of earnestness and courage which she made on that huge audience, which filled the boxes with New York's best known men and women and crowded the balconies with enthusiastic followers of the cause.

Every birth control league outside of New York City had taken a box in token of its loyalty to the one woman who had spread the gospel of "conscious and voluntary parenthood" from coast to coast.

It was more than New York's testimonial to Margaret Sanger. It was the nation paying its tribute to a peerless woman and a fearless leader in the eternal struggle of humanity upward and onward toward the ultimate goal of the greatest liberty and the highest development of the individual.—*F. A. B.*

CARNEGIE HALL MASS MEETING

This is a meeting of protest. Protest against what? Protest against a prosecution that has become a persecution. Persecution of whom? To our shame be it answered—a woman. And what has been her crime? Effort to free her sex from the most ancient, burdensome, and pernicious of all forms of human slavery, slavery in that which should be the freest thing under Heaven—motherhood.

This victim of legislative and judicial tyranny seeks to liberate the family, the community, the state, the nation, the world, from the curse of children that are undesired because undesirable. This is her infamy. She endeavors to reduce the vast labor and expense of human society in caring for its unfortunates by providing a means to minimize their number. And for so doing she is branded a criminal.

But what man in this audience will name a more basic, simple, sensible proposal than that of Mrs. Sanger? Is there any statesman in our Congress or in any parliament of Christendom who can suggest a better statecraft than that of the old maxim: "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure"? Our intelligent farmers control the birth of their cattle. But our statesmen are too short-sighted to allow the control of the birth of the nation's children. Could human stupidity go further?

In a country founded on the principle of self-government, the laws deny woman the governance of her own person in the most sacred and momentous of all concerns. It is a travesty on civilization. We shall never become a truly civilized people until we begin at the fountain-head of any rational society and make maternity not a degraded thing of compulsion or of chance, but the free, deliberate and joyous choice of consciously prepared womanhood.

Mrs. Sanger's voice is that of one crying in the wilderness of sensuality, selfishness and ignorance. For a time it will meet sneers, ridicule, scorn. But it already appeals to the higher intelligence of this generation and is finding willing ears among those who most need to heed its appeal. The freedom it proclaims is not less sacred than that for which our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. Mrs. Sanger's voice, like the muskets of Bunker Hill, will be heard around the world.

Whatever be the results of the coming trial, let us not be discouraged. Posterity may forget the shame of a particular conviction, but it will never forget the barbarity of a law that made such a trial possible. History will record Mrs. Sanger and her sister as martyrs to as noble a cause as ever enlisted human sacrifice. Be it ours to help create such public sentiment as will purge American statute-books of a disgrace that cries to Heaven.—*Kepler Hoyt.*

No parents who are in ignorance of methods of birth control can possibly give a child an ethical birth. The principle of ethics occurs only when there is rational choice. There can be no such choice except where there is freedom to choose and there can be no freedom to choose unless there is knowledge.—*Rev. Harvey Dee Brown.*

NEW YORK SPEAKS ITS MIND

Resolved, that we extend our greetings to the courageous band of pioneers who have blazed the way for the birth control movement in this country.

That we express to-night our especial endorsement of the educational work of Margaret Sanger during the past three years, the fruits of which are seen in the present nationwide interest in birth control.

That we voice our approval of and admiration for Margaret Sanger, Ethel Byrne, Fania Mindell and Elizabeth Stuyvesant for their courage and social vision in opening a birth control clinic in this city to demonstrate the practical value of the clinic idea and to create a legal issue on which to test the constitutionality of the law.

That we condemn as archaic and inhuman the laws which prohibit the giving of instruction in contraception, and as anti-social and unprogressive the courts and other authorities which insist upon a rigid interpretation of those laws, without regard to the radical change of public opinion on birth control.

That we unqualifiedly condemn the action of the District Attorney and the judicial officers of Kings County in denying to Mrs. Sanger her right to trial by jury and to Mrs. Byrne a stay of sentence pending appeal to a higher court, and also in refusing to hear medical and sociological testimony so that these cases might be tried on the merits of the vital human issue involved, and not on legal technicalities and formal rules of court procedure.

That we extend our deepest sympathy to that brave champion of American womanhood, Ethel Byrne, in her martyrdom for birth control, and protest vigorously against the cruel and arbitrary action of Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Correction, in denying to her friends and relatives access to her bedside.

That we declare our firm determination to do our utmost to secure such change in state and federal laws as shall put birth control knowledge within the reach of all who need it.

And finally be it resolved that we pledge to Margaret Sanger our unwavering moral and financial support in her campaign to establish the principle of voluntary motherhood in this country.—*Resolutions adopted at the Carnegie Hall mass meeting, January 29, 1917.*

Prison Reform As She Is Practised

After keeping the managing editor waiting four days for a reply to his request for a pass to visit Mrs. Sanger on urgent business, Burdette G. Lewis, head of New York's "model" prison system, sent word by his secretary that he had "already granted one pass for a visitor to Mrs. Sanger" and that he did not "feel like granting any more." Which, of course, settled the matter in accordance with the good old American standard of "justice."

Query: Suppose Mrs. Sanger had had the political connections of the famous Mrs. Dunphy of Randall's Island?

THE WOMAN REBEL

TO MARGARET SANGER

Walter Adolphe Roberts

At last a voice that knew not how to lie,
A call articulate above the throng
Of those who whispered of a secret wrong
And longed for liberty and passed it by.
The voice of one with rebel head held high,
Whose strength was not the fury of the strong,
But whose clear message was more keen than song,
A bugle to the dawn, a battle cry.

There is a new rebellion on the earth
Because of your voice militant, that broke
The silence that the puritans had made,
Because you hailed the sacredness of birth,
The dignity of love emancipate, and spoke,
A woman unto women, unafraid.

(First printed in "The Masses.")

An Admirable Meeting

Anita C. Block

The birth control meeting held at Carnegie Hall last Monday evening was indeed a triumph of women, for women, by women. Conspicuously absent were any manifestations of those qualities which the male mind asserts are characteristically woman's, such as over-emotionalism, hysteria, the obtrusion of the personal over the general, of the sentimental over the scientific. For a meeting which, under the existing crisis in the birth control movement, could easily have been made sensational, its quietness and dignity throughout were almost palpable.

Plain, unvarnished facts, facts in themselves eloquent with the terrible sufferings of women under our cruel anti-birth control laws, were what the audience needed, and what it in full measure got. Facts and truths that prudery has until now kept hidden, that have probably never before been presented so fearlessly and frankly on any public platform, were bravely stated by women for the sake of women and of the race. The importance of birth control in relation to the problems of prostitution, of abortion, of celibacy, was clearly stated. The need for bringing the sexual problems of humanity into the light of day was affirmed.

Considering the strain and stress under which she was laboring, Margaret Sanger deserves high commendation for her poise and restraint, and for the kind of address she made, admirable in its wealth of valuable information.

The meeting struck exactly the right note—that of being instructive and persuasive, rather than agitational. It was an achievement that showed clearly the rapid strides with which women are advancing.—*New York Call.*

"The artificial sterilization of matrimony was the most revolutionary discovery of the nineteenth century."—*George Bernard Shaw.*

THE SANGER CLINIC CASES

Jan. 23—Writ of habeas corpus issued by United States District Court Judge Augustus N. Hand on the ground that Mrs. Byrne had been convicted for violation of a statute that contravened the Federal Constitution. Mrs. Byrne was brought to court, the writ was dismissed and she was remanded back to the Workhouse.

Jan. 23—Notice of appeal filed with Clerk of Special Sessions and served on district attorney, appealing conviction of Ethel Byrne.

Jan. 23—Order to show cause for a certificate of reasonable doubt in case of Ethel Byrne signed by Judge Callahan, motion returnable before Judge James C. Cropsey, January 25th.

Jan. 25—Motion argued before Judge Cropsey.

Jan. 29—Case against Fania Mindell tried before Judges Freschi, O'Keefe and Hermann. The question narrowed itself down to whether the book, *What Every Girl Should Know*, was indecent.

Jan. 29—Case against Margaret H. Sanger called and trial started. Counsel argued that the indictment against Mrs. Sanger in the County Court, on a similar charge, superseded the charge in the Court of Special Sessions and asked that the case be so marked. Counsel's objection was overruled.

Jan. 29—Judge Callahan signed an order to show cause why a writ of prohibition should not issue to restrain the judges of the Court of Special Sessions from trying the case against Margaret H. Sanger.

Feb. 2—Case against Margaret H. Sanger reopened and further evidence introduced by the district attorney and both Fania Mindell and Margaret H. Sanger found guilty as charged, Judge Freschi dissenting in the Mindell case. Cases adjourned to February 5th for sentence.

Feb. 2—Ethel Byrne pardoned by Governor Whitman.

Feb. 3—No decision having yet been made by Judge Cropsey on a motion to admit Mrs. Ethel Byrne to bail and for a certificate of reasonable doubt, counsel informed the judge's secretary of the pardon and stated that it would be useless at that time for the judge to consider the matter further.

Feb. 3—Motion for writ of prohibition argued before Judge Cropsey. Decision reserved.

Feb. 5—Motion for writ of prohibition denied.

Feb. 5—Fania Mindell fined \$50.00, which fine was paid. Margaret H. Sanger offered a suspended sentence if she would promise the court never again to violate this statute. She was willing to promise pending the appeals, but not indefinitely, whereupon the court imposed a sentence of thirty days in the Workhouse.

Feb. 5—Judge Cropsey denied the motion for a certificate of reasonable doubt in the Byrne case.

Feb. 6—Margaret H. Sanger transferred from the Workhouse to the Queens County penitentiary.

Feb. 8—Notice of appeal filed in the cases of Fania Mindell and Margaret H. Sanger.

WHAT EVEN A JUDGE SHOULD KNOW

Judge Hermann of the Court of Special Sessions, Brooklyn, fined Fania Mindell fifty dollars for selling a copy of Margaret Sanger's book, *What Every Girl Should Know*. As the judge, we are told, is a bachelor, perhaps his maiden modesty prevented him from looking into the book to see just how "obscene" it is. The following typical passages will show what an indecent piece of literature Miss Mindell sold and how justified his honor was in punishing her.

"A woman does not need to be a college graduate, with a special degree in the study of botany, before she can tell her child the beautiful truth of its birth. But she does need to clear her own mind of prudishness and to understand that the procreative act is natural, clean and healthful, that all nature is beautified through it and, consequently, that it is devoid of offensiveness. If the mother can impress the child with the beauty and wonder and sacredness of the sex functions, she has taught it the first lesson."

"Every girl should first understand herself; she should know her anatomy, including sex anatomy; she should know the epochs of a normal woman's life and the unfoldment which each epoch brings; she should know the effect the emotions have on her acts and, finally, she should know the fullness and richness of life when crowned by the flower of motherhood."

"The sexual impulse is the strongest force in all living creatures. It is this that animates the struggle for existence; it is this that attracts and unites two beings, that they may reproduce their kind; it is this that inspires man to the highest and noblest thoughts; it is this also that inspires man to all endeavors and achievements, to all art and poetry; this impulse is the creative instinct which dominates all living things and without which life must die. If, then, this force, this impulse plays so strong a part in our lives, is it not necessary that we know something about it?"

O noble judge! O excellent young man!

NOTE—A few printed copies of Attorney Goldstein's brief in the case of Ethel Byrne, giving his argument on the constitutionality of the law, with excerpts from medical and sociological authorities, may be had at the office of *The Birth Control Review* for fifty cents postpaid.

Birth Control is Humane and Patriotic

I regard the movement for scientific birth control as both humane and patriotic: humane for mothers who exhaust themselves in bearing children beyond their strength, and patriotic because fewer children among the poor means better education and health for the children.

Mrs. Sanger deserves the aggressive support of those who regard the present law as the product of unscientific social theories two hundred or more years out of date, a religious bigotry which it is my business to oppose and a mawkish sentimentality which comes near to being selfish hypocrisy.

The first step toward the repeal of the law is Mrs. Sanger's brave stand.—*Rev. Charles H. Lyttle, Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

The great elementary physical side of love, so far from having about it anything animal or debasing or self-indulgent, is utterly right—a fair and noble meeting, a sacrament, the intended foundation of the spiritual unity. This ultimate surrender and intimacy is not alone necessary for the perpetuation of the race, but is one of the exalted expressions of love between husband and wife.—*Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, Marital Maladjustment.*

DUNCES, DOCTORS AND DRYSDALE

A "birth control number" of the *Critic and Guide* must sound like a painted lily to those who have followed Dr. W. J. Robinson's persistent advocacy of family limitation in the columns of his monthly periodical. It must be admitted, however, that the February issue, being entirely given over to birth control, contains somewhat more than the usual amount of matter on that particular subject.

Half the issue is devoted to an account, in Dr. Robinson's indefatigably combative style, of the now famous meeting of the New York County Medical Society, on December 26, 1916, which furnished the final proof that birth control is not a medical but a social question and that the medical profession, as so often in the past, is lacking in social vision and cannot safely be entrusted with this vital problem. The consequences, both to the profession and to the birth control cause, of the three-to-one vote against any modification in the present law, are correctly estimated by Dr. Robinson.

"It makes very little difference to the birth control movement," he says, "whether the New York County Medical Society goes on record as favoring or opposing birth control, but it is of enormous importance to the medical profession. An opinion is prevalent among a large section of the public that the medical profession is out of touch with the people as a whole and that its members are smug bourgeois who care but for their own selfish interests and have little sympathy for the physical and economic sufferings of the poor."

The ludicrously unscientific character of this so-called "scientific session" of the society does not escape Dr. Robinson's caustic pen.

"There are some arguments against birth control, but not one of them was brought forward by the opponents," he remarks. "Dr. Kosmak, who read the majority report, said that any attempt to modify the law was 'untimely.' It is 'untimely' to attempt to diminish prostitution, venereal disease, abortion, infant mortality and the misery and wretchedness, filth and horror of our slums!"

"From one point of view," Dr. Robinson concludes, "all true friends of birth control should rejoice at the defeat of the minority report. It will help to clear the atmosphere.

"Never again will physician or layman demand birth control as a eugenic or hygienic measure simply. To demand birth control in order that we may give our tuberculous, cancerous, epileptic or insane patients contraceptives is hypocrisy, because this has never been prohibited. There is no case on record where a physician was prosecuted for advising his patients to use contraceptive measures.

"The economic side is much more important than the purely pathologic. There are thousands of women who cannot, strictly speaking, be considered ill, but to whom, for several reasons, an additional child is a horrible spectre. It is to such women that we want to be able to impart contraceptive information.

"Let us frankly state that birth control is a measure of the utmost importance to humanity from every point of view—economic, social, moral, racial, hygienic and eugenic."

It is to be regretted that, in Dr. Robinson's detailed narrative of that too much heralded meeting, no mention is made of the plucky fight of Drs. Wile, Goldwater, Kahn and Tannenbaum against hopeless odds of ignorance, self-interest and religious prejudice. Had they, too, been content to play the role of ironical observer of a *comédie humaine*, the vote against birth control would have been a perfunctory matter and the *Critic and Guide* would have lacked material for an entertaining, if not highly edifying, story.

The remainder of the number, except for a few communications from New York physicians and a series of abortion tragedies by the editor, is devoted to a treatise on birth control by Dr. C. V. Drysdale, which is substantial enough to deserve separate consideration.

After Thirty-Five Years of Birth Control

All children you now see are suitably dressed; they look now as neat as formerly only the children of the village clergyman did. In the families of the laborers there is now a better personal and general hygiene, a finer moral and intellectual development. All this has become possible by limitation of the number of children in these families. It may be that now and then this preventive teaching has caused illicit intercourse but, on the whole, morality is now on a much higher level and mercenary prostitution, with its demoralizing consequences and propagation of contagious diseases, is on the decline.

The best test—and the only possible mathematical one—of our moral, physiological and financial progress is the constant increase in longevity of our population. From 1890 to 1899 it was 46.20; from 1900 to 1909 it was 51 years. Such a rise cannot be equalled in any other country except Scandinavia, where birth limitation was preached long before it was in Holland.

None of the dreadful consequences feared by the advocates of clericalism, militarism and conservatism have occurred. In spite of our low birth rate, the population in our country is rising faster than ever before, simply because it is concomitant with a greater economic improvement and better child hygiene.

One must have been a family physician for twenty-five years like myself in a large city (Rotterdam) to appreciate the blessings of conscious motherhood, resulting in the better care of children and a higher moral standard. And all these blessings are taken away from you by your government's peculiar laws, made to please the Puritans. (*Extract from letter of Dr. J. Rutgers, secretary of the Neo-Malthusian League of Holland, to Dr. S. A. Knopf.*)

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- NOTE.—The zeal of our postal department in watching over the tender morals of the nation prevents our including in the above list Margaret Sanger's pamphlet, "Family Limitation," giving the results of her investigation, in this country and abroad, of the best known methods of preventing conception.

Two books by Margaret Sanger:

"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"

and

"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"

Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.

Jailed for Birth Control, the story of the trial and imprisonment of William Sanger, edited by James Waldo Fawcett, ten cents a copy.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND FREE SPEECH

One certain Martha Sanger is traveling around the country preaching the nasty doctrine of birth control. Besides being indicted by the Federal government, she has been denied the use of theatres or halls in several cities in which she has attempted to deliver her filthy lecture. She complains that she is being deprived of her constitutional right to freedom of speech.

Many of the daily papers have taken up her defense, on the theory that it is contrary to constitutional guarantees to suppress public utterances on any subject. The specious argument is made that, when anyone has a notion they feel impelled to put before the public, such a one has a right to speak.

It is immoral to say that a bad cause has any rights and that those who advocate it have a right to do so. Evil speaking can claim no more moral right than evil acting. A lie has no rights and the liar has no right to lie.

It is a queer twist, both mental and moral, that holds the teacher of immorality or falsehood has an equal right to teach as the teacher of morals and truth. Every code of morals insists it is immoral to teach and advocate immorality and falsehood. Every code of laws punishes incitement by speech to law-breaking. The answer of American law to such freedom of speech was given after the Haymarket riot. The decision in the case of the anarchists of Chicago, who by their public utterances incited to murder, was good morals and good law.

There is no more absolute and untrammelled right to freedom of speech than there is to freedom of action.—*Truth*, "a monthly magazine for the dissemination of the truth concerning the doctrine, history and practices of the Catholic church."

Error of opinion may safely be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.—Thomas Jefferson.

Without free speech no search for truth is possible; without free speech no discovery of truth is useful; without free speech progress is checked and the nations no longer march forward toward the nobler life which the future holds for man. Better a thousandfold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—Charles Bradlaugh.

If there is anything in the universe that can't stand discussion, let it crack.—Wendell Phillips.

Showing Up Father

In a vociferous attack on birth control before the New York County Medical Society, at the famous meeting of December 26, 1916, Dr. Arthur Gibbon, in a speech studded with jests which might possibly have been in place in a bar-room or stable, boasted of being one of thirteen children and related how his father used to say to him: "I'd have had twice as many, me boy, if I hadn't been smart."

One wonders if the elder Gibbon used to make the same boast to the priest.

MORE SPIES

Mrs. Ralph D. Mitchell, club woman and charity worker, was arrested yesterday on a charge of distributing obscene literature, after officers had visited her home at 2079 East Ninetieth Street with a search warrant to get birth control literature.

Vice Squad men say they found birth control circulars in a dressing-table in Mrs. Mitchell's bedroom. The titles of the pamphlets were "The Fight for Birth Control,"* by Margaret Sanger; "Marriage and Love," by Emma Goldman, and others. The literature was taken by the police as evidence.

When the officers arrived at the Mitchell home Mrs. Mitchell was with her four children.

Mrs. Mitchell's arrest was brought about by Jeannette Lavan, in the employ of the police. She attended a meeting of birth controllers, where she was told to go to a downtown printing office to obtain birth control literature.

She says she went to this office and was directed to Mrs. Mitchell's home. In a conversation with Mrs. Mitchell, she alleges she was told to go home and the literature would be mailed to her. The literature duly arrived at her home.

The arrest of Mrs. Mitchell marks the beginning of a campaign by the vice squad against birth control propaganda in Cleveland. Vice squad men searched a printing office in the Caxton Building yesterday. No literature was found there.—*From Cleveland newspapers of February 20.*

Capital Resolutions

WHEREAS, birth-control provides a most natural and effective means for the reduction of poverty, with its disease, vice and crime, and for the production of a superior race, and

WHEREAS, the dissemination of information as to birth control methods, even by physicians, is at present penalized by law, and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Sanger, Mrs. Byrne, and Miss Mindell, of New York City, are being prosecuted and imprisoned for giving such information to some who most need it, and

WHEREAS, there has just been founded in New York City a periodical known as "The Birth Control Review," for the purpose of aiding in the legal defense of the above parties, in obtaining the revision of legislation in the interest of birth control, and in the encouragement of birth control itself, therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the Secular League of Washington, D. C., that the League approves the principle of birth control; that it favors such legislation as will authorize the giving of scientific knowledge as to birth control methods by physicians and registered nurses; that it extends its sympathies to Mrs. Sanger, Mrs. Byrne, and Miss Mindell; and that it welcomes "The Birth Control Review" as a much needed magazine, calculated to perform a most important social service.—*Feb. 11, 1917.*

*Probably a discreet city editor's way of saying "Family Limitation."

Make checks payable to Hiram Myers, Treasurer

THE BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE OF NEW YORK
104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Feb. 21, 1917

To the Friends of Birth Control—

When Margaret Sanger comes out of prison, she will have to face the second case still pending against her, while the appeals in her first case and those of her two assistants are still to be heard by the higher courts.

Margaret Sanger should not be required to carry this burden alone. She has done her part and more. *We must do ours.*

The Carnegie Hall mass meeting netted \$1000.00, which will cover the court costs and legal printing to date. About \$3500.00 more will be needed to fight these four cases through to a finish. If this money is not raised, the cases will have to be dropped and Margaret Sanger's effort to establish the unconstitutionality of the present law will fail. Her imprisonment will go for naught.

Let us raise this sum as a tribute to Margaret Sanger before she comes out of jail. Give what you can and give it quickly. Take up a subscription among your friends and send it in at once. *Every dollar will count.*

MARGARET SANGER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Race Suicide Bogey

Although the announcement has been made with monotonous regularity in recent years that each successive birth-rate was the lowest on record, it has been followed, no less monotonously, by the statement that the death-rate was also the lowest yet recorded. When we add to this the lament of the *British Medical Journal* that the prospects of the medical profession are declining, owing to the fewer births and the consequently improved health of the children, we may suspect that there is not much wrong with the world.—Dr. C. V. Drysdale, *The Small Family System.*

27 East Eighty-First Street
New York

Dear Dr. Blossom:—

Sunday

I have just read the first number of the *Birth Control Review*.

It is brilliant. It is artistic, with the restraint all real art shows. And it is convincing.

It makes me glad to work for the cause!

Sincerely,

AUGUSTA P. HOPE.

Chairman of the Finance Committee of the
Birth Control League of New York

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume One

APRIL-MAY 1917

Number Three

A
MUNICIPAL
BIRTH CONTROL
CLINIC
—
BIRTH CONTROL
AND
EUGENICS

Fifteen cents a copy

One dollar a year

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

MARGARET SANGER
FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM
ELIZABETH STUYVESANT
WALTER ROBERTS } *Editors*

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- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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, 20 Rue Pixérécourt, Paris. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*.
- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Española de Regeneración humana. Secretary, Señor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza 177, Präl. 1a, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salud y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles. Periodical, *Génération Consciente*, 27 rue de la Duée, Paris XX.
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EDITORIAL NOTICE.

On account of the delay in publishing our March issue, due to Margaret Sanger's imprisonment and the obstructive tactics of the prison officials, we decided to combine the April and May numbers of the Review. All subscriptions will be extended one month to compensate.

A MUNICIPAL BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC

Morris H. Kahn, M. D.

The following studies were undertaken with a view to determining whether there was an actual need and demand for birth control education and whether such a demand, if it existed, could be supplied with any effect by a scientifically conducted clinic.

In view of the fact that this work went on within the wheels of a municipal administration, most of it being done in the dispensaries of the Department of Health of New York City, we felt that it might be of scientific and sociological interest to publish a report and an analysis of the observations made, probably the first of their kind in this country. Section 1142 of our Penal Code was ignored in conducting this clinic.

The social and economic status of the patients was fairly uniform, about the same as those attending the other dispensary institutions in this city.

A tabulation of the results was made under the following headings: Name and nationality, age, number of years married, number of living children and their ages, number of deceased children, number of miscarriages or abortions, contraceptive methods known or practiced.

More or less complete data were secured in 464 cases.

The average number of procreative years of married life was 16.1, age 50 being considered in this study as the end of the procreative period for the 72 women who were older than that.

The average number of living children was 3.27 and of deceased children 1.2, making a total average of 4.47 children born to each family.

Of the 464 women, 176, or three-eighths, had had abortions or miscarriages, the total number of such interruptions of pregnancy being 324, or an average of 1.8 each for the women involved.

Of the 464 women, 192 knew of no contraceptive methods and therefore had used none. The remaining 272 women knew of one or more methods, more or less effectual, for the prevention of conception.

Of the 192 women who were ignorant of the use of contraceptives, practically one-half—104—had a history of abortions, with a total of 202 abortions or an average of 2 apiece.

In contrast with this, of the 272 women who knew of one or more contraceptives, only one-fourth, or 72, had undergone abortions, with a total of 122 abortions or an average of only 1.6 apiece.

A further analysis of our tables shows an interesting and striking relationship between ignorance of methods for the prevention of conception and the number of children.

Sixty-eight women had had three children each. Of these, twenty-six, or 38 per cent., were ignorant of contraceptives.

Twenty-eight women had had four children each. Of

these, fourteen, or 50 per cent., were ignorant of contraceptives.

Fifty-five women had had five children each. Of these, thirty were ignorant of contraceptives, or 54 per cent.

Thirty-two women had had six children each. Of these, twenty were ignorant of contraceptives, or 62 per cent.

Forty women had had seven children each. Of these, thirty-eight were ignorant of contraceptives, or 95 per cent.

Twenty-one women had had eight children each. Of these, twenty were ignorant of contraceptives, of 95 per cent.

Forty-four women had had nine or more children each. All were ignorant of contraceptive measures.

Arranged in tabular form, these data would appear as follows:

Number of Women	Number of Children	Number Ignorant of Contraceptives	Percentage
68	3	26	38
28	4	14	50
55	5	30	54
32	6	20	62
40	7	38	95
21	8	20	95
44	9 to 17	all	100

It is sometimes stated by opponents of birth control that contraceptive methods are known by every married person and that the fault and immorality of having a large family of unprovided-for dependents lies not in ignorance of contraceptives but rather in a lack of determination on the part of one or both parents to use preventive measures—in other words, that the failure to use contraceptives results from the inconvenience attending some methods and also from the influence of religious sentiment.

The above data, however, tend to show that ignorance of contraceptives not only is a great factor in the production of large families, but is also a great factor in increasing the number of abortions.

From the fact that two-thirds of these women knew absolutely no contraceptive methods, while the methods used by many of the others were ineffectual or positively harmful, it is apparent that there is a definite opportunity for educating these women in methods of regulating conception.

That there is need and demand for such education is voiced in unmistakable language by the multitude of poor who seek advice from all practicing physicians.

NOTE—In view of the exceptional interest of Dr. Kahn's article as almost the only example of original investigation of the birth control question by an American physician in a genuinely scientific manner and with real social feeling, we have been particularly glad to arrange for its simultaneous publication in the *New York Medical Journal*.—ED.

MOTHERS FIRST!

Charles Zueblin

Why is Birth Control being agitated in America while Europe is crying for men? The need for manhood is greater than the need for men. Too much time and energy are spent by the multitude in correcting mistakes. Popular morality consists too largely in observing prohibitions. The inherited code is: "Thou shalt not—thou shalt not—thou shalt not." *What shall we do to be saved?* However we may differ as to military preparedness, cannot we agree on three essentials of social preparedness: selected citizenship, protected childhood, voluntary motherhood?

1. **Selected citizenship.** Most of our young men are unfit for military service. The young men accepted by the National Guard prove to be not qualified for the army. Ten per cent. of the young, athletic enthusiasts who go to Plattsburg are reported to have fainted on a hot day's hike. Our men are too soft for vigorous fatherhood. How many young women are fit for motherhood?

We limit immigrants; we hold them up at the nation's portals and inquire into their pedigree, their health, their sanity; *why do we not choose our natives?* Why do we let midwives guide them into their native land? Why do we let ignorant mothers bear untimely and unwelcome children? Do we not care enough for the nation's native citizenship to fortify potential mothers with the knowledge that will guarantee welcome, healthy children at the time when the mother can give them wise and loving care?

2. **Protected childhood.** A family too large for the parents' economic and spiritual resources means the sacrifice of one child for another. It also means usually a high death-rate, with its needless waste of life and exhaustion of motherhood. Indianapolis reported recently a destitute mother and father with an infant, the sole survivor of sixteen born in nineteen years. A New York judge dismissed a woman thief, mother of six children by a tuberculosis father, and reproved the State that denied this woman the means of determining when she should have children.

Race suicide does not mean having few children; it means having few surviving children.

In Johnstown, it was found that the death-rate in families of eight children or more was two and a half times as great as in families of four children or fewer. In Holland, where the control of conception is taught under the patronage of the State,* both birth-rate and death-rate have steadily declined. The happy result has been an actual increase not only in population, but in the stature of the people.

* This statement, although widely current, is not entirely correct. The birth control clinics in Holland are maintained by the Dutch Neo-Malthusian League, numbering eight thousand members. Dr. Rutgers, secretary of the League, states that, while the government has not formally sanctioned the birth control propaganda, the laws regarding personal liberty and the freedom of the press uphold it and protect its advocates from molestation.—Ed.

In this country, the families least able to support children are the most prolific. Perhaps the well-to-do ought to have more children; but what shall the mass of the workers do? Postpone marriage? Abstain? They must marry early and have children early because their incomes decline in middle life, when the rewards of the middle-class increase.

Are the mothers of the multitude not to choose the appropriate time to have children, as the more fortunate mothers do? Is the nation to go on paying for this human wastage, at the same time that its citizenship is undermined? Can we not insure, for more of the children that come into the world, the care of a healthy, happy mother?

3. **Voluntary motherhood.** Children have too often been the by-product of men's sensualism. Women have not only been the victims of selfish, lustful men; they have given themselves freely for love when they knew the price would be too high. Many scientific methods are being employed by intelligent women to control conception. Many other methods are employed unnaturally or criminally to the destruction of womanhood and motherhood.

The methods of preventing the birth of children range from asceticism to abortion. None of these must be confused with contraception, the purpose of which is to allow women to determine when they shall be pregnant. Asceticism is the surrender of both motherhood and the sex relation. Continence is the postponement of both. Perversion is a very common consequence of continence, a menace to the woman and the race. In fact, continence may be injurious where contraception would conserve health and favor subsequent motherhood.

Some austere people believe the sex relation should be limited to procreation, but most objections to the restriction of offspring come from celibates who may be supposed to be without personal knowledge of sex.

Defying fear, superstition, tradition, is the necessity of voluntary motherhood for the protection of mothers, children and the race. Contraception commands the support of those who believe in MOTHERS FIRST!

A Degrading Implication

Those who talk about a higher plane where the number of children will be regulated by what they call self-control, but what is really unnatural asceticism—the harmful results of which the physician and social worker know only too well—are not elevating but degrading marriage by implying that there is something bestial and reprehensible about the normal expression of affection between husband and wife. We will elevate the race, not through trying to crush out the physical basis of life, but by laying stress upon its spritual meaning.—*Frederick A. Blossom.*

Motherhood will never be truly sacred until it becomes conscious and voluntary.



Drawn by Chamberlain.

BREEDING MEN FOR BATTLE

Olive Schreiner

In supplying the men for the carnage of a battlefield, women have not merely lost actually more blood, and gone through a more acute anguish and weariness, in the months of bearing and in the final agony of child-birth, than has been experienced by the men who cover it, but, in the months of rearing that follow, the women of the race go through a long, patiently endured strain which no knapsacked soldier on his longest march has ever more than equalled; while, even in the matter of death, in all civilized societies, the probability that the average woman will die in child-birth is immeasurably greater than the probability that the average male will die in battle.

There is, perhaps, no woman, whether she have borne children or be merely potentially a child-bearer, who could look down upon a battlefield covered with slain, but the thought would rise in her, "So many mothers' sons! So many young bodies brought into the world to lie there! So many months of weariness and pain while bones and muscles were shaped within! So many hours of anguish and struggle that breath might be! So many baby mouths drawing life at women's breasts—all this, that men might lie with glazed eyeballs, and swollen faces, and fixed, blue, unclosed mouths, and great limbs tossed—this, that an acre of ground might be manured with human flesh, that next year's grass or poppies or karoo bushes may spring up greener and redder, where they have lain, or that the sand of a plain may have the glint of white bones!"

And we cry, "Without an inexorable cause this must not be!" No woman who is a woman says of a human body, "It is nothing!"

BIRTH CONTROL AND EUGENICS

Paul Popenoe

Editor of the Journal of Heredity, official organ of the American Genetic Association

Is the practice of birth control eugenic?

To be eugenic, a measure must favor the reproductivity of the happier and more efficient parts of the population and discourage the increase of the less capable parts.

It is a matter of common notoriety that birth control as at present practiced does just the reverse. The superior parts of the population are limiting their families so much that they are not even reproducing their own numbers, while the increase of inferior families is checked only by the death-rate, because they do not practice effective methods of birth control.

It is necessary to conclude, therefore, that birth control as at present practiced in the United States is the reverse of eugenic. It is tending to race deterioration.

For race betterment, the present differential nature of the birth-rate must be changed. A spread of birth control to the less capable part of the population will be an important advance for eugenics in cutting down the racial contribution of inferior stocks. But it is not likely that the gain will be as great as is sometimes supposed. It seems probable that those who will practice birth control most effectively are the prudent, far-sighted, conscientious parents, whose children the race needs; while even possession of a knowledge of contraceptive methods will not affect the reckless and improvident, those who procreate while drunk—those, in short, whose children the race would be better off without.

Even though he firmly adheres to the principle of intelligent and voluntary motherhood, the eugenicist cannot think that the universal practice of birth control will have no drawbacks. It will be a better condition than that which at present exists, when the superior classes alone limit the size of their families effectively; but it will increase the task of eugenics, since it will require vigorous measures to augment the birth-rate of eugenically superior families.

To this end, it would be desirable that birth control propagandists should not make unfounded claims of the merit of small families and delayed parenthood. The quality of a child is determined much more by the character of his ancestry than by the number of brothers and sisters he has or the length of the interval between his birth and that of his predecessor.

If it is admitted that parents should have no more children than they can afford to bring up decently, it ought perhaps to be equally admitted that they should have as many as they *can* afford to bring up decently. In other words, there is much need for public education on the proper size of family, but the doctrine of birth control is only one side of it. Some people need fewer children, some need more. It is not fair to expect the birth control propagandists to carry on a simultaneous campaign on these two sides of the question, but they ought at least to recognize the two sides and not throw unnecessary obstacles in the way of eugenics.

In the past, much Neo-Malthusian propaganda has tended to convey the impression that small families are *per se* a desirable thing racially—a statement that should not be made without important qualifications.

It makes no difference whether one believes in universal knowledge of birth control; it can not now be stopped and must be regarded as a fact to be reckoned with. But I believe eugenists go much farther than this. They will look with satisfaction on an extension of birth control to the inefficient part of the population, and many of them are taking an active part in the campaign. If some have hesitated, it is because they see so clearly the harm that has been done the race already by birth control among the superior classes, in excess of what was needed or desirable. Here not birth control but "birth release," as Sprague has said, must be preached.

If birth control advocates will recognize this discrimination and support it, they can count on the active support of most eugenists in endeavoring to reduce the size of families among the inefficient and destitute.

Birth Control Not Birth Prevention

Roswell H. Johnson

(Comment on the preceding article)

If "birth control" is synonymous with birth prevention, every eugenicist must, of course, take a very critical attitude toward it, for, as Mr. Popenoe points out, all who desire a better race are greatly interested in increasing the size of many of the families of capable people which are now too small.

Mr. Popenoe's quotation from Professor Sprague errs, however, in using birth control as synonymous with birth prevention. Birth control means not prevention but regulation. It means the determination of the size of the family by the will of the parents. The true birth control advocate should be as eager to see the too small family increased as he is to see the too large family decreased in size. Those who advocate birth prevention for the sake of a wholesale reduction of the population are not asking for control. Suppression is not control.

Control in the sense of the Birth Control Movement must be taken to mean birth regulation. Birth regulation is desired by no one more than the eugenicist. Regulation should be not only individual, but also influenced by the social and racial needs of the species.

There is no warrant in limiting birth control beyond this proper scope.

"The people or nation that follows the false teachers—be they editors of papers, authors of books, magazine writers, "Eugenists" or what not—who advocate the limitation of the birth of children, will enter upon the sure road to ruin and extinction and will deserve their disgraceful end."—*President Hyrum M. Smith of the Mormon Church.*

AS A DOCTOR SEES IT

Benzion Liber, M.D.,

Editor of the Yiddish monthly, "Rational Living"

I.

A bundle in a corner of my waiting-room and a man standing nearby. As I make him a sign to walk into the consulting-room, I see the bundle move and, on closer examination, I find that it is a woman. He lifts her up and helps her come in.

He is straight, strong, well built. She is crooked and bent, her right arm hangs down immovable, she pulls along one leg while she limps with the other one. Her face is covered with innumerable wrinkles.

Seeing that they are silent, I ask:

"What does your mother complain of?"

He blushes, looks down. After a while:

"She is my wife."

Now it is my turn to blush; I feel uneasy to have made such a blunder and I try to repair it:

"I know, I know, I only meant to say. . . ."

"Just tell the doctor," she interrupts at the right moment and saves me from my embarrassment.

And he tells me the story which I hear so often, with which the walls of my room are so familiar, the same sad story of involuntary pregnancy, the same infinitely deep wail against that vague something which poisons pleasure, which punishes one for having had a minute of happiness, although it was but the satisfaction of a natural want. He is a poor workingman and he has five children.

"Do you realize what a sixth one means?"

Yes, I do realize. He will not get more wages and—the same loaf of bread, the same room, the same air, the same amount of money for clothing, the same time and strength the mother can give, must be divided into one more part. I do realize. The family becomes still poorer, the mother becomes more enslaved to the house, the father more enslaved to his employer.

And he explains to me that her case is even more hopeless. How will she take care of the child? She cannot even carry a baby!

I look at her. It is a well known fact that women who have given birth to several children become old sooner than those who have had only one or two and always look older than their husbands, but this is an unusual case.

"How old is she?"

"Thirty-six. You ought to know us, doctor. You were in our house a few years ago. My boy had erysipelas and . . ."

"O yes. I was there and I saw this woman, but it never occurred to me that she was that child's mother. I thought she was his grandmother."

Of course, they want me to interrupt the pregnancy, something I will not do. I really should do it but I cannot, I am too much of a coward. I feel guilty and tell them a lie as an excuse, giving them names of other physicians who

might help them, as I know that more than fifty per cent of our doctors, including many who officially are against what they call "criminal" abortion and many who vote for resolutions condemning the birth control movement, perform abortions.

I ask them:

"Why don't you prevent such things? You would not need to have an abortion."

"Prevent? Prevent?" says she and seems not to understand.

But later, as they go out, I pull him by the sleeve and, when we are alone, I look at him inquiringly. He understands me and answers:

"What can I do? I am a man. Would it be better to go to one of those women for money and perhaps get a disease? Would it, doctor?"

II.

He is the secretary of a small trade-union, 28 years old, intelligent. After a thorough examination, I tell him that his illness is syphilis.

"I suspected it," says he and begins to sob aloud. "What shall I do? I am lost! Oh, my children, my poor wife! How can I go home?"

And he bursts out:

"I am a scoundrel! I deserve it, but she!"

He knocks his head with his fists, while tears roll down his cheeks.

I quiet him and make him sit down.

"After our second child was born, we agreed not to have any more. My salary would not be sufficient, you see? So she did not allow me to come to her. Not even to embrace her. She went to all the doctors she knew and none would give her a preventive. Some did not know of any and others were afraid of the law. A year passed. I could not stand it. . . . Perhaps I should have waited longer. But I went to a prostitute. And now . . . and now. . . ."

Birth Control

William Sanger

Birth control is the message of a new social philosophy dedicated primarily to the proposition of voluntary motherhood and racial betterment. By its advent a new epoch is dawning in the affairs of men. A new race shall arise, released from the dead weight of poverty, disease, almshouses, asylums, reformatories and prisons. It shall be a race more dynamic in its pro-social impulses, more keen and alert to digest ideas, a race arising from a finer mother- and father-hood, from firesides where children have been wanted and welcomed and reared in an environment of human tenderness and all that that implies.

The rational limitation of offspring is not only a right but a duty; society should recognize that right and teach that duty.

AN ARSENAL OF ARGUMENT

Birth Control, Its Medical, Social, Economic and Moral Aspects. By S. Adolphus Knopf, M.D.*

It was worth the long journey the writer made across the state of Ohio to attend the closing session of the convention of the American Public Health Association. For four days, the delegates had patiently listened to papers and discussions on venereal disease and vital statistics. Finally, on the afternoon of the last day, came the address for which many of them had been "waiting around."

The assembly room was filled as at no other session of the congress. An electric tension charged the air. Birth control was going to be discussed in public and by a physician!

"The object of my appeal," began Dr. Knopf, "is not a plea for reducing the population but for increasing its vigor by reducing the number of the physically, mentally and morally unfit and adding to the number of physically strong, mentally sound and more highly developed men and women.

"The larger the family, the more congested will be the quarters they live in and the more unsanitary will be the environment. Last, but not least, with the increase of the family, there is by no means a corresponding increase of the earning capacity of the father or mother and, as a result, malnutrition and insufficient clothing enter as factors to predispose to tuberculosis or cause an already existing latent tuberculosis to become active."

As a veteran of the long war against tuberculosis, winner of the International Tuberculosis Essay Prize in 1910, the speaker gave especial attention to the pathologic relationship between that disease and the large family.

"A carefully taken history of many cases," he said, "has revealed to me that, with surprising regularity, the tuberculous subject, when he or she comes from a large family, is one of the later born children—the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, etc. The explanation of this phenomenon is obvious. * * * According to some authors, sixty-five per cent of women afflicted with tuberculosis, even when only in the relatively early and curable stages, die as a result of pregnancy, which could have been avoided and their lives saved, had they but known the means of prevention."

On the value of contraception in preventing the birth of children tainted with venereal disease, Dr. Knopf stated that, "could a syphilitic or gonorrhoeal parent be taught how to prevent conception during the acute and infectious stages of his or her disease, there would certainly be less inherited

syphilis, less blindness from gonorrhoeal infection; in other words, fewer unfortunate children in this world handicapped for life and a burden to the community."

Birth control, however, is not desirable only for the poor and diseased. It will save many a normal family from ill health and economic disaster.

"If even a relatively well-to-do family begins to increase out of proportion to the earnings of the father, the family will soon be in want and approaching poverty. Less and less good food, less sanitary housing, less care of the children and more sickness will almost inevitably result."

After a consideration of birth control in various foreign countries, Dr. Knopf took up the connection between birth control and the home, with special emphasis on its value in making possible early marriage—a point that cannot be too repeatedly urged.

Two of the stock objections to birth control received specially effective attention at Dr. Knopf's hands:

"One of the strongest arguments of our moralists and purists is that the knowledge of contraception would lead the young to enter upon forbidden sexual relations. Granted that this may happen in a number of instances, the benefit derived from a diminution of venereal diseases, a greater number of happy and successful marriages among the younger people, fewer but better and healthier offspring, instead of an unrestricted procreation of the underfed, the tuberculous, the alcoholic, the degenerate, the feeble-minded and insane, would more than outweigh the isolated instances of sexual intercourse prior to marriage.

"The critics of birth control maintain that, with the knowledge of birth limitation, many women, whether poor or rich, who should and can bear children will shirk the duties of motherhood. This I do not believe to be true. You can no more prevent the desire for motherhood in the normal healthy woman than you can stem the tide of the ocean."

After appealing for the establishment of free birth control clinics and citing many prominent advocates of family limitation, Dr. Knopf closed with a stirring declaration of faith:

"A quarter of a century of practice among the tuberculous, the rich and the poor, in palatial homes, humble cottages, dark and dreary tenements and overcrowded hospitals, has shown me enough to bring to my mind the utter immorality of thoughtless procreation."

"Such frank, scientific approach," commented *The New Republic*, "lifts the taboos." When the history of the birth control movement in America comes to be written, against the leaden gray background of the bigotry, cowardice and mercenary cynicism of medical bodies, will stand out the figures of such stalwart fighters for truth, justice and humanity as Knopf, Jacobi, Robinson, Ira S. Wile, A. L. Goldwater, Robert L. Dickinson, Morris H. Kahn, S. A. Tannenbaum. Their small number will remain as a tribute to their manliness and an eloquent commentary on the intellectual and social standards of their colleagues.

F. A. B.

* Address delivered at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, Cincinnati, October 27, 1917. Published simultaneously in the *New York Medical Journal* and *The Survey*, November 18, 1916. See also correspondence in the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, December 15, 1916, and the *New York Medical Journal* and *The Survey*, December 23, 1916. Reprinted in revised form, with stenographic report of the discussion, in the *American Journal of Public Health*, February 1917. Bound reprints may be secured of the *Birth Control Review* at ten cents each, postpaid.

MORSELS FROM A HUNGER STRIKE

Mrs. Ethel Byrne has been imprisoned in New York for *saying things which the authorities do not approve*. People have been imprisoned in the past for saying that the earth was round, for studying anatomy, for denying witchcraft, for refusing to commit murder. Mrs. Byrne is merely continuing the ancient line of martyrs.—*Oregon Daily Journal*.

If Mrs. Ethel Byrne, of New York, really wishes to starve herself to death in jail, why not let her do so? People of her kidney, while willing to suffer much to get in the headlines, really have no desire to die. What they are looking for is the martyr's crown, and it would do them a world of good to be told in the beginning that, if this crown is acquired, it will have to be a *post mortem* honor.—*Fort Wayne (Indiana) News*.

Fifty years from now, the newspapers of to-day will be in a poor state of preservation, if, indeed, they will not have disintegrated. Which is unfortunate, for without recorded proof, it will be hard to make the youth of 1967 believe that in 1917 a woman was imprisoned for doing what Mrs. Byrne did.—*F. P. A.*, in "The Conning Tower," *New York Tribune*.

Mrs. Byrne's defiance has sharpened the issue between self-respecting citizens and the existing law. The law is hypocritical. Outside Roman Catholic circles,* birth control is practised by practically all well-to-do, well-informed married couples. To talk of "the solemn mandate of the law," as Justice Garvin did in this connection, is to be absurd.—*New Republic*.

Many of us were stirred to indignation by British persecution of suffragettes. England imprisoned women for destroying property and disturbing the public peace. We are imprisoning them for teaching certain physiological facts.—*Denver News*.

Mrs. Byrne was convicted for an offense which, in itself, is morally equivalent to the incitation to murder. Yet, such was the publicity given to this woman that she received from the mawkish sentimentality of the Governor a pardon. Daily bulletins were issued concerning her condition. Physicians and nurses were detailed to give her extra attention. This was nauseating to the public. The course that was taken lifted her into a prominence that advertised her dangerous, immoral cult all the more.—*Catholic News*.

Everybody was bothered to death about Ethel Byrne. Everybody had to think about Birth Control. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of publicity space was contributed to the movement by that woman's single resolution. In five days she announced her message to the whole American public and proved the sincerity of her belief in it. Could one make a finer and more intelligent sacrifice?—*The Masses*.

* A superfluous exception, as intelligent Catholics believe in birth control—for themselves.—Ed.

THE STUPIDITY OF TRYING TO JAIL AN IDEA

"I've served my time and what good has it done the state? Nothing has been changed. My principles haven't. And the birth control movement is stronger than ever."—*Statement by Margaret Sanger on her release from jail.*

February 14, 1917.

My dear Comrade Sanger:—

The initial number of "The Birth Control Review" has just been received. Heartly congratulations! It is live and lusty in every page and paragraph. Please send me an extra copy.

You and your sister and comrades are making a brave fight against the wolves of the system. You are being tried in every fibre but you have the stuff that stands and you are bound to win.

With affectionate greetings and words of cheer to you all, I am

Always your comrade,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Vision

Walter Adolphe Roberts

The folk who in the blatant market-square

Barter for fame and gold,

Ah, how should they behold

The dawn upon the far horizon flare,

The rebel hope unfold!

But one, clear-eyed amid the selfish throng,

Above their praise or blame,

To her the vision came

And led her forth to battle with the strong—

A splendor and a flame!

Greenwich, Conn., March 1, 1917.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

Your incarceration evidences the fact that we are still living in the dark ages. Society owes you a debt of gratitude, rather than ignominious treatment, for your unselfish service to present and future generations.

In the hope of speedy and complete vindication, we are,

Sincerely yours,

HERMANN PAULI
PENELOPE PAULI

"I do not think that the superstitious class-bound nature of our legal system was ever more thoroughly exposed than during this agitation for birth control."—*Walter Lippmann*.

THE PERSECUTION OF MARGARET SANGER

The propaganda that Margaret Sanger is pushing is a democratic movement, if it is nothing else. We all know that wealthy and "socially" prominent people have the information that the law bars poor people from getting. And the movement is in the direction of the equal application of those laws.

The argument for the repeal of the laws prohibiting the divulging of birth control information is a very strong one. It is not the plea of the wastrel and the rouser and the roué—those classes have the information, and they act upon it to the limit. It is not the appeal of the immoral woman. She has that information. Without it she would have been unable to be what she is.

It is the cry of the working class man, and more especially the working class woman.

Up to to-day the propagandists of the idea have been hounded and persecuted and imprisoned. They have not had a chance to be heard. They have not been allowed to state their case.

And it is to the credit of Margaret Sanger that she has stuck steadfastly to her cause, and has endured indignities and imprisonment, just to be able to state the case.—*New York Call.*

Efficiency and Moral Liberty

Samuel Bernard

Efficiency is the cry of the day. Let us employ eugenics in its highest form for the efficiency of the human race.

We'd thus alleviate the suffering of the mothers of our race from too frequent child-bearing, a subject which men (who make the laws) could hardly seriously consider or have any conception of. We'd thus diminish the number of cripples and unfit, which are a burden to all of us, to whose upkeep every citizen, either directly or indirectly, contributes. We'd thus have children which mother, with the mother instinct, desired and wished for, and to which both parents were able to give proper attention and to bring up properly.

We boast of our democracy. We are proud of the men who worked and fought and brought about political and religious liberty for us. Then men and women who at present work and strive for moral liberty will win an equal reward and appreciation from all enlightened and broad-minded citizens of our day, as well as of the better race which we may have shared in bringing about.

In conclusion, allow me to quote an eminent social worker's opinion on the matter, namely, that "birth, the most important of life's processes, must be left less to chance and guided more by all the enlightenment the world has to offer to-day."

EXPLOITING FALSEHOOD AND BOYCOTTING TRUTH

The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures has advised its correspondents that the Major firm's production, "Will You Marry Me?" is condemned

"The theme of the picture," says the report, "is abortion, disguised as birth control. The board believes the treatment of the theme to be objectionable in detail and such as, in its total effect, would be perniciously misleading to general audiences."

The same might justly be said about "Where Are My Children?" "Race Suicide" and "The Unborn," three films which pretend to deal with birth control, but which actually exploit abortion.

The readiness of the moving picture exhibitors to show these profitable films, which cater to the powers that be by deceiving the public as to the real meaning of birth control, contrasts significantly with their servile timidity with regard to the one genuine birth control film on the market.

As an instance of their hypocritically virtuous attitude, the Associated Motion Picture Exhibitors of Brooklyn, N. Y., unanimously voted to boycott the Margaret Sanger birth control film because, forsooth, "themes of this nature hurt the industry" and they were "opposed to the use of the screen for such purposes." In other words, clever lies go, but clean facts don't.

The extreme solicitude of these gentlemen for the morals of their patrons was further shown in their decision "that the widest publicity be given this [highly virtuous] resolution in order to prevent even the announcement of contemplated releases of this kind."

All of which was docilely reprinted by the movie editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, with the intelligent comment that "for the protection of their patrons, Chicago exhibitors might well take heed to the course of the exhibitors' association of Brooklyn in an effort to encourage clean films." (!) "Similar action on the part of film organizations everywhere," he piously adds, "will do more toward clarifying the film situation than all the censorship. It requires concerted action to rid the industry of trashy and stupid plays constructed to appeal to morbid sensation seekers."

Ask your "movie man" if he intends to let you see the real birth control film and, if not, why not!

Two books by Margaret Sanger:
"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"
and
"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"
Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.

Jailed for Birth Control, the story of the trial and imprisonment of William Sanger, edited by James Waldo Fawcett, ten cents a copy.

AN HONEST BIRTH CONTROL FILM AT LAST!

Showing the story of Margaret Sanger's work, her clinic and her arrest



"The patient in my last nursing case was the wife of a struggling working man. She was suffering from the results of a self-attempted abortion. I remember well the day I was leaving. The physician, too, was making his last call. She said: 'What can I do to avoid another illness such as I have just passed through?' I was interested to hear what the answer of the physician would be. To my amazement, he answered her with a joking sneer."—Margaret Sanger, in *Physical Culture*, April, 1917.

"The arrest of my assistants and myself and the closing of the clinic in the Brownsville district of Brooklyn does not discourage me. The clinic, I believe, accomplished at least this: it showed the need and usefulness of such an agency. The free clinic is the solution for our problem. It will enable women to help themselves. Woman must triumph over the laws which have made her a childbearing machine."—Margaret Sanger, in *Physical Culture*, April, 1917.



"BIRTH CONTROL"

(Under the management of the B. S. Moss Company)

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL

Lillian Browne-Olf

(Written for the Conscientious Opponent)

All over America to-day there are formed or are being formed groups of persons interested in the study of Family Limitation and in the dissemination of information concerning Birth Control. So widespread and so persistent is this propaganda becoming that the forces of Opposition are taking cognizance of this movement and are conducting, by means of free speech and free press—and by less legitimate methods—an unscrupulous campaign of misrepresentation, persecution and abuse. By artful appeals to religious and traditional prejudice, by clever sophistical argument, the public is being warned against the perils of "immorality" and "indecent" and timid and docile spirits are frightened into a compliance with reactionary tendencies, contrary to their own wellbeing and to the welfare of society.

Yet who can be so ignorant or so hypocritical as not to admit that the practice of family limitation in some form is at least a generation old in America? This movement is but another evidence of an undercurrent of change in the mental and moral outlook of America, an undercurrent scarcely discernible to some, but which, nevertheless, has been silently and steadily flowing until now an obscure but actual condition has come to light and has crystallized into a frank and conscious avowal. Family limitation is here! Too late our censors pretend to be shocked! Too late they attempt to stem the tide! To be sure, anachronisms appear on our statute books, making it a criminal offense to impart information on this most vital matter, but the knowledge is nevertheless daily spreading and will continue to spread until the lawmakers will be obliged to meet the popular demand.

It is asserted by many that Birth Control is a woman's movement and so it is primarily. But not *solely*! There can be no separation of the sexes in a matter that affects both so vitally. Through open opposition, through lack of sympathy or indifference, man may awake to find in his mate an irresponsible companion, an unwilling slave or a deceptive fraud. Nor can man shift the responsibility by mere acquiescence. If he acquiesces in a spirit of relief from a troublesome burden and thinks the problem solved by putting it up to his wife, he loses so much of his dignity and his manhood and he forfeits that greatest of all blessings, mutual helpfulness, mutual understanding and mutual confidence. Responsibility has a common gender in parenthood. The sexes "rise or fall together, bond or free."

When one considers how seldom this ideal of unity and concord in the sex relationship is realized, one is forced to admit that our whole attitude toward sex is on an unwholesome and unsound basis. Fundamental psychic changes must obtain, a cleaner, more mature attitude must take the place of the primitive, convention-veneered instincts—in short, we must create a new morality, based upon responsibility, sincerity and loyalty. In short, we need a new morality.

The conscientious opponents of Birth Control—those who have no axe to grind—base their opposition upon traditional, superstitious or sentimental grounds. Their sensibilities are shocked and honestly shocked by the mere thought of contraceptives. They view with abhorrence the use of mechanical methods of prevention. They feel that such practices are "blasphemous" and "unholy," that they render the sex relationship unchaste and that they destroy the spiritual significance of love, making it a purely physical thing. They contend that continence is the only alternative for those men and women who, for any reason, feel that they should not become parents. They take the ground that procreation is the sole justification of sex expression.

Those of us who have passed through that phase feel that our honest and sensitive friends are in a stage of arrested development, that their whole attitude toward sex is erroneous and untenable. We feel indeed that, instead of being a spiritual attitude, it is in reality, upon analysis, a physical attitude. The idea that sex is a temptation, a necessary evil, a thing to be ashamed of in itself—this to us is the supreme blasphemy! We fearlessly acknowledge the benefits of a normal sex life other than the supreme and crowning glory of the conscious creation of a desired child. We believe that the physical poise, the mental sanity and the spiritual renewal resulting from such a harmonious adjustment are the ideal condition for rational and happy living. We contend that sex, under the condition of normal expression, is a blessing the possibilities of which cannot be estimated until as a race we shall arrive at a more grown-up and spiritual understanding of its significance. For we say with that pure lover and friend of woman, Robert Browning, "Nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh helps soul."

(To be continued.)

The Immaculate Misconception

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 13, 1917.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger:

You will think differently about birth control, or the murder of innocent, defenseless children, when you stand before the judgment-seat of God and are hurled into Hell.

Marriage was instituted by God for the propagation of children, and those who do not want children are privileged to remain unmarried or live as virgins.

You have but one life to live, which will decide your eternity in Heaven or Hell. Why not spend it doing good instead of evil?

On Judgment Day, those children you have murdered and have influenced others to murder will stand before you and, pointing their fingers of denunciation at you, demand of God to punish you.

From the instant of conception, a soul is united to the body by Almighty God, which you will have to give an account of. Instead of rearing that child for Heaven, you murder it.

Your money will have no influence with God.

A Catholic.

RAISING GARBAGE COLLECTORS FOR THE DOCTORS

"It is necessary that we have a class of population that shall be characterized by *quantity* rather than by *quality*. We need the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' Would the lady who considered it an honor to be arrested for birth control be willing to deposit her own garbage at the river-front, rather than have one of the *quantity* delegated to this task for her?"—*Dr. Geo. W. Kosmak, leading opponent of birth control in the New York County Medical Society.*

(Letters Received by the Managing Editor)

Dr. Frederick A. Blossom,

Dear Sir:

I have given birth to three children in 28 months (all single births) and since my last one came, nine months ago, my health has been very poor. I am writing to you in the hope that I may receive some information that will help me to control the birth of more babies. My doctor will not give me any advice on this subject and I am afraid of using patent medicines for fear of injuring myself. If you can help me, I shall be truly grateful. Mrs. E. L. _____.

Dr. F. A. Blossom:

I wonder if you could help me. my husband is Just a working man. and is troubled with rhumatism and we can't afford to raise many children. I belive in Birth Control I think its terrible to hafto have children when you can't afford to keep them. please write as soon as possible and try to help me.

Sincerely, Mrs. J. C. _____

Dr. Blossom. Have you any literature on Birth Control. I have six children, and we are so poor and no work I feel as though there was any more children I should go crazy. I should like to know what to do to prevent having any more. Yours Respt. Mrs. Herman G_____.

Dear Sir:

I have four children, the oldest only six years of age. My husband has never had a steady position, we have had to depend on a few days here and there. It is very hard. Before I would have any more children under such conditions, I would kill all I have and myself with them. I don't know what it is to have a well day as my health is completely gone.

I have several friends in the same boat that I would love to help as well as myself. Will you not help us?

Mrs. C. D. _____.

Insofar as He is Able to Judge

I am not interested in anything that advocates of this new crime [birth control] may have to say.

Insofar as I am able to judge, it but represents another duty of woman which, with all other natural duties,* she seems inclined to shirk.—*Dr. Paul Norwood, in "The Critic and Guide," February 1917.*

* Especially her duty to provide work for the doctor.

BREAKING INTO THE SOLID SOUTH

If the birth control advocates knew how quickly their campaign material was consigned to the waste basket by southern editors, they probably wouldn't send so much of it to this part of the country.—*Birmingham (Alabama) Age-Herald.*

Every mother should possess the knowledge to limit or control birth. Women will not get this information from the State Board of Health. However, there is a brave woman who is doing much to usher in the day when this information will be available to every woman who desires this emancipation. That woman is Margaret Sanger and her address is 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.—*The Independent, Elisabeth City, North Carolina.*

To My Friends:

I am anxious to obtain a copy of the circular letter dated in October or November, 1914, and signed by me, which was sent out with the first edition of my pamphlet on birth control. Will some one who happened to save one be kind enough to send it to me?

MARGARET SANGER

Church Violates the Law

"The Secretary raised the question of further distribution of birth control literature in view of Chief _____'s statement that he would arrest anyone who violated the law in regard to the dissemination of obscene literature. The Executive Committee were agreed that the Secretary was acting wisely in distributing Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet on *Family Limitation* in families where it is needed and were willing to sign a public statement to this effect, to be used by the Secretary in case of trouble."—*From the minutes of the Social Service Department of the _____ Presbyterian Church in _____.*

A WORD TO THE WISE

The District Attorney of New York, Cardinal Farley's private secretary and the vice-regent of the Comstock Society are said to have held several anxious conferences over the report of their detectives that Yiddish, Italian, German and Polish translations of Margaret Sanger's pamphlet, "Family Limitation," have been prepared and are being circulated widely. It is common knowledge that 160,000 copies of the English edition have already been distributed.

Not more babies but better babies, better born and better reared.

WHAT THE BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUES ARE DOING

Boston—The Birth Control League of Massachusetts, originally organized to assist in the defense of Van Kleeck Allison, trapped into giving a birth control pamphlet to a detective last July, has now become firmly established as one of the forces to be reckoned with in the community life.

In addition to the Allison defense campaign, which resulted in the raising of a fund of a couple of thousand dollars for legal expenses and the reduction of the original three years' sentence to two months, with an appeal still to be decided by the Supreme Court, the league has issued a booklet on the birth control question, established headquarters in the heart of the city and conducted an energetic educational campaign through large and small meetings during the fall and winter. Its paid-up membership has already passed the 300 mark and includes many professors of Harvard University and the Institute of Technology, physicians, clergymen, social workers and men and women active in public affairs.

A bill was introduced into the State Legislature to authorize medical schools to give their students instruction in contraceptive methods, but was killed in committee. Two other bills have been prepared, allowing physicians to give advice on birth control and legalizing the sale of the necessary supplies. It is proposed also to request the governor to appoint a commission to investigate the entire question.

A beginning has already been made of extending the organization to the other cities and towns throughout the state.

Chicago—The movement for birth control has gained momentum rapidly in Chicago during the past few months. Largely attended meetings were held during the winter by the Woman's Club, the Social Hygiene Society, the Social Service Club and other organizations.

The Reform Department of the Woman's Club organized a Committee on Birth Control which, under the leadership of Dr. Rachelle Yarros, of Hull House Settlement, Professor James A. Field, of the University of Chicago, Dr. Anna E. Blount, head of the Eugenics Education Society, and others, has expanded into a Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation.

This committee has obtained from the Attorney General of Illinois an opinion to the effect that there is no legal obstacle to prevent physicians from giving instruction in contraception in their offices. (Mr. Burns, a Catholic member of the State Legislature, has introduced a bill to make the Illinois law conform to the drastic law against birth control in New York and other states.)

The Citizens' Committee has announced its intention to preach the need of birth control in the congested quarters of the city and have the medical information given by physicians. It has issued a public statement, signed by one hundred clergymen, physicians, social workers and men and women prominent in civic affairs, stating strongly the arguments for limitation of offspring and advocating the following educational program:

"As a step toward the creation of intelligent opinion upon this vital problem, we desire, by means of suitable books, articles and public lectures, to bring about a freer and more scientific discussion of the principle of voluntary parenthood. We recommend that lectures on the general subject be offered under the auspices of institutions of public health and welfare and that special educational centers be established, where similar lectures may be provided, where approved books may be made available and where advice concerning family limitation may be had from properly qualified persons, with due regard for the social and moral issues involved."

Columbus—The Birth Control League of Columbus (Ohio) was formed on April 1, 1917, following a debate held in the Southern Theater between Rev. M. V. Eusey and Dr. Percy W. Cobb, of the Cleveland league, on the question "Is Birth Control Immoral?"

Arthur Gluck, of Ohio State University, was elected president and Mrs. Sylvia Vermillion, secretary. The following statement of objects was adopted:

To secure such amendments to state and federal laws as will allow physicians and registered nurses to give scientific instruction in birth control.

To advocate and encourage birth control as a means of safeguarding the health of mothers and children and promoting social welfare.

The league will conduct weekly meetings and carry on an active propaganda in conjunction with the state organization.

Los Angeles—When the daily papers on the coast told the story of the imprisonment and forcible feeding of Mrs. Byrne, feeling began to seethe. A public mass meeting of protest was called by Los Angeles' city councilwoman, Mrs. Estelle Lawton Lindsey. Long before the hour for opening the meeting, the hall was crowded as were also the sidewalks and the street. A larger hall, seating about two thousand, was hurriedly secured. It was soon packed and the police closed the doors to prevent overcrowding.

The meeting was called to order by Mrs. Lindsey and was addressed by a number of physicians. Strong resolutions of protest were unanimously adopted, to be sent to the New York authorities connected with the imprisonment of Mrs. Byrne.

A committee of physicians, of which Dr. T. Percival Gerson is chairman, was appointed to take steps for permanent organization and to institute a campaign for the repeal of the state law proscribing the dissemination of birth control information.

This committee has not been idle. Men and women physicians have spoken before many organizations in Los Angeles and surrounding towns. The Los Angeles Obstetrical Society has endorsed birth control. A paper read by Dr. Gerson before the Los Angeles County Medical Association precipitated a lively discussion but the motion for endorsement was laid on the table. Many clubs have discussed the subject, with the predominant sentiment in favor of birth control.

It is the purpose of the committee to form a Committee of One Hundred composed of prominent persons, physicians and others, whose names count in the community, to give weight to the campaign for the repeal of the law. Already a bill for amending the obnoxious legal prohibition has been introduced in the State Assembly by Assemblyman Wishard and another has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Chamberlain.

A significant sign of the times is the way all the daily papers are bombarded with letters from the people in favor of birth control. It is a rare paper that one picks up in Los Angeles these days which has not a letter or an article upon the subject.

GEORGIA KOTSCH.

Minneapolis—The Minneapolis Birth Control League owes its existence directly to the visit here last May of Margaret Sanger. As a result of the interest aroused, an organization meeting was held and an executive committee of seven chosen to carry on the work of agitation.

It was at first supposed that the way was clear for the immediate establishment of clinics, but investigation disclosed stringent penalties for dissemination of contraceptive information and the object of the League became educational.

The St. Paul group had meanwhile organized as a state league and the Minneapolis society last November joined it and took the name "Minneapolis Branch of the Minnesota Birth Control League."

The most useful public activity thus far of the Minneapolis Branch was in furnishing speakers and helping make up the program for a birth control hearing held December 14, 1916, before the Child Welfare Commission, a body of social workers, lawyers and other citizens appointed by the Governor to recommend to the present legislature changes in the laws affecting children.

The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, representing 30,000 workmen, had asked the commission to give a public hearing on the subject of birth control. The hearing was held in the senate chamber of the state capitol and drew a large crowd. The Trades and Labor Assembly sent as representatives the socialist member of the school board, the editor of the *Labor Review* and others. The league sent a physician, several social workers and a number of other citizens known for their efforts in behalf of liberal thought. Only three persons spoke against the proposal. The commission has made its report with no recommendation on the subject, but we were satisfied with the publicity secured for the principle of birth control.

HELEN C. THOMSEN.

Pittsburgh—The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania had its beginning last December when Dr. Frederick A. Blossom held a series of meetings in Pittsburgh. A small committee was then appointed with powers to develop a working organization.

The original committee elected to its membership a number of clergymen, physicians, social workers and other valuable helpers and now includes fifty names.

We have appointed a number of sub-committees to carry on the work of the league. Probably the County Committee will prove to be the most valuable of these. Its work will consist in organizing one by one the counties of Western Pennsylvania. We feel sure that, as we reach toward the eastern part of the state, Philadelphia will organize and reach toward the western, and that eventually Pennsylvania will be a unit for birth control.

A start in this extension work has already been made by the formation of a birth control group in Johnstown, January 30, under the leadership of Mrs. M. Heiple, a trained nurse.

A visit from Mrs. Sanger, who spoke before the leading men's organization and at a mass meeting held in the largest theater in Pittsburgh, brought many recruits and gave added impetus to the local movement.

Our plans for the immediate future include the circularizing of all the clubs of the city with a request that they reserve one day of their next year's program for the consideration of birth control. We are prepared to furnish them with speakers.

It is also in our minds to unite with Mrs. Sanger and Dr. Blossom in arranging for a rousing meeting at the time of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which will be held in Pittsburgh in June.

M. B. RENSHAW.

San Francisco—The San Francisco Birth Control League is getting ready for active work to back up the bill now before the California Legislature.

The league is stronger than ever, with solid San Francisco women at its head. Margaret McGovern, our new president, is a woman who will fight where she knows she is right, and our secretary, Anita Downing, joined the league from the very first because she knew the suffering of poor mothers, having often accompanied her mother, who is a doctor, on her visits. But the most ardent woman for the cause is our treasurer, Mrs. Hamilton. San Francisco is just now having a spell against "commercialized vice" and Mrs. Hamilton is one of many other women who feel that reckless breeding in poverty helps to produce the victims of commercialized vice. Then we have Mrs. George Sperry and Mrs. Thomas Dowdell on our board, two women who mean business when it comes to fighting for the right of justice for their own sex. These women are all known in the community as sterling, influential women who cannot be ignored.

We are hoping that California will be the first state to annul the laws against birth control. But when that is over our real serious work begins—that of starting clinics to instruct the poor mothers and to get the material to them.

CAROLINE NELSON.

Washington—The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia was organized in May, 1916, following a lecture here by Margaret Sanger. About forty names were secured when Mrs. Sanger suggested the formation of a birth control league and, with this as a nucleus, our present organization came into existence.

We now have over a hundred members. While large mass meetings are impossible here (the government prohibits its employees from becoming conspicuous in any unpopular movements), much quiet work has been done in securing a hearing for our objects.

We have had members visit the editors of the local newspapers and from time to time statements of our purposes have been printed. An effort has been made to combine with our business meetings some discussion of our principles for the benefit of non-members.

The members of the league feel that there is a peculiar field for our activity in this city. It is our plan, when a federation of leagues is organized, to act as a lobbying organization for the birth control leagues of the country in the interest of a modification of the federal law, so that physicians and registered nurses may send birth control advice through the mails.

ANNA WEXLER.

Birth Control and Prostitution

It is sometimes claimed that the dissemination of contraceptive information would cause an increase in prostitution. Abraham Flexner, who made an exhaustive study of prostitution in European countries, declares that Holland, where birth control has been systematically and openly taught for more than a generation, is singularly free from the evil of prostitution.

"The streets of Amsterdam," he says, "were, at the time of my visit, the cleanest I had anywhere observed."

In this city, having a population of nearly 600,000, there were in 1910 only 370 arrests for soliciting on the streets. —*Prostitution in Europe.*

PRUDES, PRIESTS, POLITICIANS

The intelligent fairmindedness and high moral purpose of the opposition to birth control, as well as its ecclesiastical inspiration, were well brought out at a public hearing held in Albany, March 6th, on two bills to legalize birth control in New York State.

"This is the most disgraceful and disgusting subject ever taken up in the halls of a legislature," exclaimed one irate opponent. "The state should lower its head in shame to give these bills even the dignity of a public hearing. It is an insult to the morality and good character of the people you represent."

Charles J. Tobin, speaking, he said, for the Catholics of the state, advanced the intelligent argument that "amending the Penal Code in the manner intended would unquestionably afford an opportunity for the more widespread practice of the professional abortionist."

"This bill is a crime against the commonwealth, was the impassioned plea of Dr. James Rooney, representing the State Medical Society. "The propaganda for birth control is exclusively financial. Certain people have been making money from the poor and want to continue it," concluded the doctor, who doubtless has grown poor himself through serving humanity without pay.

Among others appearing in opposition to the bills were Father Patrick Livingstone, Father John McKeough, Father Michael Looney and Mrs. George A. Wheelock, representing the United Real Estate Owners of New York.*

The last named charged the birth control leaders with having instigated the recent food riots in New York City and said that, instead of teaching the poor how to limit the size of their families, they should instruct them in the use of cornmeal mush. "The people who are disseminating this rotten information should be put in jail," she screamed, doubtless having in mind how the infamous practice of birth control might lower rents in the tenement district.

A letter was read from the Oracle of Oyster Bay—the stalwart Christian leader who summons American manhood to "deeds of blood"—expressing the wish that the legislature would "condemn the gentleman who introduced this bill."

Still more Christlike was the argument of Canon William Sheafe Chase, a high dignitary in the Episcopal Church, that, when war is demanding sturdy soldiers, it would not do to allow birth control to "empty the cradles."

Drs. A. L. Goldwater, W. J. Robinson and S. A. Tannenbaum and Attorney Harry Weinberger, Mrs. Owen Kildare and others spoke in favor of the proposed measure.

The committee, headed by Fred Ahearn, who declared himself opposed to birth control "as a good Catholic," killed both bills.

* It has been calculated that each baby born in New York City adds one thousand dollars to real estate values.

In our next issue:

WOMAN AND WAR, by Margaret Sanger

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE REVOLUTION, by Walter Adolphe Roberts

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND BIRTH CONTROL, by Arturo Giovannitti

TO A JAILBIRD

One would almost be willing to go to jail for a month to be welcomed as Margaret Sanger was on her return from Queens County Penitentiary to the partially civilized community that had sent her there for the crime of the Brownsville clinic for poor mothers.

The series of tributes began with "Margaret's coming out party" on March 6th, when a band of loyal workers froze steadfastly for two hours outside the jail, while the woman they had come to greet was successfully resisting the keepers inside in their repeated attempts to "finger print" her.

A small breakfast of the inner circle that morning was followed by a public luncheon at the Plaza Hotel on March 15th. On the following day came the *grand finale* in the form of a testimonial dinner to Margaret Sanger and Ethel Byrne at Terrace Garden, under the auspices of the Birth Control League of New York.

Three hundred and fifty men and women gathered to pay their tribute to these two women. Messages of congratulation were read from birth control leagues in different parts of the country, and a dozen short speeches were delivered by representatives of various liberal organizations, two Brownsville mothers, clergymen, physicians and active workers in the cause.

Elizabeth Stuyvesant, one of Margaret Sanger's assistants in the Brownsville clinic, struck the keynote of the evening in calling on the men and women of the country to "cease exploiting Margaret Sanger" and to get into the fight and themselves do the hard work that they had been allowing her to do alone. "We have been sitting by, sympathetic, admiring spectators of the work of one brave woman," she said. "The time has now come for us to have the courage to do our share, as she has done hers."

Rev. Waldo Adams Amos, of St. Paul's Church, Hoboken, who was the first clergyman to show an interest in Margaret Sanger's early work for birth control, delivered what the chairman called "the papal benediction."

"I am convinced," he said, "that birth control will make for quality rather than quantity in the generations to come, and it is quality, physical, mental, spiritual, that nature is groaning and travailling for. I believe that, in standing for this movement and in saying so frankly and fearlessly, I am a true friend of the church, a true worker for the ideal society of my vision. And so I tender my respect and honor to Margaret Sanger, a brave woman who fights a good fight in behalf of humanity's onward march."

The reunion was a fitting close to one phase of the battle for birth control and an inspiring prelude to the next campaign.

"Spread the word and together we will work for a world which shall be free from censors, poverty and stupidity."—Leonard D. Abbott.

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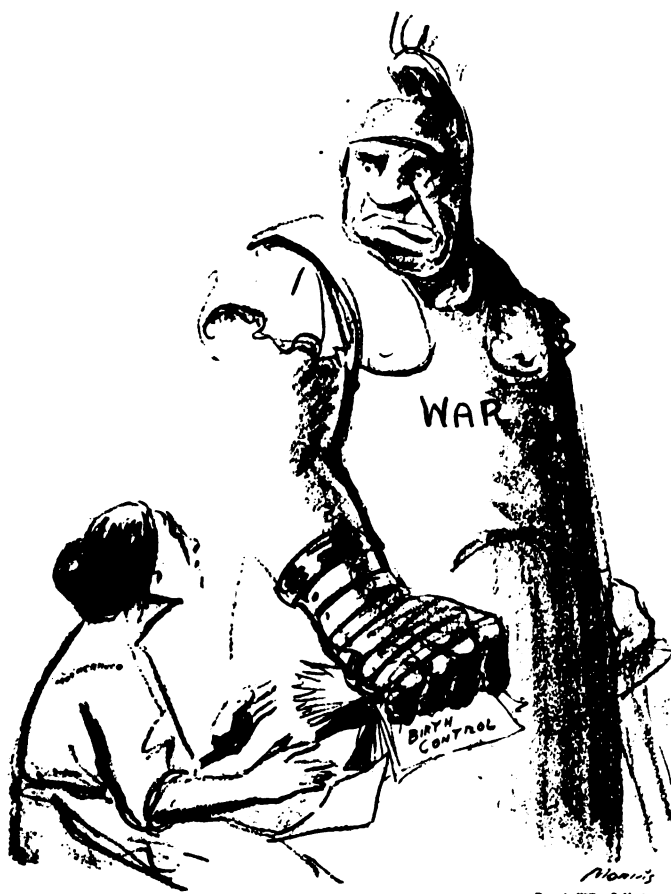
THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume One

JUNE 1917

Number Four



Morse
Drawn by William C. Morse

Courtesy of Puck

A Decision for Liberty
The Objects of Marriage: By Havelock Ellis

Woman and War: By Margaret Sanger
Birth Control and the Revolution: By Walter Roberts

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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WALTER ROBERTS } *Editors*



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A Decision for Liberty

We reproduce in full the opinion handed down on June 6 by Justice Nathan Bijur, of the Supreme Court of New York, in his decision in the case of The Message Photoplay Company, producers of the film-play "Birth Control," vs. George H. Bell, Commissioner of Licenses, New York City. The libertarians of America will read with hope the views of freedom expressed therein. It is a decision which takes its place beside that of Lord Justice Coleridge, of the High Court of Justice, England, who in a similar case spoke on the same high plane in behalf of social justice.

Message Photo Play Co. v. Bell—This is a motion for a temporary injunction to restrain the commissioner of license from revoking the license of a theatre because of the proposed production thereof of a moving picture known as "Birth Control." No question is raised concerning the general power of the commissioner to issue and revoke licenses. (L. 1914, ch. 475, adding secs. 641 and 642 to the Greater New York Charter). For the purposes of this motion also, the implied definition of the function of the commissioner, contained in Chapter III, Article II, section 41, of the Code of Ordinances of the City of New York, as amended to July 16, 1916, may be accepted. That section reads as follows: "The inspectors of the Department of Licenses * * * shall report to the commissioner any offense against morality, decency or public welfare * * *". It is conceded by the plaintiff that the discretion of the commissioner, exercised in a proper case, may not be interfered with by the courts merely because the latter may not agree with the commissioner's reasoning or judgment. It is not claimed on behalf of the commissioner, however, that the discretion conferred upon him may be exercised without any reasonable basis of fact, or, as it is frequently phrased, "arbitrarily exercised." Such exercise would be subject to review and correction by the courts in an appropriate proceeding (People ex rel. Lieberman v. Van der Carr, 199 U. S., 552, 562; People ex rel. Schwab v. Grant, 126 N. Y., 473, 482; People ex rel. Lodes v. Dept of Health, 189 N. Y., 187, 194; Ormsby v. Bell, 171 App. Div., 657). The question is, therefore, whether there is any valid or reasonable basis for the commissioner's opinion that the play is "against morality, decency or public welfare." Plaintiff admits that the commissioner is acting in good faith. On the other hand, I think I may say that it is conceded on behalf of the commissioner that there is nothing indecent or obscene in the pictures in the sense in which those words are usually understood, that is to say, they contain nothing which might ordinarily be regarded as prurient or directly "suggestive." The scenario of the play may be briefly summarized as follows: It presents a number of pictures showing the poverty and misery frequently associated with the presence of large families of children among the poor. It illustrates the sufferings of one or more women to whom childbirth means serious danger to life. It then presents pictures of comfort among the rich where smaller families are supposed to obtain. Intermingled with these are pictures of Mrs. Sanger acting as a nurse. She is strongly tempted to advise some of the suffering poor women on the subject of birth control, but refrains from giving such information because it is forbidden by law (sec. 1142 of the Penal Law). Finally, she concludes to defy the law and opens a clinic to disseminate information on this subject. There is then portrayed a movement undertaken by persons of means who engage detectives to suppress her efforts. The clinic established by Mrs. Sanger is exhibited crowded by poor women. Thereupon the police, instigated by the association referred to, place Mrs. Sanger under arrest, and she is finally shown in prison after conviction for violating the law. No suggestion or hint of the methods or means looking to a violation of the law or for facilitating birth control is anywhere contained in the proposed exhibition. It may perhaps be inferred from the pictures that the rich violate the law by employing contraceptive methods of which the poor are ignorant; that

there is a certain amount of hypocrisy on the part of those who lend their active support to the enforcement of this law, and that Mrs. Sanger is actuated by high and unselfish motives in condemning and even in violating it. This inference is illustrated by touches which I presume are intended to lend to the performance greater dramatic color. The objections to the exhibition as presented on behalf of the commissioner may, I think, fairly be summed up as follows: First, that it deals with a subject which is in itself immorally suggestive; second, that it advertises the existence of contraceptive methods or means, and substantially announces that Mrs. Sanger is familiar therewith; third, that a subject of this kind is not fit for treatment in a public moving picture theatre; fourth, that the performance encourages violation of the law. Taking up the last objection first, I can find no sound basis for it. The result of the exhibition is to show Mrs. Sanger punished for a violation of the law. There is no encouragement for others to follow the same course, nor is it even hinted that violence or defiance of the law should be indulged in to nullify its provisions or for the relief of those who may have suffered its penalties. It has been suggested that it is unmoral to present Mrs. Sanger, a violator of the law, as a "heroine," but the use of this catch phrase borrowed from the language of the "border drama" must not divert us from a just appraisal of the performance. It cannot be fairly said that she is presented in the play as a martyr, though that might be permissible. If any one with a saving sense of humor had proposed to call the play "The Way of the Transgressor Is Hard," the title would have been perhaps more truly descriptive. Broadly considered, the criticism that this performance encourages violation of the law might be addressed with equal force to an exhibition of the exploits of John Brown or a narrative of the career of William Lloyd Garrison. As to the argument that the exhibition advertises either the subject of birth control or Mrs. Sanger's activities—while of course it is true that any form of publicity must necessarily have that effect—it does not seem to me to be possible in a juridical sense to distinguish the publicity here afforded from that contained in the very law itself. Moreover, apart from other and fundamental considerations to which I presently shall advert, the subject and Mrs. Sanger's connection therewith have been so voluminously and recently exploited without restriction in the daily press that this or similar exhibitions are but an afterglow compared with the glaring light of publicity which has thus previously been thrown upon them. The objection that the matter is not of a character fit for treatment at a public moving picture exhibition, seems to me to lie rather to the good taste of the promoters of the picture than to any legal impropriety in the play itself. The subject is plainly one in which the public has an interest, and concerning which two conscientious and opposite views are and may properly be held. As, therefore, the public welfare may be affected by the dominance of the one or the other view, it is both appropriate and lawful that the matter be publicly considered, provided the presentation be free from gratuitous or obtrusive uncleanness. In that respect, I am unable to distinguish substantially the presentation in this proposed exhibition from one in words at public meetings. It may also be argued with much plausibility that a discussion or presentation of a subject of this kind should be limited to persons engaged in certain professions or of a certain age, although the precise line of demarcation would be rather difficult to draw. Any extended consideration of this branch of the question is rendered fairly academic by the proposal of plaintiff to limit admission to the performance to adults only. Viewed as other than an ordinary dramatic entertainment, the exhibition is merely a pictured argument against an existing law. As such, it deals with an undoubtedly great problem of life, in which our citizenship as a whole has the right to take an active interest. It is possible that a certain and perhaps not altogether prudish sense of delicacy may be offended, or a natural disinclination to con-

(Concluded on page 8)

THE OBJECTS OF MARRIAGE

Havelock Ellis

(Written especially for The Birth Control Review.)

What are the legitimate objects of marriage? We know that many people seek to marry for ends that can scarcely be called legitimate, that men may marry to obtain a cheap domestic drudge or nurse, and that women may marry to be kept when they are tired of keeping themselves. These objects in marriage may or may not be moral, but in any case they are scarcely its legitimate ends. We are here concerned to ascertain those ends of marriage which are legitimate when we take the highest ground as moral and civilized men and women living in an advanced state of society, and seeking, if we can, to advance that state of society still further.

The primary end of marriage is to beget and bear offspring, and to rear them until they are able to take care of themselves. On that basis Man is at one with all the mammals and most of the birds. If, indeed, we disregard the originally less essential part of this end,—that is to say, the care and tending of the young,—this end of marriage is not only the primary but usually the sole end of sexual intercourse in the whole mammal world. As a natural instinct, its achievement involves gratification and well-being, but this bait of gratification is merely a device of Nature's and not in itself an end having any useful function at the periods when conception is not possible. This is clearly indicated by the fact that among animals the female only experiences sexual desire at the season for impregnation, and that desire ceases as soon as impregnation takes place, though this is only in a few species true of the male, obviously because, if his sexual desire and aptitude were confined to so brief a period, the chances of the female meeting the right male at the right moment would be too seriously diminished; so that the attentive and inquisitive attitude towards the female by the male animal—which we may often think we see still traceable in the human species—is not the outcome of lustfulness for personal gratification (“wantonly to satisfy carnal lusts and appetites like brute beasts,” as the Anglican Prayer Book incorrectly puts it) but implanted by Nature for the benefit of the female and the attainment of the primary object of procreation. This primary object we may term the animal end of marriage.

This object remains not only the primary but even the sole end of marriage among the lower races of mankind generally. The erotic idea in its deeper sense, that is to say the element of love, arose very slowly in mankind. It is found, it is true, among some lower races, and it appears that some tribes possess a word for the joy of love in a purely psychic sense. But even among European races the evolution was late. The Greek poets, except the latest, showed little recognition of love as an element of marriage. Theognis compared marriage to cattle-breeding. The Romans of the Republic took much the same view. Greeks and Romans alike regarded breeding as the recognisable object of marriage; any other object was mere wantonness and had better, they thought, be carried on outside marriage.

Religion, which preserves so many ancient and primitive conceptions of life, has consecrated this conception also, and Christianity—though, as I will point out later, it has tended to enlarge the conception—at the outset only offered the choice between celibacy on the one hand and on the other marriage for the production of offspring.

Yet from an early period in human history a secondary function of sexual intercourse had been slowly growing up to become one of the great objects of marriage. Among animals, it may be said, and even sometimes in man, the sexual impulse, when once aroused, makes but a short and swift circuit through the brain to reach its consummation. But as the brain and its faculties develop, powerfully aided indeed by the very difficulties of sexual life, the impulse for sexual union has to traverse ever longer, slower, more painful paths, before it reaches—and sometimes it never reaches—its ultimate object. This means that sex gradually becomes intertwined with all the highest and subtlest human emotions and activities, with the refinements of social intercourse, with high adventure in every sphere, with art, with religion. The primitive animal instinct, having the sole end of procreation, becomes on its way to that end the inspiring stimulus to all those psychic energies which in civilization we count most precious. This function is thus we see, a by-product. But, as we know, even in our human factories, the by-product is sometimes more valuable even than the product. That is so as regards the functional products of human evolution. The hand was produced out of the animal fore-limb with the primary end of grasping the things we materially need, but as a by-product the hand has developed the function of making and playing the piano and the violin, and that secondary functional by-product of the hand we account, even as measured by the rough test of money, more precious, however less materially necessary, than its primary function. It is, however, only in rare and gifted natures that transformed sexual energy becomes of supreme value for its own sake without ever attaining the normal physical outlet. For the most part the by-product accompanies the product, throughout, thus adding a secondary, yet peculiarly sacred and specially human, object of marriage to its primary animal object. This may be termed the spiritual object of marriage.

By the term “spiritual” we are not to understand any mysterious or supernatural qualities. It is simply a convenient name, in distinction from animal, to cover all those higher mental and emotional processes which in human evolution are ever gaining greater power. It is needless to enumerate the constituents of this spiritual end of sexual intercourse, for everyone is entitled to enumerate them differently and in different order. They include not only all that makes love a gracious and beautiful erotic art, but the whole element of pleasure in so far as pleasure is more than a mere animal gratification. Our ancient ascetic traditions often make us blind to the meaning of pleasure. We see

only its possibilities of evil and not its mightiness for good. We forget that, as Romain Rolland says, "Joy is as holy as Pain." No one has insisted so much on the supreme importance of the element of pleasure in the spiritual ends of sex as James Hinton. Rightly used, he declares, Pleasure is "the Child of God", to be recognized as "a mighty storehouse of force," and he pointed out the significant fact that in the course of human progress its importance increases rather than diminishes. While it is perfectly true that sexual energy may be in large degree arrested, and transformed into intellectual and moral forms, yet it is also true that pleasure itself, and above all, sexual pleasure, wisely used and not abused, may prove the stimulus and liberator of our finest and most exalted activities. It is largely this remarkable function of sexual pleasure which is decisive in settling the argument of those who claim that continence is the only alternative to the animal end of marriage. That argument ignores the liberating and harmonizing influences, giving wholesome balance and sanity to the whole organism, imparted by a sexual union which is the outcome of the psychic as well as physical needs. There is, further, in the attainment of the spiritual end of marriage, much more than the benefit of each individual separately. There is, that is to say, the effect on the union itself. For through harmonious sex relationships a deeper spiritual unity is reached than can possibly be derived from continence in or out of marriage, and the marriage association becomes an apter instrument in the service of the world. Apart from any sexual craving, the complete spiritual contact of two persons who love each other can only be attained through some act of rare intimacy. No act can be quite so intimate as the sexual embrace. In its accomplishment, for all spiritually evolved persons, the communion of bodies becomes the communion of souls. The outward and visible sign has been the consummation of an inward and spiritual grace. "I would base all my sex teaching to children and young people on the beauty and sacredness of sex," writes a distinguished woman of to-day; "sex intercourse is the great sacrament of life, he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation; but 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. From our modern standpoint we may say, with James Hinton, that the sexual embrace, worthily understood, can only be compared with music and with prayer. "Every true lover," it has been well said by a woman, "knows this, and the worth of any and every relationship can be judged by its success in reaching, or failing to reach, this standpoint."

I have mentioned how the Church—in part influenced by that clinging to primitive conceptions which always marks religions and in part by its ancient traditions of asceticism—tended to insist mainly if not exclusively on the animal ob-

ject of marriage. It sought to reduce sex to a minimum because the pagans magnified sex; it banned pleasure because the Christian's path on earth was the way of the Cross; and though theologians accepted the idea of a "Sacrament of Nature" they could only allow it to operate when the active interference of the priest was impossible, though it must in justice be said that, before the Council of Trent, the Western Church recognized that the sacrament of marriage was effected entirely by the act of the two celebrants themselves and not by the priest. Gradually, however, a more reasonable and humane opinion crept into the Church. Intercourse outside the animal end of marriage was indeed a sin, but it became merely a venial sin. The great influence of St. Augustine was on the side of allowing much freedom to intercourse outside the aim of procreation. At the Reformation, John á Lasco, a Catholic Bishop who became a Protestant and settled in England, laid it down, following various earlier theologians, that the object of marriage, besides offspring, was to serve as a "sacrament of consolation" to the united couple, and that view was more or less accepted by the founders of the Protestant Churches. It is the generally accepted Protestant view to-day. The importance of the spiritual end of intercourse in marriage, alike for the higher development of each member of the couple and for the intimacy and stability of their union, is still more emphatically set forth by the more advanced thinkers of to-day.

There is something pathetic in the spectacle of those among us who are still only able to recognize the animal end of marriage, and who point to the example of the lower animals—among whom the biological conditions are entirely different—as worthy of our imitation. It has taken God—or Nature, if we will—unknown millions of years of painful struggle to evolve Man, and to raise the human species above that helpless bondage of reproduction which marks the lower animals. But on these people it has all been wasted. They are at the animal stage still. They have yet to learn the A. B. C. of love. A representative of these people in the person of an Anglican bishop, the Bishop of Southwark, appeared as a witness before the National Birth-rate Commission which, two years ago, met in London to investigate the decline of the birth-rate. He declared that procreation was the sole legitimate object of marriage and that intercourse for any other end was a degrading act of mere "self-gratification." This declaration had the interesting result of evoking the comments of many members of the Commission, formed of representative men and women with various standpoints,—Protestant, Catholic, and other,—and it is notable that while not one identified himself with the Bishop's opinion, several decisively opposed that opinion, as contrary to the best beliefs of both ancient and modern times, as representing a low and not a high moral standpoint, and as involving the notion that the whole sexual activity of an individual should be reduced to perhaps two or three effective acts of intercourse in a lifetime. Such a notion obviously cannot be carried into general practice, putting aside the question as to whether it

(Concluded on page 8)

WOMAN AND WAR

Margaret Sanger

Realization of the world tragedy—war—has at last been forced upon the American people. Two years ago the fiendish internecine strife of the militarists of Europe seemed remote enough. Today our women of the working class find themselves facing an outrage unparalleled in the history of this republic. Their husbands, sons and brothers are to be herded to the front as conscript fighters, in violation of every human instinct fostered in them by the great libertarians who founded this country.

America's participation in the war has been brought about by interested groups, not in response to the will of the majority. Not fifty per cent. of the men could have been induced to vote Yes in a war referendum, not five per cent. of the women. In Australia, a colony of the British Empire, where democracy was respected to the extent of submitting the question to a referendum, the votes of the women defeated conscription overwhelmingly.

Woman hates war. Her instincts are fundamentally creative, not destructive. But her sex-bondage has made her the dumb instrument of the monster she detests. For centuries she has populated the earth in ignorance and without restraint, in vast numbers and with staggering rapidity. She has become not the mother of a nobler race, but a mere breeding machine grinding out a humanity which fills insane asylums, almshouses and sweat shops, and provides cannon fodder that tyrants may rise to power on the sacrifice of her offspring.

Too long has she been called the gentler and weaker half of humankind; too long has she silently borne the brunt of unwilling motherhood; too long has she been the stepping-stone of oligarchies, kingdoms and so-called democracies; too long have they thrived on her enslavement. Had she not been so submissive and inarticulate, the present war could not have been imposed upon the workers; for there would not have been the big battalions of superfluous humanity to be moved about like pawns on a chessboard.

The great horde of the unwanted has proved to be a spineless mass, which did not have the courage to control its own destiny. Had woman had knowledge of birth control and brought into the world only such offspring as she

desired and was physically and spiritually prepared to receive, society would have been far too individualistic to tolerate wholesale massacre for the benefit of money kings. Under such an order, the child would have been considered a priceless gift to the community. Manhood would have been too valuable to be sacrificed on battlefields. Motherhood would have been revered, and the mother's voice raised to forbid the slaughter of her offspring would have been heeded.

But unfortunately the forces of oppression have cared nothing for the poignant grief of exploited motherhood. They have turned in callous indifference from her tears, while her flesh and blood have reddened every battlefield in history. There are statues in plenty to kings, statesmen and generals who have driven her sons to the universal shambles of slaughter. But where are the statues to Motherhood?

In the present soul-trying crisis, the flower of European manhood has been sacrificed on the altar of Tyranny. The rulers of Europe are begging, imploring, crying to woman, using every subterfuge to induce her to breed again in the old-time submission to man-made laws. Soon, the war lords of America will be echoing the same plea.

To all these entreaties the working woman must answer No! She must deny the right of the State or Kingdom hereafter to make her a victim of unwilling motherhood, and the handmaiden of militarism.

Mothers of the working class, if your love for offspring, husband, sweetheart or brother stirs within you as deeply as the love that fired the mothers of France and Spain who strove to halt unjust wars by throwing their bodies across the railroad tracks to prevent troop trains from leaving, you too will rouse yourselves to action. You will make it necessary for this democracy, which has set out to conscript your men for foreign warfare, to take them over the dead bodies of the protesting womanhood of the United States

Instead of an immense amount of life of low type, I would far sooner see half the amount of life of a high type. Increase in the swarms of people whose existence is subordinated to material development is rather to be lamented than rejoiced over.—Herbert Spencer.



Courtesy of New York Call

Drawn by Robert Minor

Take It From Billy

Every once in a while the unspeakable Billy Sunday interrupts the straight course of his gospel-barking, to attack one or other of the liberal movements of the day. It is all, of course, part of the game.

Though it took him a long time to get around to it, it was inevitable that birth control should be honored with the Reverend Billy's disapproval. "Woe betide the nation when we sink down to the level of the brutes," he roared on April 18. "What would the world be if the beasts had birth control? There'd be no milk to drink, no meat on the table; the chickens would refuse to lay eggs, seeds would refuse to produce, and we'd all starve to death."

Ask any farmer what he thinks of these sapient arguments. It is scarcely worth an intelligent person's while to refute them, but it may be amusing to take up one point—that of the chickens. On poultry farms, experience has proved that when the hens are kept apart from the roosters, they lay more eggs. The last-named are infertile, to be sure, but they are as good as the other kind for table purposes.

Billy's second assault on birth control occurred on June 1. Tearing his collar and slobbering to right and left, the mountebank shrieked: "I despise the women who shrink from maternity because they love ease and fashion. Their hands are stained with the blood of their unborn children, and they are murderers just the same as if they put their hands on the throats of their twelve-year-old children and choked them to death. It was this that almost made France the charnel house of Europe. This country is drifting on the same rocks. Up to date matrons pride themselves on their knowledge of criminal prevention."

It is interesting to note that Billy and Ma Sunday's contribution to the population of the United States has been three sons and one daughter—hardly a better record than leading birth control advocates can show. —*Richard Hoyt.*

To Our Subscribers

We regret to have to announce the suspension of this magazine. Inadequate support has made its continued publication impossible, at least for the present. Paid subscriptions do not begin to cover the cost of getting it out. However, we are not discouraged, because we realize that the war has had a disorganizing effect on all radical movements. This together with arbitrary opposition on the part of city and state authorities, who have stopped meetings and prevented the sale of *The Birth Control Review*, has forced us to the conclusion that we must give up publishing the magazine during this summer. In the fall, when possibly some of the remnants of free speech may have been restored to us (and if in the meantime the workers for birth control have pledged us support) we hope to put out a stronger and more aggressive magazine. Fainthearted friends may rest assured that they will receive the full number of issues covered by their subscriptions. As we have had to reduce the size of this issue to eight pages, it has been impossible to find space for articles by Arturo Giovannitti and Lillian Browne-Olf, advertised to appear this month.

Is That So, Dr. Emerson?

In a letter to George H. Bell, New York Commissioner of Licenses, upholding his opposition to the film play, "Birth Control," Dr. Haven Emerson, Health Commissioner, wrote:

"From the medical point of view I see no reason whatsoever for propaganda in this matter, inasmuch as information on the subject of prevention of conception is readily available through proper medical sources.

"If the woman concerned, whether she be married or unmarried, pregnant or not, is in such a condition of health that pregnancy or parturition would in any way jeopardize her health (for instance, because of the presence of tuberculosis, heart disease or physical deformity,) there is no legal impediment which prevents any physician to whom she appeals, whether this physician be in private, hospital, dispensary, public or free practice, from giving her all the information necessary to spare her from any added risk to her health, even if this information goes to the extent of explaining in detail to her how she may prevent the results of intercourse."

Advocates of birth control are delighted to hear this. But is it true, Dr. Emerson? If you can prove to them that they are safe from prosecution, thousands of your more liberal fellow-practitioners stand ready to tell the overburdened mothers of the working class how to prevent conception, without waiting for the repeal of Section 1142.

Pirated and Spurious Editions

It is a well-known fact that there have been many pamphlets written by me on which no copyright could be obtained. Under such circumstances it is to be expected that editions will be pirated and circulated. Recently several such editions have come to my attention. Also, several pamphlets are in circulation under my name, of which I am not the author, and which express ideas directly opposed to those I hold. There is no doubt that many, in reproducing my work, have the best intentions of forwarding the propaganda, and I would suggest for the benefit of all concerned that proofs of such material at least be submitted to me if my name is to be used in the future. Those wishing authentic copies of the books and pamphlets I have written should write to me or to my publisher, Max N. Maisel, 424 Grand Street, New York City.—*Margaret Sanger.*

"The Case for Birth Control"

Although Margaret Sanger served thirty days in prison following her conviction for conducting the Brownsville clinic, the case has been appealed on principle to the higher Courts of New York State, in order to test the constitutionality of Section 1142. In addition to the brief written by her counsel, Jonah J. Goldstein, she has prepared in book form a supplementary brief which comprises all the available statistics and medical and social facts on the subject. The fruits of her research work in this country and Europe are here given, and many eminent authorities are quoted. A limited edition has been bound in cloth and can be supplied from this office at \$2.00 a copy.

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE REVOLUTION

Walter Adolphe Roberts

There are two main reasons for supporting birth control—for the sake of woman's freedom, and because the limitation of offspring is a keen and telling weapon with which to strike in the larger battle of the social revolution.

The first reason is the more important, because it is essential to woman to know how to prevent conception. Without this knowledge, she cannot win her moral, intellectual or economic freedom. It is primarily her fight, and she must be backed in it by every one who wishes to see her emerge from the sex-bondage in which she has been held since the beginning of the Christian era.

In the social revolution, on the other hand, birth control is only one factor. The revolution might march forward without it. But no rebel can fail to exult over the fact that Margaret Sanger had the vision and courage to launch the movement in America, and thereby to furnish him with new ammunition against the enemy.

Having paid my respects to its self-evident value to woman, I propose to state briefly why birth control appeals to the revolutionist.

It appeals because it is destructive to the capitalist system. Fewer children mean better children, stronger and more independent men and women who are likely to demand and take their share of the world's wealth. The theory that poverty is the most effective spur to revolution has long since been exploded. Unrest ferments in teeming slums, but usually it leads nowhere. The sweated worker struggling to support a horde of unwanted children is too cowed in spirit to revolt effectively. He is afraid to lose his job, because he has no savings wherewith to finance his family through even one week of idleness.

In a community, however, where birth control is consciously practiced and where the scarcity of labor results in good wages for all, the worker begins to measure his resources against those of the capitalist. To quote a modern Italian philosopher, Leo Gioacchino Sera, little known as yet in the United States: "To grasp at wealth and wrest it from the hands of those who hold it, one must be in possession of a certain amount of health and riches, since it is well known that want and poverty always render man less capable of fighting and winning."

What chance will there be for the exploiting class to re-

main in power, once the proletariat realizes that by reducing its own crude weight of mere numbers it will so gain in energy and efficiency that its superiority will be overwhelming from every point of view?

Another reason why birth control appeals to the advanced radical is that it is calculated to undermine the authority of the Christian churches. I do not expect every one to agree with this statement, but it is the opinion of many who, like myself, look forward to seeing humanity free some day of the tyranny of priests no less than of capitalists.

The Church depends for its existence upon dominating the family. In early days it arrogated to itself the right of licensing the marital relations of men and women, and has partially yielded that privilege to the State only under the

greatest pressure. When priests ceased to be the sole purveyors of marriage contracts, they lost much of their influence. They will lose still more when the emancipated working class mother rejects their dictum that, in order to please the Deity, she must dispute the fertility record with female guinea pigs.

The Church will never be converted to birth control. It prefers that the world should be over-populated by the ignorant and unthinking. It will continue to thunder against the prevention of conception as an "unholy interference with the laws of God and Nature." But those who take its clamor with a

grain of salt will increase in numbers, until birth control finally looms up as one of the principal factors in the downfall of the Church.

There is still a third major reason why the limitation of offspring appeals to the revolutionist. It would in time make war impossible. International warfare, at all events. Men would be too precious to be conscripted and sent out to slaughter each other. They would be too intelligent to go, even if their rulers were misguided enough to attempt to herd them to the shambles. Birth control is essentially an anti-militaristic philosophy. There is no question in my mind that if it had been universally practiced by the last generation, the present war—all Kaisers, Kings and Presidents, notwithstanding—could never have been imposed upon the world.

TO MARGARET SANGER

Lives fall and dreams fall
 Along the way of all men —
 Young Christ upon the fresh wood, all
 Rebels in a den.
 Lives fall but what clear eyes have seen,
 Dreams fall but what a life has been
 Are turned to light that is the very woof
 Of that the sun gives while it reaches earth;
 And in all mirth,
 And sudden sorrows of bold struggling days,
 Sets a gold crown to sacrifice
 And true words of new mouths to silence lies.
 So, knowing this, your joy may walk aloof,
 Proud of loud lack of praise.

Orrick Johns.

A Decision for Liberty

(Concluded from page 2)

sider frankly an unpleasant subject may be shocked into activity by this exhibition; but that does not warrant the suppression of a prosaic public performance. It is true that unclean minds may find unclean suggestion in the discussion of any subject which involves the relations of the sexes. The same possibility exists even in necessary everyday conversations on such matters. It lies dormant in hundreds of the classics of literature and art; in pictures, books, operas and plays open to every one, and even in Holy Writ. The welfare of the community, however, can not be limited by a standard based upon the possible misconceptions of persons with perverted tastes. It may not be inept to recall the passage from Mill on Liberty, in the course of which, while discussing freedom of speech, he cites the case of Socrates, who was convicted of "immorality" as a "corrupter of youth." The pictures suggest nothing erotic or obscene; neither the subject of birth control nor the course of its advocates or opponents is presented in "high colors" nor with undue exaggeration, but rather in a measured and dispassionate tone. I think that a valuable analogy and guide as to the law applicable to this case is to be found in the many decisions which deal with the extent of the police power of the state; such, for example, as *Lochner v. New York* (198 U. S., 45, reversing *People v. Lochner*, 177 N. Y., 145) and also *Matter of Jacobs* (98 N. Y., 98, 114). In the prevailing opinion in the *Lochner* case, in the Federal Supreme Court, at page 56, occurs the significant phrase: "It must, of course, be conceded that there is a limit to the valid exercise of the police power by the state. * * * Otherwise, * * * the claim of the police power would be a mere pretext—become another and delusive name for the supreme sovereignty of the state to be exercised free from constitutional restraint." And the question is thus there posed: "Is this a fair, reasonable and appropriate exercise of the police power of the state, or it is an unreasonable, unnecessary and arbitrary interference with the right of the individual to his personal liberty? * * *" From this standpoint, it seems to me that there is nothing in the exhibition proposed to be given which warrants or calls for the exercise of any censure or censorship on the part of the commissioner, and that the performance is beyond his power to interdict. Viewed from another angle, however, my conclusion appears to be strongly fortified. It is needless to speak of the importance of freedom of speech in a republic like ours. The value of that institution in a democratic government has been accentuated by the result of our political experiment in which public opinion has become perhaps the dominant factor. So keen an observer as Lord Bryce has devoted an entire part of his classic, "The American Commonwealth," to a consideration of the value and influence of public opinion in our government. In discussing two dangers to which a government thus influenced may be exposed, he says: "One—the smaller one—yet sometimes troublesome, is the difficulty of ascertaining the will of the majority. * * * The other danger is that minorities may not sufficiently assert themselves. Where a majority has erred, the only remedy against the prolongation or repetition of its error is in the continued protests and agitation of the minority, an agitation which ought to be peaceably conducted, carried on by voice and pen, but which must be vehement enough to rouse the people and deliver them from the consequences of their blunders." Under the same head, again, he cites the strength of popular government (after comparing it to a pyramid—the very emblem of stability), and adds: "It has no need to fear discussion and agitation." Assured freedom of speech insures resort to discussion as the sole necessary means to reform. The solvency of American institutions is based largely upon the flexibility of the popular life and of the institutions under which it exists. The abiding conviction on the part of every citizen that he may freely express his opinion and advocate any peaceable means of reform is in itself the greatest preventive of the use of force or of temptation to violent and subversive change. Indeed, it is probably the decisive factor in reconciling us (as Lord Bryce intimates) to willing submission to the iron discipline of war, and to according to our administrative officers in times of crisis an almost absolute power. We know that when the need has passed the people may safely and freely demand the recall of that power to its proper source. De Tocqueville, in his "Democracy in America" (Part III, chap. 21), says: "Although the Americans continually modify or abrogate some of their laws, they are far from evidencing revolutionary passions." This observation is accurate, but not complete. To my mind the learned author has overlooked the fact that in the very statement of the phenomenon he was including its cause. Had he said: "Because the Americans continually modify their laws they are far from showing revolutionary passions," he would have apprehended one of the truths which accounts for the evenness of our national existence. Comparatively paradoxical as it may appear, the soundness and serenity of our communal life rest upon the absence of rigidity in our system of law and upon the opportunity for

the facile change of such of our institutions as are not absolutely fundamental. Compared with the importance of guarding the commonwealth against even the possibility of disturbing the foundation of our social solidity by unduly limiting the vital right of free speech, the contention that the exhibition here complained of might be construed as immoral, seems to me to be negligible. I think that the performance which the commissioner of licenses has sought to interdict may not properly be interpreted as more than an attempt to present a dramatic argument in favor of the change of an existing law; that while its form, its force and its good taste may furnish ground for an honest difference of opinion, there is nothing in it which can reasonably be viewed as "against morality, decency or public welfare." It affords, therefore, no basis for the exercise of any discretion on the part of the commissioner. It is a measured and decent exercise of the right of free speech, guaranteed by our constitutions, essential to our national wellbeing, and, as such, beyond the power of the commissioner of licenses to forbid. Motion granted. Order signed.

The Objects of Marriage

(Concluded from page 4)

would be desirable, and it may be added that it would have the further result of shutting out from the life of love altogether those persons who, for whatever reason, feel that it is their duty to refrain from having children at all. It is the attitude of a handful of Pharisees seeking to thrust the bulk of mankind into Hell. All this confusion and evil comes of the blindness which cannot know that, beyond the primary animal end of propagation in marriage, there is a secondary but more exalted spiritual end.

It is needless to insist how intimately that secondary end of marriage is bound up with the practice of birth-control. Without birth-control, indeed, it could frequently have no existence at all, and even at the best seldom be free from disconcerting possibilities fatal to its very essence. Against these disconcerting possibilities is often placed, on the other side, the un-aesthetic nature of the contraceptives associated with birth-control. Yet, it must be remembered, they are of a part with the whole of our civilized human life. We at no point enter the spiritual save through the material. Forel has in this connection compared the use of contraceptives to the use of eye-glasses. Eye-glasses are equally un-aesthetic, yet they are devices, based on Nature, wherewith to supplement the deficiencies of Nature. However in themselves un-aesthetic, for those who need them they make the aesthetic possible. Eye-glasses and contraceptives alike are a portal to the spiritual world for many who, without them, would find that world largely a closed book.

Birth-control is effecting, and promising to effect, many functions in our social life. By furnishing the means to limit the size of families which would otherwise be excessive it confers the greatest benefit on the family and especially on the mother. By rendering easily possible a selection in parentage and the choice of the right time and circumstances for conception it is, again, the chief key to the eugenic improvement of the race. There are many other benefits, as is now generally becoming clear, which will be derived from the rightly applied practice of birth-control. To many of us it is not the least of these that birth-control effects finally the complete liberation of the spiritual object of marriage.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume One

DECEMBER, 1917

Number Five

WOMAN, REBELLIOUS!

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By LÉONINE NAPIÈRE

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- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 23, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

BIRTH CONTROL CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.
- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*, 687 Boylston Street. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Dr. Rachele Yarros, Hull House, chairman.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Ohio*. Mrs. Lillian Browne-Olf, 3848 Prospect Avenue, secretary.
- COLUMBUS, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Columbus*. Arthur Gluck, 2054 Tuller Street, president.
- DENVER, COL.—Mrs. May Courtney Wey, 1633 Court Place.
- DETROIT, MICH.—Dr. Anna Karlin, 161 Canfield Avenue.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- HARTFORD, CONN.—Henry F. Fletcher, Room 422, 647 Main Street.
- JOHNSTOWN, PA.—Mrs. M. T. Heiple, Box 636.

- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK.—*The Birth Control League of New York*, 104 Fifth Ave. Mrs. Eugene Stone, president.
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, Executive Secretary.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 200 Fifth Avenue.
- PAINESVILLE, OHIO.—George E. Allen, 125 South State Street.
- PATCHOGUE, N. Y.—Mrs. Ruth Litt, East Patchogue.
- PATERSON, N. J.—William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Avenue.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, sec'y.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president.
- ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue.
- ST. LOUIS, MO.—Clara Taylor, 5063 Page Avenue.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Mrs. N. M. Thygeson, 894 Laurel Avenue, general chairman.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Rimer, 19 West Thomas Street, secretary.
- SPokane, WASH.—Mrs. Lillian Fassett, 2127 Pacific Avenue.
- SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.
- TRENTON, N. J.—Dr. Lewis Augustus Young, 28 South Broad Street.
- WASHINGTON, D. C.—*The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia*. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1407 S Street, N. W., president.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We have to announce that Elizabeth Stuyvesant and Frederick A. Blossom, Ph. D., have resigned from *The Birth Control Review*.

Elizabeth Stuyvesant is now devoting her energies to the suffrage movement.

Frederick A. Blossom is now identified with the Socialist Party and the social work of the Rand School, in New York City.

We take this opportunity of thanking these two former co-workers for their devotion to the movement while they were with us, and wish them success in their new undertakings.

The Editors.

AN APPEAL TO OUR READERS

THE CONTINUED publication of this magazine depends upon the support you are willing to give us. Last year was a year of agitation—a year of clinics, arrests, trials, courts and prison sentences, a year of national publicity. In this movement, as in all others, many flocked to the cause during the time of publicity and fell away when publicity ceased. The birth control movement was particularly unfortunate, because its forward march was halted by the entry of this country into the European war.

Nevertheless, those of us who started this agitation believe as strongly as we did in the beginning that birth control is the most fundamental issue before the American people today. We cannot afford to neglect it, even while we are passing through the temporary trial of war. The laws against the dissemination of birth control knowledge remain upon the statute books and must be changed. It has been left to a few of us to keep up the fight for their repeal.

The publication of this magazine is one of the most important contributions to the movement. But it will become an impossible burden to those who are publishing it unless you, its readers, will work with us for its continuation. You can do this by:

- (1) Contributing what you can each month to a sustaining fund, for the period of a year: or
- (2) Obtaining at least five new subscribers: or
- (3) Ordering from us bundles of ten or more copies of the magazine for distribution in your neighborhood.

Your response will determine the prompt appearance of the next issue. We believe in the absolute necessity of keeping this magazine alive. We believe in its future and the services it can render to the cause of woman's freedom both during and after the war. If you have the same faith, you will not delay in letting us hear from you. We need the encouragement.

THE EDITORS.

WOMAN, REBELLIOUS!

By Lily Winner

THE DRIFT of the world toward liberty is nowhere more evident than in the amazing alteration in the position and activities of women. The position of woman is the last stronghold of conservatism. Herein custom reigns supreme,—tradition, the ways of the forefathers. But this stronghold has been attacked. And it is indeed time that justice was done to one-half of human kind. Is it not enough that whereas it takes man but twenty-one years to attain his majority, it has taken woman twenty-one centuries?

It is an age of Feminism. Laws are being altered for woman's benefit. Government is on the verge of radical change by her participation. Our industrial system has forced her to the front more and more. She can no more be numbered among man's chattels. Her equality, if not in likeness, then in unlikeness, is being universally taken for granted. She no longer depends upon man for her bread. Millions of women workers fill the factories. Countless numbers are employed in minor positions in trade. They teach, they write, they paint, they sing. The woman who works is no longer an exception; she is a usual type.

But it is as the whole world changes that woman's position changes. She is on the firing line. She is the sensitive human barometer of change. Indeed, we can measure civilization by the steps taken by woman toward liberty.

And now that the law recognizes her as a self centered individual, not incorporated in another personality, not merged in the family; not the property of the father or the shadow of the husband, but an independent legal unit, she is asserting that individuality and demanding

complete freedom, full choice of all the gifts of life, and free control of her own destiny.

The introduction of woman into industrial life, which was the first step toward her economic independence, was the result of the revolution in industry occasioned by the invention and introduction of machinery. Machinery multiplied and facilitated production. More workers were demanded to feed these machines than the labor of man could furnish. But having attained, almost in like measure with man, economic independence, and having, in rubbing shoulders with the world and meeting and conquering its problems, acquired vision and desire, woman has developed into the next stage—the stage of discontent, of critical and intelligent discontent with the confused conditions that surround her on every side in her struggle under the present system of living. And so, we have the new type, the progressive and world-moving type—woman, rebellious!

THE OSCILLATION of the pendulum from quiescence has brought a swift and permanent change. Woman demands the prerogative of choice which man has always arrogated to himself. Demanding and being refused, she goes onward to the next step toward seizing what is refused to her, by defying in action those who have the power to deny her. From Becky Edelson, the first hunger-striker in America, and Ethel Byrne to the present day suffrage martyrs, she is making the great crusade of the ages for the absolute control of her own soul and body. Particularly, must she fight for her own body, to own it and care for it and use it according to her own high desire and purpose.

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ON CHANGING THE LAW

By *Caroline Nelson*

NOW THAT WE are talking so much democracy, it would be well to repeal the laws which prevent women from controlling their own bodies.

The American people have had nothing to do with the writing of these absurd laws upon their statute books. The objectionable legislation was sneaked through about 40 years ago, by the "wardheeling" politicians of the day. England had similar laws, but they could not stand daylight and publicity and they faded away just about the time that ours bloomed into statute life.

Women were not permitted to say a word, one way or the other, when laws designed to prevent them from regulating their motherhood function were drawn up, voted upon, signed and placed in operation by undemocratic men.

But said laws are for the protection of society, declares the would-be statesman. Do they, then, protect society? Protect it from what? From degeneracy? On the contrary, the laws which make it a crime to disseminate harmless methods of birth control give us an army of decent citizens who dare not marry and establish homes, for fear that more children will come along than they can care for. As a direct consequence, illicit relationships of all kinds flourish. Red light districts spread disease and demoralization, from which young boys and girls are not safe. Half a million women are driven yearly into the hands of abortionists, whence they emerge crippled either in body or mind, or both. Hosts of deficient persons are born of mothers whose condition is such that it is impossible for them to give life to healthy offspring.

Furthermore, the parent is expected not only to create life, but to cultivate it. In our modern society, it takes at least 18 long years to nurse a human being to the point where he or she can take his place in the world, with credit to himself and the world. The citizen who calls for reckless and unlimited breeding, as a means of increasing the race, is either an impractical fanatic, or back in his head there is the fear that his own selfish schemes may miscarry unless there is a large, ignorant, degraded population to be used in his interest. The vision of this brand of citizen is so blurred and distorted that it is he, and not the advocate of birth control, who is a menace to the race.

OVERCROWDING is fatal even to animals. While the flow of the human race has been from the East westward, out into the valleys and open prairies, until mankind has circled the globe, and the ever increasing population of the Pacific coast of America looks across apprehensively at the hordes of the Orient—the tide of human enlightenment has always flowed from the West eastward. It was among the inhabitants of sparsely populated Western Europe that the germ of democracy was

developed, and it was in the thinly settled New England Colonies that it first found a soil in which it could grow. Since then, it has been a tussle between the minds developed in the crowded East and those developed on the open prairies and mountains of the West, as to whether democracy should be permitted to grow beyond its infantile stage.

It was a very sparsely settled state that first gave women the vote. Our greatest President, Abraham Lincoln, came from the western prairies. And when I say "West," I care not where that particular West may have been at any particular time, whether on the plains of Central Europe 500 years ago, or our Atlantic seaboard 200 years ago, or in Illinois 60 years ago. True, great reformers must necessarily arise wherever there is crowded degradation, but the degraded crowd itself in such localities, is always ready to cry, through its priests: "Crucify him! Crucify him!"

Civilizations have flourished upon this globe, now here and now there, and they have gone down scarcely leaving a trace behind. The causes contributing to their disappearance may have been numerous. But we are at least certain that idle luxury on one side, and crowded poverty on the other, have never failed to do their deadly work.

THE WORKINGWOMAN cannot ignore her own responsibility. She must not allow blind nature to lead her to the point where she is surrounded by a brood of offspring, which she is unable either to feed or clothe. And, to the eternal credit of the workingwoman, I believe that, once she is informed of the facts, she will accept any punishment, even death, in preference to committing the crime of becoming an irresponsible mother.

America is the only country which makes it a felony to give out birth control information. Nevertheless, the upper circles in American life universally practice birth control. Each college graduate is said to average one-third of a daughter and one-fourth of a son. The law is a farce to them. Are American legislators then so stupid as to believe that the nation can be strengthened by forcing the least healthy and intelligent mothers to breed while the more independent prudently refrain. If they do believe this, they must expect to create an improved race out of the forces of inefficiency, weakness and credulity—a manifest absurdity. It should be added that under their regime, democracy can be of little reality; for democracy demands a nation of uniformly strong and sturdy members.

Instead of calling birth control among the poor and deficient a crime, it should be preached to them as a sacred duty. The laws must be changed.



Drawn by Cornelia Barns

"We Accuse Society!"

STATUS OF BIRTH CONTROL CASES

In connection with the suppression of the Brownsville birth control clinic, two charges were filed against Ethel Byrne.— 1. For disseminating information on birth control; 2. For aiding Fania Mindell in selling "What Every Girl Should Know." Mrs. Byrne was convicted in the Court of Special Sessions on the first charge and was sentenced to 30 days in the workhouse. She went on a hunger strike, was pardoned by Governor Whitman of New York and released. The second charge was dismissed, following the reversal of Fania Mindell's conviction for selling "What Every Girl Should Know."

Margaret Sanger was arrested at the same time as Ethel

Byrne and charged with disseminating birth control information. As soon as she was released on bail, Mrs. Sanger reopened the clinic. She was rearrested and charged with "maintaining a public nuisance." She was convicted in the Court of Special Sessions on the first charge and sentenced to 30 days in the workhouse, which term she served. She nevertheless appealed the case. The Appellate Division affirmed the conviction, but a new appeal is now pending in the highest court in New York State. The second charge, that of maintaining a public nuisance, was removed by order of Judge Hylan from the Court of Special Sessions to the County Court, to permit of a jury trial. This case is now pending, action apparently awaiting the decision of the highest court on the first count.

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL

By *Maude Durand Edgren*

A FEW WORDS, first, about the morality of birth control; for ignorantly and unfortunately, the idea of birth control has been associated with immorality.

Theodore Roosevelt emphasizes the important duty to one's country of keeping up the number of its population, and this duty he puts on the shoulder of those able to produce and care for sound, healthy, offspring. Obviously it is the duty of the race to humanity to keep the population regulated in a normal, healthy and progressive manner. When the wealthy, educated and ecclesiastical members of society neglect to reproduce the adequate number of offspring for the good of the society of which they form a part, they are immoral. They are neglecting a spiritual duty. They are putting selfish indulgence ahead of community welfare. Such people, in my opinion, are immoral and are practicing immoral birth control, no matter how religiously they are living up to all the conventions of society and the church.

On the other hand, the poor families who are breeding diseased offspring or more children than they can support in a healthy, normal, sanitary manner are immoral. Theirs is the immorality of ignorance—ignorance of the laws of birth control. Any institution encouraging such over-production of offspring is immoral.

The State itself is not free from blame regarding these things. A State that allows its citizens already born to suffer privations and become exposed to unhealthful and criminal environments is immoral. A State that does not protect the rights of helpless baby citizens is immoral, even to brutality. Would it not increase and improve the population enormously if the State snatched every infant out of diseased and sordid environments and supplied it with everything a normal, healthy, growing baby citizen needed: nursing, education, comforts, recreation up to the time he or she could be self-supporting?

Thus, the State itself, the wealthy, the educated, the unmarried ecclesiastics are all, generally speaking, shrinking from their duty to humanity in respect to producing and rearing healthy, desirable citizens. They are all immoral and most of them are indulging in the immoral use of birth control.

ROOSEVELT calls the poorer and more unfortunate members of our population the "Submerged Tenth," perhaps because they are unable to rise above the depressing clouds of fear, ignorance and poverty settled about them. Workers for the welfare of humanity should ever be on the alert to send rays of light through these heavy clouds. Even Roosevelt admits that to this class, perhaps, birth control would be a benefit. Indeed, teaching these people the knowledge of the laws of birth control is not only advisable and moral, but necessary to the welfare of the race. A

new-born babe has rights which defective parents would be unable to give him. And if we knew a little more about the laws of Karma and Rebirth, we could plainly see that children born into unfortunate environments often had better far never have been born at all.

This brings us to the deeper spiritual aspect of the matter. It is a mistake to think that when parents give birth to a child, in so doing they create a new soul. The soul, or spirit, of the new-born babe is a divine spark, divinely created. It is blasphemy to suppose that mere human beings could do anything so wonderful. All parents can possibly do is to produce the child's body, its physical abode during this particular earth life. Even this physical body the parents would be unable to furnish if it were not for the seed atom supplied by the incoming soul itself. Actually the parents supply the soil in which, or out of which, the seed atom grows into a human, physical form. This seed atom is the property of the coming child. It is entirely independent of the parents, but before the child can begin an earth life, its seed atom must take root and grow in the body of a mother. The mother, therefore, is the gate through which an individual enters a new life on earth. When a mother refuses to help build a body for an individual desiring to enter an earth life through her body she is depriving that individual of her assistance in the matter. She is by no means killing that individual, who may gain a body through the help of some other mother. If a mother refuses admittance to an undesirable being she is right in so doing and benefits humanity thereby. There are all classes of individuals clamoring to get through these woman bodies. It is for the mother to stand on guard lest the unworthy enter.

A MOTHER can determine what sort of child she will give birth to. A woman whose thoughts are pure and noble and whose life is devoted to the uplift of humanity would, by the law of attraction, draw to her a child with similar inclinations. The attitude of a mother's mind just prior to the reception of the seed atom is all important in determining what sort of child she will bring into the world. A fit of temper or violent passion at this sacred moment leaves the gateway unguarded and invites the wrong sort of entity to enter. Women are shouldering a tremendous responsibility, and the sooner they learn all there is to know about it, the better it is going to be for the coming generation.

Before a human being is reborn into an earth life, he or she is permitted to choose certain parents. No one can choose an environment which is not deserved, or previously earned in another life. We are told that there are many high-class people being kept out of life on earth because no worthy parents will supply bodies for them. On the

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BIRTH CONTROL AND WOMAN'S HEALTH

By Margaret Sanger

ONE OF THE first questions asked by women desirous of contraceptive information, is: "Will the knowledge of birth control, when put into practice, injure the health of either the man or the woman?"

The conclusion arrived at by some of the most prominent authorities on the subject is to the effect that there are safe and reliable means of controlling birth which will not injure the health of either the man or the woman.

Among these eminent authorities may be included such men as Dr. Havelock Ellis, Dr. Hector Treub, Professor Forel, Dr. Iwan Bloch, Dr. Anton Nystrom, Dr. A. Jacoby, formerly President of the American Medical Association, and Dr. William J. Robinson, who, in his book on the "Limitation of Offspring" challenges any physician or gynecologist to produce "a single case," in which disease or injury resulted from modern methods of birth control.

Not only are we fortunate in possessing the opinions of the best known medical authorities, but we are also fortunate in possessing historical facts collected in Holland and New Zealand, where for years the knowledge of birth control has been disseminated among the working class women.

In these two countries we find the women largely free from so-called "female complaints" common to the women of the United States. There are two practical reasons for this. The first one is the fact that women go to the birth control clinic for instruction and information, thus giving the nurse the opportunity to detect any ailment or incipient disease, which, if present, is promptly treated by a specialist. The second reason is, that owing to scientific knowledge of birth control, women are saved from the deteriorating and ghastly effects of abortion, which so many women of the United States frequently undergo.

Military statistics of Holland prove that the average stature of the male citizens has increased by four inches during the thirty years since the first birth control clinic was opened in Amsterdam.

We also learn from statistics in Holland for 1912 that the death rate in Amsterdam, which, in 1881, was 25.1, had fallen in 1912 to 11.2, the lowest death rate reported of all lists submitted. The infant mortality, which in 1881 was 203, had fallen in 1912 to 64. These statistics, together with numerous other reports, which for want of space cannot be related, prove conclusively that the scientific application of birth control among the working class has resulted in a racial improvement.

IN this country our stupid and puritanical laws have been the cause of more than *fifty thousand* annual deaths resulting from abortions. These laws have caused hundreds of thousands of women to drag out a futile existence due to nervous exhaustion from too frequent child-bearing. These

laws are responsible for the birth of children tainted by syphilis, who become not only a charge upon the public, but also a detriment to the human race.

I am going to quote from one of the many typical letters I am constantly receiving from all parts of the country, in order that my readers may get some idea of conditions as they exist among us.

A Poignant Plea for Birth Control

"I was left without a father when a girl of fourteen years old. I was the oldest child of five. My mother had no means of support except her two hands, so we worked at anything we could, my job being nurse girl at home while mother worked most of the time, as she could earn more money than I could, for she could do harder work.

"I wasn't very strong and finally after two years my mother got so tired and worn out trying to make a living for so many, she married again, and as she married a poor man, we children were not much better off. At the age of seventeen I married a man, a brakeman on the — Railroad, who was eleven years older than I. He drank some and was a very frail looking man, but I was very ignorant of the world and did not think of anything but making a home for myself and husband. After eleven months I had a little girl born to me. I did not want more children, but my mother-in-law told me it was a terrible sin to do anything to keep from having children and that the Lord only sent just thing, and if I heard anything I was told it was injurious, so I did not try.

"In eleven months again, Oct. 25, I had another little puny girl. In twenty-three months, Sept. 25, I had a seven-lb. boy. In ten months, July 15, I had a seven-months baby that lived five hours. In eleven months, June 20, I had another little girl. In seventeen months, Nov. 30, another boy. In nine months a four months' miscarriage. In twelve month another girl, and in three and a half years another girl.

"All of these children were born into poverty; the father's health was always poor, and when the third girl was born he was discharged from the road because of his disability, yet he was still able to put children into the world. When the oldest child was twelve years old the father died of concussion of the brain while the youngest child was born two months after his death.

"Now, Mrs. Sanger, I did not want those children, because even in my ignorance I had sense enough to know that I had no right to bring those children into such a world where they could not have decent care,

for I was not able to do it myself nor hire it done. I prayed and I prayed that they would die when they were born. Praying did no good and today I have read and studied enough to know that I am the mother of seven living children and that I committed a crime by bringing them into the world, their father was syphilitic (I did not know about such things when I was a girl). One son is to be sent to Mexico, while one of my girls is a victim of the white slave traffic.

"I raised my family in a little college town in —— and am well known there, for I made my living washing and working for the college people while I raised my little brood. I often wondered why those educated well-to-do people never had so many children. I have one married daughter who is tubercular, and she also has two little girls, only a year apart. I feel so bad about it, and write to ask you to send me information for her. Don't stop your good work; don't think it's not appreciated; for there are hundreds of women like myself who are not afraid to risk their lives to help you to get this information to poor women who need it."

THIS IS but one illustration of what women endure through the ravages of syphilis. The waste from tuberculosis is no less terrible.

Here is another letter which speaks for itself: —

"Kindly pardon me for writing this to you, not knowing what trouble this may cause you. But I've heard of you through a friend and realize you are a friend of humanity. If people would see with your light, the world would be healthy. I married the first time when I was eighteen years old, a drinking man. I became mother to five children. In 1908 my husband died of consumption. I lost two of my oldest children from the same disease, one at 16 and the other at 23. The youngest of them all, a sweet girl of nineteen, now lies at —— sanatorium expecting to leave us at any time. The other sister and brother look very poorly.

"I have always worked very hard, because I had to. In 1913 I married again, a good man this time, but a laboring man, and our constant fear and trouble is what may happen if we bring children into the world. I'm forty-six years old this month and not very well any more, either. So a Godsend will be some one who can tell me how to care for myself, so I can be free from suffering and also not bring mortals to earth to suffer and die."

Does the State ever ask itself if it is economy to support and educate human beings up to the ages specified above, only to lose them in the end, knowing in advance that they should never have been born?

The cases given are only two of thousands of good women whose lives have been spent uselessly bearing burdens that no civilized society should put upon them. These things are past and we cannot undo the harm that has been done

to the victims, but we can prevent our younger generation from committing the same crimes. If you will compare the letter which follows with the early history of the first one quoted above, you will see a young life starting out which, if left in ignorance, will have the same disastrous experience:

"Mine is a pitiful case. Having been married over a year and having lost our baby (which was premature) I am now going to have another. I am in wretched health. I have been in bed for months since I married. The doctors all say that motherhood is not for me, but only shake their heads when I ask them for advice as how to keep from having children so fast, at least until my health improves. I live in dread that this one will be born dead, too, for my health is as bad as before. The doctors are continually treating me, but I never seem to improve.

"My husband and I are also deeply in debt—as you know, doctors and nurses can eat up money—and as matters stand we will never be free from debt again unless something is done. I want you to know that I am not selfish, for I love children. But at twenty-one years I have developed into a worn out, faded sickly woman, and I know that my husband is in time bound to grow weary of the heavy yoke that is put on his shoulders. We are doing all that we can to bring this little baby into the world as healthy as my frail body will permit, but after that (should I live) I would like to refrain from having children until I get stronger."

COULD THERE be a more worthy case of the right of an individual to demand, yes, *demand* of science, of the medical profession and of the State, the benefit of the knowledge society has accumulated on this subject?

These three cases represent, in a small degree, living conditions as they are. What a waste of human life our ignorance and stupidity is costing us! What an amount of useless suffering will be avoided when women have birth control knowledge!

We are dealing with peculiar facts today, so far as the health of the race is concerned. In the early history of the race, so-called "natural law" reigned undisturbed. Under its pitiless and unsympathetic iron rule, only the strongest, most courageous could live and become progenitors of the race. The weak died early, or were killed. Today, however, civilization has brought sympathy, pity, tenderness and other lofty and worthy sentiments, which interfere with the law of natural selection. We are now in a state where our charities, our compensation acts, our pensions, hospitals and even our drainage and sanitary equipment all tend to keep alive the sickly and weak, who are allowed to propagate and in turn produce a race of degenerates.

What we need to do, is to combine Reason with this higher sense of sympathy, and to encourage the birth of those only whose inheritance is health, and only so many as can be brought up in cleanliness and happiness.

THE BIRTH RATE OF FRANCE

By *Leonine Napiere*

GREAT EFFORTS are being made by the French Government, like that of other countries, to stimulate a high birth rate as a means of replacing the man-power lost in the war. An active propaganda, appealing to women on sentimental grounds not to "allow the race to die out," has been conducted in the newspapers. Legislation has been prepared with a view to awarding prizes to the parents of large families, and penalizing the unmarried and the childless. The dissemination of birth control knowledge, of course, has been more or less discouraged and restricted.

But the mothers of France have declined to be cajoled. The birth rate has been falling steadily since the war. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the limitation of offspring—a deeply rooted racial policy—has been accelerated by the prolonged absence and death of so many millions of potential fathers. The second is to be found in the Frenchwoman's clearly reasoned unwillingness to bring children into the world at a time of economic insecurity.

The women of other nations can be persuaded into weak sentimentality. Put the stamp of spurious morality or religion upon some plot to enslave them, and they will too often accept it without a murmur. But the Goddess Reason rules in France. Extremely patriotic wives and mothers of men in the trenches have told me that, until peace is restored, the Government might as well spare itself the trouble of agitating for larger families. Others have gone farther and asked: "Is it fair to require us to bear children until some assurance is given us that they will not be slaughtered 20 years hence in some new, and perhaps more terrible war?"

I do not, of course, claim that every section of France is equally enlightened. Certain Departments, especially in Brittany, are still dominated by the Church; and wherever ecclesiasticism reigns, birth control is anathema.

THE NOVELIST, René Bazin, a member of the Académie Française, who since the war has been preaching the necessity of repopulating France, rather naively proves the case for—rather than against—birth control, in a recent article in the *Echo de Paris*. He begins by presenting two tables, as follows:

In a village near Paris, in the Department of Seine-et-Oise, a house to house canvas revealed that the lamp-lighter had one child; the doctor, two; two men of independent means, without occupations, one each; the manager of a garage, two; butcher, none; wine merchant, none; another wine merchant, two; milkman, one; baker, two; shopkeeper, six; farrier, eight; harnessmaker, two; postman, one; barber, two; grocer, one; teacher, one; delicatessen man, none; stoveman, none; keeper of tobacco store, one. Thus, 36 parents had 34 children between them.

In the little parish of Torce, Brittany (630 inhabitants,) on the other hand, he found:

7	families with	6	children;	total:	42
2	"	7	"	"	14
5	"	8	"	"	40
1	"	9	"	"	9
6	"	10	"	"	60
3	"	12	"	"	36
1	"	13	"	"	13

Thus, in Torce, 50 parents had a total of 214 children. There were also several families in the neighborhood with five, four and three children each.

M. Bazin thinks that the practical absence of religious dogmatism in the vicinity of Paris, as compared with the piety of Brittany, has a good deal to do with the difference in the birth rates. He is, of course, correct in this assumption. But does he not realize that the standards of living must be infinitely higher in a community where 36 parents have 34 children than in one where 50 parents have 214 children? The modern mind must deplore the clerical influence which keeps Torce in the bondage of overpopulation, and admire the emancipated spirit of the village in Seine-et-Oise which M. Bazin holds up as a "horrible example."

IN AN ATTEMPT to bolster up his case, M. Bazin prints some interesting letters. The following was received by the Academician from the wife of a railroad employee in Paris:

"Let me describe my situation; it is similar to that of thousands of others. Two years ago, I married a man who earns exactly 148 francs (about \$29) a month. I love children and I have one son; but my health is poor. Until the birth of the child we made ends meet fairly well. I helped out by working as a dressmaker. But now it is almost impossible to keep out of debt, in spite of the fact that my husband does outside work on Sundays and holidays in order to augment our income. I am trying to bring up my son decently; but I do not want—cannot afford—any more children."

The solution offered by M. Bazin for cases of this character is government aid, in the form of pensions or otherwise. But the women of France are too individualistic to desire charity, no matter by what name it is called. They prefer to control their own destiny by means of the voluntary limitation of offspring, and official advice to the contrary will make very little impression upon them.

A NEW PAMPHLET
TO BE HAD FROM THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

The Objects of Marriage
By HAVELOCK ELLIS

25 Cents, postpaid

BIRTH CONTROL IN OREGON

By *Meta M. Dekker*

FOLLOWING two very successful meetings for Margaret Sanger held at the Heilig and Baker Theatre in Portland, Ore., last year, numerous requests for birth control information came by telephone and letter from women who were unable to attend the meetings. As Mrs. Sanger's time in the city was limited, I volunteered to call on as many of the needy cases as I could conveniently reach, and so do a little propaganda work.

In two month's time I visited 183 women living in all sections of Portland. This does not include those who visited me, called me on the phone or wrote me. Dozens and dozens of women sought me for some word promising them relief from intolerable burdens. Everywhere I found women in need of help. Most of those I visited had five, six and sometimes as high as nine children. Very few women with only two or three children asked for aid. Most of the people seeking information were of the class of wage earners whose wages have not increased in proportion to the rising cost of the necessities of life. This class, through various avenues of learning are beginning to see that large families are a handicap. And they may be said to have begun to help themselves when they demand information on a subject of such vital importance to every human being as birth control.

When interviewing the women in their homes, it was very easy for me to have a good talk with them. Most women felt that I had proved a personal interest in them by calling. They did not fail to show deep appreciation. Women told me how they suffered through pregnancy and childbirth; they were perfectly willing to do so for two or three children, but objected to having a half dozen or more. Others told of how the family physician had warned after the first child that giving birth to any more would mean loss of the mother's life. The physician, however, invariably, failed to give any medical advice in the matter. Naturally, these women hailed a movement that would relieve them of their hourly mental worries. For my part, it was borne in upon me what a terrible mental strain it must be to live constantly in fear of pregnancy, when one knows it will mean certain death.

A large class of women seek information on birth control strictly to preserve their health. Hundreds of women are resorting to abortive methods monthly. The abortions are self-inflicted for the most part, and a large percentage end in ill-health due to some dangerous practice. The sufferers feel that when they have the knowledge of birth control, they will be spared this physical tragedy. Some of them take no chances at home, but go to professional abortionists. It means an outlay of considerable money to have this work done. Such women hope to be relieved of this financial strain and worry, too, for it is a terrible worry when the cost of an abortion has to be taken from the monthly income. It

is a mistaken idea that only the well-to-do go to abortionists. Some of the poorer women become desperate and seek some one who will relieve them. Of course these abortionists are not always careful, and many times the patient is left in a weak and nervous state.

ANOTHER class of women seeking contraceptive information are those who are obliged to go into factories and workshops to keep the family together. In most of these cases, the father does not earn enough to support the family, so the wife and mother takes a job in a cannery or some sweatshop to add a little more money to the household purse. The women feel they cannot stand the added burdens imposed on them in entering the industrial life and bring as well more children into the world to suffer the hardships and privations they now endure.

As a result of my observations, I find that it would be a splendid thing to have a clinic where well-trained attendants could give women, who have not had the advantage of an education, the necessary information. Besides, there are the women who are naturally rather dull. These by all means should be helped to limit their families. We need a generation of healthy, vigorous intelligent human beings. Therefore, the inferior strains and stocks should be encouraged to have as few children as possible, so that the average level of racial vigor and intelligence may be raised. This is in accord with the soundest eugenic science. If we withhold birth control information from the worst strains in our population by making it criminal to disseminate this knowledge, and let them do most of the breeding, we shall only be inflicting an irreparable injury on the race; for the more intelligent, energetic and far-sighted will get the information anyway, in spite of all laws.

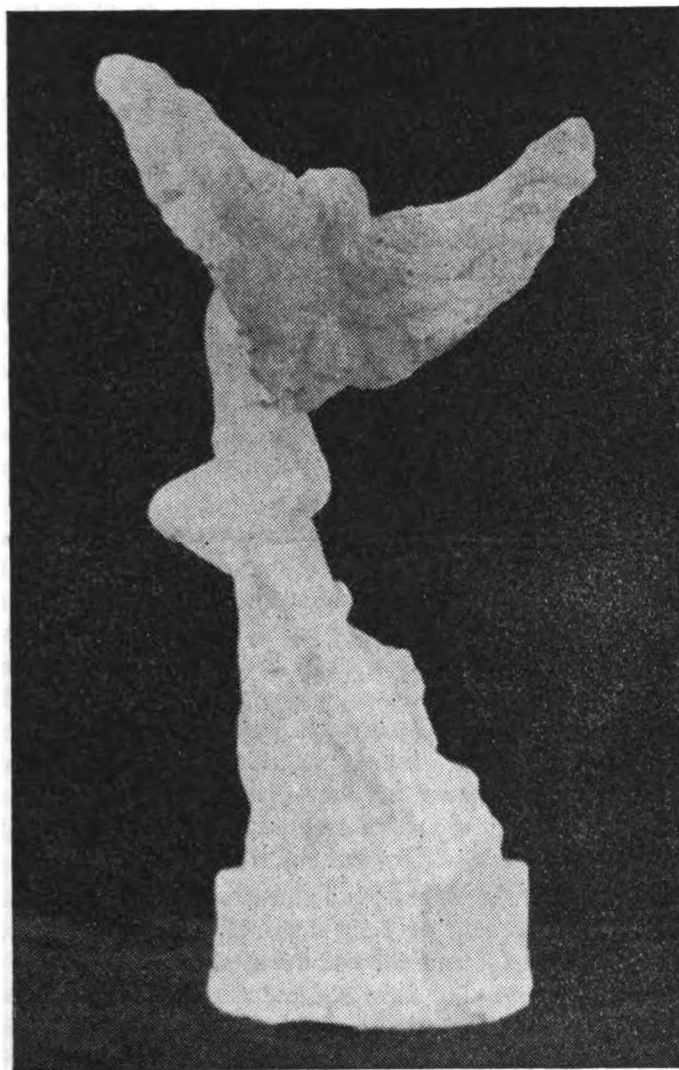
In one word, my experience in Portland has led me to believe that the great argument for birth control is, that contraceptive information should be especially available to the poorer classes, to prevent dire indigence and improve the average of racial vigor and intelligence.

IN THE LAST issue of the Review, we printed in full the splendidly libertarian opinion handed down by Judge Nathan J. Bijur in granting an injunction restraining the New York Commissioner of Licenses from preventing the exhibition of the B. S. Moss photoplay, "Birth Control." Friends of the movement felt justified in thinking that a victory had been won. But the vindictive opponents of reform were not to be balked. The case was taken before a more conservative court, which reversed the finding of Judge Bijur. This does not mean that the picture has been definitely closed to the public. A final appeal has been made to the Supreme Court, and it is hoped that this highly educational film will be exhibited before long.

WOMANHOOD TRIUMPHANT!

By Gertrude Boyle

SAD CRINGERS to brute-force,
 Battered receptacles of passion's dregs—
 Drunk in dark chambers of ignorance and lust—
 Bearers of a race of slaves!
 When will your dull minds awake
 To the glad right of choice
 When will your dead souls quicken
 To the beauty, the creative power of love?



Statue by Gertrude Boyle

Woman! Woman!
 Why hesitate to grasp your own?
 Why halt before that that comprehends not you:
 False codes and creeds nought to you,
 That your proud heel could crush beneath
 With firm step towards the goal
 Of glorious Womanhood,
 Of free and welcome Motherhood!
 Why cramp, why dwarf your being,
 Deprive self of very own—

Dearer than all the world to you:
 Complete, full-blown Womanhood!
 Man cannot lead you to your goal,
 But will walk proudly abreast,
 When once you pace your step
 To the triumphant music,
 The innate freedom of your soul!

WOMAN, REBELLIOUS!

(Continued from Page 3)

Here she finds the world most obstinately arrayed against her.

For the source of life has always been veiled in ignorance and mystery. The impulses and instincts of the body have been ignored or shrouded in excessive reserve. But the woman rebel has discovered she has a body and refuses to ignore it. To her the attitude of the world to sex problems, with its public consciousness that it is male and female and not just human, is as ridiculous as that character in one of Molière's plays, who discovers with much astonishment that for forty years he has been talking prose. We are not especially proud of owning a liver or a stomach, nor are we excessively ashamed of it, so why should one of the greatest primary instincts of humanity be singled out for shame? It exaggerates the brutish element in man entirely beyond its rightful importance; it is an exploitation of the highest elemental instinct that is unwholesome and morbid.

And so, with wide-opened eyes that refuse to be blinded any longer, the woman rebel faces us today fearlessly and insistently. She fights for the mutual responsibilities of the sexes, recognition of their reciprocal attraction, of a fine, clean understanding of the love and passion that weave them together; not alone for economic and political enfranchisement, but for the enfranchisement of her own body, with full control of its functions and possibilities. And chief among these demands is the right to bear as many children as she wishes, whenever she desires to bear them.

These are days of flux and resurge. New social enthusiasms demand crusaders and combatants. We see the tragic shock of race-loyalties flung against the invading tide of internationalism; we see ancient religious altars robbed of their sanctities by the enduring light of science; we feel the impact of life in its fulness—its stir and emotion and stimulus. They are great human themes, glowing with contemporary interest. They are but the key to our age and its struggles; they explain the generation to us.

But the woman rebel is the future woman. Nothing that is human is alien to her. She brings fresh impulse toward spiritual renewal and regeneration, and she will be, not the passive, unwilling mother of the future, but the eager, all-knowing, free and happy channel of the coming children of the sun; children of a natural selection working through human intelligence and love.

WHY MEN STARVE

By *W. W. Chung*

MUCH OF THIS world's vice, crime and poverty is easily tracable to the violation of a simple rule. "No marriage before the age of maturity, or until financially qualified, and never too many children," should be the watchword of the intelligent.

The violation of this rule has made paupers of people, irrespective of their nationality or race. The proof of this is found in the fact, that there are between three and four million paupers in Great Britain and a large army of the unemployed and unemployables in every large city in the United States today.

No power on earth can save people from poverty, so long as they disregard the above rule. No stronger proof of this is necessary than the fact, that over a century's earnest effort to help the poor, on the part of charitable organizations, governments and individuals, has not decreased poverty in the least.

Even education is ineffectual with those who disregard this rule. The failure to observe it has rendered 70 per cent or 80 per cent of the people in China too poor to attend school. Even if education were made compulsory and tuition free, they could not concentrate their minds on their books while they are hungry and cold. Living from hand to mouth, the Chinese workers can no more think about mental culture than a drowning man can listen to music. Their immediate need is bread and garments above everything else. It is the burden of too many children that creates this need.

The financial burden of a large family crowds out education, medical attention, insurance protection and weekly savings against emergencies. The necessity to economize expenses and earn every cent they can, has led to overwork, underfeeding, unwholesome food, insufficient clothing, and overcrowded rooms, all of which conspire to multiply their ailments, reducing their strength and income and increasing their expenses. The financial burden keeps them in a vile environment, which brings them into close daily proximity with every form of vice, crime and temptation. Nearly everything they hear, see or touch is a poison to their health or morals.

WE ARE TOLD that God never send mouths but that He send food. It is comforting to shift man's responsibility to Providence, but unfortunately mouths too often come to one door while food goes to another. If it were the Divine Will that man should multiply rapidly, natural disasters would not occur on an average of once every four years, as has been the case for the last 2,000 years. Modern wars, perhaps, would not have been permitted to wipe out by slaughter and famine one half of Poland's 34,000,000 inhabitants, besides millions of the best and strongest men of all the belligerents.

Overloading a boat with passengers does not endanger the life of any one but those in that boat. Overloading a family with children causes poverty, which gives rise to vice, crime, and disease, affecting many people besides the overloaded family. It is this excessive load that has raised the death rate of young mothers and infants of the people to three times that among rich families. It is responsible for 97 per cent of the cases of child labor. Everybody realizes the need of a law against the overloading of passenger boats, and yet there is just as much need for a law against people bringing up more children than they can support and educate. When that law is enacted, and enforced this world will become a little heaven.

The bringing up of children involves the expenditure of energy, which is limited in man. The larger the family, the less energy the parents can spare for the care and training of each child. Hence the larger the family, the poorer the mental, moral and physical qualities of the children. It is true, some large families have produced some great men, but those great men might have been greater and better, if their parents could have spared more time and energy for their care and early training. As speed cannot be acquired except at the expense of force, quantity cannot be obtained without the sacrifice of quality.

The average age for marriage in all leading countries of the world, including Japan, is between 26 and 29 years. It has been proven by careful tests and incontestable statistics that a more mature age for marriage (or, at least, parenthood) gives the offspring the advantages of better memory, longer life, greater mental power, greater height and weight, greater power of physical endurance and greater resistance to disease. Endowed with these advantages, no man need starve. When these qualities are impaired by immature parentage, the injury cannot be made up by any amount of physical culture and school training.

The most distinguished of the men in the American Hall of Fame, at the time of their births, had fathers well over forty years of age and none of them had a father younger than 25½ years old or a mother under 22. In fact, no man ever became the father of an exceptionally great man before the age of 30. A \$200 prize for refuting a statement to that effect, has never yet been awarded, so far as I know.

THE SILLY TABOO

To pretend that discussion of birth control is indecent is merely to beg the question under a statute which happened to be available for misuse in that way. Our English vocabulary is flexible enough for the discussion of any subject, provided the purpose of the speakers is clean and not corrupt. The taboo is so silly that it must break down once it is firmly and fairly challenged.—*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*.

AN ANSWER TO MR. ROOSEVELT

(In the October issue of the Metropolitan Magazine appeared an article by former-President Roosevelt, entitled "Birth Control—From the Positive Side." It revealed a desire to arrive at the same results of race betterment which we advocate. It swept aside, however, not only the principle of voluntary motherhood, but the existing racial and class conditions which must be taken into consideration if the desired end is to be attained. The following is Margaret Sanger's reply, which appears in the December number of the Metropolitan.—Ed.)

THE TROUBLE with nearly all writers who oppose birth control is that they consider only proximate instead of ultimate effects. They want large numbers of high quality citizens. Therefore, they contend, let the existing high quality citizens have more children. They assume that families now living in comfortable circumstances will be able to maintain their standards, no matter how many additional children are born. In other words, they expect quality to take care of itself.

We advocates of birth control know that one cannot make quality by insisting on quantity. One cannot make better people simply by having more people.

Mr. Roosevelt says that in order to make a man into a better citizen, we must first have the man. The right environment in which to receive and develop the man is of greater importance. Society, as at present constituted, does not provide the means of rearing unrestricted hordes of human beings into intelligent citizenship. Therefore, birth control has become necessary as a check upon the blind working of ignorance and poverty.

When considering the problems of the class known as the "submerged tenth," even the most conservative are willing to admit its need of birth control. But it is an error to suppose that the proportion of families sunk in destitution constitutes only one-tenth of the population. Figures are available to prove that it is closer to three-tenths, or well over one quarter. The census of 1910 shows that 10.7 per cent of married women in the United States went to work outside their homes to help keep their families together. There, without looking farther, is a submerged tenth among women alone. There is little doubt that the proportion of wage-earning mothers has greatly increased since 1910, and it is equally beyond question that an enormous number of poverty-stricken women are prevented by their excessive family burdens from seeking to earn money outside the home.

THEY WHO BAN the open and legal dissemination of birth control practically say—Let the slums spawn if they must; the prime aim is to goad the upper classes into greater fertility. Both effects are deplorable. There is no greater national waste than the spawning of the slums, with its resultant high maternal and infant

mortality rates, child labor and prostitution. As for increasing the fertility of the upper classes, it is certain that the majority of such parents even now have as many children as any rational eugenist could ask them to do, where he in possession of all the facts of each case—health, income, educational needs and provision for the future, etc. Admitting that they give birth to fewer children, the fact is that they bring, relatively, to maturity almost as many as the poor succeed in doing. The following figures prepared by the French authority, Dr. J. Bertillon, demonstrate this point.

For the whole of France 86.6 per cent of the children of rich parents reach twenty years of age, and only 48.6 per cent of the children of poor parents. The figures for Paris give a fertility rate of about 100 births per 1,000 poor mothers, and of about 50 per 1,000 rich mothers. Combining these with the former figures, it appears that for each 1,000 rich mothers there would be 43.3 children surviving to twenty years annually, and for each 1,000 poor mothers only 48.6 children. In France, as elsewhere, the poor mother is handicapped in rearing her surviving offspring. This results in a percentage of unfitnes, and the contribution of the high birth rate classes to the adult effective population is consequently no higher proportionately than that of the low birth rate classes.

The world over, the intelligent parents of three children or less have been, and are, the upholders of national standards. This is particularly true of America.

By regarding the bringing of a child into the world as a great social responsibility, the modern American woman shows a fine sense of morality. Since the State does not compel marriage, but leaves it to individual choice, she does not see why motherhood, which is a much more serious problem, should be enforced.

THE AMERICAN woman of today is physically and nervously unable to compete with her grandmother in the matter of bearing unlimited offspring. In Colonial times, the environment was favorable and women specialized on reproduction with eminent success. The prospective mothers of this generation are compelled to divide their creative energies between child bearing and social and economic complexities. It has been estimated that last year seven and a half million women were engaged in industry in the United States, the majority of them in nerve-racking trades. Ten hours a day at a sewing machine or a telephone switchboard are not conducive to either a physical or mental receptiveness to maternity.

It is a very common fallacy that the decadence of Greece and Rome was due to the artificial limitation of offspring. It is surprising to find a historian like Mr. Roosevelt repeating the error. During the periods he refers to, birth control was, indeed, practised, and as a result some of the greatest poets, thinkers and geniuses,

generally, of that, or any other age, were developed. Birth control was one of the few serious moral forces at work tending to preserve the integrity of the State. But, in Rome especially, it was not quite effective enough to combat the soft luxury and vice which had come as an aftermath of an orgy of conquest

The falling birth rate of college graduates, as demonstrated by the statistics gathered in Harvard and Yale by John C. Phillips, should not be considered alarming. The best thing that the modern American college does for young men or young women is to make of them highly sensitized individuals, keenly aware of their responsibility to society. They quickly perceive that they have other duties toward the State than procreation of the kind blindly practised by the immigrant from Europe. They cannot be deluded into thinking quantity superior to quality. But they can be trusted not to suffer extinction. The operation of natural law will prevent the ratio of reproduction from remorselessly falling to zero. In this, as in all other population phenomena, a new level of fertility is being sought—that is all.

In many other isolated groups, the same process can be observed today. The editor of *The Journal of Heredity* has found that out of 1,512 families of Methodist ministers in America, the average number of children is now only 3.12. The birth rate in the English Society of Friends has fallen from 20 per 1,000 in 1876 to less than 8 per 1,000 in 1915. Or, to take an illustration from an entire racial group, statistics show that the size of Jewish families in Europe has been rapidly decreasing since 1876. They contain now only two to four children, with a growing tendency to restrict the number to two, whilst only twenty years ago they had four to six.

But it is well to emphasize that we advocates of birth control are not so much disturbed by the stationary birth rate of the thinking classes, as by the reckless propagation of the ignorant. We consider that the falling birth rate is a world-wide movement of civilization.

MR. ROOSEVELT quotes approvingly the statement of a French newspaper that the present war was really due to the increasing birth rate of Germany and the falling birth rate of France. Had Germany had to face 60,000,000 Frenchmen, instead of 39,000,000, this authority holds, the war would not have taken place. In my opinion, two over-populated nations would have fought even more readily and long before. The war was due to the over-population of Germany and Russia, not to France's stationary population. But once put to the ordeal, the French soldiers, sturdy and highly individualistic because they came from small families, proved at the Battle of the Marne and Verdun the efficacy of birth control, by defeating an enemy mechanically much more formidable than themselves.

On the other hand, the same Germany who had failed against France easily routed the hordes of Russian soldiers, who owed their numbers to an unlimited system of reckless propagation. Germany's birth rate is falling.

In 1860 it was 37.9 per thousand inhabitants and in 1912 only 29.1. It is common knowledge that the economists of Europe do not hope for universal peace until the birth rate of Russia also begins to decline.

The intelligent class, with its acceptance of birth control, holds the same position in American society that France does among the nations of the world.

It is an error to suppose that woman avoids motherhood because she is afraid to die. Rather does she fear to live. She fears a life of poverty and drudgery, weighed down by the horror of unwanted pregnancy and tortured by the inability to rear decently the children she has already brought into the world. Margaret H. Sanger.

THE SPIRITUAL ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from Page 6)

other hand, low-class individuals are forcing their way through bodies of ignorant women into lives of crime, disease, imprisonment or insanity. It is wrong to give birth to such children.

How can the afflicted woman in poverty and darkness guard against this? That she should be on guard is beyond question. She should be instructed regarding the laws of birth control. She should learn that she has absolute control over her own body irrespective of adverse conditions. She must know that no child can come through her portals of life without her consent. The laws of birth control prevent involuntary motherhood which, to the sensitive, is always immoral.

If guarding the gateway of life against undesirable intruders is a duty and a privilege of woman, how much greater is it her duty and privilege to open the doorway to the child who will be a worthy and helpful member of society. The prospective mother, realizing her sacred duty, will guard her every thought, word and deed prior to receiving the sacred seed atom which will eventually develop into the body of her child. Prayerfully she will strive to make her gift to humanity a blessed one. Willingly, joyously, and with protecting mother love, she will help the baby form to grow. This is the way motherhood fulfils the highest ideals of morality.

Until all women are in a position to realize the above ideal, it is well, for the good of humanity and themselves, that they learn to bar their gateways of life. Human progress is accelerated as man learns to control the forces of nature. They thus become his servants instead of his being at their mercy. It is the same with birth control. The proper use of this knowledge will always bless and benefit. It is always the abuse, not the proper use, of power that is immoral.

Three Books by Margaret Sanger

"THE CASE FOR BIRTH CONTROL"..... \$2.15, postpaid

"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"

and

"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"

Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.

ATTENTION!

WILL THE secretaries of the various birth control leagues throughout the country please send to this magazine a full report of the activities of each league during the past year. The points which should be covered are the growth in membership, number of meetings held, approximate amount of literature distributed, efforts if any made toward changing legislation, what work has been done toward establishing clinics, whether league is supported by dues paying members or contributions, and plans for the future. It would also be of interest to note what kind of membership the league has attracted, whether working class, professional, or otherwise. We hope to devote a special number this winter to these reports. It will contain detailed statements by the two New York leagues, as well as an account by Margaret Sanger of what she has accomplished during the past year. An issue of this character will serve to put on record the growth of the birth control movement and should be valuable to each contributing league for propaganda purposes. We should also be glad to hear from groups or individuals who have been working for birth control, but who are not identified with any league.

DEACON CLAVER

By Fuller Miller

Deacon Claver at fifty-six
Was the happy father of seventeen;
And he said, as he helped his third wife mix
Candies and nuts for the Hallowe'en:

"The Lord gave command that we multiply
And I at least have kept his command.
My name shall live after me when I die,
And I shall have honor within the land."

She knew it was true, but she said no word.
Her pale, pale cheek and her sad eyes wide
Gave not a sign to show she had heard.
She guessed that she carried her death in her side.

And she said in her heart, without bitterness:
"I am the third to die of your lust
And God's alarm lest men grow less.
But your's the praise—Does that seem quite just?"

"Big and husky you are, I know,
But how many babes could you boast to your wife,
If you were the one who had to go
To the gates of Death to bring them life?"

All truth is safe—and nothing else is safe.—Max Mueller.

THE JOSTLING HORDES

WESLEY FROST should know something about war. He was United States Consul at Queenstown, Ireland, for several years, and his vivid official reports on the Lusitania and other U-boat disasters made newspaper readers the world over shudder with horror. This man, from the depth of his experience, offered the other day a solution to the age-old tragedy.

"Only limitation of births will prevent future European wars," he told a Los Angeles writer.

"If people could be made to comprehend that it was the overcrowding of European nations, *except France*, that caused this war, birth control would become a patriotic duty and an unwritten policy."

Consul Frost went on to express the opinion that "Margaret Sanger was doing a necessary work in a wrong way. Birth control must be an economic issue adopted as state policy, and not an individual issue adopted as a personal whim.

"Over-population develops the hatred habit for fellow-men. In such hordes, people breathe each others' breath; they snatch each others' food and struggle for each others' places; the only poetry consists of the 'Song of Steal.' These conditions make peoples savage. The blood in their civic veins gets too high-pressure and must burst, or be eased by the savagery of war."

NINE PRUDENT PRESIDENTS

It is the fashion with French statesmen nowadays to preach large families. In this connection, it is interesting to note the fertility record of the nine men who have held the presidency of France under the Third Republic.

President	Number of Children
ADOLPHE THIERS	None
MARECHAL MAC-MAHON	1 son
JULES GREVY	1 daughter
SADI-CARNOT	2 sons and 1 daughter
CASIMIR-PERIER	1 son and 1 daughter
FELIX FAURE	2 daughters
EMILE LOUBET	2 sons and 1 daughter
ARMAND FALLIERES	1 son and 1 daughter
RAYMOND POINCARÉ	None

Fourteen children for nine couples! Can statesmen keep a straight face as they thunder against race suicide, when the couples who have occupied the presidential palace have given so excellent an example of parental prudence?

NOTE

The last issue of this magazine appeared in June. It was announced at that time that publication would be resumed with the October number. Unforeseen difficulties made it impossible to bring out an issue earlier than the present, December, number.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

THE APPEAL in the case of Fania Mindell has been won. Miss Mindell was arrested in the Brownsville birth control clinic for selling "What Every Girl Should Know," Margaret Sanger's book on sex hygiene. By a 2 to 1 vote, the Court of Special Sessions declared this book to be "indecent," Judges Herman and O'Keefe voting for conviction and Judge Freschi for acquittal. The forces of reaction were bolstered up by Judge James C. Cropsey, of the Supreme Court, who went out of his way to declare that the information in the book was what "no girl should know." Yet the reversal of judgment accorded by the Appellate Division was by an unanimous vote. This victory was of great importance, because several other persons who had been arrested for selling "What Every Girl Should Know," and whose cases were being held in abeyance, had the charges against them dismissed as soon as the final verdict was rendered in the Mindell appeal. The latter cost several hundred dollars in fees for records, copies of the minutes, printing bills, etc. But it goes without saying that under our present system of justice no compensation has been awarded to those who financed the appeal. To date, the Court has not even refunded the \$50, which Fania Mindell was, by its own admission, wrongly fined. Once again it has been proved that it takes money to obtain "justice," and that the workers cannot possibly afford to appeal cases.

NEW YORK has just enfranchised more than 3,000,000 women. The ardent, self-sacrificing workers who devoted years of their lives to bringing this result about deserve the highest praise and the gratitude of their sex. After their long fight, they can now enjoy the fruits of victory. But only too large a proportion of those they have set free politically will be quite unable to take advantage of the vote that has been so dearly earned. There are hundreds of thousands of mothers who are so submerged beneath the burdens of child-bearing that they will not have the time even to cast their vote, much less to take an intelligent interest in the problems of society. Surely the next step is to set these women free. Birth control is the fundamental liberty which they must have. We appeal to the new women citizens of New York State to assist us in waging the battle which now takes pre-eminence—that for the repeal of laws preventing the dissemination of birth control knowledge.

THE WAR has taken the best energies of most radical and forward movements. Persons who formerly were willing to work for the advancement of humanity are now devoting all their strength to the world tragedy. But there are still some of us who believe birth control to be a fundamental solution to the problems of

poverty, prostitution, child labor and even war itself. The intolerance of our public censors prevents us from being very active on the platform or in the press, at least until peace is restored. But there is one way in which we can use this dark period of repression to serve the future of the movement. We can do definite and constructive work by gathering data so convincing that the Legislature of New York State will be unable to ignore the demand for the repeal of Section 1142. Governor Whitman promised last Spring to appoint a commission to investigate the conditions bearing upon birth control, but the war has delayed this official action for the present. The thing for us who are still devoted to our cause to do, is to hasten the appointment of the commission by preparing the material on which it must work. Were we, for instance, to collect the histories of

5,000 women living in prostitution,
5,000 women toiling in factories,
5,000 children toiling in mills,
5,000 inmates of prisons,
5,000 derelicts of poorhouses,

and show what percentage of these people come from large families, so searching a light would be thrown on this new angle of social betterment that the Governor's commission would be stimulated into action and the benighted laws against birth control would be wiped off the statute books. The editors of this magazine would be glad to hear from readers in all parts of the country willing to help either by contributing to an investigation fund or by volunteering their time and services for research work.

THE JUSTICES of the Supreme Court of New York State receive \$17,500 a year. On this pitiable salary, it is, of course, unreasonable to expect them to put in much time on writing opinions which would serve to explain their frequently obscure acts to the public that pays them. For instance, when the Appellate Division, First Department, decided to uphold the Commissioner of Licenses as against Judge Bijur, in connection with the birth control photoplay, they made absolutely no comment. The scholarly document in which Judge Bijur demonstrated that the film was not immoral was thrown out of court with the rubber-stamp comment, "Decision reversed." Again, when "What Every Girl Should Know" won the right to be circulated, the Court merely O. K.'d it as being "decent," without handing down a written opinion which would have served as a precedent in future appeals for the right to print the truth. Similar books will have to go through the same ridiculous procedure, and unwind the same red tape which one strong, intelligent opinion would have cut for good and all.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume Two

JANUARY, 1918

Number One

Crystal Eastman on

FEMINISM

Dr. Anna E. Blount on

EUGENICS

Gertrude M. Williams on

THE WOMAN VOTER

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BIRTH CONTROL IN THE FEMINIST PROGRAM

By Crystal Eastman

FEMINISM MEANS different things to different people, I suppose. To women with a taste for politics and reform it means the right to vote and hold office. To women, physically strong and adventurous it means freedom to enter all kinds of athletic contests and games, to compete with men in aviation, to drive racing cars, to get up Battalions of Death, to enter dangerous trades, etc. To many it means social and sex freedom, doing away with exclusively feminine virtues. To most of all it means economic freedom,—not the ideal economic freedom dreamed of by revolutionary socialism, but such economic freedom as it is possible for a human being to achieve under the existing system of competitive production and distribution,—in short such freedom to choose one's way of making a living as men now enjoy, and definite economic rewards for one's work when it happens to be "home making." This is to me the central fact of feminism. Until women learn to want economic independence, i. e., the ability to earn their own living independently of husbands, fathers, brothers or lovers,—and until they work out a way to get this independence without denying themselves the joys of love and motherhood, it seems to me feminism has no roots. Its manifestations are often delightful and stimulating but they are sporadic, they effect no lasting change in the attitude of men to women, or of women to themselves.

Whether other feminists would agree with me that the economic is the fundamental aspect of feminism, I don't know. But on this we are surely agreed, that Birth Control is an elementary essential in all aspects of feminism. Whether we are the special followers of Alice Paul, or Ruth Law, or Ellen Key, or Olive Schreiner, we must all be followers of Margaret Sanger. Feminists are not nuns. That should be established. We want to love and to be loved, and most of us want children, one or two at least. But we want our love to be joyous and free—not clouded with ignorance and fear. And we want our children to be deliberately, eagerly called into being, when we are at our best, not crowded upon us in times of poverty and weakness. We want this precious sex knowledge not just for ourselves, the conscious feminists; we want it for all the millions of unconscious feminists that swarm the earth,—we want it for all women.

LIFE IS a big battle for the complete feminist even when she can regulate the size of her family. Women who are creative, or who have administrative gifts, or business ability, and who are ambitious to achieve and fulfill themselves in these lines, if they also have the normal desire to be mothers, must make up their minds to be a sort of supermen, I think. They must develop greater powers of concentration, a stronger will to "keep

at it," a more determined ambition than men of equal gifts, in order to make up for the time and energy and thought and devotion that child-bearing and rearing, even in the most "advanced" families, seems inexorably to demand of the mother. But if we add to this handicap complete uncertainty as to when children may come, how often they come or how many there shall be, the thing becomes impossible. I would almost say that the whole structure of the feminist's dream of society rests upon the rapid extension of scientific knowledge about birth control.

This seems so obvious to me that I was astonished the other day to come upon a group of distinguished feminists who discussed for an hour what could be done with the woman's vote in New York State and did not once mention birth control.

As the readers of this magazine well know, the laws of this state, instead of establishing free clinics as necessary centers of information for the facts about sex hygiene and birth control, actually make it a crime, even on the part of a doctor, to tell grown men and women how to limit the size of their families. What could be a more pressing demand on the released energies of all these valiant suffrage workers than to repeal that law?

THIS WORK should especially commend itself, now in wartime when so many kinds of reform are outlawed. There is nothing about Birth Control agitation to embarrass the President or obstruct the prosecution of the war. If limited to the New York State laws it need not even rouse the indignation of Mr. Burleson. It is a reform absolutely vital to the progress of woman and one which the war does not interfere with. While American men are fighting to rid the old world of autocracy let American women set to and rid the new world of this intolerable old burden of sex ignorance. It should not be a difficult task.

I don't believe there is one woman within the confines of this state who does not believe in birth control. I never met one. That is, I never met one who thought that *she* should be kept in ignorance of contraceptive methods. Many I have met who valued the knowledge they possessed, but thought there were certain other classes who would be better kept in ignorance. The old would protect the young. The rich would keep the poor in ignorance. The good would keep their knowledge from the bad, the strong from the weak, and so on. But never in all my travels have I come on one married woman who, possessed of this knowledge would willingly part with it, or who not yet informed, was not eager for knowledge. It is only hypocrisy, and here and there a little hard-faced puritanism we have to overcome. No genuine human interest will be against the

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A SUMMONS TO OUR WOMEN CITIZENS

By Gertrude M. Williams

WOMAN'S CAMPAIGN for the vote has been organized on such a tremendous scale that it brought some of us up with a round turn, suddenly to realize that here in New York state, at least, we had what we wanted.

Of course we have realized intellectually that giving women the vote was not going to secure the millenium. Many of us have been much more interested in what the vote is going to do for women, than in what women are actually going to be able to accomplish with their votes.

But an abstract realization is different from confronting the fact itself. Now that we are citizens, we realize as never before the responsibility that lies before us of educating ourselves in its use. There are many phases of civic life which will appeal to woman naturally because of their relation to her traditional interests,—the schools, street cleaning, all phases of municipal housekeeping, the administration of charitable institutions.

Of more intimate and direct appeal to women than any of these subjects, however, is the question of birth control. On this vital subject, every woman voter should inform herself, and make up her mind. It fundamentally affects women as a sex, and it is a determining factor in the health and well-being of the next generation.

The next generation, always a primary consideration, is rendered more important than ever by the war. Our armies sailing overseas are taking away thousands of young men on the threshold of manhood. The richness of life for the next generation is to be diluted in proportion as these young soldiers do not return, or come back maimed and crippled.

There are already tremendous gaps in life. Entire industries are breaking down because the men in them were needed for war work. Art and letters are languishing. Science and invention, except in so far as they apply to the machinery of war, have nearly come to a standstill. Across the water, entire villages and towns and countries will have to be rebuilt. What a sturdy, virile next generation we shall need for such Herculean tasks!

AS IF MOCKING at our needs, we are menaced by another danger almost as overwhelming as the losses of the battlefield,—the spread of venereal disease which accompanies war, and which renders both men and women unfit for the parentage of the next generation. In reference to the situation in England, an article in the conservative *Nineteenth Century* magazine for September, 1917, under the frank title, "The Fight against Venereal Infection," says:

"From all parts of our Empire a million men have come overseas. Over one-third of that million becomes infected with venereal disease every 12 months; many thousands are constantly sick in venereal disease hospitals."

Our own Official Bulletin, published daily "under order of the President by the Committee on Public Information, George Creel, chairman," in a report on the "Health of the

United States Expeditionary Forces," quotes the report of our Surgeon General on the present admission rate per thousand men:

Typhoid	0.0
Malaria	1.0
Meningitis	1.0
Scarlet fever	1.9
Dysentery	2.0
Measles	27.1
Venereal disease.....	181.5

England, with three years of war behind her, is naturally feeling a later stage of its effects. English magazines mirror the more constructive reaction to war problems over there. The most conservative English magazines have recently printed numerous articles on two campaigns being waged in England, both as a result of the war, and both of them having a very close relation to the subject of birth control.

One is this fight against venereal infection referred to above. The other is a baby saving campaign. The *Contemporary Review* for July, in an article on England's "National Baby Week," says:

"In 1915, in war-time, death carried off more British babies than British soldiers. Therefore, the obvious way of repairing the wastage of the war is to save the babies. Since five million young adult males of the country are under arms, and many thousands get killed every year, while the war lasts the birth rate must drop. It is, therefore, more important than ever to preserve the lives of the children who are born

"The figures of infant mortality are terrifying. In the United Kingdom alone a baby dies every five minutes. Two hundred and fifty babies out of every thousand die before birth or in their first year."

And the *Nineteenth Century* for June states:

"The fact that out of the 100,000 children born alive who fail to survive to the first anniversary of their birth, 20,000 die in the first week, and 30,000 in the first month proves that, in their case at any rate, the cause of death must be one that was operative before birth. It has been found that the bodies of premature and dead children, and also of those who perish in earliest infancy have been proved to be infected with the micro-organism of syphilis."

A CAMPAIGN for birth control information joins forces very practically and directly with these two campaigns. For only through giving women information as to how to prevent conception, can we avoid the wastage of bearing all these thousands of poor little diseased infants, predestined to die before they are a year old, or if they survive, to become in a majority of cases inmates of prisons, insane asylums, and houses of prostitution, as reliable statistics prove. And only through giving women information

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Drawing

By Rockwell Kent

AS THE RADICAL SEE IT

THE MOTIVES for the radical's refusal to bring unlimited offspring into the world were ably set forth in the late Octave Mirbeau's ejaculation of disgust called out by a project of law for checking depopulation, introduced by one M. Piot into the French Senate some years ago.

"I dispute that depopulation is an evil," wrote the distinguished author. "In a social state like ours, in a social state which fosters preciously, scientifically, in special cultures, poverty and its derivative, crime; in a social state which, in spite of new investigations and in spite of new philosophies, relies solely on the prehistoric forces—murder and massacre—what matters to the people—the only class, for that

matter, which still produces children—this much-discussed question of depopulation?

"If the people were clairvoyant, logical with their wretchedness and their servitude, they would desire, not the cessation of depopulation, but its redoubling. We are constantly being told that depopulation is the gravest danger which threatens the future of the country. In what, pray, dear Monsieur Piot, and you, also, excellent legislators, who lull us ceaselessly with your twaddle? In this, you say, that there will come inevitably a time when we shall no more have enough men to send out to be killed in the Soudan, in Madagascar, in China, in the *bagnes* (penal colonies) and in the barracks. You are dreaming of reepling now, then, only for the sake of depeopling later on? Ah, no, thank you! If we must die, we like better to die at once and by a death of our own choosing."

OVERCROWDING THE WORLD

By *H. C. Dekker*

CERTAIN FIGURES regarding population increase and birth rates and death rates are of special interest to all who study the pros and cons of birth control. In war times that interest is accentuated; the question of numbers and food supply comes to the fore more sharply at such times. In the following paragraphs I present a few significant figures bearing upon the growth of population in the world at various periods. From these figures it can readily be seen that there is a direct connection between birth rate, death rate, overpopulation and war.

Speculation as to how rapidly population can double has been of perennial interest. We have more evidence on this point now than probably ever before in the world's history. Consider the following table, giving the combined population of England, France, Prussia, Russia, Austria, Italy and Spain, covering four centuries:

1480	46,700,000
1580	59,250,000
1680	73,032,000
1780	109,881,000
1880	285,134,000

Note that in the 200 years between 1480 and 1680 the population did not quite double; but in the century between 1780 and 1880 it more than doubled.

Here is another table, in a way checking the first. It represents the population of the United Kingdom at various dates:

1066	3,500,000
1381	3,860,000
1528	5,676,000
1672	7,720,000
1712	9,429,000
1754	10,658,000
1780	12,560,000
1801	15,717,000
1811	17,927,000
1910	41,458,720

WHILE BOTH tables are based on estimates, they are derived from the most authentic sources available. It is noteworthy that the rate of increase between 1528 and 1754 in the last table is about the same as the rate in the first table. Similar population figures would indicate that about the same forces were at work in the United Kingdom in the years mentioned as on the Continent; that is, economic and social conditions were about the same.

Observe, also, in the last table that it required 600 years to double between 1066 and 1672. The Malthusian will see in this feature corroboration of his theory of population. These figures reflect a very close relationship between food supply and population. The period of machine industry is marked by an unprecedented increase from 15,717,000 in 1801 to 41,458,720 in 1910. This was precisely the era of greatest expansion in capitalist enterprise with its application of steam and electricity to industry and transportation,

assuring the production and distribution of a more abundant food supply.

According to the following figures, France increased in population 50 per cent in 75 years even before modern power machinery came on to the stage:

1713	17,000,000
1788	25,000,000

Havelock Ellis cites the opinion of a "French gentleman well acquainted with the constitution of his country," to the effect that in the 18th century it was necessary to have a war every 12 or 14 years, in order "to carry off the refuse of the people."

The following table gives the tremendous increase in the total European population within the past 140 years:

1772	142,000,000
1872	299,800,000
1912	454,600,000

All statistical evidence at hand tends to prove that the pressure of population in Europe becomes greater and greater. Each 20-year period sees the population increasing at an accelerated rate.

Thus Europe as a whole increased more rapidly between 1872 and 1892 than between 1772 and 1872, and more between 1892 and 1912 than in the preceding 20-year period. This steady acceleration in the rate of increase is of the utmost significance and furnishes one of the strongest arguments to the Neo-Malthusian.

The following percentages represent increased population in the 40 years of peace between 1872 and 1912:

Serbia, 70; Russia, 90; England, 59; Austria-Hungary, 40; Belgium, 40; Germany, 62; Japan, 57; Java (under Dutch rule), 60.

North America as a whole is estimated to have increased about 700 per cent., while the United States grew from 5,308,000, in 1800, to 101,000,000 (estimated), in 1916, an increase of more than 1000 per cent.

THE POPULATION of the earth in 1814, according to such authorities as Mulhall, was 700,000,000; in 1914, it was 1,650,000,000. Mulhall says the population of the earth at the death of the Emperor Augustus, as estimated by Bodio, was 54,000,000. Had the number increased from that time to the present at the rate observed in the past 100 years, there would not be standing room on earth today. In twelve centuries alone the population would have reached 113,152,000,000—a figure too extravagant to consider seriously as capable of being sustained by the earth's fertility.

We can hardly avoid the conclusion that an exceedingly high death rate is all that has kept population within bounds prescribed by food production. There is probably a frequent excess of population over food—something very

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EUGENICS IN RELATION TO BIRTH CONTROL

By Anna E. Blount, M. D.

Chairman of Eugenics Education Society of Chicago

YEAR BY YEAR, as the earth turns round, man increases his responsibilities. Epictetus, the great Stoic, said: "Of things that exist, some are in our power, some are not in our power." This saying is as valuable as ever; but progress consists in taking as many things as we can out of the second class, and putting them into the first one.

Why weep at the devastation of an earthquake? It is beyond our power. Some scientist may one day discover how the earthquake can be controlled. Till then, let us give our attention and energy to things moveable to our will, such as war, pestilence and famine.

But Epictetus thought pestilence out of our power. We of our time know better. Each thing that we take out of the one category and place in the other marks a mile-stone of civilization's onward march. The dryness of the desert, the coldness of winter, the mountain barrier to travel, are all measurably controlled by man. Our ships steam across Panama, where stood a mighty range of hills. A true radical, a true progressive is busy bringing things over from the one class, and putting them into the other.

Such a true radical is the eugenicist. His vision is of the voluntary control of the quality of future humanity. He would purge the world of imbeciles, epileptics and the insane by ceasing to breed them. With no harm to any human individual, he would eliminate in time those of surpassing moral and physical ugliness.

Why struggle to find wonderful ways of managing prisons and almshouses, when in three generations we can make prisons and almshouses well-nigh unnecessary?

Already eugenic factors are feebly at work. We begin to segregate the imbecile, sterilize the hereditarily insane, and refuse marriage to the syphilitic.

In the words of Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, written some fifty years ago: "Man has already furthered evolution very considerably, half unconsciously, and for his own personal advantage, but he has not yet risen to the conviction that it is his religious duty to do so deliberately and systematically."

SIDE BY SIDE with our new conception of responsibility for the quality of humanity has grown up a related sense of our responsibility for the quantity of humanity, and for the relative numbers of individuals of the different qualities.

We plant trees on the mountain-top for our grandchildren to harvest in a hundred years; we sow rice in the marshland, and rye on the steppe; but only the human harvest do we plant largely from the worst seed, and largely in the worst soil.

Karl Pearson has proved that one-fourth of the parents have one-half of the children. Alas, it is this fourth that furnishes the poorest heredity and the poorest environment! And if the submerged fourth really wanted all those chil-

dren there would be some compensation, in the increase of the sum of human happiness. But, alas, they do not! They earnestly want *not* to have them; and yet the children continue to arrive as by-products of passion and ignorance.

Family limitation is here. It is a fact. I see it in constant operation all about me. Few of the well-to-do people I know blush to say that they have only as many children as they think they ought to have, or as they personally desire.

It is only where women are poor, or tied down by the care of little children, or isolated, or profoundly ignorant, that birth control is *not* practiced: and just in these places it is most needed, for the welfare of the individual, and of the race.

So many statistics lie to hand to prove the things I have just said,—which are, indeed, usually admitted at the outset—that it is almost idle to quote them.

Where is the birthrate highest? In Russia, where nine-tenths of the people do not read and write.

Where is the infant death-rate lowest? In Australia and New Zealand, where family-limitation is legal and respectable. What is the average family of English intellectuals? About two and one-half. Of French physicians? One and one-half. Of married imbeciles? Six, or seven or eight, depending on the country.

Exactly because birth control is here for the wise and provident, we need it also for the isolated and ignorant; we need it, voluntary or enforced, if necessary by celibacy or segregation, for the seriously defective.

WE ALL KNOW that it would be a different matter to be one of two children living on fifteen dollars a week, from being one of ten, on the same income. Every added child makes the environment for the new baby more impossible. And environment, in the long run, selects the heredity. The environment of the European peasant breeds peasants. A poet born into it would die or go to Paris. The slum environment breeds children that can withstand the conditions of the slums. They are selected because they can resist dirt and germs, and poor food. A genius *may* appear among them, but they are not selected for genius. I can hear still ringing in my ears, after a quarter of a century, the cries of some that I have known, being slowly eliminated by their inability to withstand hunger and dirty milk.

Yes, the environment selects the surviving stock. You get the snake for the grass, and the eagle for the mountain-top, and the god for Olympus, if you please.

And so, to me, it seems that the gradual improvement in the human race rests on making parenthood a voluntary function. Perhaps it was not so half a century ago, when nearly all families were unlimited. But to have unlimited families of imbeciles, and strongly limited families of scientists is disastrous, unless somebody can prove that we

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FOURTEEN REASONS AGAINST WAR BABIES

THE MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE, of Great Britain, having been harshly criticized in some quarters for its war leaflets, advising people not to have children during the time of the war, it drew up and published the following summary of its principal reasons for advocating birth control for soldiers' wives:

1. Children born now cannot be of the slightest use in this war, even if we grant the need of greater numbers for future protection.

2. We do not want more children now to make up "the wastage of war." The deaths in the war, terrible though they may be, are small in proportion (about 100,000) to the births in a normal year (about 1,000,000), and they can be made up ten times over in a single year after, if desirable.

3. The Malthusian League was the first to call attention to the need for economy and increased productive effort, which is now strongly endorsed by the Government and by economic authorities of every shade of opinion. War increases consumption and waste of food and necessaries of life (which are always insufficient), and checks production.

4. From the purely economic standpoint the engendering of children is the greatest of all extravagances in war time. They increase consumption of food and necessaries, and prevent their mothers or other attendants from helping in war work or productive work.

5. Putting the cost of maintenance of a child at from five to ten shillings a week, the million children which are annually born in the United Kingdom represent a direct expenditure of fifteen or twenty millions a year, and a considerable indirect expenditure.

6. Besides the lessened production of food, the taking up of ships and railways for transport purposes diminishes the possibility of bringing food from abroad, and we are also losing ships through mines and submarines.

7. The great demand and lessened supply of food, etc., is shown by the great increase in the cost of living which has occurred since the commencement of the war. A reduction in the birth-rate is the only method of checking this rise.

8. From the eugenic standpoint, this is the worst of all possible times for engendering children. The young, strong and virile men of our country have been taken away, leaving the physically and mentally unfit, the immature, and the aged behind. Our women are working in the munition factories, or helping in other ways, and are in anxiety as to the fates of their men folk. Drinking and venereal disease, which are the greatest evils for offspring, are increased by the unrest and overwork caused by the war.

9. Our production is now much less than our consumption, and the war is being run by borrowing on a colossal scale. After the war we shall have to meet our liabilities. The more children we raise now, the greater will be the economic difficulties after the war, and the less opportunity will there be for our young men returning from the war to

marry and have children. Every child born now is not only a drain on the community, and probably a cause of higher death-rate among others, but it will hinder the parenthood of our war heroes later.

10. In any case, the economic strain on the middle classes has almost certainly caused a reduction in their already low birth-rate. Unless the poor and unfit follow their example, there must be a most serious increase of that dysgenic influence which their relatively high birth-rate has had during the last few decades.

11. In war time doctors and nurses are especially needed for the front and for the military hospitals. Hence, either the mothers and new-born babies must receive inadequate attention, or they withdraw one of the most essential necessities from the army.

12. If those who talk about the need of children in war time would think of a war between two households or two small communities, they would not make such absurd statements. Every one, men, women and children alike, would be busied in fighting, loading and collecting ammunition, obtaining and preparing food, improving defences, nursing, etc. The addition of fresh mouths to feed and the incapacitation of women by pregnancy and childbirth would be a calamity.

13. Such figures as come to us from Germany show the folly of imagining that we must have a high birth-rate to compete with her. Berlin is actually becoming depopulated by excess of deaths over births, and the higher Germany's birth-rate is, the fewer people she will have after the war. Again, our present co-operation with France has chiefly been rendered possible by the reduction of economic rivalry between us as our birth-rates have fallen. As time goes on, this co-operation between the low birth-rate nations will extend and develop into closer unions and federation, and united we shall be able to keep in check any nations who persist in the brutal policy of (attempting to) "increase and multiply (and overrun) the earth."

14. Whosoever calls for additional children is not only a believer in the doctrine that war will and must recur, but is doing his best to ensure it. Those who preach low birth-rates are quite alive to the necessity for military strength and national safety now and in the future, and they see that the best way to secure it is to have small families born at the right time and under good conditions, and to secure international solidarity by abolishing the cut-throat competition between nations in eternal economic rivalry, caused by the futile attempt to provide for their high birth-rates.

A state whose population continues to increase in obedience to unchecked instinct can progress only from bad to worse.—H. G. Wells.

THE TRIUMPH OF MINORITIES

By Lily Winner

THE BIRTH CONTROL movement is today one of the most significant minorities in our life. Its propagandists are more than propagandists; they are disciples in a holy cause, they are bearers of a great message to the mothers of humanity, and in the end they shall prevail.

This is a democratic age, when almost all questions are decided by a show of hands. We are governed by our majorities. In a democracy the majority selects rulers, and the minority, however large, submits. The majority decides our national policy, our fashions, our mode of life; making for a practical unanimity, which means at least the acquiescence of the party in opposition. For why should the few stand apart from the many; why should their convictions and opinions contradict those of the vast majority?

Yet all of this expresses an attitude that in general is fallacious and misleading. Such submission to the majority is merely expedient; it is only skin-deep. In other and higher fields of human interest, the opinion of the majority is not authoritative.

What part does the multitude play in placing the laurel wreath upon the brow of the master musician? What part do the masses play in the survival of the fittest in literature, by which the few great creators become the classics of all time? The discovery of scientific truth is not with the many, but with the few. And spiritual life, too, is first discerned from the dizzy mountain tops, and not from the populous valley at our feet.

In a word, the decision of the really great questions that are the chief business of humanity, is to be made, not by the many, not by the greatest number, but by the greatest competence; not by the counting of heads, but by the consideration of the brains that may or may not be in those heads.

EVERY NATION, in a word, is represented by its best and highest, and the best and highest are its fewest. The prophets of humanity have ever been few. They have been prophets because they rose higher than the common level. They did not, in the common sense, represent their nation, but they regenerated it. It is amazing to what extent universal history is made up of the biographies of a few great men. Socrates in his age was Greece. The pupil of Socrates was Plato and at Plato's feet sat Aristotle—and Hellenism, that tremendous intellectual leaven that permeated and fashioned the whole intellectual life of mankind for centuries may be summed up in these three men. The name of Luther represents the Reformation. The life of Luther caused the spiritual disillusionment of half of humanity. Every great religion seems to be the lengthened shadow of a man. Christianity is Christ. Buddhism is Buddha. Judaism is Moses.

When the great and terrible world war is over and the harvest of death is done; when, crippled and tangled and bewildered, Civilization shall look about her and slowly creep out of the debris of the frightfullest cataclysm of centuries and find herself mostly a mourning, bereaved world of women, what will be the greatest problem of all?

This is too large a theme for so short an article, but to generalize briefly, it is obvious that, as Industry is the very backbone of modern progress, the greatest problem the world will have to face is the rebalancing of production, with its concomitant riddles of labor and distribution.

The giant munitions industries that have lured away the former female labor of stores and factories, will pour forth their multitudes to join the rising flood of the labor market, composed, as it inevitably will be, of old men, crippled men and women; and it will be the women who will have the heaviest burdens and responsibilities to bear.

AND HOW is the woman to bear these burdens if she is blinded and bound by ignorance of the processes of her own body? How, with children clinging to her skirts, can she put her shoulder to the wheel of industry and keep the great machinery of progress going? Shall this great machine become a Juggernaut, crushing beneath its wheels the mothers and their children that should be the future generations, or shall these women be the masters of the machine, until the world will have regained its equilibrium and brought order out of the chaos and shambles? To be the masters, these women must be free of the slavery of involuntary childbirth. They must have full control of their own bodies before they can, with those bodies, control and guide the machinery of industry. Woman must have the blessed knowledge that will make her a mother by choice instead of a victim, robbed suddenly of her opportunity to stand alongside her sisters on equal terms in the terrible competitive struggle that will face all women during the next few years. Birth Control! That will be the greatest problem for the women who will have to take the places of their husbands, sons and brothers slain in the World War. And it is this light on the mountain tops that those who are giving of their best to this movement see clearly, that urges them on in the great fight to tear the bandage of prejudice from the eyes of humanity. It is a great message that they are carrying, this small but earnest minority, but it is a message that the world needs too greatly, that women reach their hands for too eagerly, to be long ignored.

And even a comparative handful of men and women with the message of truth cannot fail. The mind is fed

(Continued on Page 15)

A SUMMONS TO OUR WOMEN CITIZENS

(Continued from Page 4)

as to how to prevent conception, can we teach them to regulate the size of their families in proportion to their incomes, so that they can take proper care of the babies born to them, and cut down this tremendous infant mortality.

Carleton Parker, Dean of the University of Washington, in an article in the November Atlantic Monthly, writes:

"It is reasonable to argue that working-class parents suffer in the conventional way in the death of their children. The Federal Children's Bureau reports, 'For all live babies born in wedlock the infant mortality rate is 130.7 in a thousand; it rises to 255.7 when the father earns less than \$10 a week, and falls to 84 when he earns \$25 or more.'"

Dr. Alice Hamilton has given some impressive figures on the relation of our high infant mortality to large families, in the Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine. She reported an investigation of the families of 1,600 wage-earners. Deaths per thousand births in families of

4 children and less averages.....	118
6 " " " "	267
7 " " " "	280
8 " " " "	291
9 " and more "	303

That is, the death rate in families of eight and more is two and one-half times that of families of four children and under.

Summing up briefly, all these statistics support the position taken by advocates of birth control. They argue that voluntary parenthood, the power to limit the size of families is a tremendously vital need. If men and women, especially those of limited means, were able to plan for their families, not having more children than they are able to care for properly, it would raise the average of the next generation as nothing else could.

There is no danger that the race will die off. Parental instinct is too strong and sure for that. Statistics from all foreign countries where birth control is more freely practiced show that with the drop in the birth rate comes a more than proportionate drop in infant mortality. This is due to the fact that parents having fewer children are able to take better care of those they have. The net result is not a decrease, but an increase, in population.

These figures on infant mortality and the increase in venereal disease with its inevitable added effect upon infant mortality make their appeal to the woman voter. As a citizen, responsibility for the conditions which she bequeathes to the next generation rests directly upon her shoulders. If she believes that more general knowledge of the means for family limitation would meet these evils, it is her duty, and it is in her power, to amend the present state laws which make it a penal offense to give birth control information, or to give, lend or sell, articles for this purpose. The penalty may be one year in prison and \$1,000.

Beside this obvious call upon the woman citizen, birth control makes a subtler appeal to the woman suffragist. It

closely parallels, physically and spiritually, the freedom for which suffragists have fought so gallantly along political and spiritual lines.

In the feminist philosophy, political enfranchisement of women is only one step in a broad program of emancipating woman and developing her individual personality to its normal freedom. Katherine Anthony in "Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia" writes:

"It is not placing the cart before the horse to say that the conquest of the political franchise and of economic rights is a valuable means toward the creation of a more independent state of mind in the individual woman. . . . The restoration of woman's self-respect is the gist of the feminist movement."

After generations of "indirect influence," the women of New York state at last have the power to do for themselves. They no longer need to fall back on gigantic petitions and all the roundabout, and often humiliating machinery of indirect influence.

Today as voting citizens, they have the power, if they will organize to do it, to amend the laws affecting birth control in this state. Voluntary motherhood appeals to them from many points of view,—as a war measure, as a eugenic measure, most closely of all, as a human measure, affecting every woman, and leading them another step along the path to which their political enfranchisement unlocked the gates.

THE OBJECTS OF MARRIAGE

The Objects of Marriage: Havelock Ellis; The Medical Review of Reviews (Copyright by Margaret H. Sanger), 25 cents.

THERE HAS always been too much emphasis placed upon the purely utilitarian aspect of marriage, or upon the frigid theological conception of the wedded state. The puritans have had their way with it, and the average young man and young woman are ashamed to associate ideas of beauty with the relationship. Glamor and romance, they have been taught, end with the preparatory period of courtship. Marriage means domestic drudgery and pre-occupation with the necessary, but more or less immodest, business of child-bearing.

A precisely contrary view to this repulsive doctrine is taken in the little volume under review. Havelock Ellis, the greatest of modern psychologists, sees, as the objects of marriage, mutual development by means of sex, spiritual growth as well as physical well-being, the finding of a new and unsuspected beauty in life. He is no iconoclast smashing the edifice of the moralists with brutal hands, because he realizes that human beings do not turn in a moment from things they have been taught to hold sacred. But he points the way to freedom and leaves the reader to choose whether he will accept it or cling to the gloomy errors of the past. His emphasis of birth control as a liberating agency is one of the most important points of his argument.

This is a pamphlet which should find a place in the library of every one, whether married or unmarried, who is at all interested in modern trends.—W. R.

SUPERMAN ARISES

By Gertrude Boyle

WOE-LINED Womb of Now,
 What man art thou delivering
 forth?
 What being doth issue from the loins
 of War!

Lo, Superman arises!—
 Shod in iron,
 Helmed in spirit,
 Winged with flame.
 Rejoice! Rejoice!—
 The world has broken its shackles;
 Humanity at last bursts its chains!
 Rejoice! flesh-entombed man is resur-
 recting;
 Shedding the cerecloth of ages;
 Freeing self from bondage of ignorance,
 From the dust of oppression;
 Eons man has been matter-enslaved!

Behold, Superman advancing upon chaos
 and night!—
 Slaying with sword of spirit
 The monsters of discord and darkness,
 Scorching their evil with wings of flame.
 Beware oppressors, his pinions of fire,
 Through earth, through hell they shall burn his way!



Rejoice, O Earth! O Heavens!
 Superman is risen!
 Toward Godhood he's winging his way!

OVERCROWDING THE WORLD

(Continued from page 6)

quickly adjusted by Nature—although there is no way of representing that condition statistically. If we knew the absolute physiological minimum needed for nutrition by each person on earth and if we had the exact amount of the different kinds of food available each year or period of years, we should be able to tell very easily whether or not there is overpopulation. But as it is we can only say theoretically when such a condition exists. We are, however, quite within the truth when we declare, with Malthus, that population always tends to exceed food supply.

That high fecundity is responsible for group-pressure against national borders, menacing neighboring groups, is clearly demonstrated in the case of Germany.

In 1909 that country had a population of 64,000,000. Its yearly birth rate was 32 and its death rate 17 per thousand. With a net increase of 15 per thousand annually, Germany would have had a population of 75,000,000 in 1920. If the same rate had been maintained, by 1952 her population would have been 107,000,000. With a reduction of the death rate to England's 14 per thousand, her population would have grown even faster.

Now, Germany's area in Europe is only 208,780 square miles, her soil none too fertile by nature, and her climate in winter for the most part harsh. Texas alone has an area of 265,896, exceeding Germany by a difference about equaling the area of Illinois, with 56,665 square miles.

Under such conditions several things might happen. Either a great many persons in Germany would have to die or there would be what Bernhardt calls a "Volks-Wanderung," or folk migration. Such a migration has always meant trespassing on ground occupied by other peoples, and war. Another possibility was restriction of the birth rate, which was, in fact, being practiced to the extent that Germany had one of the most rapidly declining birth rates in Europe.

Evidently the amount of birth control that will be practiced in Germany in the next 25 or 50 years will be a great factor in determining whether or not there is to be another European war of even greater magnitude than the present one. Unless the German people curtail their own fecundity or die more rapidly than they were dying in 1909, it will be a question of perhaps only twenty-five or fifty years before Germany is overrunning her own borders again and breaking into the house of her neighbors.

To sum up in one sentence: The first condition of general peace and settlement of international disputes by arbitration, which the horrors of the war have made all the more imperative, is that the nations must know how to confine population within the limits of their national agricultural fertility. Otherwise, we may as well reconcile ourselves to living in a world in which equilibrium between production and reproduction is brought about in the way Malthus described by the primitive brutality of Nature rather than by intelligence.

IMPRESSIONS OF A DEBATE

By Ernest I. Brennesen

VIGILANCE-ETERNAL is demanded in keeping free from pollution the benevolent spring of birth control. Challenged by Dr. Elmer Lee, editor of "Health Culture," that birth control was neither individually nor collectively beneficial, Margaret Sanger took the affirmative on "Resolved that Birth Control is Conducive to the Virility and Welfare of the Human Race." Conducted under the auspices of the Brooklyn Philosophical Society, on November 18, this debate attracted a large, attentive audience of thoughtful mothers, fathers, and serious young people. The willingness to stand on the part of so many unable to secure seats was indicative of the deep interest felt by the public in this vital question.

Margaret Sanger opened the discussion by stating that a woman should have the inalienable right to decide whether she will or will not give birth to a child. The mother's own mental and physical sufferings attending child birth; the sufferings of a weakly, diseased or deformed child; and the lack of such necessities as will keep a child physically and morally healthy, so that it may never become a public charge or menace—all these points should be considered. Denied the proper and timely guidance or privilege to shape her own destiny, woman is too often faced with the grievous realization of her own mistake, and in utter despair hopes for relief in the dangerous practice of abortion.

Quoting from her new book, "The Case For Birth Control," Margaret Sanger offered incontestable statistics, compiled by noted authorities, on the high percentage of deaths and diseases attending the act of giving birth to a child. In her estimation, as is obvious to any open mind, these many sad deaths with their long trail of heartrending sorrows, as well as the multitude of diseased with their infinite tortures, would never have occurred had birth control been practiced in those cases.

BRINGING THE audience to a closer realization of existing sorrows and her conscious impelling duty to succor where possible, Margaret Sanger related a pitiable case of a friendless woman coming under her observation. Revelations of such sympathetic intimacy with unfortunate cases allow, as in no other way, a true appraisal of the earnest spirit which proposes that no man, law, or other barrier shall prevent her from saving others from treacherous pitfalls.

In view of preponderant evidence tending to show that birth control will absolutely prevent death and suffering, Margaret Sanger asserted that the practice is a necessity which benefits the individual and society. True, she admitted, it does not conform to one of a number of man-made "barnacled" laws; but then, it is the only salvation which brings immediate relief, as no existing law can. And, inasmuch as her personal observations and the records of other countries have shown the sanity and value of this measure, it is difficult to understand why the poor women of this country should be deprived of that privilege. Further-

more, it is a matter of common knowledge that birth control information is readily procurable by a woman able to purchase it. There is certainly no just reason why the same information should be denied a woman less fortunately situated.

Dr. Elmer Lee followed with a gratuitous self-diagnosis and informed the audience that he felt very much "oppressed at birth control." May no punishment await the hope that his oppression has since ripened to impression. He announced himself as the finder of the key to the solution of the poor woman's troubles as mentioned by Margaret Sanger. This, he claimed, was perpetual self-control and restraint from any sexual intercourse whatsoever, numerically expressed, 365 days in a non-leap year. He classified as illicit any sexual relation except that for the one avowed purpose of procreation. The doctor held that no sexual relation should serve any purpose but that of increasing the population. If this is not looking upon woman as a sort of child-bearing contrivance, it certainly is contiguous to it. Man, in turn, was frigidly advised to seek amusements and pastimes apart from sex. Not a word concerning affection was even hinted at.

DR. ELMER LEE then stated that nothing must ever interfere with Nature; that no matter how justifiable birth control may seem, it was imperative to let Nature hold sway, whether a mother die or a diseased cripple or imbecile suffer; that it was his inflexible law, never to interfere one iota with Nature! Now, as a matter of easily available record, man to his colossal advantage, has always defied Nature. First he refused to stay on all fours; next he provided himself and others with food, clothing and warmth when Nature could not give him these; then he fearlessly crossed the stormy deeps, chained the lightning, hurled his greetings across continents, side-tracked rivers to his fancy, brushed away the mountains, reached into the bowels of the earth for precious objects, flew through the air faster than any bird, and made impetuous Death await more politely his bidding.

Another assertion propounded by Dr. Elmer Lee was, that disease is not transmissible from parent to child. Should he consult a host of easily accessible records, he might possibly consider it strange that they differ so widely from his theories. To tell the audience that no disease is transmissible, particularly mentioning syphilis, was a reprehensible attempt to lull the ignorant into a false sense of security. It weakened the invisible chains of conscience and menaced the little innocents of the future.

That diseased parents do not produce diseased or weak or crippled children as the result of disease is a flimsy doctrine which like the wings of wax fashioned by Daedalus, might serve to bear one during the darkness of ignorance, but at the first dawn of enlightenment would melt, and the fate of Icarus would follow.

LETTERS FROM WOMEN

LETTER No. 1

12-11-17.

I AM A POOR married woman in great trouble and I'm writing to you for help. I was married in June 1915 and I have two children little boy 21 mon. & a girl 4 mon. and I will be only 17 years old this month and Im in the family way* again and Im nearly crazy for when my husband finds out that Im going to have another baby he will beat the life out of me. My husband isn't very strong; he had two operations since were married and cant do no hard work and doent earn much and then theres always trouble; when we havent enough money he goes and drinks for all that he gets a hold of. He is so mean to me because these two children were so close together and if he knew I would have another Im sure he would leave me to my fate and go away for thats what he says and Im so weak and young and weigh only 96 lb. I don't know what I'd do with two little children and another one coming. Wont you please help me. I heard other women saying you were very kind to those unfortunate mothers. I dread to think of another baby for this girl will only be about 10 months old and my little boy only 27 months. Im sure Im in the family way though my family doctor won't tell me for he doesn't want to tell me. My breast milk is nearly all gone. I still nurse my baby but there is hardly anything in them. I don't feel no pains now but in Sept. and Oct. I felt awful pains in both sides mostly in my left where the womb is. I consulted a doctor and he said it was swollen he put some medicine there and said it would get well. He said I didn't look in the family way but he was laughing, that was 2 months ago. Im awful worried and don't know where to call for help. Im sure Im about three months or nearly 3. So won't you be kind enough and tell me or send me something so that I wont have any more. Please do for Im lost if I have one more baby, Id rather jump in the river it wouldn't be worse. Please write to me and help me I heard you were kind and helped others and please help me for Im in great trouble too. Id give or do anything not to have another baby please help me for Im sure you can. Im entirely at your mercy. Im going to wait for your ans. day and night; please don't forget me. Anything you will tell me to do I will do for Im entirely at your mercy if you won't take pity on me then Im lost.

Please ans. as soon as you get this for Im just crying and waiting for your help for you know everything about family limitation. Please send me the Family Limitation book and if you send those things that are written in there for birth control please send them to me and I will pay you for all your trouble anything you will ask. I havent much but I rather starve a couple weeks or months and get enough money to have so I wouldn't have another baby. Ans. as soon as possible for Ill be waiting every minute please trust me and help me Im at your Mercy. Mrs. L. S.

* The tragedy of such cases is that the victims so often write in after it is too late for birth control to help them.—ED.

LETTER No. 2

Phila., Pa.

Having read so much about you in the daily papers concerning your wonderful work in Birth Control, write to you for advise. I am a young woman Twenty two years of age, married when not quite twenty one, and since which time I have two children fourteen months apart. My first child a little girl was rather healthy until five months of age when I became pregnant for the second. I was then compelled to stop nursing the first and from that time on it took all the energy and money I could gather to doctor her back to health. When she was fourteen months old, just about able to walk, my little boy was born. At his birth I had so many hemmorages and lost so much blood that my physician almost gave up hope. After two weeks I was again down stairs washing, and ironing for two babies and doing my housework at the same time. In view of this fact I again had a relapse of three days of Tonsilitis with a fever of 104 degrees. For this reason I had to stop nursing the baby and my milk dried up, since which time he has been under the doctor's care as nothing seems to agree with him. My doctor now tells me the child has Ricketts, and advises me to give him Mammala, for food, Orange juice and white of egg, three times daily, bath in sea salt every day, lime water several times a day, and also gave me tablets to be dissolved to bathe his head so as to harden the bones. With all this I have my housework, washing, ironing and another baby 19 mos. old. My baby is a little past four months old now, and from all indications I am pregnant again. I am almost frantic, as I have not had time to regain my strength and what little I have is taken up with a sick baby. As already stated, I am just past twenty two years old and have been married two years last May. I have had no sleep for two weeks and have been up continually these last three nights, and in view of the fact that we are moving, I can hardly "pull myself together" sufficiently to pack. I must ask you to please excuse my writing as I am wheeling the baby with one hand and writing with the other.

If there is any charge for your advice please let me know, as I feel as time goes on that I will do something desperate and for the sake of my two babies, I am trying to avoid this. Your kind attention will be more than appreciated by.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. J. D.

LETTER No. 3

I have been reading of your lecture in St. Louis on birth control and cannot rest till I write you.

I am the mother of five children, the oldest 8 years old and I am only 24 years old was married at 15 years.

I have tied down so much with children since I was married that I have just become despondent.

I love babies but I have had them too fast and have tried everything I could hear of to keep from getting pregnant

again but everything failed then I have tried several Medicines and have had two bad miscarriages and at last I have broke my health. It seems that if I were to have another one soon that death would be welcome. I am so nervous and these five children are even more than I can handle alone as I can't afford help. It worries me now to see them neglected. My only trouble is the worry on me from month to month for fear of becoming pregnant again. I would be happy if I only knew that I would not have another babe till my girls were old enough to help me. Oh! I wish you could just realize my position. A care and a worry all the time. We are now trying to pay for a farm.

I want you to send me one of your pamphlets or write me and give me what advice you can on birth control for if anyone ever needed it, I do. I think you are doing a good work for there are other mothers in the same fix I am in.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain

Very Resp't Mrs. F. O.

LETTER No. 4.

C., S. D.

Two years ago next January I lost a seven months baby. He lived one day. Then the next July I had a four months miscarriage and now I have a three months old baby and she is a strong healthy baby.

I am a young woman twenty three years old and I'm not very strong. I do not have time to get over one sickness before I become pregnant again. My health will soon be all gone at that rate.

Next spring we will go back on our Homestead fifty miles from town and we cannot afford more children till we prove up and it would be dangerous for me to be pregnant because I am so likely to miscarry. I love babies and I want more children after we prove up.

Would you give me information on how to take care of myself so I will not become pregnant?

Yours truly, Mrs. K. T.

LETTER No. 5.

C., N. J., Oct. 25, 1917.

I have been married three years in Sept. just past and have two children, a boy, the first was born eleven months after marriage and is now two years and 2 months old and a little girl who came almost 16 months later and who is now nearly 11 months old. I am now nearly two months for another and under the present circumstances is not welcome for my life, since before my first baby came has been miserable. I was brought up in a poor but honest family where love was predominant, and drink away in the back ground for we are temperance, and when, shortly before the boy came my husband took to drink I was surprised and hurt and later as it got a worse hold on him and he was so mean you may imagine what my life has been, he struck at me twice with his clenched fist but I side stepped him and I was pregnant too. He never gave me much money, only \$6 per week and I had his mother to feed also as she is living with us, and when I told him how sometimes I had to

go hungry on that amount he called me a D-liar. To prepare for the last baby's coming he gave me two dollars and then not until the last minute, just six days before birth. I could not nurse my second baby because of insufficient nourishment as many a time I went all day on coffee and bread even after she came, and after three months put her on a bottle as she was nearly starved. She was a terribly cross baby and many a time he would put on his hat and coat and spend his time in a saloon because he didn't intend to hear it. He doesn't seem to care how many I have nor does he want to be careful so as to help me nor to care for them after they come as I have to dingdong all the time now for a few dollars to buy winter clothes. They have very little even of the necessary things and no others. I can not afford any more children now what with winter coming on with coal and wood to buy also clothes and food so high and so little money, I don't know how we will live. He has told me many times to get out, also if it wasn't for the children he would be many miles away from me. I very seldom quarrel with him only when I can't stand any more of his cranky talk. He is never home early evenings, I can never count on when he is coming, and when he has a short pay, he takes it out of me, and I have milk and this summer ice also the paper to pay for besides the table to buy for on that amount. I must ask him for money every time I need it also tell how much I want and what I am to do with it, if it exceeds two dollars he has a fit also he seldom gives me more. He is always drunk or half so and he neglects his duties at home, I have had to saw, cut and split great logs of wood, haul coal, make fire, sift ashes, get up first in the cold, (for he will not let me keep a fire over night) even when pregnant and in snow and slush, rain or shine, he doesn't want to spoil me so he says. I have no crib for the babies or extra bed so they sleep with me and he on a cot, and when I get up in the morning I am all wet and cold. He has told me many a time that nothing in the home is mine, that his money bought it all, therefore it is his.

I have no one to depend on as my mother and father are poor working people having a family of their own and neither of them are well one or both doctoring all the time, and the more they would do for me, the more he would have for drink and my father says a poor working man has enough to do to bring up his own family these days. Also my husband earns more money per week than my father and has less expenses also it is his right to care for us. I would love to have and raise a family if my home life was happier but I can't see it now. I dearly love children and always said as a child I was going to have a bakers doz. When I was single I had few friends but always had a bunch of children out for a walk and treat to ice cream or candy and they all knew and loved me, too.

I could tell you many more things but I guess it would fill a book, besides have told enough for you to see the futility of any more babies coming to my home while things are like this. Hoping you can tell me what I wish to know, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. G. C. B.

SOCIALIST WOMEN, TAKE NOTE

THERE ARE ELEVEN Socialist Assemblymen to take their seats in Albany on January 1.

There is much encouragement in the fact that the usual, normal Socialist has been so well drilled in his economics that he already knows the main arguments for birth control. It will not be necessary to send a delegation to inform these eleven men of the necessity for contraceptive information among the working women.

But let women not forget that these men are men—and men are not naturally inclined to make woman's freedom their life's work. They will be swamped and overwhelmed with all kinds of issues and will, like other legislators before them, be likely to leave birth control where it is, unless their attention is called to it. We therefore request every woman who lives in the districts which these men represent to make it her personal duty to call upon her assemblyman and fortify him with knowledge—with human facts—and instruct him to make the repeal of Section 1142 the immediate act of the Legislature.

A man said to me the other day, seeing the Birth Control Review in my hands: "if those people have their way, what will become of the population of Europe after the war?" I asked him: "But what's becoming of it in the war?" Curiously, there are people who believe in war who have the cheek to call birth control murder.—Horace Traubel.

EUGENICS AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from Page 7)

need more imbeciles than scientists. To have thousands of unwelcome children from overworked working women, and to have a one-child family or spinsterhood for women geniuses is equally disastrous.

At present, any woman ignorant enough will have unlimited children. She may be feeble in health, a hater of children, a nervous wreck, the most unwilling, and the most inefficient of mothers. Still she breeds. And why? Her physician is the dispensary physician, perhaps of some religious society. This physician gives her no advice about limiting maternity. "It isn't done," as yet in dispensary circles. It is only done in the privacy of the office. I am glad that I live in a state (Illinois) where such advice may legally be given, in either office or dispensary. But being legal does not help, unless some one brings knowledge to these unhappy women.

To me it is clear, and I think everybody should be able to see, that once motherhood becomes a voluntary function, there must grow up a race of mothers who love and choose maternity. To be a mother will be to *want* to be a mother. The love of children will have a survival value, for the world will slowly be filled by those who best love children.

God speed the day when the unwilling mother, with her weak puny body, her sad, anaemic unlovely face, and her dependent whine, will be no more. In that day we shall see a race of American thoroughbreds, if not the superman.

FIRST FRUITS IN ST. LOUIS

Health Commissioner Starkloff of St. Louis is alarmed at the falling birth rate in that city. He admits that it is directly due to birth control propaganda. The statistics of his department show that there has been a decline in births since 1908. There never has been any marked drop, however, until 1916, when the figure fell to 14,217. In 1908, there were 15,813 children born in St. Louis. The decrease last year from the birth rate of 1915 was about 1,000. During the eight years, there has been a considerable increase in population, thereby once more proving the Malthusian law that a low birth rate invariably results in a larger and better population. This last point the Commissioner conveniently ignores in his lament. Nor does he mention the fact that these first fruits of the birth control movement in St. Louis are due almost entirely to the work done in a quiet way by one little nurse, who has carried the message directly to the poor mothers with whom she is constantly in contact.

BIRTH CONTROL AND FEMINISM

(Continued from Page 3)

repeal of this law. Of course capitalism thrives on an over-supplied labor market, but with our usual enormous immigration to be counted on as soon as the war is over, it is not likely that an organized economic opposition to birth control will develop.

In short, if feminism, conscious and bold and intelligent, leads the demand, it will be supported by the secret eagerness of all women to control the size of their families, and a suffrage state should make short work of repealing these old laws that stand in the way of birth control.

THE TRIUMPH OF MINORITIES

(Continued from Page 9)

by knowledge. But knowledge is not all. The soul is touched by sincerity, and sincerity begets sincerity; life springs from life; alike the life of the spirit and the life of the body. The teacher with faith and sincerity and strength of conviction begets these attributes in his pupils and makes of them disciples who pass on the message with a passion for propagation that spreads a splendid contagion from one soul to another. And so, though the first moment may be merely an enthusiasm for a fine and inspiring idea, for a cause, for a principle, the message will take root and grow, like a tiny seed, and however tiny the seed, it may be the atom of ferment that shall leaven all humanity.

Three Books by Margaret Sanger

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"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"

and

"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

ON DECEMBER 10, Jonah J. Goldstein, attorney, argued the final appeal in New York State of Margaret H. Sanger's case, before the Court of Appeals sitting at Albany. Judgment was reserved. The most important point raised by Mr. Goldstein, and the one to which he devoted the major part of his argument, was to the effect that Section 1142, by its absolute prohibition, has the effect of forcing conception upon every married woman, often against her conscience and volition. He challenged the constitutionality of the law, because it deprives woman of the right of individual liberty, and makes no distinction between the married and unmarried, those who are capable of bearing children and those whose physical condition make childbirth undesirable. The State does not compel marriage, but does practically enforce motherhood. It raises no objection to a union which is sterile for natural causes, but is perfectly willing to grant an annulment of marriage should the woman refuse to perform the functions of sex. Pretending that the laws of nature must not be interfered with, the State forbids married people to avail themselves of the assistance of science—which is nature under guidance. Consequently, many of our young people are debarred from marrying through their economic inability to assume responsibilities which they are not allowed to limit. No more tyrannous infringement of personal liberty could be imagined. Mr. Goldstein's argument was a notable contribution to the cause of woman's freedom in New York state. It was ably and fearlessly presented. The opposing counsel, however, while he spent much time in disputing the technicalities involved in the case, pointedly and characteristically ignored the entire phase of the problem which Mr. Goldstein had brought out, as outlined above.

POLYGAMY, trial marriages, lateral marriages and concubinage are now being sponsored by the Kaiser's Government and praised by German intellectuals as highly moral, advanced and efficient population measures. The *New York Tribune* published an article on December 16, which demonstrated that these practices were becoming widespread and had proved workable in a number of ways. To our surprise, however, the *Tribune* expressed horror at the innovation and went to some pains to show that decent Americans were shocked at this latest exhibition of Teutonic "depravity." We had fully expected that *The Birth Control Review*, and perhaps a few other magazines of radical tendencies, would have been the only ones to protest. For, really, this German scheme appears to be solving problems that are shared by all the warring Governments and which have hitherto defied the social experts. The birth rate will rise, for it is true that illegitimacy has jumped from 15 to 45 per cent a year ago. Women for whom no places could be found in the munitions industries are receiving

a measure of support from their plural husbands. Prostitution is being rapidly reduced; in Hamburg, for instance, the "red light" district is stated officially to have disappeared, there being no longer any demand for the services of its unfortunate denizens. Venereal diseases are on the decline. All of the above results, with the exception of the increased birth rate, are ardently desired by us. We object only to the means which are being used to bring them about, and would suggest birth control as a more scientific substitute. But the militarists who control the destinies of modern nations do not believe in birth control. It is amazing that they should not seize upon the new German efficiency plan with the same readiness that they adopted chlorine gas and other bright ideas in the game of war. We should think that having decided to make the present era one of conquest, any measure which promises to replenish the armed forces and keep down disease would be welcome. Polygamy, from the militarist's point of view, is undoubtedly such a measure.

MRS. HONORE WILLSIE, editor of *The Delineator*, called upon the women of America to raise the best "cannon fodder" on earth. Mrs. Willsie made this proposal at The Woman's City Club luncheon held at the McAlpin Hotel, New York, a few days ago in the interest of the club's "save the babies" drive.

The idea expressed seemed to be that the babies of today be saved and bred and educated in order that they may become the finest cannon fodder on earth, and this being so—will in twenty years hence, defy the world to fight them.

She pointed to Germany as an example of efficiency in making this war "the greatest hell on earth" and was impatient that America does not beat them to it. Such logic! It seems inconceivable that any woman in her right mind dare stand before a group of intelligent women—many of them mothers—and deliver such a message.

The thing which is so disquieting in her message is not her unnatural thirst for war—but her desire to imitate—to imitate men,—to do what they do,—to think, to say, as they do—to follow where they lead. For this she is willing to keep the world in its present ignorance, and perpetuate the same poverty, misery and human wretchedness which has enslaved the world since the domain of man. The mind of such a woman cannot conceive of a world, which will not tolerate warfare. She cannot conceive that woman will ultimately free herself from the entanglements of machine-made morality and stand erect, free to think, free to act, free to lead and create a world of her own visions.

THROUGH a regrettable error, we stated in the last issue that the Appellate Division handed down no written opinion when it reversed Judge Bijur's favorable ruling in the "Birth Control" photoplay case. We have since learned that a long opinion was rendered and published in the official record.

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One dollar fifty a year

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood

Volume Two

FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1918

Number Two

The Law at Work

By Jessie Ashley

Morality and Birth Control

By Margaret Sanger

As a Doctor Sees It

Letters from Women



Drawn by Cornelia Burns

THE NEW VOTER AT WORK

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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THE LAW AT WORK

By Jessie Ashley

The Husband

I 'VE KNOCKED and knocked, but she don't answer and the baby's crying something awful."

The girl stood in the doorway looking frightened, yet resentful at being frightened. George Bernard, sitting with his newspaper before a bright fire, slowly turned toward her. He was asking himself why the girl was frightened.

"Knock again, then go into the room," he said. "Perhaps she has overslept."

"I tried, sir, but the door's locked."

"Locked?" echoed George startled. Then he rose. "I will go," he said.

The door yielded at last, yielded suddenly, so that George almost fell forward. The bed was empty; the wails of a sickly baby came from the crib beside it. Across the room the bathroom door was also shut and also locked and also yielded, slowly, but at last. The large white bath tub was almost full of water and Helen lay there with her yellow hair floating about her.

It was just too late to restore her, although they worked for hours. Her life was gone and the germ of life within her had been exterminated, too.

She had written: "I cannot endure it so soon again. I will not go through it. Five babies in six years and another coming. No one would help me, so I must help myself."

Her husband left alone with five small children, bewildered, almost frantic, tried to think it out. Help her? How help her? Wasn't it nature? Was he to blame? He loved her; she loved him. She had been gay and healthy. Only within the last year or two she had grown nervous, ailing and weak.

She had told him she would not have another child, but women always said that, and when the whole thing was over they were glad. It was nature; it was woman's part in life. And she had asked him to find out how to prevent having so many babies. But he was a moral man and loved his wife. Of course, he wanted her; of course, he wanted children, not so fast perhaps, but that was nature. If people loved and were married, wasn't it the woman's happiness to have children?

He could not understand. How help her? What was wrong? Marriage gave them both rights and duties. Marriage protected women and children, but the wife owed something to the husband. Surely that was fair, and surely the law recognized the husband's rights.

He went round and round the circle—nature, religion, duty, happiness—over and over again.

How help her? How?

The Doctor

D R. JONES threw down his gloves with a bit of a vicious twist. It was almost as though he said "damn!" but he didn't. Instead he held out his hand to George Bernard.

"George," he said, "I have rather expected your question. Sit down. Smoke?"

A pause while both lighted cigars. Then the doctor spoke again:

"You see the whole thing is very delicate and complicated; but my dear man you surely don't need to ask me so simple a thing as how to—well, prevent disease, do you?" He looked at his friend sideways with the glint of an eye-twinkle.

Bernard flushed. "Prevent—what do you take me for?"

"A sensible man—about town," answered the doctor, "with a fair knowledge of drug stores and hygiene."

Then both smoked and stared at nothing.

"So that is one way," said George at last. "Is it the only way?"

"No. There are ways for a woman to help herself. But it is against the law to tell you what those ways are."

"Are the methods injurious?"

"No."

"Certain?"

"Fairly so, some of them."

"Difficult?"

"Very simple."

"Why are they against the law?"

The doctor laughed. "They are not against the law, every one who knows them uses them. It is only against the law to tell anyone what the methods are."

Another long smoke. Then Bernard said with a break in the question:

"Did Helen ever ask you about these methods?"

"Yes."

"When?"

"After the fourth child was born and after the fifth came."

"What did you tell her?"

The doctor shrugged. "My dear chap, I don't break the law. I told her she should suggest to you to—upon my word. . . ."

"Bernard, didn't you know any other women?"

Again Bernard grew red, very red this time and started up.

"Good God!" he cried. "But—" Then suddenly: "Good night," he said. "Thank you."

The doctor touched a bell, his servant showed the visitor out, while the doctor sank back into his chair slowly nodding with pursed lips.

The Lawyer

"HELLO, BERNARD, old man. Glad to see you, come in." Then, "Mighty sorry, you know, and all that. I always liked Helen."

"Thank you, Jack, Helen always liked you too. I have come to ask you something."

"I shall be very glad to do anything I can about this trouble—"

"Thanks, it's not that. I want to ask if Helen ever came to see you?"

Jack sat down rather suddenly, twisting his swing chair toward the window, then back again.

"I suppose it is no breach of confidence now. Yes, she did."

"She asked you her rights?"

"Yes."

"Against me?"

"Yes."

"And about the children?"

"Yes."

"And my rights?"

"Yes, particularly about your rights."

"What did you tell her?"

Jack frowned and moved uneasily.

"She was anxious to know how she could get some information she wanted. I told her she couldn't, not legally. She wanted to know the penalty for giving the information she wanted. I told her the maximum was a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine or both. She asked if she was legally obliged to have children. I said not that I knew of, but she was legally expected to—well, we call it "serve her husband."

"I see. What else?"

"She asked—but I say, George, I hate to talk about this, you know."

"All the same, Jack. I *must* know what was in my wife's mind, when she—left me. Please, go on."

"She asked if she could get a legal separation from you, or a divorce. I told her if you deserted her or were cruel or failed to support her and that sort of thing, she could get a separation, but a divorce would be granted only if—I was talking about New York of course—only in case you were untrue to her." Then the lawyer looked straight at his friend. "She said you were not untrue to her."

Bernard started up and went to the window. A view of water touched by slanting rays of sun, of boats coming and going, of great shining towers on shore. He turned back.

"You made her feel she was rather in a net, didn't you? A little golden fish in a largish net?"

"Something like that."

"This information that Helen wanted, may a mother give it to her daughter?"

"Not legally."

"A father to his son?"

"No."

"A doctor to his patient?"

"Not unless the patient's life depends on it."

"And the wife must serve her husband?"

"Yes."

"You told all this to Helen?"

"Yes."

"That's all, Jack. Much obliged."

"But I say, wait a bit. Helen was a fine, healthy girl, why shouldn't she have children?"

"Five within six years and another coming?"

"Well, it's nature."

"Anyway, it's the law?"

"Hang it all, Bernard, don't blame me for the law."

"Why not? But no matter, I don't. Good-bye and thank you."

And another professional man sat drumming with his fingers while George Bernard sought the street.

The Nurse

A SERVANT CAME quickly through the hall as Bernard's latch key turned in the lock.

"Oh, Mr. Bernard, sir, they have arrested her," the woman cried excitedly.

"Her? Who?"

"The trained nurse, sir."

"Baby's nurse?"

"Yes, sir. She left word, could you come to the court in East 57th Street as soon as you could."

A frown of annoyance deepened on Bernard's face. These women! She seemed such a nice little thing, too, with her short red hair and her big brown eyes.

"How did it happen?" he asked. A vision of police and a struggling woman leaving his house rose before him.

"Two gentlemen came, sir, and asked for her. She was with baby, but they said they must see her. Then they showed her a paper and arrested her."

"What charge?"

"Something she had said, sir, and papers she'd given away."

Suddenly a thought flashed illumination. He became alert.

"How long has she been gone?"

"About two hours, sir."

And then the front door slammed behind him.

Isabel Young was sitting on a narrow bench behind a barred iron door. She looked quite calm and a little pale, but she smiled at the burly official in uniform who swung open the door. "Come on," he said and without a word she followed him through more iron doors and into the court room.

"Name?"

"Isabel Young."

"Age?"

"Thirty-three."

"Occupation?"

"Trained nurse."

"Married or single?"

"Married."

"How do you plead?"

"Not guilty."

"Bail fixed at \$500," said the Judge looking down upon her with severity.

She was led back through gloomy corridors and once more put under lock and key. Young, sweet of face and voice, quiet and poised she sat with her capable strong white hands lying idly in her lap while big men in uniform walked by and peered in at her. They were curious. This harmless looking woman had been arrested for teaching women how to limit the number of their children. Each and every one of these men wanted to ask her for that information.

(Continued on Page 14)



Holding Back the Twentieth Century

Drawn by K. Okada

Courtesy of the Japanese Times

RESURGE

By Lily Winner

WE ARE THE survivals of all antecedent ages;
 Every generation leaves its records, and precipitates in us;

Every newborn child contains in its body
 The autobiography of the human race;
 The primitive brute,
 The bloodthirsty warrior,
 The lover,
 The idealist—
 Multifarious, many centuries,
 Historians anew of the future.

In him the conflicting currents meet,
 So many streams of influence —
 Slave and serf and master and poet —
 Through him the generations think and speak;

The last resultant of the ages
 Produced by them—a protest against them—
 Flaming Prophet or mocking Mephistopaeles;
 So many strata are in him,
 So many passions, base and beautiful,
 So much suffering, so much sublimity;
 A tangle of tragic experiences
 And radiant expectations.
 And we shall know life only through his coherencies,
 Through the full circle of his life;
 And we shall lose life by that measure
 That we cut off his life;
 And when war arises,
 Flaming white-hot beneath its clouds of blood,
 Searing the horizon of the universe,
 And we offer the best of our children,
 The strongest, soundest and fairest,
 What remains?
 The future is determined by the men that live,
 Our destinies are not unwound by the slain!

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TO-DAY

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(This is the first instalment of the most recent work on Malthusianism by C. V. Drysdale, the leading English exponent of the theory. It appeared recently in "The Malthusian" but has hitherto not been printed in book form, nor appeared in any American publication. While Dr. Drysdale handles his subject from the English point of view, its application is world-wide. Readers of "The Birth Control Review" should follow the series carefully. An instalment will appear in each succeeding issue for several months.—Editors.)

IT SEEMS TO BE the fate of most great discoveries to go through alternate periods of acceptance and disfavor before their final adoption. Such was the case with the Copernican doctrine of the movement of the earth round the sun, with the wave theory of light, and with the theory of evolution. The Malthusian doctrine of overpopulation has only experienced the same treatment as these other great doctrines, which are now accepted without question; and although it has recently been passing through a period of eclipse, it is once more emerging from the shadow, with every probability of a complete and final enthronement as the most important of all the laws of Nature in its influence upon human welfare.

The difficulty of providing for a high birth-rate in a settled community was appreciated by the ancient Greeks, notably by Plato and Aristotle; but their conclusions were swept aside by the warlike spirit of Rome and the sentimentality of Christianity, so that only a few isolated thinkers showed any appreciation of them.

It was left for Malthus, in 1798, to put forward the first definite theory of the subject, and to give proofs based upon theory and experience. Although his Essay produced a storm of opposition, it steadily won its way, aided by the writings of James and John Stuart Mill, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, and others, until the Malthusian doctrine was described by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, at the Bradlaugh and Besant trial of 1877, as "an irrefragable truth."

From that time till quite recently, however, a reaction has set in, due to three chief causes. The first of these is the great improvement in the means of transport of food from abroad, and the rapid development of our colonies, which has made us no longer greatly dependent upon our own agriculture. The food question has, in fact, become a world question rather than a national one, and it was perhaps natural for people to think that while vast tracts of fertile land remained to be cultivated the population problem could be postponed.

A SECOND powerful agency for silencing advocacy of the doctrine among the respectable classes has been the popularization of preventive methods. The followers of Malthus in his economic doctrine were not content with his conclusion, which was that births should be diminished by "moral restraint," i. e., late marriage or celibacy, com-

bined with strict continence before marriage. They say, as Malthus had indeed himself shown, that such a counsel, whether ideal or not, had proved unworkable in practice, and that restraints upon marriage had generally been followed by evils worse than those of overpopulation. They therefore set themselves to find means of escape from this dilemma, and devised methods by which persons could marry early and avoid having large families. These methods were, however, denounced by theologians as immoral, and those who had assented to Malthus's doctrine when it was an ascetic and really an academic one (for no fall of the birth-rate appears to have been caused by its acceptance), speedily ceased their advocacy when these methods began to be adopted and the birth-rate to fall.

Thirdly, the Malthusian doctrine had always been most repugnant to the democratic idealists, and the Essay of Malthus was, in fact, written as a reply to Godwin's "Political Justice," and developed into an attack upon most schemes of social betterment. It became, therefore, the special *bete noir* of the Socialists, land reformers, and other advocates of redistribution and democratic control; and in the modern increase of power of the democracy and the apparent success of their efforts (due to the improved transport above referred to), the Malthusian doctrine naturally became pushed to one side. Abandoned by Church and State on moral and national grounds, by the capitalists for narrowly self-interested motives, by the modern economists who have taken refuge in the temporary respite given by the increased food supply as a means of avoiding an unpopular doctrine, and disliked by the laboring classes, which it was especially intended to help, it is little wonder that the eclipse of the Malthusian doctrine has been nearly a total one, and that only a very small band of devoted adherents upheld it in its period of darkness.

But within the past few years light has come again, as we knew it must. Although the cost of living fell very rapidly from about the year 1874, due to the great supplies from abroad, less than a quarter of a century elapsed before it began to rise again. Again, the rise of money wages, which had been going on more or less steadily during the latter half of last century, has received a very decided check in the early years of the present one, although the power and efforts of organized labor have been greater than ever before.

WE THUS HAVE the undisputed fact that within a few decades of the opening up of the agricultural possibilities of the New World, and of the conferring of political power on the laboring classes, with the immense amount of social legislation which has followed it, the problem of poverty has returned to us; and recent discussions in Parliament and elsewhere have revealed the fact that even our Labor representatives are baffled to find a

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THE WOMEN OF THE SOUTH

By Bianca Van Beuren

THE FIRST DEMANDS for the abolition of slavery in the South came not from the slaves themselves, but from a few northern agitators inflamed against the evils of the system. History is about to repeat itself here. Freedom is coming for the women of the South, but it is coming from outside. They are making no effort to win it for themselves, not because they have considered a life of wide usefulness and personal liberty, and have decided against it, but because they have no conception of freedom. They are blind and deaf to the fact that their lives and opinions are moulded by others, that they are passed successively from parents to teachers, and from teachers to husband, and that the authority of each of these in turn decides their work and sphere in life, and not they themselves.

The southern woman is fifty years behind the rest of the women in the country. She has no mind, no individuality, no initiative, and without question accepts all the absurd conventionalities that hedge her about and keep her a charming and useless dependent on her husband. Her actions are all inspired by the one motive, to conform to the rules laid down for her by others—like the young girl who tells us she cannot wait alone after dark on a brilliantly lighted street corner for a car, not because she is afraid, but because "it isn't done."

You are here in a land where the women are still unawakened. They do not even dream of a wide and glorious future for women—of that future pictured so inspiringly by Olive Schreiner, in which, co-workers with man, they will share his labors, reap his rewards, and feast with him in brave fellowship. Their dreams carry them no farther than a to-morrow which will continue the pleasures and comforts of today, and the chief ambition of the average southern woman seems to be, to be called to that station in life in which it will be possible for her to breakfast in bed every morning.

THERE IS LITTLE comradeship between the sexes. To a single woman a man is nothing but a matrimonial possibility; if he is not that, his friendship is not encouraged. And for the exceptional man and woman sincerely desirous for companionship, there is always the stumbling-block of a public opinion which sees nothing but the lure of sex in such mutual interest, and punishes the two people by ostracizing them socially if it is not immediately apparent that theirs is the conventional interest which leads straight to the marriage altar. Southern women are thus deprived of that sane, intellectual comradeship with men which would broaden their minds, and through impersonal discussions of questions of public interest, make them feel it at last their privilege and duty to share in righting the many social evils that cry to heaven for cure.

There is one broadening influence at work which may

not be overlooked. Most of the larger southern cities now have woman suffrage organizations. It is an encouraging sign—the first advance of that new freedom which is to come from without—but at present it is sufficient for the women here as an end in itself.

It is easy to understand why woman suffrage should appeal to them first. It is something concrete. They are working for the vote and for that alone, without any notion that the franchise might sweep them into a life of individual initiative and responsibility; and without any conception of that larger feminist movement of which suffragism is but a phase and a part.

It is naturally the most progressive women in their communities who have taken up the work for suffrage, and they are working conscientiously and with some enthusiasm, but their organizations reflect their own shortcomings. They are too little used to working without direction and instruction. In one of the largest southern cities, a newspaper notice on a certain morning advertised a suffrage meeting and an out-of-town speaker for that evening, the meeting to take place in the ball room of one of the hotels. At the hour of the meeting, however, it transpired that the management of the hotel knew nothing of it, and that a dance was being held in the ball room; so the lecturer and the attending ladies had to wait in the hotel lobby while the suffragist and the hotel manager hastily arranged for the meeting in one of the unused banquet rooms of the hotel.

OUTSIDE OF THE small body of suffragists, the majority of the southern women are indifferent to the vote and ignorant of the questions they would help to decide if they were enfranchised. One suffrage worker reported that in presenting a suffrage petition to stenographers, her request for signatures was greeted in almost every case with embarrassed giggles; and it was a southern girl working for a living who had never heard the word "proletariat," and was so little accustomed to using a dictionary that when she looked it up, she confused it with its Latin root word and came back with the information that it meant bearing children.

If most southern women are indifferent to the vote which, on its face, would seem to be nothing more alarming than the privilege of dropping a piece of paper in a wooden box, and would not appear to disturb the established order of things, they bring a veiled hostility to the consideration of anything which implies change. It is so with the question of birth control. It means nothing to them that a family should have more children than it can support and educate. It would be impious to suggest birth control. That too, is one of the things that "isn't done." What a southern woman's attitude toward the subject might be if she did her own thinking, it is

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THE DYNAMITE OF AN IDEA

By Louis Weitzenkorn

I SUPPOSE EVERY young radical goes through that stage which is represented by Jack London's delightful story "Goliath". The thought of some scientific power capable of blowing up battleships, arsenals and munitions factories, of killing off the villains of the universe by harnessed radio waves and setting the world straight out of its present insanity by threats of destruction is dear to the heart of imaginative and romantic youth. I used to kill off tyrants and destroy the capitalist system nightly in the dark of my bedroom, and would fall asleep exultant. It is a form of mental drug addiction which is harmless and extremely pleasant. I suggest it to those boys who deplore the passing of the Iroquois and think o' nights.

But I have grown older, one of the natural developments allowed by law, and my insomnia has taken forms anew. I worry myself to sleep trying to piece together the inconsistencies which are so consistent in a modern democracy where they have learned from the ten commandments "Thou Shalt Not" and no more. And I have found my marvelous dynamite, which is a consolation, for I can circulate it through my friends, and it has to do with the Society for the Prevention of Margaret Sanger.

Some sixty years ago (dates are odious to me) two men issued a pamphlet. The men were Germans, exiled at the time, and I believe the pamphlet was printed and circulated first in London. That pamphlet was the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and last year it hurled Nicholas Romanoff off the throne of Russia for ever and ever, amen. It is my idea of dynamite. It is harnessed radio waves. It is a truth, and people will listen to truths; slowly but surely they will pay attention and out of these truths will spring Leon Trozky and Nicolai Lenines and Margaret Sangers, despite Grand Dukes, British Censors, Texas farmers known as Burlesons or Anthony Comstocks and John Sumners clinging to the ragtail respectabilities who fear intelligence and hate emancipation.

Sixty years of Socialist propoganda and twenty million Socialists throughout the world!

A handful of years of birth control agitation in America and every woman who can read a newspaper knows that somewhere she can secure knowledge that will free her forever from the slavery of breeding that almost equals rabbit multiplication.

IT DOESN'T MATTER in the slightest degree whether you approve of Socialism or Birth Control. It doesn't matter to Nature whether you approve of being tailed. Nature presents certain conditions of life to you and your ability to survive is measured by your ability to adapt yourself to a changing environment. Really the only true rebel in the world is the conservative and he's

rebellious merely because, like an appendix, he degenerates into an inactive organ fit only for the upkeep of expensive surgeons. He doesn't keep pace with the change of body; he is out of harmony with the liver and heart of society and occasionally gets so filled with puss that the world is forced to undergo an extreme sickness before he is removed. He is the rebel to progress. He is the executioner of our Socrates our Christs, the persecutor of our Galileos, the great standpatter who defies evolution and gives immortality to the agents of change and progression.

Those who are part of the great established do not learn, because they cannot, and we should be duly thankful. The rocks that would stem Niagara only throw the water higher and the men and women who oppose an idea in which there is truth are standing in the way of something which will drown them. These judges who would hold up their legal paw to the dissemination of birth control will father children who will practice it—if the children are unfortunate enough to escape birth control at the hands of parents who are already in the possession of the very information which they would restrict from the mothers of the working class now producing a sufficient quantity of offspring to keep down wages, break strikes, or vote the Democratic ticket.

BUT I DO NOT want to eulogize the conservative further. I am ready to concede and thank him for his usefulness, but it must be admitted that he has his limitations. Let us take him and his ignorance and be duly grateful for his power to disseminate the ideas which he forbids to the originators. Margaret Sanger owes a debt to Anthony Comstock which she can never repay. God is probably indulgent with the human race for killing Jesus Christ. Good heavens, what would Bernard Shaw have done without his critics?

As I write this article, news comes from Albany that the Supreme Court has declared the penal code which forbids the dissemination of birth control information constitutional. I do not even know the names of the wise and dignified gentlemen who arrived at a conclusion long after every one expected them to do so. You, my reader, do not know their names and probably do not care to. What we do know is, that these well fed manikins of a dead hand will be in the mud when Margaret Sanger is in bronze.

Let us use our dynamite as it should be used. It doesn't explode rightly unless tamped down good and hard. We can't have revolutions unless we have something to revolt against, and our ideas are useless unless they go off. Opposition and reaction are the greatest tampers we have. They are the body of all that's radical and I hereby register my humble thanks for all they have done.

REACTION IN FRANCE

By Leonine Napiere

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, Premier of France, is opposed to the spreading of feminist doctrines, whatever he means by the term. He considers it to be bad for the nation to think along these lines, while the war lasts. Of course, the underlying motive is fear of birth control, fear that increased dissemination of this knowledge will defeat the Government's repopulation schemes. Radicals have been warned not to advocate feminism in the press or on the platform. At least one noted woman, Helene Brion, has been arrested. She was charged with pacifism and inciting soldiers to desert from the army, but the newspapers have made it clear that she is really being persecuted because of her activities in behalf of the freedom of her sex.

To me, this policy is one of the absurd manifestations of war hysteria that has cropped up in France. My country cannot be coerced, and who should know that better than Clemenceau, the former Communard and "Mayor of Montmartre!" She has lagged behind other nations in the matter of an organized feminist movement, because Frenchwomen have been relatively so emancipated that they have been slow to see the necessity of fighting the preliminary battles forced upon American, English or Scandinavian women.

Frenchwomen have been the partners in business of their husbands. Without holding office or voting themselves, they have exerted a tremendous influence in politics. The careers of half our statesmen in the past hundred years have been made or profoundly modified by women. We have scoffed at the puritanical restrictions placed upon our sisters in other lands. And, above all, we have practiced birth control, deliberately, consciously, as a means and guarantee of freedom.

Is Clemenceau so foolish as to think that he can impose official fertility upon us? Or that, now that we are ready to think and act in the terms of Twentieth Century feminism, he can turn us aside, without even attempting to convince our reason?

To take up first the repopulation propaganda:

BIRTH CONTROL is being combated in France today by the closing of channels of information, by trying to confuse the practice with that of abortion, and by the airing of a host of projects of law designed to encourage the old-fashioned ten-child family. It is proposed to penalize the parents of few children. Their taxes would be higher than those of their more rabbit-like neighbors, and, of course, each birth would earn a reduction in the rate. The State would take a larger pro-rata share of money or property willed to single offspring. The only son would have to serve a longer term in the army than the boy who has one or more brothers.

The mother (married or unmarried, be it carefully

noted) is to be subsidized by the State, if not otherwise provided for. A law has been introduced in the Chamber of Deputies, giving "every Frenchwoman the right, during the four last month of pregnancy and the month following her accouchment, to a daily pension, if she remains at home and gives up all remunerative work, whether industrial, agricultural, commercial or administrative."

The pension is fixed at three francs (60 cents) in neighborhoods of less than 1,500 inhabitants; at four francs (80 cents) in cities of from 1,500 to 100,000 inhabitants; at five francs (\$1) in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants.

In addition, the mother is to be entitled to a special monthly allowance of 45, 60 or 75 francs (according to the size of the commune in which she lives) during the nine months following childbirth, provided she nurses her own child at the breast.

The last-mentioned project is not so bad, if one is willing to accept the principle of mothers' pensions (which I am not). But the allowances are altogether too small.

FEMINISM IS TOO LARGE a subject to be more than touched upon in this short article. It has been definitely launched as a movement in France, and the hostility of M. Clemenceau, or any other war statesman, will be unable to halt it. For the moment, the rights for which we are agitating are political equality with men and the right to draw wages on even terms with men. There are other claims which will be put forward when the times are more propitious, and there are other rights the enjoyment of which are not dependent upon legislation, but simply upon the repudiation of the chains of custom and false morality with which women have permitted themselves to be bound through the ages.

The advanced radical is apt to make light of the vote, but this is not the viewpoint of the French feminists. They regard it as a necessary weapon, with which to wage their battle in contemporary society.

"In a country which has universal suffrage," said Dr. Madeleine Pelletier, one of our most noted feminists, "the citizen who does not vote does not count."

Marguerite Martin, the author of "Les Droits de la Femme," (The Rights of Woman) wrote: "Our economic vassalage is the natural and inevitable consequence of our political vassalage. Men make the laws; they make them for their own profit."

Of these two splendid women, as well as of Helene Brion; of the Comtesse de Noailles, in the field of literature; and of other Frenchwomen who despite the war, are keeping the flag of feminism flying, I hope to tell the readers of this magazine in subsequent articles.

AS A DOCTOR SEES IT

By Dr. B. Liber

A Proletarian Mother

I AM CALLED in a hurry to a patient living in the block where I have my office. It is two o'clock in the morning.

She is of a waxy palor and half unconscious; she lies in a lake of blood, partly coagulated, and the flow still continues.

I send for another physician, but none is to be had; there is no time to wait and I perform the operation unassisted. When I leave, three hours later, the haemorrhage has stopped and the patient has regained a little strength.

The next afternoon I sit near her bed and she answers my questions.

"O yes, I have asked for a preventive! I have asked the doctor, to whom I used to go twice a week to scrub the floor. You know, I don't do that kind of work except when my husband has no job. But the doctor said it was a crime to use such things."

And I learn her story which does not differ much from that of the other women of her kind. It is a never-ending tale of woe and poverty, a painful complaint against the too large number of children. Horrified by the idea that another mouth will arrive, they come incessantly and assail us, medical men. They weep, they beg, they humiliate themselves. They come so often for that purpose, that whenever a woman enters my office, I am afraid she may ask me to help her "get rid of" something alive near her heart. Their cries accompany me wherever I go, and in my dreams all these suffering women become one huge, impatient, deeply unhappy, loudly protesting army and all these palpitating stories merge into one . . .

She was married three years and had two children. And now, as she felt the third one come, she understood what was to be her fate; to produce human beings without interruption; to be pregnant, to give birth, to nurse, and, while nursing, to become pregnant again.

Her husband guessed her condition as soon as she ceased to sing and became serious, silent.

AFTER HER OLD mother and the babies, who in the last days were badly neglected, had fallen asleep, she and her husband sat down and had a long talk about the situation. At first, she could not say a word; the tears choked her. But he consoled her and kissed her hands, although he did not feel better than she did. They made together an inventory of their earnings and expenses. It was an account of pennies. At last, they came to the conclusion that they could not and must not have more than two children and that something should be done. He told her to make sure that what she was going to do would not harm her health, but she wiped her face and did not answer. She was decided not to flinch before any danger.

The next morning she left the children under the care of her mother and began the sad, heart-breaking pilgrimage of all the proletarian mothers.

She visited friends, acquaintances and neighbors, to learn as much as possible about other women in her position. She never dared to ask them directly about herself; she discussed the question generally. Days passed without a definite decision. She heard awful stories of women who had died as a result of artificial abortions. She feared to go to a midwife. So she tried all the means which the women had taught her. She used to come home broken and tired, but nothing worked. Then she took drugs; she swallowed the most disgusting things; pills, mixtures, powders; all to no avail. Sometimes she was very sick, but no result. She became extremely weak.

She saw her children just a few minutes every day.

Her husband borrowed money for the new expenses and he had to borrow again and again.

SHE WENT TO DOCTORS. They would not do anything illegal. Many were willing to comply with her desire, but their fee was so high that she had to renounce.

Then she took a desperate resolution. She performed the operation herself, using a—hat pin! And the consequence was the terrible bleeding, for which I had been called in the night, and the fever that developed later.

I sent her to the hospital, but complications arose and no treatment helped. She died there. I went to see her and I witnessed the last minutes of her life. Of her final words, rattled and murmured from her throat as if from the depth of a grave, I could make out but these: "My children! My children!"

THE NEW MASSES

THANK God the interlude is over! The Masses is back upon the stands, newly christened The Liberator. To live it must eschew talking war in any other words than those laid down by the post-master-general.

In the first issue of The Liberator under Max Eastman's editorship is an article by John Reed, now in Petrograd, who has been in constant touch with Premier Lenin and Foreign Minister Trotzky. He, with Lincoln Steffens, who is also represented, probably are the two best informed Americans on the Russian situation.

Drawings by Art Young, Robert Minor, Boardman Robinson and Cornelia Barns will lend the tang of Masses days, while Howard Brubaker maintains his column of paragraphs and Charles W. Wood uses the theatre to talk of so many other things. The Liberator announces a positive espousal of the Birth Control movement.

The Liberator sells on the stands at 15 cents or by subscription from 34 Union Square at \$1.50 a year.

MORALITY AND BIRTH CONTROL

By Margaret Sanger

THROUGHOUT THE ages, every attempt woman has made to strike off the shackles of slavery has been met with the argument that such an act would result in the downfall of her morality. Suffrage was going to "break up the home." Higher education would unfit her for motherhood, and co-education would surely result in making her immoral. Even today, in some of the more backward countries reading and writing is stoutly discouraged by the clerical powers, because "women may read about things they should not know."

We now know that there never can be a free humanity until woman is freed from ignorance, and we know, too, that woman can never call herself free until she is mistress of her own body. Just so long as man dictates and controls the standards of sex morality, just so long will man control the world.

Birth control is the first important step woman must take toward the goal of her freedom. It is the first step she must take to be man's equal. It is the first step they must both take toward human emancipation.

The Twentieth Century can make progress only by fighting the superstitions and prejudices created in the Nineteenth Century—fighting them in the open with the public searchlight upon them.

The first questions we must ask ourselves are: Are we satisfied with present day morality? Are we satisfied with the results of present day standards of morality? Are these so satisfying that they need no improvement?

FOR FOURTEEN years I worked as a nurse in the factory and tenement districts of New York City. Eight years ago I was called into a home where the father, a machinist by trade, was earning eighteen dollars a week. He was at that time the father of six living children, to all appearances a sober, serious and hard-working man. His wife, a woman in the thirties, toiled early and late helping him to keep the home together and the little ones out of the sweatshops, for they were both anxious to give their children a little schooling.

Two years ago I came across this same family, and found that five more children had been added in the meantime to their household. The three youngest were considered by medical authorities to be hopelessly feeble-minded; two of the older girls were prostitutes; three of the boys were serving long term sentences in penitentiaries, while another of the children had been injured by a fall and so badly crippled that she will not be able to help herself for years to come.

Out of this family of eleven children only two are now of any use to society, a little girl of seven, who stays at home and cares for the crippled sister during the day while the mother scrubs office floors, and a boy of nine who sells chewing gum after school hours at a subway exit. The father has become a hopeless drunkard, of whom the mother and children live in terror.

This is but one illustration of the results of our present day morality. Here was an opportunity for society to develop and preserve six children for human service; but prudery and ignorance added five more to this group, with the result that two out of eleven are left fit to struggle against pauperism and charity. Will they succumb?

Another case I should like to cite shows how shallow is the concern of society in regard to the over-crowded tenements, where thousands of little children occupy sleeping quarters with parents and boarders whose every act is visible to all. Morality indeed! Society is much like the ostrich with its head in the sand. It will not look at facts and face the responsibility of its own stupidity.

I RECALL the death-bed scene, when the patient, a woman of twenty-six, passed away during the birth of her seventh child. Five out of the seven were girls, the eldest being about ten years old. Upon the death of the woman, this girl began to assume the duties of her mother and continued to keep the four men roomers who had lodged in their home for years. A few years later, I found this girl suffering from the ravages of syphilis, although she had only just entered the period of puberty. She told me she could not remember when she had not dressed and undressed before the roomers, and on winter nights she often slept in their beds. She was already old—old in ignorance, in vulgarity, in degeneracy.

Another womanhood blighted in the bud, battered by ignorance, another soul sunk in despair.

These five girl-women did not ask society to fill their minds, as it was willing to do, with a useless knowledge of Greek, Latin or the Sciences. But they did need and unconsciously demand the knowledge of life, of hygiene and sex psychology which is so prudishly and shamefully denied them. No doubt these five sisters will soon represent the ruins of an ancient prejudice, and five more derelicts will be added to that particular relic heap of humanity.

Again, is there anything more sickening to truth than the attitude of society toward that catch phrase "Sacred Motherhood"? Take another illustration and lay bare the living facts and view them for a while.

Two sisters lived in an upstate town, members of a large family, where the older daughters worked in factories, in order that the younger girls might have educational advantages. The youngest fell in love with a good-for-nothing fellow, with the result that she had an illegal child. Disgrace, ostracism and remorse drove her out into the world, and together with her baby she drifted from house to house in the capacity of a servant, until finally the baby died, leaving the mother free to enter upon another vocation. During this time, however, due to the condescending treatment accorded to her by the women who employed her, she had become so accustomed to look upon herself as an outcast

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LETTERS FROM WOMEN

LETTER NO. 6.

I AM A MOTHER of four living children and one dead, the oldest 10 and baby 22 months old. I am very nervous and sickly after my children. I would like you to advise me what to do to prevent from having any more, as I would rather die than have another. I am keeping away from my husband as much as I can, but it causes quarrel and almost separation. All my babies have had marasmus in the first year of their lives and I almost lost my baby last summer. I always worry about my children so much. My husband works in a brass foundry. It is not a very good job and living is so high that we have to live as cheap as possible. I've only got two rooms and kitchen and I do all my work and sewing, which is very hard for me. My husband is not of the best kind. He nags and finds fault with me. If it were not for my children, I would leave him. So please, Mrs. Sanger, write and let me know what to use to prevent, I remain,

Mrs. M. T.

LETTER NO. 7.

I AM TWENTY-NINE years old, have been married nearly eight years, and have a son five and a half years old. When my son was born I went to the hospital. I had also made the trip there the year before, where after fifty-four hours of suffering, I was anaesthetized and my baby girl born dead.

When my little boy was two and a half years of age, I had a miscarriage of six months conception and I had a local physician. By this time I had gained considerable confidence in this man, who has always evinced an especial interest in us since our acquaintance with him. The muscles across my abdomen have all been broken so that I have no support, and I had had severe internal and external lacerations, which he himself had remedied by an operation and he knew would be torn again in the event of further child-bearing.

But I obtained no satisfaction and the case went on and on, all the time in his hands but nothing done, until finally after an examination he placed me in the local hospital and he and another physician operated on me. Not however until after he had ascertained, that I was sure it was over eight months and he thought he was sure the child would live. Well, words are inadequate to describe what went on during the two hours that I was under ether. Suffice it to say that the boy was dead and I came near passing to the Great Beyond.

I have been in bed five weeks and am just beginning to be up. My physician admits now that he should have operated sooner, yet in spite of the fact that I had placed my case in his hands from the very first, he tells me that I should be thankful I am alive and not in the "Happy Hunting Ground." Both he and the doctor who assisted him decree that I shall never have another child, or my life will pay the forfeit. I am of too slender build, the

pelvis bone is too low, and on all four occasions I have been anaesthetized and high forceps used.

Now in the face of all this, will my physician give me any light on the subject of how I may protect myself in the future? No, he will not.

My husband has tried several times to learn from him some expedients which would protect me, but without success. His illogical reply to me, when I talk with him, is: "Don't get that way." But he will not tell me how to not get that way. He even said to my husband that he had better go "down the line," that I oughtn't to have any objections, as long as he let me alone. This, to a young man of thirty, who has always been exceptionally clean minded and whom I have never had the slightest cause to doubt. He would not give us any medical knowledge that would help us, yet he would make such a suggestion as this!

Now this doctor is a fine man, one of the most prominent and respectable citizens. He is more than our family physician to us, he is a friend and has enjoyed the hospitality of our home time and again. Yet he will permit medical ethics to perhaps disrupt my family.

And so I am appealing to you to tell me what you know of birth control. Surely I am entitled to know. Truly, more light for me, for my sisters! Mrs. H. W.

THE WOMEN OF THE SOUTH

(Continued from Page 7)

impossible to say; what her attitude is now, is probably expressed for the sex by the young matron who blushing-ly accepted a copy of *The Birth Control Review*, and in confusion and embarrassment, folded it up hastily and stuffed it in her coat pocket.

One might forgive a southern woman her timidity, her conventionality, her willing dependence on man, if she were supreme in what is here considered woman's sphere—if she were a thoroughly competent housekeeper, and a wise, and capable mother. But neither as a mother nor as a housekeeper is she superior to women in other parts of the country; and looking for the famous southern cooking is like looking for Bohemia in Greenwich Village—you are always just about to find it.

It is very much to be regretted that southern women have no aspirations toward a higher destiny than to be parasites of men, that they have no vision of a future which they will help to shape and control; for more than other American women, they have the traditions and the manners that make so fine a background to a strong and vigorous individuality. This is especially noticeable in the older southern cities like Charleston and New Orleans, where a few women prove in themselves with a graciousness very alluring, that personal freedom of thought and action are not incompatible with a nice regard for the forms and amenities that adorn and soften social intercourse.

FROM A SCRAP-BOOK

By Gertrude Boyle

TRUTH, open thy vast
chambers to my eager,
groping mind;
Unbar the myriad portals, Truth—
Lo, I behold thy infinite corridors,
O ever-receding Truth!

ART IS NOT a matter of technique, of clever copying of the shell of things. Art must spring from within; from vital living, clear, clean thinking, intense feeling; not from cold, forced attempt of hand and brain, not from the senses only, but from the whole being. Art is life—the expression of individual life as it comes in contact with the universal! Art should be humble, lowly of spirit, close to the soil, to the heart—the bone and the blood, the tears and the sweat, the joy of humanity!

WHAT ART NEEDS, that art laid so profusely before the people, is more truth, less striving for effect. The simple telling of the truth, trusting that the effect will naturally follow, is far from the method pursued by the average story teller, dramatist—artist in any medium—who thinks he must produce something queer, freakish to awaken, to hold our interest. Consequently we have so much thrust upon us contrary to the real happenings of life, that our art-appetite has become morbid, our minds clogged from so much highly spiced, coated stuff, so little capable of being absorbed into the system; and when the truth, the wholesome, wonderful truth is offered, we are unable to receive and relish it with our sadly perverted taste.

Some one has said that truth is stranger than fiction. Stranger indeed, because we so seldom have it presented to us, or think of indulging in it! Yes, nothing can be more strange, if you wish to call it so—than the happenings of life, to observe keenly and then to record them just as they happen. The wonderful manner in which things unfold, shape themselves! The human mind is not capable of conceiving ways more strange, more interesting, more marvelous than the way, the will of destiny, than the spinning of the threads of fate for each and all of us. Should one look back over the trail he has journeyed, he would realize that he had never read so interesting a story, never witnessed so profound and intense, so gripping a drama—all stretched out for him to view—the drama of his life! Local coloring in abundance, plenty of action, intricate plots—acquired with life, with love, with joy, pathos, hope despair, remorse, jealousy, all the emotions common to man—the truth of the truth! Ah the magic, the power, the cleansing strength in the



truth! The wonderful dramas to be evolved, ever evolving from the truth; the glorious art breathing, vibrating upon the searching rays from the glowing sun of the truth—the real, the ideal in the truth!

Why should we puzzle and dull our minds with "plot" and "punch" and "go" and all that nonsense we hear talked of by editor and critic alike? Thank God, the day is all but past! The people—the great pulsing mass of

humanity with throbbing, bleeding hearts—are tired of it all, have been drugged and robbed enough, too long! And they have voiced the death-sentence, lynched it in fact with their own knotted hands, and are eagerly seeking something!—the Truth—that is all.

Reflect but the truth in your mirror—art—and the people will gladly, reverently look in, and behold their own image. Enough material—life! Nature's coloring; destiny's plots; fate's going and coming; love's action—you will find it unnecessary to patch up, stuff out something to look like "life," for after all only a dummy is produced thus.

THE REAL ARTIST is weary of the pose and sham of the so-called art-lover, the popular, bought critic; he cares not for their patrimony, their stupid flattery, their shallow criticism. But give him bread enough, O Spirit, to keep the spark alive! Hold off your soul-clogging pastries, O false, festive Society, feeding fat upon the toil of the oppressed, waxing gross and gouty on the flesh of your brothers whom you needlessly herd to slaughter! The common people's hunger and love for art is deep-rooted and real, and their simple appreciation the genuine artist would far rather have.

DEGENERATE art of the day, prostituting yourself before riches and ease, cringing before authority and worldly power, when will you arise from the dust and the mire?

*O freedom-born Art! shed your rays of light once more upon the dark, blood-dank earth;
Spread your eagle-wings of thought, of primal might, o'er the crushed, emasculated world!*

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THE LAW AT WORK

(Continued from Page 4)

And then the door once more swung open.

"You may go, your bail has been fixed up."

Outside she found Bernard waiting. He put her hastily into a taxi. Driving home they hardly spoke. She wondered what thoughts he had as he sat staring out into the street, wondered what he thought of her action and arrest.

At the house he said quietly: "Mrs. Young, will you come to the library in half an hour, please."

She came dressed in fresh blue linen and white cap. She found him pouring tea. He gave her a cup.

"Why do you break the law?" he asked.

She smiled. "What law?" she replied. "Not the law of common sense, not the law of health or happiness or efficiency, not the law of humanity."

"The law of decency, of nature and of race power."

She shook her head. "No. Look up your law, Mr. Bernard, you will find it expresses ignorance and fear. Men have legislated for women. Women must disobey for themselves."

"Do you give birth control information to every one who asks for it?"

"No, but to everyone who needs it."

"Orally?"

"And by pamphlet."

"You did not know my wife?"

"No."

"If you had—?"

She shrank a little. "I would have helped her all I could," she said. "I am sorry, but I must tell you the truth. I feel deeply that I must help women."

He stared at her stolidly.

"You think this information helps them?"

"I know it does. It is not infallible, but it does help."

"Rich and poor alike?"

"Oh, the poor more, of course, but rich women need it too."

"You are accused of distributing a pamphlet that is called obscene."

"Yes, but it is not. It is straight, honest information that people ought to have."

"Will you give me one?"

"Yes."

Still staring rather stolidly Bernard rose. "What lawyer will you have to try your case?"

"My husband is a lawyer, perhaps he will do it."

"Have you any defense?"

"We think the law is against the constitution."

"Violates free speech?"

"Yes, and is not a proper use of the police power."

He nodded.

"When will you be tried?"

"In about two months."

He opened the door. "I won't keep you any longer," he said and smiled.

But when she had gone to care for the weak little baby that Helen had left, Bernard lost his self-control. For a

moment he stood with clenched hands, shaking from head to foot, white and tortured, then he dropped into a chair sobbing heavily.

Two months later three judges sitting solemnly in silken gowns found Isabel Young guilty under Section 1142 of the Penal Code and sentenced her to six months in jail and one hundred dollars fine.

MORALITY AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from Page 11)

that soon, with other companions of her own frame of mind, she began trafficking . . . on the streets of New York.

Now, the second sister, a few years older, also fell in love with one of the "town heroes," and came to grief; but owing to the "disgrace" of the youngest sister and sympathy for the elder members of the family, who were completely anguish stricken over this second mishap, the old family physician took her in charge and sent her to a place where an illegal operation was performed upon her. She returned, a sadder but wiser girl, to her home, finished the high school course, and several years later she became the principal of a school.

Today she is one of the most respected women in that county. She devotes her life outside school hours to a sympathetic understanding of the needs of young boys and girls, and her sordid early experience, put to good use, has helped many boys and girls to lead clean lives.

THese cases represent actual modern conditions. Our laws force women into celibacy on the one hand, or abortion on the other. Both conditions are declared by eminent medical authorities to be injurious to health. The ever ascending standard and cost of living, combined with the low wage of the young men of today, tend toward the postponement of marriage.

Has the knowledge of birth control, so carefully guarded and so secretly practiced by the women of the wealthy class—and so tenaciously withheld from the working women—brought them misery? Rather, has it not promoted greater happiness, greater freedom, greater prosperity and more harmony among them? The women who have this knowledge are the women who have been free to develop, free to enjoy in its best sense, and free to advance the interests of the community. And their men are the ones who motor, who sail yachts, who legislate, who lead and control. The men, women and children of this class do not form any part whatever in the social problems of our times.

Had this class continued to reproduce in the prolific manner of the working people in the past twenty-five years, can human imagination picture what conditions would be today?

All our problems are the result of overbreeding among the working class, and if morality is to mean anything at all to us, we must regard all changes which tend toward the uplift and survival of the human race as moral.

Knowledge of birth control is essentially moral. Its general, though prudent, practice must lead to a higher individuality and ultimately to a cleaner race.

A Twentieth Century Opinion!

The People of the State of New York, Respondent,

v. Margaret H. Sanger, Appellant.

(Decided January 8, 1918)

AN APPEAL by the defendant from a judgment of the Appellate Division, second department, affirming a judgment of the Special Sessions, convicting the defendant of violating section 1142 of the Penal Law.

Jonah J. Goldstein for appellant.

Harry G. Anderson for respondent.

Crane, J. Section 1142 of the Penal Law, among other things makes it a misdemeanor for a person to sell, or give away, or to advertise or offer for sale, any instrument or article, drug or medicine, for the prevention of conception; or to give information orally, stating when, where or how such an instrument, article or medicine can be purchased or obtained.

The appellant was convicted in the Court of Special Sessions of the city of New York, borough of Brooklyn, for a violation of this section, and sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse. She claims that the law is unconstitutional.

Some of the reasons assigned below for the illegality of this act have now been abandoned and it is conceded to be within the police power of the legislature, for the benefit of the morals and health of the community, to make such a law as this applicable to unmarried persons. But it is argued that if this law be broad enough to prevent a duly licensed physician from giving advice and help to his married patients in a proper case, it is an unreasonable police regulation, and therefore unconstitutional. There are two answers to this question.

In the first place, the defendant is not a physician, and the general rule applies in a criminal as well as a civil case that no one can plead the unconstitutionality of a law except the person affected thereby. (Collins v. State of Texas, 223 U. S. 288, 296; People v. McBride, 234 Ill. 146, 164; Isenhour v. State 157, Ind. 517, 520; People v. Haskell, 84 vt. 429, 441 Commissioners of Franklin Co. v. State ex rel. Patton, 24 Fla. 55).

Secondly, by section 1145 of the Penal Law, physicians are excepted from the provisions of this act under circumstances therein mentioned. This section reads: "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."

This exception in behalf of physicians does not permit advertisements regarding such matters, nor promiscuous advice to patients irrespective of their condition, but it is broad enough to protect the physician who in good

faith gives such help or advice to a married person to cure or prevent disease. "Disease," by Webster's International Dictionary, is defined to be, "an alteration in the state of the body, or of some of its organs, interrupting or disturbing the performance of the vital functions, and causing or threatening pain and sickness; illness, disorder."

The protection thus afforded the physician would also extend to the druggist, or vendor, acting upon the physician's prescription or order.

Much of the argument presented to us by the appellant touching social conditions and sociological questions are matters for the legislature and not for the courts.

The judgment appealed from should be affirmed.

Hiscock, Ch. J., Chase, Collin, Cardozo and Andrews, J. J. concur; Hogan J. concurs in result.

Judgment affirmed.

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TO-DAY

(Continued from Page 6)

satisfactory path towards improving the conditions of the masses. During the past fifteen years wages have not risen greatly in this and most other countries, while the cost of living has risen fifteen per cent. or more; and although the war has caused a sudden change in the economic position of large numbers of the working classes, there is nothing to indicate that conditions will be better in future. Rather is there every reason to fear that they will be worse. The diversion of labor and capital into the totally unproductive channels of war and munition-making means the checking of the progress of agriculture and of the industries which produce goods in exchange for the food of other countries. For the moment we have largely discounted the effect of this dislocation as regards this country by the simple process of lavishly dealing out promises to pay, like any other spendthrift. This has even deluded superficial statisticians into the belief that State action can avert the disastrous economic consequences of the war entirely. But there are very many among the working classes who remember what occurred after the South African war, and who realize what must happen when vast numbers of men return from the war to dislocate industries.

Even before the war we found that wherever we had an opportunity of bringing the neo-Malthusian economic doctrine before the workers, they gave it the most respectful and sympathetic attention; and the economic stress due to the war will certainly increase public interest in the population doctrine. It consequently appears a suitable time for another popular exposition of this doctrine in the light especially of modern developments, and this series of articles is intended to give such an exposition in the most simple and definite form.

As a desire has also been shown in various quarters for the institution of branches or discussion circles for the study of the population doctrine, it is hoped that these articles may provide useful material for such discussions.

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL COMMENT

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S race suicide rant was bad enough in times of peace. With the poor paying war prices for the bare necessities of life, it becomes intolerable. But there does not seem to be any way of restraining the self-appointed godfather of the American people. His latest ebullition has been to tour the East Side of New York City and congratulate half-starved mothers of large families on their patriotism, while expressing concern at their inability to buy Grade B milk at 15 cents a quart. The accuracy of newspaper accounts is open to doubt, but a report from the New York Evening Mail, which we have before us, rings true to the Rooseveltian psychology. An Italian household of father, mother and ten children is described as being "a family after the Colonel's own prescription, comfortably fixed with a total income of \$27 a week." Twenty-seven dollars for 12 persons. The mockery of it! Of an Irish mother, whose husband had been out of work, but who had recently given birth to her fifth child, Roosevelt burst out with: "Straight United States and no whining! That's the stuff!" This in spite of the fact that the woman had told him that one of her children had been sent to the country, a victim of malnutrition. However, we are doing our little best to counteract the effects of the Ex-President's frivolous and dangerous optimism. He may be interested to know that we have sent a copy of *The Birth Control Review* to every family reported to have been visited by him.

ON ANOTHER PAGE we print in full the opinion rendered by the Court of Appeals of New York State in the Margaret Sanger case. The conviction was affirmed by unanimous vote of the Court; but the opinion written by Judge Crane was not concurred in by one justice, Mr. Hogan of Buffalo. The result of the appeal does not surprise us. It constitutes a partial victory. We are not ungrateful, but neither are we satisfied. As we understand it, this opinion should serve as a favorable precedent in all cases where physicians are concerned. But our demand is for the complete liberation of womanhood. We believe that every woman should be free to choose or reject motherhood as she, and she alone, desires. We want emancipation not only for the poor mother of six, but the rich mother of one; not only for the diseased mother of many, but for the normal woman who for any reason whatsoever does not want to bear a child. We do not believe in class legislation, nor do we want laws that will free the diseased woman at the cost of the health of the normal woman. Unless the last-named be given the right to protect herself from excessive childbearing, she, in turn, will become the victim of disease. We appreciate that the Court might have rejected Margaret Sanger's appeal without comment, on the ground that she is not a physician. By construing the case as it did, the Court spared birth control advocates the time, expense and labor of repeating the entire

process with a physician as the appellant. It is interesting to note that though the anti-birth control law has been on the statute books in one form or another since 1868, this is the first time that Sections 1142 and 1145 have been construed on appeal to the higher courts. Physicians have usually interpreted Section 1145 as protecting them in cases of venereal disease only. At last we can inform woman suffering from cruel ailments what they have a right to know from the medical profession. This was not our final goal. We demand and shall fight for more than the opinion rendered by the New York Court of Appeals. As we go to press we are informed by counsel that permission has been granted (upon giving security of \$500. bond) by The United States Supreme Court for an appeal.

THE WAR BABY issue refuses to down. Following the unenviable lead of W. Cameron Forbes, Ex-Governor General of the Philippines, new militarists have been found callous enough to urge unthinking girls to bear children for soldiers who may never return to assist in bringing them up. But woman's response, fortunately, has been hostile to their plans; and every once in a while some voice in their own set of officialdom is raised in condemnation. Thus, a recent United Press report tells of a high Washington functionary who, after exacting the assurance that his name would not be used, declared that soldiers' wives who practised birth control were perfectly justified. "After all," the official is said to have added, "why should we insist on loading the country with babies! I don't blame these young women. Thrown, in part at least, upon their own resources if their husbands are taken, the possession of little ones, no matter how highly prized after they get here, makes the woman's burden doubly hard to bear." Not a particularly original or radical dictum, to be sure; but valuable considering its source.

BECAUSE MRS. BUXKIN, a Chicago woman, the mother of eight children, refused to bring any more into the world, her husband crushed her head with an axe, following a quarrel in their home. It is inconceivable that this man was particularly anxious to have a ninth child, but it is quite certain that he was insistent upon his marital "rights." The wife, on the other hand, dreading, abhorring, the coming of another child, repulsed his advances—and the murder followed. What a civilization! Church and State back up the demands of the man who has a marriage license in his possession. Who stands by the woman? No one, so far as we know. The biblical order, "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands," was disobeyed by Mrs. Buxkin. But she was only ONE of the millions of women in this country who are in mortal terror of unwanted pregnancy. Knowledge of birth control would give them the opportunity to live their lives rationally.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

Volume Two

APRIL, 1918

Number Three

THE FIGHT FROM COAST TO COAST

CLINICS, COURTS AND JAILS

By Margaret Sanger

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CLINICS, COURTS AND JAILS

By Margaret Sanger

IN FEBRUARY, 1915,, when I heard Dr. J. Rutgers at The Hague give his last instructions to one of his maternity nurses, as she left his class fully equipped to open a clinic in one of the outlying districts, I knew that the people of the United States would never be fully aroused to the needs of birth control until such a clinic was also established here. My course of instruction which followed in Holland was taken solely for this purpose, the execution of which seemed to be a thing of years to come.

Upon returning to America in November, 1915, to take up the fight in the Federal Courts, the possibility of opening such a clinic came very suddenly after my case was dismissed on February 18th, 1916, without coming to trial. I was then free to lecture throughout the United States, to tell the people what birth control means to the individual, to the family and to the race. For four months I visited all the large cities to and from the Pacific Coast and was greatly encouraged because of the fact that the idea of disseminating contraceptive information by means of clinics with trained persons in charge was always greeted with the most profound interest. I came to the conclusion that a practical test of the law would have the moral endorsement of all thinking people in this country.

Shortly after this, plans were carefully laid and districts especially chosen to open a clinic in each borough of Greater New York. The Board of Health's report was to be my guide. The idea was to conduct the work where records showed the highest death rate, infant mortality, etc. If perchance we were allowed to remain unmolested, the results would speak for themselves, by comparison, in the next Board of Health report.

For weeks and weeks, I trudged the streets looking for rooms suitable for the purpose. At last I found some on Avenue A, between 21st and 20th Streets, New York City, and another in Brownsville, Brooklyn, and paid a month's rent in advance. This relieved me of all available cash for the time being.

Everything was ready—plans, enthusiasm, nurses, translators, vision, decision—everything, but the finances.

FOR NEARLY A WEEK I waited for the call to action. It came one afternoon when five women with babies in their arms called on me. They came from Brownsville. They had left the other children with one of the women in the tenement where they lived, while they came to seek advice. They told of the ravages of infantile paralysis in their district, of the low wages of the men, of the high cost of food. They told how the neighbors talked of the clinic, what a blessing, a godsend, it would be over there.

That night a friend called me on the phone and said fifty dollars had been sent to her from a woman in Los Angeles to give to me to use as I wished. The next day Fania Mindell and I started out to equip the place with chairs, desks, floor covering, curtains, stove, basins, etc. A week later,

October 16th, 1917, we opened the doors of the first Birth Control Clinic in America. The opening of these doors was a great social force in the lives of modern womanhood.

There was not a darkened tenement, or a hovel or hut, but was brightened by the knowledge that motherhood can be voluntary, that children need not be born into the world unless they are wanted and a place provided for them.

For the first time women talked openly of this terror of unwanted pregnancy, which had haunted their lives since time immemorial.

From the start the newspapers in glaring headlines, used the words "birth control" and carried to all who read, the message that somewhere in Brooklyn there was a place where contraceptive information could be obtained for all over-burdened mothers who wanted it!

From the first day, the little outer waiting room was crowded. The women came in pairs, with their neighbors, with their married daughters and their husbands. Some came in groups with nursing babies clasped in their arms. Some came from the far end of Long Island, from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey. They came from near and from far to learn the "secret" which they said the rich women all possessed and the poor women could not obtain. No unmarried women came—all were mothers, except one woman, married twelve years, but who could not carry a child to full term, and who came for advice. Her physician knew she could not bear a child and yet allowed her to conceive, month after month. Her health had been ruined and she was almost a nervous wreck when she came from Connecticut to seek advice.

Fania Mindell acted as the interpreter and took down the histories of the women as fast as she could get them. We recorded the nationality, the age, the husband's wage, the number of children living, number of children dead, number of miscarriages performed and whether by doctor or midwife, the reason for not desiring more children, whether for health, social or economic reasons.

ETHEL BYRNE, a trained nurse assisted me in advising and explaining and demonstrating to the women how to prevent conception. As most of the records, so carefully taken, were confiscated by the detectives when they made their arrests, it is difficult to tell exactly how many women came there in those few days to seek advice, but we roughly estimate that between 480 and 500 women's names were placed on the records. Hundreds of letters also poured in each day from all over the United States, telling sad and tragic tales of mothers ready to commit suicide, ready to go to any extreme or torture rather than endure child birth again.

Then one day, while I was absent making preparations for the opening of the Avenue A rooms, a woman came ostensibly to seek advice. She was of Irish type, with detective stamped plainly all over her. She told her story of

a large family, a brutal husband and several abortions and received advice from the nurse, like all those before her.

A few days later, the same woman came in charge of a detective squad and arrested Fania Mindell, Ethel Byrne and myself.

Then began months of activities quite beyond description. All the forces of opposition were on hand to malign individuals and to misrepresent the cause. The influence of the Roman Catholic Church was seen everywhere. It was especially seen in the Court's refusal to allow us a jury trial, and in refusing to allow physicians to present such medical testimony as was necessary in challenging the constitutionality of Section 1142 of the Penal Law of New York State.

Comstock's successor was also present to represent the "Society for the Suppression of Vice," but everywhere, and at every turn, the strongest opposition came from the subtle underground workings of that Church which apparently dominates American courts of justice and political life today.

We all spent one night in jail and were allowed out on bail. I returned to the clinic and opened the doors but was re-arrested on the charge of "maintaining a public nuisance." The landlord had a court order to eject me from the premises; but this action was finally dropped.

FROM OCTOBER 25, 1916, to June 1, 1917 most of my time was spent in courts and jails and in preparing and collecting facts for the trials and appeals for the higher courts. However, time was found to start *The Birth Control Review* in February, 1917. There were lectures given in cities, such as Chicago, Rochester, Paterson, Newark, Bridgeport and two to three each week in private homes in New York City. The police of Albany refused to allow a meeting, and in Buffalo too they refused to rent us a hall in which to speak on the subject. Then there was the preparation of a birth control film play, depicting the needs of birth control in American life among the poor. Again the Church exerted its influence openly; the film was forbidden to be shown. Countless hours were given to interviews to reporters from near and far who came to learn the facts. Then came women, old and young, frequently calling on me at seven in the morning; hundreds and hundreds of letters to be answered and phone calls to the amount of 80 to 107 in one day. Often the telephone operator would say, "You have had a hard day, haven't you?"

The greatest interest was stimulated when Mrs. Byrne, indignant at the outrageous sentence imposed on her and the treatment accorded her by the Court of Special Sessions, declared she would protest against her imprisonment by refusing to eat or drink until she was released.

For nearly a week she remained obdurate, and finally to keep her from dying the authorities in charge removed her to the hospital ward where she was forcibly fed. On the eleventh day she was released from the Workhouse, pardoned by Governor Whitman, taken to her home in an ambulance and placed under the care of two doctors and nurses until her health was partly restored.

The week after her release Fania Mindell and I were

both found guilty. A fifty-dollar fine was imposed on Miss Mindell and a thirty-days' sentence on Blackwell's Island on me. Both cases were at once appealed. The Court of Appeals reversed the decision in Fania Mindell's case. My case has gone up to the Supreme Court of the United States.

When one sums up the activities of the movement throughout the United States during the year, it is interesting to note that where arrests were made, where sentences were imposed upon advocates, there the movement is now strongest.

Thousands came when the interest was highest. Some came for selfish interests, some to inquire, some to exploit. Those who came to dally in sentimentality soon found themselves face to face with fundamental problems often too big for superficial minds to grasp. Those who came to be thrilled by the excitement of the moment are today still seeking thrills in other movements.

To the women of New York I am grateful, especially to the mothers of Brownsville. Day after day they came to the court and waited patiently for the case to begin. Other duties were put aside while they stood beside us in the fight for birth control, for woman's right of ownership and dominion over her own body.

All together, the year's work can well be considered one of the greatest educational efforts of this generation.

BIRTH CONTROL

By George Lysander

SOMETIMES it comes over me with an overpowering sense of wonder—

The children that are born and the unborn.
The deviation by a hair's breath affects all eternity.

Had I returned a day sooner, this swarthy son
Would have been a blue-eyed daughter.

What has become of the daughter?

She might have been and never will be.

Millions of souls clamoring for birth on this old earth:
Do they know what they ask so beseechingly?

Why do you knock so insistently at the gates of life?—

Is it this life that you want or something beyond it,

And is there no other road?

Do I hear a sound as of ten billion baby voices cooing.

"Love invites us, draws us, and we cannot stay."

O my beautiful babes! do not rush into this snare!

You besiege the rotting doorways of infested tenements;

You risk birth into dirt, disease, degradation;

You must toil until you lose all sense of beauty;

You will ache and agonize in body and spirit.

You may be born on Fifth avenue and be unwelcome.

Or on Canal street, where your brothers fight for food;

You may grow up to be the prey of greed and lust—

Do you think it is love who bids you come to us?

It is love who bids us, who suffer, bar the gates against
you—

Bar them with tears and hungry longing in our hearts.

(Courtesy of the New York Call)

THE FIGHT FROM COAST TO COAST

REPORTS OF THE LEAGUES

(This issue of *The Birth Control Review* is mainly devoted to an account of the fight for birth control in the United States during the past year. In addition to Margaret Sanger's personal story on Page 3, we present hereunder reports from nearly all the leagues formed as a result of the clinic she founded and her subsequent arrest, trial and prison sentence.—Editors.)

NEW YORK CITY

1: National Birth Control League.

IN SPITE OF THE discouraging conditions due to the war, the National Birth Control League has some significant work to report. Some of the more important phases of it are as follows:

Co-operative relations have been maintained with local, state and city leagues in Massachusetts, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Washington, D. C., Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Portland, Ore., Seattle, and San Francisco.

A Woman's Committee of one hundred was formed in New York City to give special help to Mrs. Sanger's work and to promote the educational and legislative work of our league. This committee, while not an official part of the National League, has always worked in closest connection with the league, and in many cases the work of the two bodies has been so nearly merged that the separate identity almost disappeared.

The membership of the league has been more than doubled during the year. A bill was introduced into the New York legislature, providing for the amendment of the penal law by omitting from Section 1142 on Indecent Articles, the words "the prevention of conception." This amendment is the simplest possible and still the most thorough means of removing the ban on birth control information. The bill also provided for an amendment to section 1141 regarding obscene publications and articles "of indecent or immoral use," which specifically provides that publications giving methods of birth control or articles designed for the avoidance of conception, are not to be deemed obscene, because of their aim.

An amendment to the Federal Law was drafted, but it was not considered practicable to have it introduced while the war legislation had the exclusive attention of Congress.

Plans were made for a National Conference of all the birth control groups of the country, for the purpose of unifying aims and perfecting methods of work. But, as in the case of the national legislation, war conditions made it necessary to postpone the conference. All the branch leagues were consulted and the consensus of opinion was that the time was not opportune.

LARGE TEMPORARY headquarters were opened through the generosity of a friend, who gave the league the use of an entire floor of a well located business building at 21 West 46th Street, New York, City. For over two months weekly meetings, and for a time daily meetings, were held here. Large quantities of literature were sold and distributed. During the same period, the league and the

Committee of One Hundred held numerous other meetings varying from small parlor conferences to large public affairs—luncheons, dinners, and mass meetings.

Five new leaflets and pamphlets were published and widely circulated.

The league co-operated with the producers of two excellent moving picture films which were subsequently suppressed by the authorities although they were not open to the slightest adverse criticism.

From January till August, the league had an admirable executive secretary in Mrs. Augusta Cary, whose resignation meant serious loss. Because of the increasing pressure of war conditions and shortage of funds, there has since been only volunteer service in the office until recently.

But now the League is practically reborn. It was impossible that a work so imperatively necessary should die down and remain dormant. And everything that was planned before is now being taken up again with new vigor.

Funds are being raised. The New York bill is being re-introduced. A special piece of intensive educational work is being started in New York state, under the direction of Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, particularly in the districts of those members of the legislature, who have the balance of the power in the chamber. Aid is being given to *The Birth Control Review*, and several members of the executive committee of the league are also members of the Board of Directors of the Review. Plans for the National Conference are being revised. New Literature is being published.

All this and more will mean quick victory, so far as the laws are concerned if every one who believes in birth control will help. Money and work are needed at once.

The league urges every one, who wants to see rapid progress, to do these four things.

Join the league. (Dues: One dollar a year.) Headquarters 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Subscribe to *The Birth Control Review*.

Send for a sample set of all the leaflets and pamphlets. (25 cents.)

Order a quantity of those you consider most useful and distribute them as widely as possible.

Mrs. AMOS PINCHOT, Chairman.

2: Birth Control League of New York.

THE BIRTH CONTROL League of New York was formed in December, 1916. Its objects, as stated in the articles of incorporation, were:

1. To support Margaret Sanger in her legal fight for birth control.

2. To secure such amendment to the State and Federal Laws as will allow physicians and registered nurses to give scientific instruction in birth control.

3. To advocate and encourage birth control as a means of safeguarding the health of mothers and children and promoting the social welfare.

In pursuance of the first of these objects, it raised funds to assist in the conduct of the cases of Margaret Sanger and her assistants in connection with the Brownsville birth control clinic, organized a mass-meeting in Carnegie Hall on the eve of Mrs. Sanger's conviction, tendered her a testimonial banquet upon her release from prison and in various ways assisted in her attempt to have the present New York law on this subject overthrown.

In conjunction with the International Child Welfare League, this organization secured the services of the Legislative Drafting Bureau of Columbia University in the preparation of a bill aimed to grant physicians, midwives and registered nurses the legal right to give instruction in means of preventing conception.

During the time of its existence, the New York League has carried on printed and oral propoganda in behalf of the principle of family limitation. It has distributed many booklets on this question and its officers and members have spoken before clubs, forums, churches, radical and other groups. The president of the league last winter made trips to Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Rochester and other cities to deliver speeches and aid in organizing local birth control groups.

It is the opinion of the present officers that every means possible under the present laws should be stimulated to secure the dissemination of medical instruction on this subject, through physicians and others in a position to undertake this work.

FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

IN THE EARLY SPRING of 1916, Margaret Sanger addressed a large Washington audience. So convincingly did she present the case for birth control, that before her hearers left the hall, plans for the organization of a league were formulated. Within a month of Margaret Sanger's visit to this city about eighty men and women were banded together to co-operate with other leagues and, if possible, to act as a lobbying organization for the repeal of the Comstock law.

So far, the work of the D.C. league has been confined to education and propoganda. Necessary business has been dispatched in as short a time as possible and the balance of each meeting devoted to a lecture and discussion of a particular phase of the birth control question.

Charles T. Hallinan, spoke at a well attended meeting of the League, on the history of the Comstock "obscenity" law, which prohibits the interstate transmission of birth control information through the mails or by express.

Representatives of the opposition to birth control were given an opportunity to express their opinions at two meetings. Dr. Paul Popenoe, editor of the *Journal of Heredity*, an eminent authority on eugenics, presented objections to birth control from a eugenic standpoint, which provoked a live discussion. The League also secured Dr. W. C. Wood-

ward, Commissioner of Public Health, to deliver a lecture on birth control. His antagonistic attitude toward this vital issue turned out to be founded on a very meagre knowledge of the subject. One can form an idea of the frivolousness of his arguments from his statement that the demand for information on how to control conception arose mainly on the part of women who sought more time for bridge parties and other empty luxuries. He repeatedly dodged every reminder of the importance of the economic factor in family life.

A successful phase of the activity of the League has been its publicity work. The newspapers are broken into whenever possible, and interest in the purposes of the organization stimulated. For example, a news agency of national scope featured an interview with the President of the League. The result was a flood of inquiries and requests by the thousands for birth control information. One day's mail brought as many as one hundred and six communications and a steady flow continued for months, coming from all parts of the United States and Canada, and as late as last week, about a year after the responsible interview, an echo was heard round the world through a letter from Australia. These letters tell stories of hundreds of varied domestic tragedies with the basic note—the lack of birth control knowledge. We can only respond with the suggestion that leagues along the line of our organization should be started.

We respectfully suggest to the government that it undertake a distribution of information on how to obtain quality in human procreation through family limitation, as it now does in connection with cattle breeding.

ANNA WEXLER, President.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

WE HAVE HAD six public meetings since we organized in Pittsburgh a little over a year ago, and a number of local clubs have had birth control afternoons and come to us for their speakers. Two of these six meetings were held in the theatres and we had the satisfaction of packed houses.

Mrs. Sanger was the speaker at our April meeting, and Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett of New York and Prof. Robert Sprague of Amherst spoke for us in June. We draw our local speakers from the college professors, doctors, ministers and social workers of the city.

We have just one hundred paying members, but our mailing list has about 400 names. Our best sale of literature was at the time of the Conference of Social Workers. We were particularly fortunate in distributing a large number of Dr. Knopf's pamphlet. We also sold out our supply of books, but have since gotten more from the publisher.

We feel that the influence which our League brought to bear on Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania, had a good deal to do with his vetoing the anti-birth control bill passed by the State Legislator.

MAIDEE B. RENSHAW, Secretary,
of the Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania.

MASSACHUSETTS

A MARTYR, EVEN A POOR ONE, is a great asset to any cause. So long as he or she is in the eye of the public, there is little to trouble over in connection with publicity, money, friends or workers. During this period even volunteer workers can fairly well take care of the activities that crowd each other. Big meetings, newspaper items, letters to the press, interviews, can all be adequately looked after by a small group without much organization. But when the martyr has been freed, after the appealed case has been decided, when the papers will print no more news and the faithful are tired of having their letters refused, then is the time when the central group must get together and make solid its organization and look to far-reaching plans if it is to live.

So it has been with the Massachusetts League. There was no League when Allison was arrested. Our martyr was certainly not of our choosing—very young, irresponsible, although well-meaning, and, unfortunately, a man. There are still those who tell us how great an injury our martyr did our cause; but we are inclined to smile and say, "Yes, undoubtedly in some quarters, but the movement had to start somewhere, somehow, and we believe that our campaign has had a certain wide-spread educational value that it would have been hard to duplicate in so short a time without some sensational features."

Our first Mass Meeting, the first ever held in Boston on the subject of birth control as far as we know, we shall never forget. We had free use of the Majestic theatre, and within ten minutes of the time the doors were opened, every seat in the big theatre was filled. All through the hot July evening the audience sat listening with the most perfect attention to our long program. The effect of that meeting was inspirational and did much to start the movement aright.

But the time for big meetings passed and we began to turn our attention to our organization. It was at this time that our good friend, Prof. Charles Zueblin, happened in at one of our business meetings. When we urged him to express some opinion, he told us in no uncertain terms that we belonged to that class of reformers who held meetings for the good of their souls while their victims roasted, or in other words their golden opportunity slipped away. We had been so eager to hold the interest of all that we were fast getting a big, unwieldy, decentralized organization, nothing if not democratic, but quite inefficient. Out of that night's meeting grew our permanent organization and constitution, which have proved very satisfactory.

WE HAD ALREADY taken a room on Bromfield Street and our Chairman of Headquarters organized our volunteers to help her keep office hours. So that our next need we felt to be some form of publication which should embody our objects and underlying principles, with a statement defining birth control and giving some slight history of the movement, together with a short bibliography. After a great deal of work, we succeeded in preparing a pamphlet of 11 pages, which fairly well answered our pur-

pose. We still have several thousand of these on hand and shall be glad to furnish them at cost to members of other leagues or to individuals wanting them for distribution.

The chairman of our membership committee, who was very energetic and capable, now began sending out mimeographed letters with statements and membership blanks to carefully selected lists. This work she kept up actively all winter and her report in June showed that 5,500 letters had gone out, 4.76% bringing responses in the form of membership dues. It is interesting to note that the subscriptions received from these letters covered all expenses of postage, mimeographing and paper with a surplus of a few dollars over.

Our Speakers and Meetings Committee chairman had secured, almost from the beginning, a few local people willing to serve us as speakers before clubs and other groups. Among these were three able women physicians whom we were very anxious to have go before the women's clubs of the State. Accordingly, the Committee sent out about 900 letters to these clubs, briefly explaining the fundamental importance of birth control and asking that the club reserve a date for our speaker. We were greatly surprised to receive only about a dozen replies and these mostly unfavorable.

As it was, we held some 20 meetings of a public, semi-public and private character in and about Boston during the winter and spring. The most important and interesting small meeting was one at the home of the President, Mrs. Oakes Ames. At this were present some of the most prominent physicians of the city.

OUR FAILURE TO WIN a hearing before the women's organizations brought home to us a need that we have felt so deeply ever since the sensationalism of the Allison case subsided,—that of a secretary-organizer. We have never been able to pay the salary required by the right sort of a person for this position, although, we were hoping that we might find a way to do this when war was declared. Our ideal has been a socially-minded physician who through her professional knowledge might speak with such authority as largely to disarm criticism.

There had been some disagreement on the subject of attempting legislation. It was finally decided at a joint meeting of the Advisory Board and the Executive Committee that it would at least do no harm to have one or more bills introduced. We had three bills, two drawn up by the League, very conservative and allowing only physicians to give the information, and the other drawn up by a doctor, a friend of the League. Over 25 legislators were approached before one would touch it and we failed then to get anyone to take any interest or responsibility, with the result that no one of the bills was reported out of committee.

Towards Spring we made a definite bid to enlist the active support of our men physicians. 1200 letters signed by a woman physician were sent out to the doctors in and near Boston asking each to be one of 100 to come out openly and simultaneously in support of birth control. We asked them to state their objections in case they were unwilling to do

this. We received about 35 replies to our 1,200 letters and these were at least half of them, unfavorable, one or two quite violently so. Undoubtedly the declaration of war at this time somewhat lessened the number of replies we might have received.

ABOUT THE TIME of the Allison case decision, two of our lawyer friends told us that they did not believe that the Massachusetts laws had reference to the giving of oral information. This haunted us for some months, and although our finances were low, we finally decided to get an opinion from a lawyer of wide reputation, choosing the late Samuel J. Elder as a man sufficiently prominent and conservative to give us the opinion we sought. Here is the substance of his opinion:

"It is true that our statutes have reference to printed and not to oral communications, so that doctors, nurses and individuals may so far as the statute is concerned give oral information. The statute does not prohibit the maintaining of an office where such information may be given, but no printed matter can be circulated giving any 'hint' that such information can be had there. Even the name of the League itself on the door or on cards or on letterheads may be deemed to give such a 'hint' and therefore be prohibited." He adds that an indictment might be found at common law for maintaining a nuisance, and that the office maintained for the advancement of the cause might itself come under this general definition.

We felt that this was most interesting and significant. Our first duty seemed to be to inform the doctors in regard to the law since those with whom we talked seemed to think that the majority of physicians were quite unaware that the law was capable of this interpretation.

In spite, however, of the temporary hopefulness given by the Elder opinion, we became increasingly depressed by the general situation that made money-getting for other than war work a serious problem. Early in the Spring, we had moved from our dingy headquarters to a delightful room further up-town and our hopes ran high that here we might hold frequent and regular meetings of the League with speakers on subjects related to our own. However, we began to realize that our yearly pledges would most of them not be renewed for another year and that by fall we should be facing a serious condition financially. So, finally, and with much reluctance, we decided to give up our pleasant room, but to have a permanent address in the form of a post office box, so that our friends could reach us; and to hold meetings of the League often enough, to keep the interest of our something over 400 members alive until such time as we could be much more active.

May we urge with all earnestness the advisability of a gathering of accredited delegates and friends of the movement throughout the United States, at the earliest possible date, so that we may know just where we stand and whether we are to live as an organized movement or not. If we are to grow as such, then we should combine to strengthen the weak leagues and to put in our energy where it will bring the greatest results to the movement as a whole. In some

states, like Massachusetts, where the movement at the time is weak and the opposition great, we particularly need this backing.

CERISE CARMAN JACK,

Vice-President, Birth Control League of Massachusetts.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE SAN FRANCISCO Birth Control League, was formed three years ago. It has sailed steadily on out of obscurity and ridicule to take its place side by side with other organizations that are fighting for a better state of affairs. The working class mothers, in whose interest the League was started, are beginning to take a real joy in working with it and for it. This is largely due to some of San Francisco's staunch and true women.

There is Mrs. Jennie Arnott of Palo Alto, who was our first president, and in whose house the League was launched. Mrs. Arnott is one of those courageous characters who dares to clasp an unpopular movement to her heart. She tells a story, of how the first woman's suffragist came to Palo Alto many years ago, to hold a meeting to further the then "disgraceful" cause, and asked Mrs. Arnott to help her. In due time they went out on a street corner where the suffragist held forth. Men and women hurried by. The men snickered and the women were duly shocked. Mrs. Arnott asked several college students and men to stop and listen. "Nothing doing," they said. At last a boy came along on a bicycle and he was persuaded to help form an audience by standing around.

Well, when the first birth control propagandist (myself) came to Palo Alto, she naturally sought shelter and comfort with Mrs. Arnott. We held a meeting in a private house, where about twenty people had gathered. At the close a little fat man violently opposed the idea. But the women were silent, at least most of them.

The next morning about seven o'clock Mrs. Arnott came to my room and said a delegation was waiting for me downstairs. When I came down, I found four women who started in to express their indignation at that fat man and to assure me how heartily they were in sympathy with birth control. Each one gave me a short history of her family life, and showed how she had been robbed both of health and means in her effort to limit her family to correspond with her ability to care for it. The whole thing was so dramatic in the early morning hour, with the sobbing mothers pouring out their sorrowful tales, that we felt that this was the moment to form an organization. The San Francisco Birth Control League was the result.

THIS WAS EARLY in February, 1915, and the following month of August the League was publicly launched in the assembly hall in the Monadnock building, with nineteen members. Ernest Schaeffle, who at that time held a prominent governmental position, was elected its first president, but after serving a short time pressure was brought to bear upon him to resign. Dr. Gottlieb, a young doctor, then took the presidency.

But I must not forget two other women—Mrs. De Luce and Mrs. Gorham. When times looked dark and fools and enemies sneered, Mrs. De Luce always loomed up, ready to declare *that this league could not fail*, that it would go on and enlist some of San Francisco's most noted people in the cause. Mrs. Gorham certainly could work. For miles and miles she tramped with me distributing cards announcing our meetings, and her tall son nailed up placards on telegraph poles, etc., advertising the League. Mrs. Gorham comes from Butte, Montana, where she worked for birth control for eleven years, by going from house to house to distribute the information.

In the spring when Mrs. Gorham had to return home and Mrs. de Luce went to Arizona, the League sustained a great loss. In the meantime, the New Era League members came to our league's aid. The New Era League of San Francisco is a women's club of high standing. Mrs. Harris Coffin, the president, and Mrs. Georgia Sperry brought their influence to bear upon the press to enable us to get up a large mass meeting.

So that in the fall of 1916, when Margaret Sanger came to San Francisco, the field was prepared for some of the best and largest meetings ever held for birth control anywhere. New material now came into the League and elected an executive board which rushed into print with the statement that every member who gave out birth control information would be thrown out of the League. The result was, that we had a little housecleaning. For while the League is not formed to violate any law, but to get the law off the statute books, it is certainly not formed to do police duty against birth control. And the joke of it was that Margaret Sanger's pamphlet had been taken to many officials to inquire if they thought that it was harmful, and they usually declared that they thought that it was the best thing that could be placed in the hands of poor parents.

Every organization has its ups and downs, and those who stand in the forefront are usually those who are attacked often by "the friends of the cause," but that is in the day's work. Our League soon became stronger than ever. Margaret McGovern became its president. She is known to every worker in our city, and everyone who wants a lift for a worthy case hastens to Margaret, who is always ready to fight a good fight.

During the last year, besides our regular meetings in Emerson's Studio, we had a birth control tea, given by an artist, a mothers' meeting in a minister's house and a meeting with about twenty mothers present in a working woman's house. We also met at the Fairmont hotel, in the apartment of one of our members, and over the bay at Mrs. Frank Haven's garden fete we had a booth where we distributed literature. The attendance at our meetings varies according to subject and speaker. At our last meeting on January 29th, we had an audience of about seventy women. The lecture was given by the Woman's Court doctor, on "Why Girls go Wrong." She cited cases that come up in court and showed how badly sex-education is needed in the home and in the school. CAROLINE NELSON.

CHICAGO

IN OCTOBER, 1916, the Reform Department of the Chicago Woman's Club held a meeting on the subject of birth control. The question was presented by Professor James A. Field of the University of Chicago. Much discussion followed and at the close of the meeting, a committee was appointed to study the matter. This committee, of which Dr. Rachele Yarros was chairman held a number of conferences at which the matter was discussed from the historical, ethical, medical, sociological and legal aspects by people qualified to speak along these various lines, including the Reverend Herbert Willets, Mr. Horace Bridges, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Dr. Anna E. Blount, Dr. George Burnham Foster, Judge John Stelk, Mr. Sigmund Zeisler, Mr. George Packard, etc.

So much interest was developed, that a Chicago Citizens' Committee was formed with Dr. Yarros as chairman. This Committee formulated a statement which was published in full in the leading newspapers.

During the winter word came to the Committee that a bill modeled on the New York law had been introduced into the legislature and referred to the Judiciary Committee. Professor Field and Dr. Charles S. Bacon went to Springfield for the hearing. Dr. Bacon went not only as a member of the Citizens' Committee, but as a representative of the Medical Institute of Chicago. The Illinois Medical Society also sent two Springfield representatives to protest against the proposed law, Dr. L. C. Taylor and Dr. Deal. Effective lobbying was done before the hearing and so much interest was developed on the part of the Judiciary Committee that the hearing was continued in the evening and attracted a large audience. The impression made was so favorable, that the bill was killed in committee, so that Illinois is still without a law which specifically forbids the imparting of information on family limitation.

Since last spring the Committee has perfected its organization and increased its membership. Its officers at present are Professor James A. Field, chairman; Mr. Allen B. Pond, treasurer; Mrs. Benjamin E. Page, secretary. It has held no public meetings and attempted no active propaganda, feeling that the present abnormal times are unpropitious for such activities.

GRACE R. PAGE, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

The Minnesota State Birth Control League did not do very much public work during the past year, but a great deal was done in an educational way. I have been obliged, for personal reasons, to resign as secretary, and Mrs. E. E. Keller, 230 Vernon Avenue, St. Paul, has been chosen in my place. She is thoroughly in touch with the work and deeply interested in it. She has also been in touch with the work done for birth control by the Socialists, which was constant, thanks to their fearlessness. Special praise is due to Mr. Empey and Mrs. Webster.

SYLVIE T. THYGESON.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

THE BIRTH CONTROL movement in Ohio dates from Easter Sunday, April 23, 1916, when Mrs. Sanger delivered two addresses before crowded audiences in Cleveland in the Chapel of the Unitarian Church in the afternoon and at Pythian Temple that evening.

Later informal gatherings to consider the question of a birth control campaign led to a meeting of doctors, social workers and others at the Union Club, June 1, when a committee on organization was decided upon. At a meeting in the Unitarian Chapel, June 23, this committee's plan of organization was adopted, officers were elected and the Birth Control League of Ohio was launched on its career. Officers elected, were: Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, President; Dr. Thomas Adams, Rev. Dwight J. Bradley, David Gibson and Mrs. C. W. Stage, vice-president; H. G. Wellman, treasurer; W. B. Waggoner, assistant treasurer; Mrs. Percy W. Cobb, secretary, and Miss Tobie Robboy, assistant secretary. An executive committee and five committee chairman of the medical, law, clinic, membership, and educational committees were appointed. A constitution was adopted giving for its objects:

First—The modification of existing laws in such a manner as to allow physicians, nurses, and other competent persons, to give information concerning methods of preventing conception.

Second—The extension under proper auspices of the practice of family limitation as a means of reducing poverty, immorality, crime, physical and mental defectiveness and other human ills.

The speaking campaign was launched on July 3, when President Blossom, Dr. Alice Butler, and Rev. A. T. Wooley, spoke on birth control before the Congress of Mothers, in the chapel of the Y. W. C. A. After the addresses and general discussion, it was unanimously voted to endorse the Birth Control League. On July 7, the Executive Committee met and reports were given from the various committees showing that a vigorous campaign was being mapped out.

On July 14, one hundred and thirty persons attended a banquet tendered Mrs. Sanger in the ball-room of the Hotel Statler.

During the summer the League held weekly luncheons open to the public, and short talks on various phases of the movement were given. One of the most enthusiastic of these was the Allison protest meeting, at which a collection was taken for the Allison defense. For some time meetings were held almost daily. Twenty thousand copies of the Birth Control News were published and distributed.

IN THE FALL OF 1916, Dr. Blossom left Cleveland to assist Mrs. Sanger in New York in the capacity of managing editor of *The Birth Control Review*. At a meeting of the executive committee Mrs. Percy Cobb was appointed acting President and served until the following December

when Prof. Alfred Bosch became President and Mrs. Lillian Olf, Secretary.

On Saturday, January 13, 1917, was held the first of a series of monthly luncheons to be held the second Saturday of each month. The speakers were Prof. Alfred Bosch and Mrs. Royce D. Fry. There was an attendance of about seventy-five. A group of weekly study clubs under the leadership of Mrs. E. O. Peets, was formed.

On Saturday evening, January 27, Rev. Dwight Bradley spoke at the first of a series of monthly meetings held the fourth Saturday of each month at the Cleveland Music School Settlement.

A second issue of the Birth Control News was published and 10,000 copies ordered for distribution. A large number of organizations including business men's clubs, fraternal organizations, and mothers' clubs were addressed during the winter with a large attendance. A number of copies of Dr. Knopf's treatise on birth control were sold besides a great many copies of *The Birth Control Review*. At the April luncheon Francis Barnard gave an inspiring talk on "The Morality of Ignorance." The most noteworthy address of the season was that of Dr. Blossom at the City Club, on May 5. This was followed by a banquet tendered him by the League on Saturday evening and a large and enthusiastic meeting at the North Congregational Church on Sunday evening. The speakers at this meeting beside Dr. Blossom, were Dr. Alice Butler and Rev. C. W. Hardendorf.

MRS. A. W. NEWMAN.

SEATTLE, WASH.

RADICAL PROPAGANDISTS who, before the war had begun a campaign of education among the women in the west for the dissemination of birth control information have, to a large extent, curbed their activities in view of the more intense problems which war conditions have brought.

We have had a splendid course of lectures, however, given in one of the branch libraries here. Dr. G. M. Hawkins spoke upon "Racial Betterment" and the women who heard him left the hall with a proper understanding of their own biological make-up. Professor N. J. Bowman, of the University lectured upon "The Rise and Fall of The Birth Rate and Its Historical Significance," and Miss Adella Parker, a teacher of economics, discussed the question, "Is The World Crowded?" Others who have lectured before an increasing number of interested women at our regular gatherings, have been Dr. Falk, Dr. Griswold and Thomas Horner, a lawyer who took up the legal aspect of the birth control agitation.

We held a very large meeting at Everett, but this was in the nature of a free speech fight as well. All I have time to do now with the Birth Control League is merely to try to hold it together. There is no money in the treasury. What little we did have has been given to various defense funds.

MINNIE PARKHURST, Secretary.

HARRISBURG, PA.

THE MOVEMENT HERE has been most successful in many ways, but the most notable achievement was securing the veto of Governor Brumbaugh in connection with the Stern Bill, which was intended to stop our work in Pennsylvania.

This bill was presented at the last session of the Pennsylvania legislature, and the interests back of it were many and hard to identify. Naturally, those who attempt to have such a law passed, use underground and medieval methods. Stern, the man who presented the bill, represents all that is reactionary. He is a Penrose tool from Philadelphia.

When the proposed law was put on the House calendar, the Pittsburg group of the birth control movement requested the help of the Harrisburg Centre, and we at once used all the power at our command to halt the proposed vicious legislation. But from the start, our chances of success were small.

The Pittsburg group sent us a supply of the Knopf pamphlet on birth control, and a copy was put in the mail box of every member of the House. Letters and telegrams to the members were part of our campaign. We enlisted the support of Representative James Maurer, the lone Socialist in the legislature, who spoke against the bill. A few progressive union labor lobbyists also helped us. But, in spite of our work, only three votes were cast on the side of birth control, those of Maurer and two members from Pittsburg.

After that, we had only the Governor to depend on. We felt that he was too broad-minded to approve such a law, and we were right. His veto was strongly phrased.

We are receiving aid for the movement from Representative Maurer and Quinn, of the State Federation of Labor. Their support is of great value.

Aside from our legislative work, our activities have been confined to the spreading of birth control knowledge, particularly among the working people. No attempt has been made to build up a large membership, but on the contrary we purposely keep it small and effective.

The war has overshadowed the interest which should be taken in such work; but because there is little said, that is no indication that nothing is being done, and we hope that the education of the people will soon be completed along the lines we advocate.

G. A. HERRING, Secretary.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

From Ann Arbor, Michigan, comes the report of a meeting held by the wives of university professors and instructors, who are strongly behind the movement. Literature was given out at this meeting, and the wife of an influential faculty man read a paper which was very well received.

It is necessary in Ann Arbor, as in other towns of that size, to go slowly along with birth control agitation; for the people are conservative and there is the usual obstruction from physicians, especially those connected with the University hospital.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

SINCE THE FORMATION of the League, 56 men and 189 women have been interviewed on the great and humane question of contraception. Six meetings have been held, three of which were mass meetings, two were open forum meetings and one an exclusive woman's meeting. Several parlor talks have also been held.

At these meetings, the legal, moral, medical, economic and common sense aspects of birth control were dealt with and much valuable information was gleaned. Sixteen different speakers have come to our platform. The average attendance at these meetings was 550, enrolled membership 237. 112 letters have been received, some of which were pathetic in the nature of appeals made.

A. I. HOUSER, Secretary and Treasurer.

BANGOR, ME.

At the beginning of last year, I attempted to organize a birth control league in this city. I also prepared a public address on the subject. But I am sorry to say that I have, so far, failed in my object. From the very first, I met with strenuous opposition from both the local papers, the clergy and nearly a solid phalanx of the fifty or sixty practicing physicians here. But I have succeeded in arousing considerable interest and causing discussion of the subject in a social way throughout the city, and I hope for and expect some crystallization of public opinion in the not distant future.

P. E. LUCE, M. D.

TWO VIEWS OF LOVE

Father John A. Ryan lays it down as "a fundamental ethical principle" that sexual intercourse for any other object than procreation is unnatural and "a perversion of the generative faculty on exactly the same moral level as the practice of the solitary vice."

However the Catholic priesthood may look upon the most intimate relation of man and wife, there is no doubt that a great many people look upon this as not only a procreative function but also a sacred and solemn expression of mutual love. To them it is a physical symbol of the spiritual union. Those who advocate birth control are among the foremost to advocate a hardy self control and mutual consideration in the sexual relationship in order to keep love pure and to translate it into its highest values.—*Frank V. Anderson.*

FALL OF THE GERMAN BIRTH-RATE

In no country in the world has such a decline taken place. Between 1900 and 1912, England shows a drop per 1,000 inhabitants from 28 to 25, France from 21 to 19, Germany from 35 to 29. Before the war, the German rate was approximately the same as that in England in 1904-5, in spite of the fact that the English movement had nearly twenty years' start.—*Adelyne More, Fecundity Versus Civilization.*

LETTERS FROM WOMEN

LETTER NO. 8.

I HOPE YOU WILL forgive the liberty I am taking in writing to you, but from what I have read of you I believe you will be willing to give me the information I seek.

My husband is earning about eleven dollars per week as a tobacco salesman. He has to pay his own expenses, about two dollars and fifty cents a week out of that, and the balance has to pay all the expenses incidental to the keeping of a family of five. He has lost all the fingers of his left hand in an accident, so is handicapped when seeking more remunerative employment.

We have three children—one girl of eight, one boy of five and the baby boy two years old. I cannot see any future for any of them if our family increases. Have had three miscarriages since the baby came, but my health will not stand that indefinitely, as I am not very robust to start with.

It is not that I don't want any more babies, but that I cannot see that it is giving those I have a square deal by bringing more here to share the little we have. Will any of them thank me if I have so many that I cannot equip them properly for the battle of life? Those are the plain facts that have to be faced. I do not want to undermine my health that I cannot properly care for those I have, and I do not want to increase the burden by having more, so can you, and will you, help me? Mrs. A. H. M.

LETTER NO. 9.

I AM VERY MUCH in favor of birth control, as I speak for myself. I am the mother of nine children and if I could have prevented it without abortion there would never have been so many. Two of my children were born in one year and two more only thirteen months between. No woman can stand that and do all her own work, and now I have to sew to help support them, as my husband is not able to do hard work, and my baby is only 9 months. I sincerely hope for myself that you can send me information of some kind so I will not become pregnant again, for I cannot ever stand to come through it again, as my health is not good and I am 42 years old and certainly think I have had my share of it. Hoping you will send me this information, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,
Mrs. H. E. B.

LETTER NO. 10.

I HAVE BEEN READING the Birth Control Review given to me by a friend and have read it through two times and am now writing to you for help.

I am a married woman with three babies. I was married Sept. 14, 1911. My oldest child is a girl, she will be six years old in July. The next one is a boy who will be four years old in July and the baby girl will be two years old in April 21st.

I have my housework to do, my washing and ironing and care for my three babies and am now a month and a little

over a week on the way for another. I have tried everything that I knew to do and everything any one else has told me but it did no good. I am so nervous I can hardly stand for my babies to come around, to talk to me or touch me. It makes my home life miserable. I have always been weak and sickly. Even when a child I suffered with my left ovary. It is very much enlarged and swollen all of the time.

I have spent all of my married life in trouble and worry and bringing children into the world and caring for them. I miscarried one last February, 1917, and again in August, 1917. It all together has made me a perfect wreck.

My husband says he wants no more babies but I have come to believe he cares more for his passion than he does for me for he won't do anything to keep me from getting pregnant.

My husband is a man who could give me a good comfortable home and make good money but he won't hold to his jobs when he gets one. That keeps me worrying myself to death all the time, for I am a woman of ambition and want to be doing something all the time.

I have always claimed good friends and many of them and been out in company all the time, but since I have been a married woman I have to stay at home with my babies for my husband says there is no pleasure in going out and taking babies.

I was 21 when I was married and am now 28 years old. I married for love and a home for I wanted a home and babies, for I love them and a nice home. But I did not marry for passion or to be breed to death. I would rather kill myself than to have any more.

Well, I guess I have told you enough to let you know, I surely have my hands full and enough troubles.

I would love to read your books on birth control, and if you will give me any advice or help I surely will do just what you tell me to do, for I do not want any more babies.

Please let me hear from you at once, as I just can't sleep and feel as if I might do something desperate, if there can't be something done to help me, and for the sake of my three babies I don't want such a thing to happen.

Your kindness will be more than appreciated. Please answer at once.

Very sincerely yours,
Mrs. D. L. M.

LETTER NO. 11.

I JUST TOOK TIME to write you a few lines to ask you a kind favor. I have eight children and I would like to not have any more and I am in poor health and a poor worker, and I am fairly disgusted and worried, and if you would write and tell me how I can do not to have any more, I would be a thousand times obliging to you for your kindness.

Mrs. J. T.

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TO-DAY

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(Continued from the last issue.)

SO MANY MISCONCEPTIONS and representations have been in circulation concerning Malthus and his doctrine that a few details of his life and work may first be given.

Thomas Robert Malthus was born in 1766, at the Rookery, near Dorking, in Surrey, and was privately educated until he went to Cambridge, in 1784, and graduated as ninth wrangler in 1788, being elected Fellow of Jesus College in the year 1797. He then received holy orders, and became curate of Albury, in Surrey. At that time the flood of Utopian ideas following upon the French Revolution was at its height, and Mr. Daniel Malthus, the father, was much impressed with the writing of Condorcet and of Goodwin, who, in his "Political Justice," sought to prove that human happiness was easily attainable by just institutions. The son, however, disputed this, pointing out that Godwin and Condorcet had overlooked the difficulty of the expensive force of population, and his father urged him to publish his views. In 1798, therefore, appeared anonymously the first edition of the "Essay on the Principle of Population," putting forward the principle that population tended to increase in a rapid geometrical progression, while food could only be increased much more slowly, and possibly more nearly in a steady or arithmetical ratio. With this principle Malthus proceeded to demonstrate the unsoundness of Condorcet's and Godwin's views, and thus began the conflict between the population doctrine and idealistic humanitarian schemes which has always caused it to be so detested by advocates of the latter.

DESPITE THE VEHEMENT attacks on his work, Malthus was able to refute all objections, and he greatly increased the value of his Essay in later editions by traveling abroad and gleaning first hand and historical evidence in favor of the existence of powerful checks to population in the form of starvation, disease, and war, on the one hand, or of prudential abstention from marriage or avoidance of childbirth, on the other. The second edition of the Essay appeared in 1803, and 1804 Malthus married Miss Harriet Eckersall, being soon afterwards appointed professor of history and political economy at Haileybury College. The Royal Society elected him a Fellow in 1819, and he published a treatise on political economy in 1820; and formed, with Grote, Ricardo, James Mill, and Tooke, a Political Economy Club in 1821. He died from heart disease in 1834, the latter part of his life having been principally devoted to the publication of successive editions of his Essay.

Malthus's life has been recognized by all writers as a most ideal one, and as being in perfect accord with his principles. The anonymous, and by no means sympathetic writer in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" says of him:

"Malthus was one of the most amiable, candid and cul-

tured of men. In all his private relations he was not only without reproach, but distinguished for the beauty of his character. He bore popular abuse and misrepresentation without the slightest murmur of sourness of temper. The aim of his inquiries was to promote the happiness of mankind, which could be better accomplished by pointing out the real possibilities of progress than by indulging in vague dreams of perfectibility apart from the actual facts which condition human life."

It will be observed that Malthus did not marry before the age of thirty-nine, in conformity with his own principles. We do not know the age of his wife, but there appear to have been only three children, two of whom survived him. The tales which are commonly told of him as having had a large family are pure inventions.

We cannot do better than first to give the doctrine of Malthus in his own words, as they not only show the clearness and moderation with which he stated it, but also his entire freedom from the errors which are continually fastened upon him. Here are a few extracts from the first chapter of the last (sixth) edition of his Essay, in which I have italicized the most important passages. It opens as follows:

IN AN INQUIRY concerning the improvement of society, the mode of conducting the subject which naturally presents itself is:

"1: To investigate the causes which have hitherto impeded the progress of mankind towards happiness; and

"2: To examine the probability of the total or partial removal of these causes in future."

"To enter fully into this question, and to enumerate all the causes that have hitherto influenced human improvement, would be much beyond the power of an individual. The principal object of the present essay is to examine the effects of one great cause intimately united with the very nature of man; which, though it has been constantly and powerfully operating since the commencement of society; has been little noticed by the writers who have treated this subject. The facts which establish the existence of this cause have, indeed, been repeatedly stated and acknowledged; but its natural and necessary effects have been almost totally overlooked; though probably among these effects may be reckoned a very considerable proportion of that vice and misery, and of that unequal distribution of the bounties of nature, which it has been the unceasing object of the enlightened philanthropist in all ages to correct.

"The cause to which I allude is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment provided for it.

"It is observed by Dr. Franklin that there is no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals but what is made by their crowding and interference with each others' means of subsistence. Were the face of the earth, he says, vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as for instance with fennel; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished from one nation only, as for instance with Englishmen.

"This is incontrovertibly true. Through the animal and vegetable kingdoms Nature has scattered the seeds of life abroad with a most profuse and liberal hand; but has been comparatively sparing in the room and the nourishment necessary to rear them. The germs of existence contained in this earth, if they could freely develop themselves, would fill millions of worlds in the course of a few thousand years. Necessity, that imperious, all pervading law of nature, restrains them within the prescribed bounds. The race of plants and the race of animals shrink under this great restrictive law; and man cannot by any efforts of reason escape from it."

(To be continued.)

IS BIRTH CONTROL UNNATURAL?

W. J. Robinson, M.D.

THE ADJECTIVE "unnatural" is doing fine service in the hands of our conservative and reactionary friends. Any idea or action that they do not like, which goes against their antiquated mode of thought or ingrained habits, they stigmatize as "unnatural." If you should ask them to define the term "unnatural" or to explain why an action is unnatural, you would find them in a helpless state of confusion.

"To use any means to obviate conception is bad because it is unnatural." Why is it unnatural? Because it is artificial, because none of the lower animals do it, because we never did it when we were savages, when we lived in a state of nature.

But if by "unnatural" we are to understand anything that is artificial, anything that the lower animals do not do and that we didn't do when we were savages, then ninety per cent of our actions are unnatural.

If we cook our food, we do something unnatural. Nature does not know anything about cooking food, and if we are to eat naturally, we ought to eat all our food in a raw state. If we envelope our bodies in clothing, we go against nature and are doing something unnatural.

When we cut out a cancer from a person we are doing something unnatural. We are distinctly thwarting nature—if we did not cut out the tumor it would continue to grow until the person died and his would be a natural end. All our campaigns against mosquitoes or flies are unnatural because we are trying to thwart nature, to fight her and to frustrate her natural designs.

In short, by far the greater part of all the activities of a civilized human being are "unnatural." And the higher the civilization, the more "unnatural" is our activity. And it is because we can act unnaturally and go against nature that we have reached this high state of civilization. If we could only do "natural" things, we should still be in the state of the most primitive savage.

Do not therefore be frightened and deterred from a certain action because the silly people, the shoalbrains incapable of any thinking, designate it as unnatural. A so-called unnatural thing may be in the highest degree wise, useful and beneficent. And to use a hygienic measure, or a chemical or mechanical application for the purpose of preventing conception is no more unnatural than is the use of things for the prevention or cure of disease.

Crowding children beyond the strength of the mother and earning power of the father breaks down the mother physically, crushes the spirit of the father, stunts the children in all ways, prevents the normal development and happiness of everybody and creates material for sub-merged classes and social problems.—*Prof. Robert J. Sprague.*

A CHALLENGE TO WOMANHOOD

By O. Kihlstrom

THE ONLY remedy for existing social evils is reconstruction of humanity from the bottom; and it is here where the birth control movement fills its place with honor. It aims to mitigate sufferings and increase happiness, it favors children with healthy bodies and minds capable of intellectual improvement, in short it stands for quality and not for quantity. Its advocates are moved by altruistic motives; they see a vision of a grander humanity which shall arise on the ashes of ours.

The opposers of the birth control movement are misguiding and deceiving the great mass of ignorant people. They have not one single argument which would not vanish in the light of reason and humanity.

Women, what are you going to do? Are you in favor of free motherhood? Do you believe it to be your sacred birthright? Do you want happier homes? Do you believe in full equality between the sexes? Then say so. This is your opportunity to voice a solemn protest against this inhuman and most diabolical law concocted by a handful of bigoted pseudo-moralists—the man-made law which forbids dissemination of knowledge pertaining to birth control.

Demand the obliteration of this infamous law, which is a disgrace to your country, and an insult to your sex. Defy the power which is ever doing its best to keep you in subjection, a power that is the enemy of all progressive ideas.

KEEPING IT IN THE FAMILY

By Dr. A. L. Goldwater

I recently conducted an inquiry among two hundred married members of three New York medical societies. I found that, although the average length of married life was sixteen years, the average number of children per family was less than one and a half.

Will these doctors claim that no regulation was exercised in their own cases?

Let us tear away the cloak of hypocrisy with which certain members of the medical profession enfold themselves, smugly complacent in the fact that they have sufficient knowledge for their own guidance, but too selfish or indifferent to give it to others.

THE REAL IMMORALITY

It is more than immoral for huge families to become the burden of poor parents, while the rich can obtain their physician's services in the control of births. As for the argument that many girls would become immoral were it not for the fear of pregnancy, I feel that it would be far better for a few more girls to become immoral without any illegitimate children being born, than for a large number of fatherless children to be born yearly and countless girls driven to a life of prostitution, because of either uncontrolled passion or seduction by some man for whom there is more love than prudent feeling.—*Claude T. Smith.*

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34 UNION SQUARE

NEW YORK CITY

A BARBAROUS VIEW OF CHILDHOOD

It must be admitted that, under existing circumstances, it is well-nigh impossible for poor people living in cities to properly bring up large families. In the country the difficulty does not exist. The farmer who has a house full of children can raise a large cotton crop: children, *as soon as they are beyond the stage of infancy*, become a valuable asset to him from an economical point of view.—*The Guardian, published by the Catholic Publication Society of Little Rock, Arkansas.*

The forthcoming peace conference will undoubtedly call upon civilization to take away from men the deadly weapons used in the European holocaust. Will it have the intelligence to demand that the women of the world be the ones armed—armed with knowledge of how to control the birth rate and thus make humanity too rare and precious ever to be sacrificed in another war?

Three Books by Margaret Sanger

"THE CASE FOR BIRTH CONTROL"..... \$2.15, postpaid

"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"

and

"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"

Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

JUDGE JOHN STELK, of the Court of Domestic Relations, Chicago, has issued a report of his work in which he proves himself to be a genuine humanitarian and an exceptionally enlightened jurist. He advocates birth control, handles without gloves the war baby problem and scores the hypocrisy and inefficiency of organized charity. The poor, overburdened mother has the right, he affirms, to "guard against another mouth to feed." The same knowledge that is "given out every day to her sisters in the higher walks of life" should be extended to her. "I don't hesitate to say," he declares, "that it is a thing of sheer brutality to compel a physically debilitated wife to further burden herself and society with defective offspring, aside from the almost criminal shortcomings, with attendant misery, visited upon the latter. I am of the opinion that some day the entire question will be considered by the Federal Government." So far as we know, he drew his conclusions directly from the problems he was called upon to solve in the Court of Domestic Relations. We regard it as only a matter of time before all thinking persons with the interests of society at heart will hold similar views. But it is gratifying to find a judge in the vanguard of progress; usually men of his calling are among the last to fall in line. We shall have more to say about Mr. Stelk, of Chicago, in a subsequent issue.

WORD HAS COME that Dr. Ben Reitman has lost his appeal in the higher courts of Ohio. He was first tried about a year ago and convicted of giving out birth control leaflets. His sentence, now affirmed, was six months in the workhouse and a fine of \$1,000. Cleveland newspapers state that he began to serve this outrageous jail term on March 18. It is to be regretted that no mention was made of his case in the report of the Cleveland league printed elsewhere in this issue. Dr. Reitman does not appear to have received the full local support to which any idealist battling in this cause was surely entitled.

OFFICIAL FRANCE is crying for more children to fill the places of those who have been slain. But the people, militarized and stricken economically, are unable properly to care for all those who come into the world as it is. Let two incidents recorded in recent Paris newspapers demonstrate the point. Louis Maffert, one of the editors of the patriotic *La Victoire*, writes as follows: "We are certainly too fond of formulas. When we discover a phrase which is applicable to a problem, we repeat it with unwearied zeal. We say sanctimoniously to every woman: 'Have children!' and the day before yesterday two poor girl-mothers arrived at my office, at nine o'clock in the evening, with two new-born infants. They were without food, without money, without shoes and without lodging. The hotels never seem to have rooms for unfortunates of their kind. We did our best for them and finally turned them over to the Saint Sulpice home. But, all the same, such things ought not to happen." Again, the Socialist newspaper, *l'Humanite*, tells how a father, mother and four young children, unable to meet their obli-

gations, were dispossessed in mid-winter not by a flinty-hearted bourgeois landlord, but by a munitions concern controlled by the Ministry of War, on whose property their poor lodging was located. Had the parents practised birth control, the repopulation of France would have suffered, but they probably would have been financially able to cope with their ironical tragedy.

WE WISH THAT WE had available space in this magazine to record every case of wife murder and infanticide occurring as a result of unrestricted childbearing. Every month sees scores of such tragedies in the United States, only a small proportion of which are considered sufficiently sensational to be played up in the newspapers. Of the thousands that take place in other countries we, of course, hear nothing. We have before us accounts of two incidents which illustrate the extremes of the problem. The birth of a seventh child in a poverty-stricken Italian home in New York City rendered the father temporarily insane. He stamped up and down the room where his wife was lying in bed, muttering in his despair, then drew a knife and stabbed at the baby. The mother threw herself across the little body and received a mortal wound. Horrified the man fled. In a New Jersey suburb of Greater New York, a middle-aged mother with a boy of sixteen and a girl of eleven gave birth to a third girl. This was an eventuality which she had plainly not figured upon. She brooded until her mind was affected. With a small quantity of chloroform bought at the drug store, she ended her baby's life. When placed under arrest, she stated that she had felt herself "unable to raise the child properly," that her everyday domestic work had become too formidable for her to cope with. Can any one doubt that this was a case of unwanted pregnancy? By every dictate of reason, knowledge of how to prevent conception should have been available for her, no less than for the murdered Italian mother with her seven babies produced in blindness and ignorance and probably in all too rapid succession to each other.

WE CALL ATTENTION to the prospectus on another page of The New York Woman's Publishing Company, Inc. This new organization is composed of fifteen women, who propose to leave no stone unturned to put *The Birth Control Review* on a financial basis. Application for papers of incorporation has been made, and \$10,000 worth of stock will be offered to the public at \$10 a share.

When this magazine resumed publication last December, we printed an appeal for help and told our subscribers that the continued existence of the only organ of the birth control movement in America depended upon their co-operation. The response was almost nil, but we have struggled along through the winter at a financial loss. The little group that has borne the burden cannot do so indefinitely. If YOU want your magazine to live, buy at least one share and urge your friends to do likewise. It is a case of now or never.

INTERNATIONAL NUMBER



**THE
BIRTH CONTROL
REVIEW**

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

Volume Two

MAY, 1918

Number Four

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE WAR

By ANNA STEESE RICHARDSON

FREEDOM IS THE GOAL

By EUGENE V. DEBS

**MESSAGES FROM ENGLAND,
FRANCE AND HOLLAND**

Fifteen cents a copy

One dollar fifty a year

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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, *Salud 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. *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua 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. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.
- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- CAMDEN, N. J.—Dr. L. A. Young, 522 Spruce St.
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- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
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- The Committee of One Thousand*. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 W. 97th Street, chairman.
- The National Birth Control League*. 200 Fifth Avenue. M. Virginia Heidelberg.
- The Woman's Committee of One Hundred*. Mrs. Amos Pinch, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
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- Jailed for Birth Control*
by James Waldo Fawcett.....
- The above prices do not include postage

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE WAR

By *Anna Steese Richardson*

(*Written especially for The Birth Control Review*)

MANY AUTHORS LIVE TO WRITE—or write to live. I sometimes think I live to read letters. Certainly letter-reading is my best and biggest literary job. Every month I write to an audience of nearly three million women. Sometimes I think that my entire audience is moved to take its pen in hand simultaneously. It is a dull day indeed, when eighty to a hundred letters do not demand my personal attention.

And these are not ordinary letters-to-the-editor, asking how to restore the original color to fading garments—or hair; how to give a St. Valentine's party; or how to drape a bride's veil. No, the letters which come to my desk are human documents, welling up from hearts full to bursting. Often, alas, between the lines, I can read that a human life is at stake.

My mail serves a two-fold purpose. It is an infallible guide in selecting subject-matter for articles; and it is an absolutely reliable indication of the trend of thought among women, especially in matters of personal, family and public health. And the trend of thought in medical matters is becoming steadily broader and more independent.

Therefore, I do not believe that the American women will yield to the hysterical slogan: "Have children!" We women of America are learning from family history, the records of our mothers and our grandmothers, observation, study and experience that what this nation needs and every nation needs is stronger children reared by healthier mothers. In the face of war, we need quality not quantity, and quality in offspring is to be attained only through birth control. War calls for special forms of endurance and self-sacrifice, best rendered by a healthy body and steady nerves. Birth control prevents the reproduction of those unfit for such service, and enables the fit to postpone bringing children into the world until the wife is physically able to bear a healthy child and the family income is adequate to supply the nourishment, environment and education necessary to build up a race of efficient fighting men.

THE DEMAND FOR CONSERVATION should not stop at coal, food, gasoline and other munitions of war. Let us conserve one of our most precious forces—woman-power. Only the fittest of women, physically and economically, can be spared to bear children in the next few years. The strength of the rest must be conserved for war service of a more practical sort. Never in the history of America have such heavy demands been made on women, their strength, energy and efficiency. In thousands of cases, the woman must release some man for military service, by taking his place in one of the industries or as the head of his family.

The man she replaces did not stop to bear children. He

stuck to his job and so must she. The man she replaces as head of their household did not scatter his energy by bearing children. He concentrated on the job of supporting his family. The woman who takes his place must concentrate her energies in the same way. The day has come when American mothers must give their best, their all, to rearing the children already born, to fitting them for the grave responsibilities just ahead. This is no time for bringing delicate, under-nourished children into the world, to face such perils as milk and wheat shortage.

And women are beginning to realize this—at least the women who write to me—the women who read and think and keep abreast of the times—and who want the supreme privilege of feminism—the right to health and to the successful rearing of children through voluntary motherhood. It is a wise physician who recognizes and satisfies this demand on the part of his patient, whether she lives in a modern apartment surrounded by conveniences or in the roughest shack on a prairie ranch.

Here is an extract from a letter, significant and typical:

"After receiving your very kind letter, my husband and I have decided to come to New York and consult a specialist. I have reached the point where I feel that if my doctor here does not know what is wrong with me, he is not fit to handle my case, and if he does know and will not tell us, then I do not want him to prescribe for me."

Another wife writes:

IF I CANNOT CARRY a child to full term, then why in the name of all that's merciful, doesn't my doctor do something to prevent conception? I have just gone through the revolting experience for the third time. Abortion or death! Why not prevention and some sense of security in living? My doctor replies that birth control is illegal. But he is licensed to perform therapeutic abortion. My soul burns at the injustice. Am I to be a woman condemned to fear and suffering, or will the Birth Control League set me free?"

Another victim of therapeutic abortion writes:

"When I plead with my doctor, he replies that there is no such thing as a 100 per cent contraceptive. But there would be if physicians and medical colleges gave as much research and experimentation to contraceptives as they do to licensed abortion."

Women who think along these lines, who can quote medical terms because they have read the best in medical works and periodicals, are a menace to family physicians whose heads are still buried in the sands of narrow ethics and traditions.

A simpler letter this, but not one whit less earnest:

"Will you help me? I am the wife of a farmer and we have interest and payments to meet. I have five children, and eighteen months is the longest rest I had between births. I do all my own work, cook for the hired men when we can get them and work in the fields when we can't. I have chickens and milk to take care of and the children to sew for. If I didn't have the best husband in the world, I couldn't stand the thought of another baby coming. I wouldn't mind if we could get help or had means, but if anything goes wrong, what will become of my husband and the children who need me? And I am tired, so tired that for the first time in my life—I am afraid of being taken from them. After our last baby came, I asked the doctor to help me out. He said there was nothing he could do, but I notice his wife stopped with two. Well, he should worry. It's another twenty-five for him, even if he doesn't get here in time, and we have to pay it in dribbles, too. After this baby is born, I mean to help myself somehow. What is birth control? Where can I buy books about it?"

"I mean to help myself."

That determined note rings through hundreds of letters. Family physicians must hear it before I do. It should set them thinking.

A CONSERVATIVE FRIEND who has often relieved my "neediest cases" with clothing, medical attention or cash, took me to task for endorsing birth control.

"Why do you have anything to do with the dangerous doctrine?" she inquired.

"Because of these letters." And I handed her a sheaf of them. She was quite shaken by the reading.

"It's shocking," she murmured with a shudder. "Such ignorance is appalling. These women do not know how to protect themselves. What sort of doctors do they have?"

"Doctors who do not believe in birth control," I retorted.

"Neither does mine, but——"

"He does not endorse it—he merely supplies it to patients who can afford to pay for it—patients like you——"

Her eyes flashed.

"Are you suggesting that Dr. Blank would perform a criminal operation?"

I could hardly believe my ears. This woman of intelligence, leader in club, civic and war relief work, did not know the difference between criminal abortion and birth control. And then I realized as I have often realized it before, that the enemies of physical emancipation for women deliberately, maliciously, confuse the two terms. This woman whose strength and beauty had been conserved for years by contraceptives has been fighting the movement to grant the same protection and privilege to her less fortunate sisters because her physician has misled her, intentionally or otherwise.

We will never have voluntary motherhood until we tear away the veil of hypocrisy and misrepresentation by which

physicians hide the truth from their patients, and especially the smugness of those medical men who inform their overburdened patients that there are no safe and sure contraceptives, while they protect their own wives and, incidentally, their own bank accounts by practising birth control in their private lives. These are the worst offenders against the health and the freedom of American women.

Birth Control Leagues have been formed in many localities and then allowed to languish or die. But the day is coming when they will be supported by the very women who once drew back their skirts. War is a great awakener of women. It stirs their souls and opens their eyes to the futility and emptiness of traditions. Haphazard, unregulated child-bearing as woman's world-duty is a dying tradition.

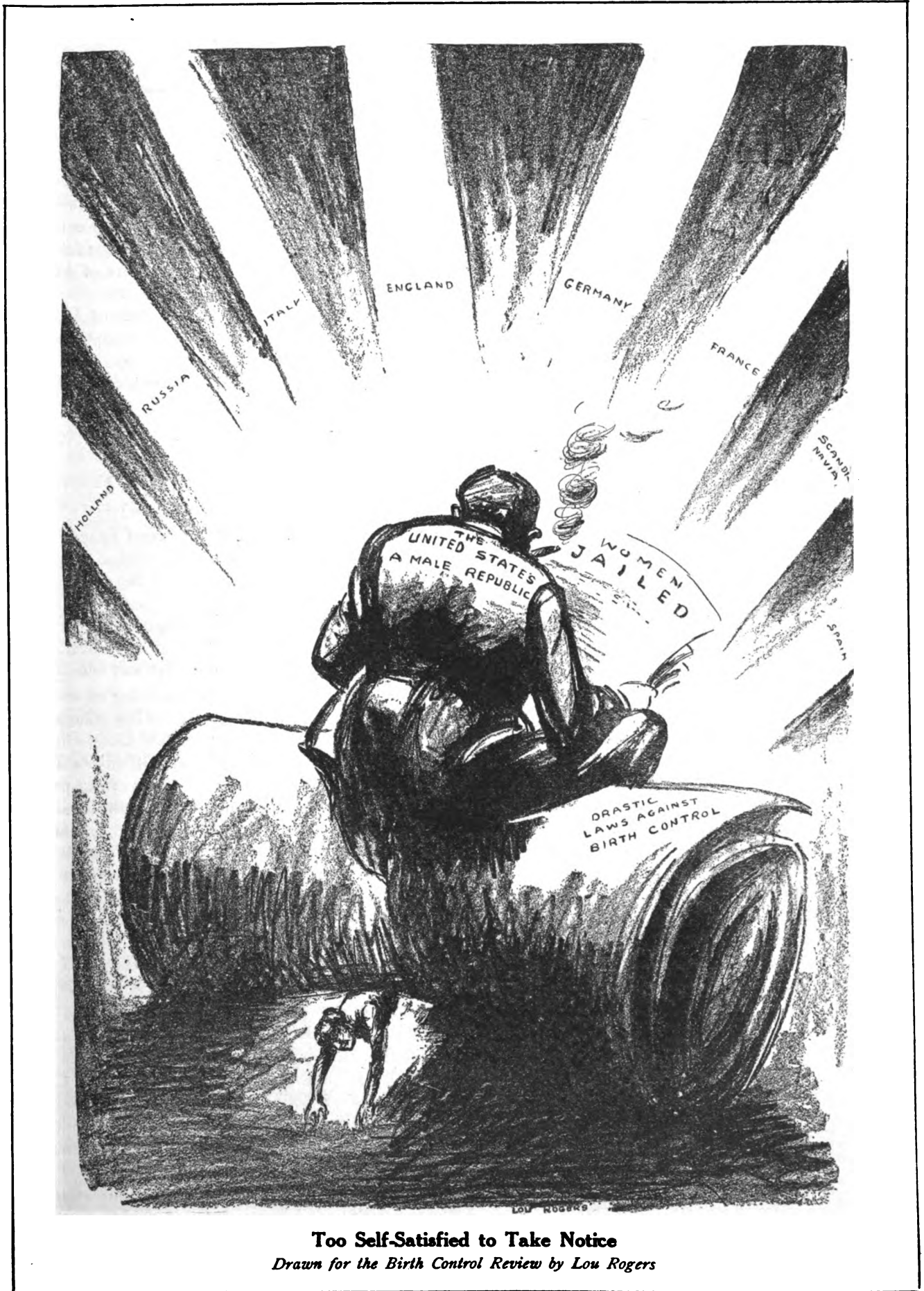
From the President of the English League

47 Rothampt Road. W. 9. S. N. 2. 4.
Jan 24th /18

Dear Mrs Sanger, It is quite a delight to hear from you again. I have thought about you so often, & wished I could see your paper. This Dec. Number is excellent. I should like to send you an annual subscription, & have the copies bound as companion volumes to the Malthusian. It will please me very much to write an article from the point of view of women's right to control maternity, & her responsibility for the quality of the children born, & the environment & prospects of happy existence they are born into. It is monstrous that a woman whose husband has degenerated into a brute, or an incapable citizen, or even a selfish & indifferent partner should inflict pregnancy on his wife, & inefficient future citizen upon his country. My best love to you & best wishes for your success in your attended work.
Yours sincerely, Dr. Alice S. Vickery

Mothers of the Future

"In the eyes of the new morality the ideal woman is no longer the meek drudge condemned to endless and often ineffectual child-bearing, but the free and instructed woman, able to look before and after, trained in a sense of responsibility alike to herself and the race, and determined to have no children but the best."—Havelock Ellis, "Essays in War Time."



Too Self-Satisfied to Take Notice
Drawn for the Birth Control Review by Lou Rogers

THE DUTCH NEO-MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE

By J. Rutgers, M.D.

ON JANUARY 27th the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Dutch Neo-Malthusian League was held in Utrecht, Holland, where sixteen of the 27 local subdivisions were represented and many of the trained nurses were present. The President in the chair, Mr. Mineur from Rotterdam, welcomed the audience and especially two comrades, members of the headquarters of the Belgian League. In these times of war," he said, "with such an immense waste of life, the mothers should refuse to bring into life more food for cannon. Posterity will judge between us and his Moloch."

"Referring to actual conditions in Holland, as a neutral country," he said, "at the beginning of the war mortality, and especially infant mortality, was less serious than could have been expected; perhaps this fact was due to the public expenditures for the benefit of all poor families where the husband was under arms, and to the large distributions of the relief committee, both preventing the common evils of poverty. But now the lack of all necessities of life is causing the mortality rate to rise. What a blessing it is, in this calamity, that we have saved so many thousands of infants from being born and thus prevented their suffering from famine."

The annual report of the Hon. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers from the Hague, showed that, notwithstanding unfavorable circumstances, the number of members of the League had increased by about 100. There are now 6,376 members in our small country.

Members of 3,323 families appealed during the past year to our headquarters, asking full information about preventive means; and the League sent out 6,555 copies of a practical pamphlet. To this figure must be added a small number of the English translation of the same pamphlet and considerable number of the French translation.

Some 10,000 propaganda pamphlets and a still greater number of propaganda leaflets and cards were spread over the whole country, especially among the numerous foreigners now residing in Holland. The official organ of the League, entitled "The Happy Family," and edited by the President, was circulated to a total number of 25,000.

TO THE PUBLICATIONS of our League has now been added a brief compendium about the population question according to up-to-date views. Nature always restores the equilibrium between the number of individuals and the available food quantum; so it is with plants and with animals. As to human beings, this natural regulation is reinforced by our human intelligence. The happy results are the decline of mortality, especially of infant mortality, and above all a greater length of life. Should the individual checking of births ever go too far, then at last the community would feel its responsibility and its interest in helping women to bear the burdens of motherhood!

Many hundreds of women, rich and poor, called at our

clinics spread over the country in the different cities, where trained nurses, especially instructed by the League, have their hours of consultation. These clinics are centers of sex hygiene and cleanliness, and do more against the evils of abortion than all efforts of moralists and criminalists ever have been able to do. Between 200 and 300 of the poorest families received contraceptives cost-free; all others at moderate terms. A special propaganda was pushed by the League in the coal district of Limburg among the miners of different nationalities.

Surely when war is terminated, the thousands of foreign families that in times of greatest distress have found here in Holland, peace, welfare and a liberal hospitality, will bless our modest little country and will apply our ideals in their own homes with the greatest enthusiasm!

The Hague, Holland.

MINNESOTA REPORT

(Received too late for the last issue)

THE MINNESOTA STATE Birth Control League had its inception at the Margaret Sanger lecture May 18, 1916, but was not organized until her visit here June 12, when it was the plan to open a clinic at once with Miss Louise Brown in charge. After an investigation of the law we found this impossible, so organized along educational lines and launched our campaign of publicity and education.

We started a lively discussion in the Mail Bag of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Despatch and in the like column of the Daily News which is open to the public. Letters began to pour in, keeping the secretary busy two full days a week at headquarters all during that summer. Some of our members gave birth control information of a practical nature, but the League confined itself to education and legislative work. We ordered ten copies of Dr. Robinson's book and kept them circulating all over town and out through the state. About this time the movie, *The Unborn*, came to St. Paul purporting to be an exposé of the movement. To combat this misinformation we got out five thousand leaflets and stood all that week at the theatre door passing them out. Many of our members wrote articles for the local papers and we had good notices for all meetings.

Perhaps the most important thing that was done was a hearing secured in December by us through the Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis before the Minnesota Child Welfare Commission, a body appointed by the governor to consider, revise and suggest laws for the benefit of children and present them to the legislature. More than a hundred people were present. We had fifteen speakers.

Immediately following this meeting we had our attorney prepare a tentative bill and it was placed in the hands of the Commission. They refused to endorse it, as they had about forty bills of their own, some quite radical, and they did not

(Continued on page 8.)

FREEDOM IS THE GOAL

By Eugene V. Debs

THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORLD today is fundamentally for the freedom of the race. Man is still his own enslaved victim—the keeper of his own dungeon cell. He yearns for freedom, but resists all attempts to achieve it. Tradition and convention mould his thought, direct his course, and shape his career. He lives a mean, barren, joyless life, but sets his face like flint against any man or movement that threatens to change it.

And this is the man who has stood over woman like a primitive brute and with a menacing scowl defined her 'sphere.' Utterly incapable, after all the ages, of ruling himself, this thing of arrogant egotism and sodden ignorance still dominates and dwarfs the life of woman and darkens by his lordly abuse of power the divine destiny of the race.

Man who has enslaved himself and grown to like his fetters, flatters himself upon his mastery of woman. He is strong and she is weak, and therefore he must command and she obey, and this inverted and perverted relation between man and woman is reflected in the festering vices of every state of human society from primeval savagery to the highest modern civilization.

Man's brutal domination of the life of woman has been the crime of crimes against both from childhood of the race, and each succeeding generation has been compelled to atone for it in tears and blood.

All along the track of the centuries, the world has been morally and spiritually beggared and starved by man's pitiless denial of womanhood's incomparably beneficent fruition and flowering.

In denying woman man has degraded and damned himself. Woman is his inferior in no respect whatsoever, save that alone of sheer brute strength; to that superior distinction man is entitled, and to that he owes his savage supremacy today.

WOMAN NEVER YET HAS HAD the chance to show the world what she is and what potential power she possesses to elevate and ennoble the race and bless and beautify the world. She has belonged to man and served him with inexpressible fidelity, at her own expense. She has suffered infinite agony in silence and sighed vainly through the ages for deliverance from her fetters, while her self-constituted keeper taunted her outraged womanhood and branded her with the vulgar stigma of inferiority.

But the dawn of another day is breaking upon the world and woman is at last awakening from the nightmare of the ages. The light of the new day beams from her eyes and the spirit of rebellion thrills her eager soul.

O, for a million woman rebels to catch the clarion cry of Margaret Sanger and proclaim the glad tidings of woman's coming freedom throughout the world!

Woman in the past has been weighed down by fetters forged by man; today she rises winged into the empyrean.

She boldly defies the power to which her mother meekly paid the homage of submission, and with dauntless courage and self-reliance she issues her declaration of freedom to the world.

She demands the whole of freedom for the whole of womankind. The ballot is but a paltry concession to her revolutionary aspiration and determination. The right to vote, to a voice in human relations is elementary, and it is the shame and reproach of man that he robbed woman of her birthright and gloried in her humiliation and in his own brutal conquest.

Woman the mother is also the conservator of the race. Within her sacred body she bears all future life, and with infinite love and tenderness she watches over her own; and had she never been enslaved, repressed and denied, the world today would breathe out love and peace to all its children instead of being rent and torn with savage hate and slaughter.

FREEDOM, COMPLETE FREEDOM, is the goal of woman's struggle in the modern world, the struggle in which she must persist at any cost until she is absolutely free from man's insolent and debasing domination. She, the mother of man, shall be the sovereign ruler of the world. She shall have sole custody of her own body; she shall have perfect sex freedom as well as economic, intellectual and moral freedom, and she alone who suffers the agony of birth shall have control of the creative functions with which she is endowed.

Speed the day when woman shall be free! Then, too, shall man be free and they together, emancipated from the degrading ignorance and superstition of the past, shall walk the highlands of vision, mate in perfect love, and people the earth with a race of gods.

ANOTHER VICTORY

WE ARE PLEASED to announce that Postmaster Burleson has granted second class mailing privileges for *The Birth Control Review*.

Up to the present time the financial strain has been so great that the regular monthly appearance of the magazine has been uncertain. From now on, however, there is every possibility of its success. With your help it can be so.

READERS OF this paper often complain because there is no contraceptive information given in its pages.

The laws in nearly all the states (as well as the federal law) make it a crime to inform women of the means to prevent conception. These laws must be changed. It is the work of *The Birth Control Review* to direct public opinion along such lines as to bring about this result.

AN ARMY OFFICER ON BIRTH CONTROL

By *Lieut. Harold Hersey, U. S. N. G.*

IN CONSIDERING THIS SUBJECT in a brief space it will be necessary to reach our conclusions with little regard to detail.

Birth control means but one thing to me—the bettering of the human race through a commonsense method of reducing useless births, granting a fair chance to each individual by not overcrowding the world and scientifically preparing the parents for healthy children. We do not have to point to the timeworn examples of the East Side and other poverty centres to help us prove our case. The brilliant and sacrificial methods of Margaret Sanger make this unnecessary. Yet were she absent from this movement—a movement that revolves around her and radiates from her like the spokes of a wheel—we have an example today that transcends all others, the army.

Let us stop here a moment and consider one question. The army consists of what? The best blood of the land, you reply. Certainly. The most superficial knowledge of the medical requirements and the recently evolved mental tests answers this at once. A man who goes to join the American Expeditionary Forces in France must not only be of the highest type physically, but he must be of high average mentality. He must even be a specialist—an aviator, an infantryman, an artilleryman, or engineer.

We have only to ask some of the doctors who examine recruits in thousands to find that their eternal regret is that so many suffer from unnecessary defects, physically and mentally. And why? Simply because our sentimentality has not permitted us to give each child a chance, to give the mother the benefit of superior knowledge so that she will not automatically bear useless children in dull repetition. It is true that so long as capitalism exists there will be a need for large numbers of men, just as there is a need for large sums of money with which to hire these men. But I have reason to hope that this condition will change and business will grow normal as it was before the Civil War, and adapt itself to humanity and not expect humanity to adapt itself to capitalism.

THE ARMY IS a practical example of the need of a healthier, stronger, better equipped race. We should not neglect any opportunity to try for this end. Let us hope wars will not continue but if the human race shall still desire them as a means to settle their dull arguments, the need for legal control of birth, becomes an issue that cannot be neglected, no matter how it offends your stay-at-home moralist and parlor philosopher.

In the future the standard of the ideal soldier will become higher, more exacting. We must prepare for this condition. We cannot expect to make aviators out of weaklings and the day is not far off when wars will be partly fought in the air, if not almost entirely so. Even Wells' tiresome prophecies are beginning to sink into the conventional top-piece by this time.

One has only to spend a year in the army to see how men improve under regularity of conduct and scientific care. It makes one desire that back home the people will see to it that coming demands for men shall be satisfied not in a sloppy, haphazard fashion, but in an intelligent, scientific manner worthy of the American people. We need not go to an extreme. We need not be frightened because the idea seems new. Enough has happened in the past four years to convince us that anything is possible. Then let us sit down and consider this birth control proposition in its true light, not in the distorted fashion of the nincompoops who run our colleges and orate on economics; the jitney philosophers who turn out books each year more notable for bulk than erudition; the yelping dogs who bark at every new vehicle, that comes down the country road. If birth control will help to provide our coming armies with cleaner, better men, why not adopt it?

Only one phase of this question is considered here because of space. The military establishment of a peaceful race finds itself face to face with a large issue—it needs men of large calibre. Suppose for a fleeting instant that years ago Margaret Sanger's great task had been accomplished and we had bent our energies to the duty of decreasing useless births and the spreading of legal knowledge which would prepare mothers for the art, rather than the animal right of bearing children, how much easier it would be to select and train this vast force with which we shall eventually whip a desperate and degraded foe?

We have only to look about the streets and see the pitiful specimen of humanity masquerading as men and women to make this wish an all-consuming desire. In the army we only want healthy, brave men, why shouldn't you who stay at home crave the same thing for the same reason?

MINNESOTA REPORT

(Continued from page 6.)

want to jeopardize the passage of their bills with anything so dangerous as birth control. However, we gained much publicity and about fifty letters came by the next mail.

We then ordered about two hundred copies of the Survey, in which was Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf's article, and sent them to the legislators in an attempt to predispose them in favor of birth control, in the interest of repealing the law against it in this state.

We have in our files membership cards in the city and surrounding country to the number of two hundred and twenty-five.

We have joined the National League and paid our dues.

Our files and scrap book contain letters, data and information that is wonderfully interesting and convincing.

GRACE KELLER, Secretary,

The Minnesota State Birth Control League.

UNIVERSAL PEACE AND BIRTH CONTROL

By G. Hardy,

Editor of *Génération Consciente*, Paris

ALL THOSE WHO HAVE NO FAITH in the blessings of war and who wish to spare poor human beings a recurrence of its abominations, are seeking for effective means to make it impossible.

It is to be feared that the methods extolled, so far, by publicists, diplomats and statesmen are not calculated permanently to dry up the source of sanguinary conflicts. These methods will doubtless lead to a "durable peace"—every peace has been "durable"—but they will fail to make it perpetual and universal.

Humanity—even though it should be constituted into a society of nations—is dominated by a biological fatality, which urges it toward discords and into murderous combats; a fatality which we are apt to refuse to see or to take into consideration. It is that, nevertheless, which has made a sport for centuries of pacific good intentions and which will toy with the latter just so long as we fail to apply the sole specific capable of banishing it.

When conditions of life are too hard, the promises, engagements, conventions and treaties between countries become "scraps of paper." When overpopulation has become marked, when the disequilibrium between the resources of each nation and its population increases, when said population is no longer able to find a means of existence save by flowing over into lands often overcrowded themselves, save by crowding neighbors themselves already overcrowded and consequently ready to crowd others, then distress aggravates itself, and barbarism is unleashed. This occurs not only on geographical frontiers, but is carried far afield in quest of industrial and commercial outlets.

Desperate competition then becomes the rule; the need to exist is law. War is the result of an economic struggle grown too intense.

AT THE END OF the present cataclysm, what will treaties be composed of, but of clauses tainted—whether one wishes to admit it or not—by greed and commercialism? Each nation will try to obtain territorial advantages, raw materials for its industries, outlets for its commerce—the greatest possible latitude, in a word, for the growth and activity of its population.

Once imposed, once accepted, these treaties, duly approved perhaps by the League of Nations, will be respected by each country only so long as economic conditions remain as they were at the time of the agreement. But if population in each land becomes too great, no one of them will be able to enjoy for very long the advantages conceded. Competition will get to work, mildly at first, then progressively violently and pitilessly. There will come about quickly enough and too soon, alas! a tightening up of the life of each nation, local and general economic distress, jealousies, misunderstandings, lusts, threats and finally the explosion of latent warfare into bloody battles.

Reflect that the population of Europe was increasing before the declaration of war by more than 4,000,000 inhabitants each year. From 1870 to 1911 Europe added about 150,000,000 to its population. The initial cause of the war was extreme overpopulation (in spite of emigration) of all the European countries.

Germany is one of the most guilty nations, the most guilty perhaps from this point of view, but all the other nations of Europe—with the exception of France—have in divers degrees some reproach to level at themselves, because they all have populations which have increased too rapidly in relation to their resources and the possible growth of said resources. Each one has found itself, in order that its surplus citizens might thrive, compelled to demand a larger and ever larger place in the sun. Each one has been forced, directly or indirectly, frankly or in underhand fashion, to challenge the place occupied by others and to protect itself against the encroachments of its neighbors.

Unless after the war the growth of world population is checked, the same causes will lead to the same effects and that more rapidly than one is apt to think. For new peoples, with exaggerated powers of multiplying their numbers, are ready to enter the desperate competition. The yellow races, as a result of foresight or pressing necessity, are demanding their share in the partition of the planet.

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS, therefore, will not end the difficulty. One can even foretell that, in spite of such a society, States which are now united will drift apart if, because of the uncontrolled reproduction of their inhabitants, conditions of existence become too difficult.

It will doubtless be said that the Society of Nations will immediately bring about disarmament and the suppression of militarism, and thus the end of all war.

In that case, it will do away with one evil only to aggravate others which in their turn will restore the one originally suppressed. For overpopulation will produce abominations other than war and which will be just as bad as the last-named.

The over-abundant population will be pushed back to low water mark by repressive and extremely violent measures. Abject poverty will prevail all over the earth. Human beings will suffer from the lack of bread, the lack of leisure, the lack of love. Celibacy and prostitution will run riot. Extreme poverty will bring about the class struggle, which itself will cause—in the name of order—repressions, bloody conflicts and, under one name or another, War.

About the green cloth, the diplomats should find something better to do than to wrangle over shreds of territory, to call brute force into play, and to invoke history and antiquated treaties.

If they really want to bring happiness to mankind and

(Continued on page 10.)

OUR MORAL MINIMUM

By Lily Winner

THE ESSENCE OF moral responsibility is moral freedom. And if we are not free to do right or wrong, can there be any real virtue in right or wrong?

As creatures of habit, our habits become our individual lives, but while habit may be our bypath, custom is our great public highway. We submit to custom, not voluntarily, but through obligation. We have no choice. We are not free. A compliance with at least average moral standards is exacted by the community more compellingly and successfully than by law. Water no more surely seeks a common level than does society. It is not only *not* difficult to be decent and respectable, as these terms are usually used, but it is difficult to be otherwise. And in robbing the individual of responsibility in this way, society exacts not a maximum of morale, but a minimum.

The result is not a healthy one. "For appearances' sake," not for righteousness' sake, is the rule. Such mechanical discipline of conduct, conforming to conventional requirements along easy and usual lines, dispenses with real individuality. Popularized, stereotyped "goodness," the symbol only of petrified moral ideas long since less and devitalized by time, makes for minimum human beings instead of maximum human beings. It is this moral minimum recognized and worshipped by society that makes real progress so hard, that crucifies the great souls who have broken away from the beaten path, the level highway, into new and glorious virgin country. It is because of this moral minimum that the birth control movement must fight continually, spending resources and vitality not in education, not in giving a message, but for its very existence, for the right to live. This pitiful waste of energy, this flinging of precious strength against the dead wall of established custom, of moral inertia, is the most pernicious result of our moral minimum.

IT MAY BE ARGUED by those inveterate conservatives who can see no good in change and no evil in what that time has preserved and sanctioned, that this mechanical discipline is good and necessary because, with quicksands on every side, with strong passions and hot blood, men must be driven unwittingly and unquestioningly along the safe highway so that honor, honesty, helpfulness and public spirit may be exacted and secured from the multitude by the powerful safeguards of custom. But that which protects, also excludes; thus to save the common, imperils the uncommon; such deadly leveling makes growth. This tyrannical system makes for a race of slaves, a race of people without morality. It makes for stunted minds, elemental passions that never know refinement or spirituality, and a total absence of ideals. This sameness of rule is death to individuality.

To be genuine, a man's life must express him. It must be his graphic, though perhaps inarticulate, autobiography. It should bespeak him; flow out of his deepest innermost self, out of the core of him. It is the primary impulse of human beings to live their own lives, to let what is most characteristic in them speak through their acts. It is unnatural to do other than this, to follow conventions that are not self-approved; to imitate our fellow-men without sincerity, to follow the beaten way. O, the privilege of being ourselves, of speaking only the word that is true, of striving for ends that mean most to ourselves! Such genuineness means the development of the basic virtues of truthfulness and sincerity, and on such primary virtues, civilization can progress, and on those alone.

Society must throw aside its system mongers and set free its men and women of initiative, of vision, of independence, to work out the high, rare way for themselves and for their fellow-men. Let the new and the untried have voice and action, spontaneously and freely. Keep the common level of society constantly rising, a stream pure and vital, because it is a moving, living stream.

UNIVERSAL PEACE AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 9.)

End the cataclysms of war, let them frankly consider the source of all our ills and undertake to disseminate among the proletarians of their respective countries the means of limiting the multiplication of the species, of controlling birth!

There is no more rapid means of procuring for each individual the things necessary to a worthy, free and independent existence. There is no more certain specific for bringing about the union of peoples, no more efficacious method of creating a new humanity happy in work and happy in peace than birth control.

Do Your Bit for Birth Control

FRIENDS OF THIS movement will be pleased to learn that the New York Women's Publishing Co. has been incorporated for the express purpose of financing and directing the management of this magazine. They have issued a thousand shares of stock at ten dollars a share. It is necessary to have at least half of these shares subscribed to by June first. Each shareholder is entitled to a year's subscription to the Review and a vote in its management. Will you help? Send in for subscription blanks and solicit your friends for funds. Let us make this magazine the best and most fearless in waging the war against the ignorance, subjugation and sex enslavement of womankind.

FROM A SCRAP-BOOK

By Gertrude Boyle

The Passage of Self

ASIDE! DARE NOT retard my passage!
 Aside, ghosts, phantoms of society and law,
 Ere I walk through you,
 Ere I trample you down!
 In my being stirs the rage, the righteous wrath
 Of the mighty army of souls you have oppressed
 Down through the ages of Civilization!

WE ARE INDIVIDUAL, creative, according to how much we dare be ourselves, dare to think and act originally, to strike from the shoulder, live from the heart, the soul, the impulse; where precedent is not considered necessary, nor stupid imitation that stunts and shrivels the nature so. When one dares to be true to self, what a wonderful vista opens up—a world where everything abides by a law born from itself, all fitting into a beautiful, mosaic court of the universe!

ART—ALL FORMS: poetry, music, dancing, painting, sculpture, architecture—is but the expression of the individual coming in contact with the universal. Creative art, of course, I have reference to. Imitative art, the blind copying of another's creation, does not give this outlet to expression of individuality, and therefore is not of the same rank nor value in character building, in the satisfaction and fulfilment of the ego. Interpretative art—that that takes what already exists and recreates it, imparting a fresh vigor, touching it with the artist's personality, making us feel anew the thrill of the creator's spirit—such art, such power is of higher rank, almost equaling creative art, yet demanding different qualities of mind—a little more restriction, less of the bold freedom of creation—the direct flash of Spirit. It is more like working in reflected light, not in the burning glare of the sun, which only strong eyes can stand.

In Creative Art one is baptized with fire from heaven!

In Interpretative Art, by one of the high priests!

In Imitative Art—not at all

I truly believe that every one can be creative; if not in art in the limited sense, surely in art in the very big sense—of beauty, of truth, that which reaches out for beauty, for truth: in the art of living, the art of thinking, the art of loving, of working, of dressing, etc. How few ever give a thought to the expression of self in any of these! We get so in the habit of imitating, even to the extent of the arrangement of our hair, the manner of our walk, our talk. We forget that each one has a divine, a human right to express self, to be individual in all things. As Shakespeare said: "To thine own self be true and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not thus be false to any man." This has been my watchword in moments of indecision, and by its magic, its guidance, I have passed unmolested the guards at the imaginary posts of duty, and entered unharmed the forbidden fortress of the soul, of truth, beauty, love—life.



CONVENTIONALITY, styles and fashions, you are the great prisons of humanity incarcerating the spirit and the vigor of the race! And you, false codes of ethics and of law, the cruel jailers. Opinions, judgments, desires, joys and sorrows are manacled by you; ay, you would even dare shackle Love—ofttimes do when it is so weak, so foolish as to heed you!

The great artists are souls capable of rising above the common level of blind obedience to man-made law, insipid conformity to conventionalities, and able to chisel and hew their way through the world of things; blazing a trail through the wilderness of thought, of conflicting ideas, untrammelled emotions; who dare ignore, trample under foot, if need be, the obstacles in their way, the barriers that hold the masses back; using man-laws only when it be to their advantage to do so, boldly breaking them when they retard their progress, their passage of self, check their freedom of expression, their cosmic will to live, to be!

Education—the popular conception of it—makes no consideration for the wonderful beauty and usefulness of infinite variety. It blindly, arrogantly, ignores all that—all the profound laws of nature and of spirit, that, would we but seek to understand and abide by, could make of us a glorious, free race of beings!

O Conservatism, Conventionality, Authority!

Forever adhering to dead things, wrapt in the grave-cloth of fear;

Forever skulking through catacombs and tombs of the past, shunning the strong, wholesome sunlight of the now;

Warily creeping along some narrow way with reverted head and faltering step.

How long, O lovers of Freedom! of Progress!

Must we be shadowed by this felon-spectre, Conservatism, Cowed by the sepulchral monsters of outgrown laws?

NOTICE

We earnestly request that all outstanding bills for literature be paid and all letters and communications be directed to
 MARGARET SANGER,
 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

LETTERS FROM WOMEN

LETTER NO. 12

I WAS TOLD BY a friend to write to you in regard to birth control. We are poor people and we have only been married six years and have four children living, and I had one miscarriage. I was only married two months when I got like for my first child. My youngest baby is only six months. We love our children dearly and would not part with any of them for all the world. But, Oh, I do not want any more and if you can give me a word of advice, Oh, please do. It is all we can do to buy what wholesome food we need and buy what clothes we can, just to get along with. My husband's health is anything but good, although he works hard every day. He is a good honest man and provides the best he can. We want to give our children at least a high school education, but if we have more I am afraid we couldn't afford to raise them as they should be. I will be 26 in July and my husband was 32 in January. I hope you can give me a word of advice on birth control. Please answer at once.

I beg to remain, Mrs. L. A.

LETTER NO. 13

I HAVE READ AN article about your clinic on birth control. It has been a question in our home and I am interested enough to write to you for an answer. We are homesteading on the plains of eastern Colorado where there is no railroad nearer than 35 miles and medical aid is a long way off.

Something should be done to diminish the size of families. My nearest neighbor's wife died last Wednesday a week ago, burial was last Sunday. A family of ten children, two of which are married, is left. Married in 1893, and it is reported she died of childbirth prematurely because of overtaxing with family cares. You will be conferring a blessing by giving the system you pursue. We have three boys and a girl and have been married sixteen years on Christmas. It is not only for ourselves but for others that I desire this. We feel four is about all we are able to nurture and educate properly.

I am enclosing my prayer for your deliverance from police interference and may God reward you, for you are obeying his commands.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. J. R. W.

LETTER NO. 14

I AM A MARRIED WOMAN, age twenty-four years, have one child now ten months old. I am now behind in my regular periods.

I am unable to care properly for another baby. We are in expense now with our one. My husband is earning \$18.00 a week, we pay \$6.00 a week for our furnished room, one dollar and a half for milk, fifty cents a week for baby food, and living as economically as possible, we spend from three to three-fifty for food for ourselves which consists of dry vegetables, bread and coffee. We never have meat or fresh

fruit or vegetables, at the high cost of living now; many times we go two days at a time on only bread and coffee. We were living in an old farmhouse out on Long Island when a new buyer bought the house; he told us to vacate as soon as possible, as he was going to use the home for another purpose. That was January 29th, this year. On February 11th we had to send our furniture to storage, because we did not have the money to pay for the moving and came to this furnished room, the only respectable one we could locate at a reasonable price. We are compelled to remain here until we can get the necessary funds to cover the cost of moving and storage. My husband's blind father and aged mother who were living with me at the time had their furniture sent to storage too on account of lack of funds, he has them to look out for too; that helps to make matters worse. We do not mean to plead poverty, but I want you to know conditions and the reason why I do not want any more children until we are able to properly care for them. We are both lovers of children and are willing to raise any amount if we have their means of support. My husband is very much in favor of birth control.

I have tried to work to help out, but got run down and the doctor said I was in a very poor condition and it would require constant treatment to bring me back as I should be. I am very nervous and at times when things don't go as I expect them to and with worryment on my mind, my nerves get the best of me and I feel as though I was paralyzed. I am all in. I did not get proper treatment from the attendant during my confinement and that has quite a good deal to do with my physical condition now. I am a nervous wreck now and cannot get proper food or treatment nor care for my one baby without any more. Please let me hear from you. I do hope you can help me.

Trusting to hear from you soon, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. C. B.

LETTER NO. 15

HAVING READ OF the hundreds of poor families you are helping by your sound advice as how to control unwelcome births, I, too, am applying for your help which, if granted, will make me indebted to you for all my life.

My husband is a weaver, earning an average of 12 dollars per week. We are married four years and have given birth to three children. Conditions, physical and financial circumstances, could not possibly be worse than they are now. Have weighed 130 pounds before I married, I now weigh 98 pounds. Am sure that another birth, besides the financial ruin it will bring, will mean suicide for me. I therefore implore you, Madame, to help me, as you helped so many other women.

Hoping you will not turn me down, I am sincerely yours,

Mrs. N. B.

ELLEN KEY: A SKETCH

By Caroline Nelson

IN THE FIRST DAWN of freedom woman shaped her ideals in the masculine mold. Motherhood and home-making had been her only occupations as a slave; therefore, as a natural reaction, she turned away from them in her newly found freedom. She wanted a professional or a business career. Love and fatherhood are only incidents in the life of man; so she felt that love and motherhood should also be incidents in the life of a woman. Children should be brought up in institutions by "experts" and communal kitchens, and lodging-houses should free the woman for her "career." This was the theory of the "new" woman measuring herself with the measure of her brother.

A certain teacher in Stockholm was thinking deeply on those subjects a few decades ago. She made her home up four flights of stairs in a single room, grateful to have that much of a home, after her father had lost the family estate in the fight for political reform. That school teacher was Ellen Key. She had been brought up in a beautiful home where love and harmony ruled. Yet, her mother was a very radical woman, for her time, who loved to discuss advanced ideas, and who firmly believed that all tyrants ought to be done away with. She refused a noble title and insisted that the common designation of *housefrau* was good enough for her. When a woman seventy years ago in a little out-of-the-way country like Sweden showed such splendid moral courage, we realize that she was worthy to be the mother of the greatest living woman today. Her father, Emil Key, also gave Ellen a splendid social example by working in the Riksdag for eighteen long years to extend the governing power to the people. For years she was her father's secretary and learned the ins and outs of politics; perhaps that was why in later years she showed little interest in political reforms.

As birth controllers we believe with Francis Galton, the father of eugenics, that the making of a noble human being begins two or three generations back. We are therefore not surprised to find that Ellen Key has a long line of great and worthy ancestors. We no longer believe that the child comes into the world psychologically blank, but with an ancestral soul that potentially contains the strength or weakness of the past.

PERHAPS ELLEN KEY had this in mind when she said: "The young should be pure not for the sake of being pure, but because within their being lies the future race with all its trembling hopes." Young men have come to her and told her that she has inspired them to live pure lives by making them realize the responsibility that was theirs toward the potential child.

Naturally, Ellen Key has stood for the emancipation of women ever since she could reason; but from the experience in her childhood home she has contended that home-making and motherhood were not incompatible with woman's freedom.

Ellen Key, too, was a keen student of human nature. As a teacher she studied the boys and girls and found that psychologically there was a fundamental difference in their inherent characteristics. The boys in their leisure time would discuss anything abstractly, from the theory of heaven to that of hell, while the girls' talk invariably turned around the personal. She became more and more convinced that the straining of women for a world career, with the ideal of wifehood and motherhood submerged, was misused energy, because what they gained in clearness of perception of life they lost in warmth and depth.

This was all the more brought home to her when she became an intimate friend of Sonja Kowalewsky, the world's great woman mathematician and scientist at that time, who confided to her that she would gladly have given all her fame for a home and child, that all she had striven for had been turned to dust and ashes by the void in her heart.

But one of the characteristics of Ellen Key is that she thinks long and seriously on a problem before propounding it in public. Thus she was nearly fifty years old before she launched the philosophy that the true sphere of women is love—the love that recuperates the individual in the home in an atmosphere that woman alone can create—and the maternal love by which life alone can be perpetuated and ennobled,

Her first lecture on that subject was given in Copenhagen in 1895. It was called "Woman's Misused Energy." She showed that woman could never excel man in his sphere out in the world, anymore than he could excel her in the sphere of home-making and the mothering of the young. Of the two spheres, that of woman she held to be the most important, the most arduous, and the most life-ennobling.

HOW A STORM BROKE lose over Ellen Key's head. The suffrage women angrily denounced her as a reactionary who wanted woman to sit and wait for a man to become his drudge in the good old-fashioned way. She had become a traitress to the woman's cause. Insidious lies and slander began to circulate about Ellen Key's private life. It was said that she had two illegitimate children. The story was made possible by a young girl, who took the liberty of addressing her in a letter as "Little Mother." This epistle Ellen Key naively left open on her desk for some busybody to inspect. How could Ellen Key know so much about the erotic life, it was asked, when she had never been married?

But Ellen Key refused to retract, or to defend her personal honor; always reserved, she became a little more secluded and shy, but she admitted that she several times "saw red." The friends of Ellen Key knew that she lived the strictest and purest life. The Bohemianism that writers love to revel in, she hated. In fact she hated city life and fled from it at every opportunity; today she is spending her last years in her own home built in the forest, overlooking beautiful Lake Wetteren.

It is impossible in a short sketch of this kind to do justice either to Ellen Key or to her philosophy. But we all know that the theory that institutions can do more for children than parents can do for them in their own homes is utterly fallacious. We know that those "expert" child-trainers, which some reformers would have us believe could be turned out in institutions, have proven to be nothing more than very ordinary women seeking to make a living, who could do little more than wash and feed the children, while the latter died for want of mother love.

Does Ellen Key believe in birth control? The answer is that she has never made it a point to teach birth control directly. She has taken birth control for granted. But she does not believe in eliminating motherhood, as the professional and upper-class women often do for the sake of filling a position or to gratify social aspirations. Ellen Key realizes that the evolution of the race proceeds not according to natural instincts, but according to its own reasoning process, and that this process may be so blundering that great harm may befall it. One of the greatest possible ills is that women may be led away from motherhood.

But by motherhood Ellen Key does not mean the mere giving of birth to children. To her, motherhood should be eagerly expectant and inspiring, combined with the art of bringing the child to maturity a credit to the parents and to society. She distinctly says that motherhood does not mean the throwing of human offscum into society. Again, she says:

"Ethical may also be called Woman's Revolt against the unreasonable waste of energy, personal and social, in bringing more children to life than may be well cared for."

And this is what we birth controllers are fighting for, to be permitted to stop the demoralizing waste of the worker's lives in bringing more children to life than they can care for. This movement is surely ethical, in the highest sense of that term.

If Ellen Key had been born in America where doctors have been sent to the penitentiary for long years, for the "crime" of giving out preventives to poor women, and where nurses have been forced to flee the country for the same reason, Ellen Key would certainly have spoken for birth control. But she was born in a country where preventives and information along that line can be circulated open and given freely. Moreover, her chief in the People's Institute, Dr. Anton Nystrom, where she lectured for twenty years, spent a great deal of his time travelling up and down the land in the interest of birth control propaganda. And we have already seen how the very women who should have stood by her tried to besmirch her character without the slightest foundation.

A woman is always a mother deep down in her heart, whether married or unmarried, and she has at all time supreme right to speak of all those things pertaining to the function of motherhood. The idea that an unmarried woman must not discuss the reproduction of the race, shows how badly we need an Ellen Key—a woman who remained a lone watcher by the fireside to expound the erotic life in

its significance to the young and to the race, and who declares that she has fallen in love with love.

Vance Thompson's "Woman"

A Review

IN HIS PREFACE the writer states that he does not believe one should write at the top of one's voice, and he heeds his own advice to the extent of not shouting. But he does speak to you in the fervent, emotional tone of the revivalist, his heady enthusiasm and dauntless optimism betraying the fact that he has only recently been converted himself. There is justification, though even for an enthusiasm which leads him into the reckless assertion that women have distinguished themselves as philosophers, for under the impulse of his enthusiasm women catch an inspiring vision of themselves as human beings directing their own destinies. To make them want the open life of a sane and wholesome human being is half the battle, for women as a whole do not want it.

Dealing with the position of women today the author finds them obsessed by sex and economically dependent upon men because men have made them so; and now, having made woman "all sex," he bewails the frivolity and pettiness of the creature he has fashioned. The author rightly sees man as the sentimental sex, and it is precisely where he becomes sentimental himself that his book is weakest. Coming to the question of birth control he grows eloquent and maudlin over the babies who are not allowed to be born—"the infamy of soul-killing" he calls it, and is harried by his sentimental indignation into the absurdity of stating that the "common murderer" (as distinguished from the "Malthusian murderer") is not a murderer, because he repents before he dies.

HAVING SCORNEED statistics, he gives them to you now to prove that for every being that dies, one is born. "It is the out-breathing and in-breathing of the cosmic life," he says. "It is balanced and it is eternal. Do you think the mountebanks can stop its endless flow? That they can check it? Not even by that one life and a fraction that comes and goes with the second can they alter the eternal balance of life."

If it is a "cosmic law" which nothing can check or stop, it would seem needless to suffer any anxiety over the feeble efforts of a few human beings to change it. As a matter of fact, the author is right in saying that you cannot "alter the eternal balance of life," for if you check the birth rate, the death rate drops. With a high birth rate, we are told, there is a corresponding high death rate.

The advocates of birth control are not working arbitrarily to lessen the number of babies born. They are concerned rather that only those shall be born who can be well taken care of and given a fair chance in life, and for them the "infamy of soul-killing" is in the needless deaths of so many babies, born in circumstances where it is almost certain beforehand that they will die of neglect and starvation.—*Bianca Van Beuren.*

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TODAY

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(Continued from the last issue)

MALTHUS GOES ON TO SAY that in human beings their reason has impelled them to seek some means of escape, and that this has given rise to various restrictions which frequently produce vice and misery of another kind in place of the starvation which must attend unrestrained reproduction. To give illustrations of these various checks to population is the main object of his book. He proceeds at once, however, to show more exactly how fast population would naturally grow if food were ample, and on the other hand to estimate the possibilities of the actual increase of food.

In the Northern States of America, where the means of subsistence have been more ample, the manners of the people more pure, and the checks to early marriage fewer than in any of the modern States of Europe, the population has been found to double itself, for above a century and a half successively, in less than 25 years. Even during these periods, in some of the towns, the deaths exceeded the births, a circumstance which clearly proves that, in some parts of the country which supply this deficiency, the increase must have been much more rapid than the general average.

Sir Wm. Petty supposes a doubling possible in so short a time as ten years.

But to be perfectly sure that we are far within the truth, we will take the slowest of these rates of increase, a rate in which all concurring testimonies agree, and which has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only.

It may safely be pronounced, therefore, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio.

The rate according to which the productions of the earth may be supposed to increase, will not be so easy to determine. Of this, however, we may be perfectly certain, that the ratio of their increase in a limited territory must be of a totally different nature from the ratio of increase of population. A thousand millions are just as easily doubled every twenty-five years by the power of population as a thousand. But the food to support the increase from the greater number will by no means be obtained with the same facility.

From the accounts we have of China and Japan, it may be fairly doubted whether the best-directed efforts of human industry could double the produce of these countries even once in any number of years.

IF IT BE ALLOWED that by the best possible policy, and great encouragement to agriculture, the average produce of the island (Great Britain) could be doubled in the first twenty-five years, it will be allowing, probably, a greater increase than could with reason be expected. In the next twenty-five years, it is impossible to suppose that the produce could be quadrupled. It would be contrary to all our knowledge of the properties of land.

That we may be better able to compare the increase of population and food, let us make a supposition, which without pretending to accuracy, is clearly more favorable to the power of production in the earth than any experience we have had of its qualities will warrant.

Let us suppose that the yearly additions which might be made to the former average produce, instead of decreasing which they certainly would do, were to remain the same; and that the produce of this island might be increased every twenty-five years by a quantity equal to what it at present produces. The most enthusiastic speculator cannot suppose a greater increase than this. In a few centuries it would make every acre of land in the island like a garden.

Malthus then compares the increase of population and of food.

Taking the whole earth, instead of this island, emigrating would of course be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and subsistence, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4,096 to 13, and in two thousand years the difference would be almost incalculable.

In this supposition no limits whatever are placed to the produce of the earth. It may increase for ever and be greater

than any assignable quantity; yet still the power of population being in every period so much superior, the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the constant operation of the strong law of necessity, acting as a check upon the greater power.

So ends the first chapter, which briefly sets forth the essential points of the Malthusian doctrine, and which we have, therefore, quoted somewhat fully. In what follows we shall attempt to illustrate this doctrine as clearly as possible, and to prove its truth by modern statistical information. So far from in any way conceding anything to the critics of Malthus, we can assert that his doctrine stands today practically perfect in form and substance.

AS MOST PEOPLE seem to have found great difficulty in understanding the real meaning of Malthus's doctrine, we shall now attempt to make it as simple and definite as possible.

The root principle is, as Malthus puts it, "the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it." Or as the first Principle of the Malthusian League has it.

"Population" (unless consciously and sufficiently controlled) has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence."

Even concerning this definite statement there has been a great deal of dispute. We often hear it said that as it is impossible for people to live without food it is absurd to say that population has a "constant tendency" to increase faster than food. To say that anything has a "constant tendency" to behave in a certain manner does not in the least mean that it can do so. It only means that it has a force acting on it which continually strives to make it behave in that way. An apple hanging on a branch has a "constant tendency" to fall to the ground, i. e., there is a force continually endeavoring to make it fall. But while the stalk remains unbroken it does not fall in the least, and it might easily be pretended that there was no force or tendency to fall because it did not do so.

It is, however, of the greatest practical importance to realize this "tendency" of everything to fall to the ground, and to know how great it is, otherwise we could not design houses and bridges which would be safe.

Similarly, although population cannot increase faster than food is found to support it, the number of births or new lives brought into existence in each year (unless greatly restrained) is far greater than the increase in the harvest, so that there are always a great many more new arrivals than new rations of food. The "constant tendency" of population to increase beyond nourishment, means that if food really were ample, so that everyone who wished could marry without fear of want and have children without restraint or hardship, the increase of population would be far more rapid than it really is, where food is as a fact much less than would be needed to cope with such an increase.

The simplest possible way of looking at the matter is to consider a typical wage-earning family. When a young couple sets out in life on a wage of, say, thirty shillings a week, this is for the moment sufficient for them to purchase enough food after providing for rent and other necessities. But if they know nothing about means of prevention, they have started with their marriage an automatic tendency to increase faster than they can obtain food. In such households it is common for a new baby to arrive every eighteen months—often every year, and sometimes twins, etc.

Let us put the cost of proper food for each child as 5 shillings a week. Suppose that the woman marries at the age of 22, and that they manage their first two children on their 30 shillings a week. Then we have:

Age: 22, 23½, 25, 26½, 28, 29½, 31, 33½, 35, 36½, 38, 39½, 41, 42½, 44.

Number of children ("Population"): 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Wage required ("Subsistence"): 30s., 30s., 30s., 35s., 40s., 45s., 50s., 55s., 60s., 70s., ? ? ? ?

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL COMMENT

A SCURRILOUS ATTACK on the birth control movement, coupled with a singularly childish eagerness to capitalize the results it has accomplished, finds expression in the April issue of *The Medical Times*. The article in question is entitled "Hygienic Birth Control," and appears in the "Miscellany" department conducted by Arthur C. Jacobson, M.D. Probably, Dr. Jacobson's department is taken seriously by only a *limited number of medical fossils*. But he distorts facts so outrageously and makes a valuable suggestion from so unfair a point of view that we cannot let his article pass without comment. "Now that the Court of Appeals (New York State) has decided that birth control is not a matter for rag-tag and bobtail ministrations and administration," he writes, "it clearly behooves the reputable wing of the profession to establish clinics for hygienic birth control advice. The language in which the court's decision is framed leaves no doubt as to the propriety of scientifically informed and well intentioned physicians giving information as to birth control to selected cases. The indiscriminate dissemination of birth control information is, in the view of the court, an offense against public decency and altogether indefensible, but the distinguished jurists recognize very clearly that there are cases in which contraception is properly regarded by the existing law as a humane and justifiable practice, when applied by reputable physicians upon scientific indications." Dr. Jacobson ignores the fact that if Margaret Sanger had not opened a clinic, served thirty days in jail for doing so and then appealed to the highest courts from her conviction, the decision which settles all doubts for him would never have been rendered. "If, in view of the Court of Appeal's decision," he goes on to say, "we fail to give properly organized succor to the class of cases concerned, we shall stand convicted of neglect and stupidity, and encouragement will be given to tinkerers and disreputable practitioners to continue their crude ministrations, and to yellow, malodorous agitators to perpetuate their verbal and printed wheezings and their sickening laudations of themselves." In other words, the medical profession, which was too inert and cowardly to initiate the reform when there was danger attached to it, *is advised to take charge and monopolize the credit*. "The decent requirements of our private patients are well looked after, and they constitute at present a privileged class in respect to birth control," Dr. Jacobson admits. "On the other hand, the sexually exploited women among the poor are not properly advised and instructed. We venture to express the opinion that an endowed institution for the application of hygienic birth control to such among the poor as stand in legitimate need of it would accomplish far more practical good than any foundation now existing. Such an institution, administered by men of high standing in the profession, could exercise a wise control over undesirable parenthood as well as over

the field of purely obstetric problems. Thus our largely theoretic eugenic principles would find practical application and our social workers realize that something constructive had at last materialized." We shall welcome all the institutions and clinics that the readers of *The Medical Times* may be inspired to found. Even if administered along more conservative lines than we should advocate, they will do some good. But we protest against the argument that they are principally needed to make birth control respectable, and the inference that the Court of Appeals brushed some of the cobwebs off Section 1142 without the least prodding from agitators, "malodorous" or otherwise. We are amused at the lack of ordinary fair play from the doctors. Why, the very term, birth control, which Dr. Jacobson uses so glibly, was written into the English language by Margaret Sanger and first used by her in the columns of *The Woman Rebel* in 1914. If Dr. Jacobson is not aware of that fact, we respectfully call it to his attention.

IT IS SO MUCH more "respectable" and "proper" to put one's energies into any activity which will alleviate and temporize social evils than to face hard facts, root up old prejudices, and deal with fundamentals. The latest palliative proposed is the opening of maternity clinics in every district of New York. The aim of the clinics will be to co-ordinate the local medical and health agencies so that any mother in the district will have near her home a center where she can go for pre and post-natal care and medical advice. This, it is predicted, will ensure a material reduction in the death rate of babies and mothers. The clinics are to be under the direction of a committee of prominent women and well-known physicians. At a meeting held in this city recently there were present women physicians who, as experts on maternal and child hygiene, were especially invited to advise the committee in the conduct of the clinics, and it is a sad commentary on the professional American woman's courage that at this meeting not a voice was raised in behalf of millions of wretched, poverty-stricken women who are worn and broken in spirit and in health under the tyrannical yoke of too frequent child bearing. Such centers will at least give a splendid opportunity for this representative group to learn from the mothers themselves who visit the clinics, the tragic need of birth control among the poor. We call their attention to the opinion rendered a few months ago by the Court of Appeals in this State, in which this august body states it is not a crime or an offense for a physician to give birth control advice to women suffering from a disease or ailment. That poverty is a disease infecting with its obnoxious poisons, individuals, families and nations, no sociologist will deny. It is safe to predict that under existing conditions no number of pre-natal or maternity clinics can greatly reduce the maternal or infant mortality, unless the physicians in charge include in their instruction contraceptive information or methods of birth control.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

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THE LOVE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Written especially for The Birth Control Review

By

HAVELOCK ELLIS

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THE LOVE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

By Havelock Ellis

(Written especially for *The Birth Control Review*)

WHAT IS THE PART of woman, one is sometimes asked, in the sex act? Must it be the wife's concern in the marital embrace to sacrifice her own wishes from a sense of love and duty towards her husband? Or is the wife entitled to an equal mutual interest and joy in this act with her husband? It seems a simple problem. In so fundamental a relationship, which goes back to the beginning of sex in the dawn of life, it might appear that we could leave Nature to decide. Yet it is not so. Throughout the history of civilization, wherever we can trace the feelings and ideas which have prevailed on this matter and the resultant conduct, the problem has existed, often to produce discord, conflict and misery. The problem still exists today and with as important results as in the past.

In Nature, before the arrival of Man, it can scarcely be said, indeed, that any difficulty existed. It was taken for granted at that time that the female had both the right to her own body, and the right to a certain amount of enjoyment in the use of it. It often cost the male a serious amount of trouble—though he never failed to find it worth while—to explain to her the point where he might be allowed to come in, and to persuade her that he could contribute to her enjoyment. This is generally the case throughout Nature, before we reach Man, and, though it is not invariably obvious, we often find it even among the unlikeliest animals.

As is well known, it is most pronounced among the birds, who have in some species carried the love art—and the faithful devotion which properly accompanies the love art as being an essential part of it—to the highest point. We have here the great natural fact of courtship. Throughout Nature, wherever we meet with animals of a high type, often indeed when they are of a lowly type—provided they have not been rendered unnatural by domestication—every act of sexual union is preceded by a process of courtship. There is a sound physiological reason for this courtship, for in the act of wooing and being wooed the psychic excitement gradually generated in the brains of the two partners acts as a stimulant to arouse into full activity the mechanism which ensures sexual union and aids ultimate impregnation. Such courtship is thus a fundamental natural fact.

IT IS AS A NATURAL fact that we still find it in full development among a large number of peoples of the lower races whom we are accustomed to regard as more primitive than ourselves. New conditions, it is true, soon enter to complicate the picture presented by savage courtship. The economic element of bargaining, destined to prove so important, comes in at an early stage. And among peoples leading a violent life, and constantly fighting, it has

sometimes happened, though not always, that courtship also has been violent. This is not so frequent as was once supposed. With better knowledge it was found that the seeming brutality once thought to take the place of courtship among various peoples in a low state of culture was really itself courtship, a rough kind of play agreeable to both parties and not depriving the feminine partner of her own freedom of choice.

This was notably the case as regards so-called "marriage by capture." While this is sometimes a real capture, it is more often a mock capture; the lover perhaps pursues the beloved on horseback, but she is as fleet and as skilful as he is, cannot be captured unless she wishes to be captured, and in addition, as among the Kirghiz, she may be armed with a formidable whip; so that "marriage by capture," far from being a hardship imposed on women, is largely a concession to their modesty and a gratification of their erotic impulses. Even when the chief part of the decision rests with masculine force, courtship is still not necessarily or usually excluded, for the exhibition of force by a lover—and this is true for civilized as well as for savage women—is itself a source of pleasurable stimulation, and when that is the case the ends of courtship may be attained even more successfully by the forceful than by the humble lover.

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY, however, tended to overlay and sometimes even to suppress those fundamental natural tendencies. The position of the man as the sole and uncontested head of the family, the insistence on paternity and male descent, the accompanying economic developments and the tendency to view a woman less as a self-disposing individual than as an object of barter belonging to her father, the consequent rigidity of the marriage bond and the stern insistence on wifely fidelity—all these conditions of developing civilization, while still leaving courtship possible, diminished its significance and even abolished its necessity. Moreover, on the basis of the social, economic, and legal development thus established, new moral, spiritual, and religious forces were slowly generated, which worked on these rules of merely exterior order, and interiorized them, thus giving them power over the souls as well as over the bodies of women.

The result was that, directly and indirectly, the legal, economic, and love rights of women were all diminished. It is with the love or erotic rights only that we are here concerned.

No doubt, in its erotic aspects, as well as in its legal and economic aspects, the social order thus established was described, and in good faith, as beneficial to women, and even as maintained in their interests. Monogamy and the home, it was claimed, alike existed for the benefit and protection of women. It was not so often explained that they greatly

benefited and protected men, with, moreover, this additional advantage that while women were absolutely confined to the home, men were free to exercise their activities outside the home, even, with tacit general consent, on the erotic side.

Whatever the real benefits, and there is no occasion for questioning them, of the sexual order thus established, it becomes clear that in certain important respects it had an unnatural and repressive influence on the erotic aspect of woman's sexual life. It fostered the reproductive side of woman's sexual life, but it rendered difficult for her the satisfaction of the instinct for that courtship which is the natural preliminary of reproductive activity, an instinct even more highly developed in the female than in the male, and the more insistent because in the order of Nature the burden of maternity is preceded by the reward of pleasure.

But the marriage order which had become established led to the indirect result of banning pleasure in women, or at all events in wives. It was regarded as too dangerous, and even as degrading. The women who wanted pleasure were not considered fit for the home, but more suited to be devoted to an exclusive "life of pleasure," which soon turned out to be not their own pleasure but men's. A "life of pleasure," in that sense or in any other sense, was not what more than a small minority of women ever desired. The desire of women for courtship is not a thing by itself, and was not implanted for gratification by itself. It is naturally intertwined—and to a much greater degree than the corresponding desire in men—with her deepest personal, family, and social instincts, so that if these are desecrated and lost its charm soon fades.

THE PRACTICES AND THE ideals of this established morality were both due to men, and both were so thoroughly fashioned that they subjugated alike the actions and the feelings of women. There is no sphere which we regard as so peculiarly women's sphere as that of love. Yet there is no sphere which in civilization women have so far had so small a part in regulating. Their deepest impulses—their modesty, their maternity, their devotion, their emotional receptivity—were used, with no conscious and deliberate Machiavellism, against themselves to mould a moral world for their habitation which they would not themselves have moulded. It is not of modern creation, nor by any means due, as some have supposed, to the asceticism of Christianity, however much Christianity may have reinforced it. Indeed one may say that in course of time Christianity had an influence in weakening it, for Christianity discovered a new reservoir of tender emotion, and such emotion may be transferred, and, as a matter of fact, was transferred, from its first religious channel into erotic channels which were thereby deepened and extended, and without reference to any design of Christianity. For the ends we achieve are often by no means those which we set out to accomplish.

In ancient classic days this moral order was even more severely established than in the Middle Ages. Montaigne,

in the sixteenth century, declared that "marriage is a devout and religious relationship, the pleasures derived from it should be restrained and serious, mixed with some severity." But in this matter he was not merely expressing the Christian standpoint, but even more that of paganism, and he thoroughly agreed with the old Greek moralist that a man should approach his wife "prudently and severely" for fear of inciting her to lasciviousness; he thought that marriage was best arranged by a third party, and was inclined to think, with the ancients, that women are not fitted to make friends of. Montaigne has elsewhere spoken with insight of women's instinctive knowledge of the art and discipline of love and has pointed out how men have imposed their own ideals and rules of action on women from whom they have demanded opposite and contradictory virtues; yet, we see, he approves of this state of things and never suggests that women have any right to opinions of their own or feelings of their own when the sacred institution of marriage is in question.

MONTAIGNE REPRESENTS the more exalted aspects of the Pagan-Christian conception of morality in marriage which still largely prevails. But that conception lent itself to deductions, frankly accepted even by Montaigne himself, which were by no means exalted. "I find," said Montaigne, "that Venus, after all, is nothing more than the pleasure of discharging our vessels, just as Nature renders pleasurable the discharges from other parts." Sir Thomas More among Catholics, and Luther among Protestants, said exactly the same thing in other and even clearer words, while untold millions of husbands in Christendom down to today, whether or not they have had the wit to put their theory into a phrase, have regularly put it into practice, at all events within the consecrated pale of marriage, and treated their wives, "severely and prudently," as convenient utensils for the reception of a natural excretion.

Obviously, in this view of marriage, sexual activity was regarded as an exclusively masculine function, in the exercise of which women had merely a passive part to play. Any active participation on her side thus seemed unnecessary, and even unbecoming, finally, though only in comparatively modern times, disgusting and actually degrading. Thus Acton, who was regarded half a century ago as the chief English authority on sexual matters, declared that "happily for society" the supposition that women possess sexual feelings could be put aside as "a vile aspersion," while another medical authority of the same period stated in regard to the most simple physical sign of healthy sexual emotion that it "only happens in lascivious women."

This final triumph of the masculine ideals and rule of life was, however, only achieved slowly. It was the culmination of an elaborate process of training. At the outset men had found it impossible to speak too strongly of the "wantonness" of women. This attitude was pronounced among the ancient Greeks and prominent in their dramatists. Christianity again, which ended by making women into the



Mrs. Poor Patient:—"If you're rich, the law don't count."

chief pillars of the Church, began by regarding them as the "Gate of Hell." Again, later, when in the Middle Ages this masculine moral order approached the task of subjugating the barbarians of Northern Europe, men were horrified at the licentiousness of those northern women at whose coldness they are now shocked.

That, indeed, was, as Montaigne had seen, the central core of conflict in the rule of life imposed by men on women. Men were perpetually striving, by ways the most methodical, the most subtle, the most far-reaching, to achieve a result in women, which, when achieved, men

themselves viewed with dismay. They may be said to be moved in this sphere by two passions, the passion for virtue and the passion for vice. But it so happens that both these streams of passion have to be directed at the same fascinating object: Woman. No doubt nothing is more admirable than the skill with which women have acquired the duplicity necessary to play the two contradictory parts thus imposed upon them. But in that requirement the play of their natural reactions tended to become paralyzed, and the delicate mechanism of their instincts often disturbed.

They were forbidden, except in a few carefully eti-

quetted forms, the free play of courtship without which they could not perform their part in the love life with full satisfaction either to themselves or their partners. They were reduced to an artificial simulation of coldness or of warmth, according to the particular stage of the dominating masculine ideal of woman which their partner chanced to have reached. But that is an attitude equally unsatisfactory to themselves or to their lovers, even when the latter have not sufficient insight to see through its unreality. It is an attitude so unnatural and artificial that it inevitably tends to produce a real coldness which nothing can disguise.

It is true that women whose instincts are not perverted at the roots do not desire to be cold. Far from it. But to dispel that coldness the right atmosphere is needed, and the insight and skill of the right man. In the erotic sphere a woman asks nothing better of a man than to be lifted above her coldness, to the higher plane where there is reciprocal interest and mutual joy in the act of love. Therein her silent demand is one with Nature's. For the biological order of the world involves those claims which, in the human range, are the love rights of women.

THE SOCIAL CLAIMS of women, their economic claims, their political claims, have long been before the world. Women themselves have actively asserted them, and they are all in process of realization. The love claims of women, which are at least as fundamental, are not publicly voiced, and women themselves would be the last to assert them. It is easy to understand why that should be so. The natural and acquired qualities of women, even the qualities developed in the art of courtship, have all been utilized in building up the masculine ideal of sexual morality; it is on feminine characteristics that this masculine ideal has been based, so that women have been helpless to protest against it. Moreover, even if that were not so, to formulate such rights is to raise the question whether there so much as exists anything that can be called "love rights." The right to joy cannot be claimed in the same way as one claims the right to put a voting paper in a ballot box. A human being's love aptitudes can only be developed where the right atmosphere for them exists, and where the attitudes of both persons concerned are in harmonious sympathy. That is why the erotic rights of woman have been the last of all to be attained.

Yet today we see a change here. The change required is, it has been said, a change of attitude and a resultant change in the atmosphere in which the sexual impulses are manifested. It involves no necessary change in the external order of our marriage system; for, as has already been pointed out, it was a coincident, and not designed, part of that order. Various recent lines of tendency have converged to produce this change of attitude and of atmosphere.

In part, the men of today are far more ready than the men of former days to look upon women as their comrades in the every-day work of the world, instead of as beings who were ideally on a level above themselves and practically

on a level considerably below themselves. In part, there is the growing recognition that women have conquered many elementary human rights of which before they were deprived, and are more and more taking the position of citizens, with the same kinds of duties, privileges, and responsibilities as men. In part, also, it may be added, there is a growing diffusion among educated people of a knowledge of the primary facts of life in the two sexes, slowly dissipating and dissolving many foolish and often mischievous superstitions.

The result is that, as many competent observers have noted, the young men of today show a new attitude towards women and towards marriage, an attitude of simplicity and frankness, a desire for mutual confidence, a readiness to discuss difficulties, an appeal to understand and to be understood. Such an attitude, which had hitherto been hard to attain, at once creates the atmosphere in which alone the free spontaneous erotic activities of women can breathe and live.

This consummation, we have seen, may be regarded as the attainment of certain rights, the corollary of other rights in the social field which women are slowly achieving as human beings on the same human level as men. It opens to women, on whom is always laid the chief burden of sex, the right to the joy and exaltation of sex, to the uplifting of the soul which, when the right conditions are fulfilled, is the outcome of the intimate approach and union of two human beings. Yet while we may find convenient so to formulate it, we need to remember that that is only a fashion of speech, for there are no rights in Nature. If we take a broader sweep, what we may choose to call an erotic right, is simply the perfect poise of the conflicting forces of life, the rhythmic harmony in which generation is achieved with the highest degree of perfection compatible with the make of the world.

It is our part to transform Nature's large conception into our own smaller organic mould, not otherwise than the plants, to whom we are far back akin, who dig their flexible roots deep into the moist and fruitful earth, and so are able to lift up glorious heads towards the sky.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

To the Little Unfortunates

By Gertrude Boyle

BORN MID the turmoil and the noise,
 Cradled in foulest tenement,
 Hushed by the onrush of the "L,"
 Rocked by the jolting on cobble and surface-rail,
 Nursed on fumes from "Sub" and curb,
 Fed on the refuse of the rich,—
 Poor little cripples of this grinding town!
 O would that Progress on its pompous march
 Might stamp the struggling spark entire out!
 E'en better, that bold Science, kind-smother it
 Ere blind Nature nurse it into human flame!

FEAR AND THE FUTURE RACE

By Maude Durand Edgren

IT IS NO LONGER the fashion to preach the devil, hell and damnation at our up-to-date religious gatherings. But all so-called new departures in devotional teaching seem to agree in ascribing to the small word, "fear," all the evil powers and potentialities formerly ascribed to his satanic majesty.

Professor James classes fear as one of the three most powerful emotions which the human being is capable of experiencing, the other two being lust and anger. When we stop to think that emotion is the incentive to action, we find fear, then, to be one of the most important agents in human activity or behavior. Fear comes to man through a long inheritance, back through human and animal experiences. Human beings probably never feel fear to the extent that their wild ancestors did in their long struggle for existence where only the fittest survived. Progress along the evolutionary path from mineral to man and beyond is marked by decreasing numbers of real causes for fear.

It has been said that all our institutions are the outgrowth of fear, fear causing individuals to band together for mutual protection. The state was developed for political protection and the protection of property. The church was developed for protection from unknown and unseen, but nevertheless dreaded, powers. Thus we see that even religion itself becomes a product of fear. Fear of the supernatural is probably the most uncanny emotion we can entertain. What one of us but would hold his breath and feel icy chills run up and down his spine if the chair he had been sitting on suddenly began to wriggle from under him and saunter gracefully out of the room?

FEAR CANNOT BE defined any more than can electricity, which it resembles in many ways. It is a force, a power, a cause, the effects of which are plainly seen. Again, just as there is a positive and negative pole to a current of electricity, so there is a positive and negative pole to the force we call fear. What we call fear is the negative pole of current, the other pole of which is called faith. We might picture in our minds a magnet with its positive pole named faith and its negative pole named fear and we get a rather definite idea of how this tremendous force operates. Faith, we are told, can move mountains. If one pole of our magnet can move mountains, what must be the terrible potency of the opposite pole!

It is much more difficult for mortals to operate the faith end of the magnet than the fear end. Why? Because of inherited habits of fearing. Practically all of our ancestors both animal and human have been victims of fear. It has been one of the prominent factors in our evolution. We know how much easier it is to tread the old beaten paths of custom than to forge new ones for ourselves. But it is just this forging ahead and substituting faith for fear that makes the individual stand out from the mass. He begins to attract conditions to himself through faith instead of being at the

mercy of his fears. Progress is made as faith increases and fears disappear; in other words, as fear is transmuted into faith.

There are other powerful emotions beside fear. We have mentioned lust and anger; we should not forget hate. Just as the proverbial dark cloud has its silver lining, so have all these dire emotions their positive side. Opposite hate we have love, opposite lust the desire for purity; opposite anger or warring, we have the desire for peace. These emotions should be transmuted into their opposites, never denied.

It is impossible to deal with a subject like fear without considering the two sides of our existence, the outside and the inside, the objective and the subjective. The objective is always before us like the foreground in a landscape, looming large in the perspective of our attention. We make a great mistake if we consider this side more important than the inner or subjective side. The two are related, as effect to cause.

ONE OF THE BEST illustrations of this is to be found in our photo dramas or moving pictures. We see a story depicted on the screen and follow with more or less interest our shadow hero or heroine. They represent the objective side of life. The subjective side is represented by the scenario writer, director and actors themselves who cause the picture. You say to yourself: "The camera has something to do with it." Indeed it has, it is the instrument through which the subjective becomes objective. Our emotions do the same for us.

We ourselves are the actors in our life drama. We cause the pictures we make on the objective screen of life to be beautiful or ugly. We may have very beautiful ideals subjectively, but unless we know how to behave before the camera we may produce a most distressing picture.

We know that the screen in a cinema theater is two-dimensional; it has length and breadth. We also know that the actors and scenery in the picture were taken from objects having length, breadth and thickness. In other words, on the screen we see a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional occurrence. Our objective existence is three-dimensional. Everything in the world about us that impresses the five senses has three dimensions. We are continually making a three-dimensional moving picture; but in reality we are more than the objective representation of ourselves that we see daily. We are four-dimensional beings projecting our three-dimensional objectivity on the screen of life. To get in touch with our four-dimensional existence we must become subjective. We can now begin to see how vastly more we are subjectively than we can possibly be objectively. The faith-fear force is one of the means at our disposal of bringing into objectivity a portion of the abundant subjective supply. How often we hear, "Nothing succeeds like success!" The successful individual

(Continued on Page 15)

The Only Way Out

DR. PARKER WAS bitterly opposed to birth control. Early one morning he was sitting in his office reading a discussion on the subject when his mail arrived. Opening the first letter he read:

Dear Sir:—

Yesterday I escaped from an insane asylum and when this reaches you I shall be beyond capture. But before I go I want to plead with you to use your influence for birth control. You attended my wife during several confinements and will perhaps remember me.

When I was thirty years old, I was married to a sweet girl of twenty. In less than a year, a little son was born to us. My wife loved children and was delighted. Fourteen months later a little daughter came. We welcomed her also, but regretted that she had come so soon for the boy couldn't walk yet. A year and a half later another daughter arrived. In another year a little son was added. My wife began to plead for continence or some preventive. I could see that her strength was failing, but two more babies followed in quick succession.

About this time my health failed and I was unable to continue at my regular work and was often without employment or income for months. Although my wife was a splendid manager we were compelled to run into debt and this worried her almost to distraction, and she went without proper food and clothing to avoid deeper debt. Then she began to have serious trouble with one of her limbs and often wished for help about the house but we couldn't afford to hire any.

She had a pleasant, cheerful nature, but during her seventh pregnancy she became very morose, scarcely speaking for days, and often I found her in tears. When our seventh child was six months old she told me she was pregnant again, and the thought of bearing and caring for another child was unendurable. I tried to comfort her but gloom hung heavily over her for a week. One evening I came home and found her and the children prettily dressed and the table set for a festive occasion. The children were allowed to sit up late and we passed a delightful evening together. My wife was so sweet and like her usual self that I concluded she had become reconciled to her condition, consequently I was wholly unprepared for what followed.

When I came home the next night the house was shrouded in darkness. There was always a light and someone to open the door and call a greeting as soon as I stepped on the porch, so the darkness and silence puzzled me. I entered the dark, quiet kitchen, struck a light and carried it to the dining room. The whole family was seated at the table with heads bowed before them. Thinking they were playing a joke on me, I said, "Boo! what kind of a game is this?" Nothing but silence greeted me and a deadly chill struck my heart. I called frantically to my wife, rushed to her side and touched her hand—it was cold and stiff. Pinned to the table cloth I found the enclosed note.

Dear Charles:—

Forgive me if you can. I intended to go alone, but at the last minute decided to take the children with me; it is better so. I could not bear again the weeks of awful nausea and the following months of weariness when I must drag myself about my work and often leave it undone. And the thought of caring for another little one without any comforts for it or myself is unendurable. The crying of the last two little ones filled me with unspeakable fury and I have had to struggle over and over again to keep from laying violent hands on them. If I knew this would be the last time I would perhaps be reconciled, but as you know there are still a number of child-bearing years before me, and this is the only way out.

Lovingly yours in death as in life,

Anna.

I must have gone quite mad then, for I remember nothing until I found myself several weeks later in the asylum where I have been for two years.

Again I plead with you, for the sake of weary overburdened mothers, for the sake of tiny mortals already born, and others yet unborn, and who should never be born, and for the sake of men who love their wives and would save them and their children from unnecessary hardships, use your influence for birth control.

Yours in deep sorrow,

Charles Scribner.

"Well," muttered Dr. Parker to himself, "I think this is a very extreme case."

Stella M. Bogue.



"Hey, you! Can't you realize that we need quality, not quantity?"

Two Books by Margaret Sanger

"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"

and

"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"

Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.

A PAGE OF FRIENDLY CRITICISM

MY DEAR MARGARET SANGER:

I have followed your career with interest, admiring your courage, respecting your sincerity. To a degree you have had my sympathy, tempered by the feeling that you were not always wise and that you exaggerated the importance of your cult. But this is usual and, perhaps, inevitable with enthusiasts. They look at their one fact through a microscope and are hardly aware of the existence of the great world outside the field of their lens.

I do not agree with you in the supreme importance you seem to attribute to birth control. Nature herself is a pretty good guide as to what is of first importance, and it is significant, is it not, that Nature has made birth instinctive and almost inevitable and has not furnished instinctive knowledge of birth control? Whatever we may think of the Great War, the need of children after it will be world-wide and tremendous, and this without any reference to "cannon-fodder." But the need was great before. Vast areas of the earth's surface, capable of sustaining a teeming population, were practically uninhabited, or scantily inhabited, and the birth-rate in many of the countries boasting the highest civilization, was declining, allowing the inferior types everywhere to outbreed the superior.

As I see the world, every human being is potentially an asset to the race, potentially a joy to himself and a means of genius, wealth and power to all. If it is not so, it is because the conditions are not right, and the setting right of these conditions "is the greatest humane work known today."

The democratization of all the nations on earth; universal woman suffrage; universal adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall; collective ownership of all the means of life, production and distribution; universal free trade, a league of nations to prevent conquest, establish international law and settle international disputes; universal co-operation to exploit the undeveloped resources of the earth and seas, destroy disease, drain marshes, irrigate deserts, terrace mountains, build sea-walls, create islands, etc.; these and many, many more things of a like sort, are vastly more important than birth control, for all of them would create a demand and an opportunity for more children, for both the spiritual and material expansion of the race. A greater passion for social service, a more eager and sensitive social conscience, a humane and scientifically organized system of universal co-operation—these are the supreme needs.

THE GREAT WEAKNESS of your cult is that, like anarchism, it is negative, it is more a stopping of doing than a doing. In many places the human race is in sore need of liberty, yes; but in many more places it is in still greater need of a socially-conscious, wisely administered discipline. Just so there is a real need of the universal knowledge of birth control, and with many individuals a real need of its application; but the greater need is that the race should take for its slogan "More and better children," instead of "Fewer and better children"—should make motherhood a specially trained and most honored profession, surrounded with all

social support and assistance, and by improved conditions and special training should transform as many as possible of the unfit into the fit.

Birth control has its place in the social armamentaria, but I would much more eagerly subscribe to a cult of eugenics and fecundity than to one of race-lessening, if not race-suicide.

You will probably deny that your cult has any leaning toward race-suicide, but observation anywhere shows an overwhelming tendency among women of beauty, culture, ability and wealth—the very ones who should be the mothers of the superior race—to avoid motherhood wholly or in part. Among such women the knowledge of birth control has been a positive evil, for it has certainly been abused by them for selfish ends. And the women who do need birth control, the diseased, drunken, degenerate, irresponsible ones, are the ones least likely of any to use it.

I WOULD NOT DENY a knowledge of birth control to any (though I think a knowledge of it in some form is possessed by most intelligent women today, for knowledge of that kind permeates far and wide beneath the surface;) but if with this knowledge your cult was endeavoring to create a passion for superb, fecund motherhood among the higher types of woman, and a sensitive conscience of refusal among the unfit, it would much more appeal to my heart and brain.

Personally, the kind of birth control I consider ideal is that for which, many years ago, I created the word "magnetation," that which the Oneida Communists called "male continence" and Dr. Stockham named "Karezza." The whole array of "contraceptives," usually so called, are open to serious if not fatal objections. All are likely to injure the sensitive organs of the woman and shock her nervous system; all undependable and treacherously unsafe for the purpose designed; and all hideously interfere with the poetry and romance of the relation.

And now, having gotten this off my chest, and preached to you to my heart's content, I am enclosing a dollar, the worth of which you may send me in your magazine. Stop when the purchasing power is exhausted, for I do not promise to subscribe indefinitely.

Hoping that all laws which hinder you may be repealed,

J. WILLIAM LLOYD,
Westfield, N. J.

(Of course, we do not share Mr. Lloyd's point of view. But his letter has the rare virtue of being friendly and constructive criticism. We gladly print it and invite our readers to send in answers for publication in future issues. We believe Mr. Lloyd to be in error when he states that contraceptives are "all undependable and treacherously unsafe." But then he falls into a host of other errors, and we look to our supporters to detect these and plunge into the fray in support of birth control as the most important of modern social movements.—Editors.)

Thoughts in War-Time

By J. Rutgers, M. D.

THE INHABITANTS OF HOLLAND and other European countries have been placed on war rations. The authorities control the necessities of life. But, in my opinion, the first thing that every family should restrict is the number of its offspring. If it is a crime in ordinary times to have more children than one can decently bring up, it is now doubly reprehensible. The large family demands an extravagant share of the dwindling supplies of the nation.

We must think of the future, too. It is probably our first duty to provide really efficient soldiers to fight the coming battles of democracy. True democracy depends upon the people thinking for themselves. Autocracy, imperialism and militarism want crude numbers, on the theory that the greater the general misery the more complete the subjection of the masses. So long as the proletariat breeds blindly, so long will it be lacking in resistance and self-respect.

The best guarantee of democracy is the happiness of the family, the free development of every individual born into the world. This result can only be achieved if the number of children is limited. Birth control is not merely advantageous in special cases; it is indispensable.

I AM FREQUENTLY ASKED: How is it that the United States is so backward in sex-consciousness and in rational breeding? I reply that that country is doing its best to catch up to us. Holland is an old nation and one of the first in Europe to have some conception of public welfare. From the earliest times the soil was cultivated. The land was divided up into innumerable small estates, and not an acre was allowed to lie idle. The cities which arose became more and more crowded. Finally, we felt the need of more space. We wanted comforts for ourselves. For our children we demanded sunny homes, and an up-to-date education which would insure them a proper start in life. This was only possible if we practised the sort of parental prudence which would save us from having too many children. We embraced the idea and it is now perfectly familiar to us.

The United States of America is a new country. It was populated by a selection of particularly energetic emigrants from Europe. Its vast territory is not yet fully cultivated, but the nation is growing fast and is now the richest in the world. So the time is coming when America will also be overcrowded. The people will cry for space. Birth control will be accepted as a necessity and will become the general rule. Even statesmen will eventually fall in line, and, perhaps, regret the fact that they were not more farseeing in their younger days.

The Hague, Holland.

Society can overlook murder, adultery or swindling; it never forgives the preaching of a new gospel.—*Frederick Harrison.*

Governor Brumbaugh's Veto

REACTIONARY FORCES last year put through the Pennsylvania legislature an anti-birth control law, but it was vetoed by the Governor in the following terms:

“Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
“Executive Chamber,

“Harrisburg, July 16, 1917.

“I file herewith, in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, with my objections, House bill No. 1643, entitled ‘An act forbidding the advertising, publishing, selling, distribution, or otherwise disseminating or imparting, or attempting to disseminate or impart, knowledge or information tending to interfere with or diminish the birth of human beings in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; defining it as a misdemeanor, and providing for its punishment.’

“The bill forbids the publishing or otherwise disseminating of any information by anybody concerning birth control in this Commonwealth. The existing laws judiciously concern themselves with this matter. This bill does not. It is by far the most drastic bill in regard to birth control in this country. It is, by like token, one of the most reactionary enactments attempted in years.

“The popular mind is filled—if I may judge this mind from many telegrams and letters before me—with all sorts of misconceptions concerning the provisions of this bill. It is not a bill to regulate the size of families, but an attempt to prevent any one from doing anything ‘to interfere with or diminish the birth of human beings in this Commonwealth.’ Just how any one could diminish birth is not made manifest. The language is viciously vague and indefinite in the extreme. The bill might be construed to punish those that oppose the marriage of the insane or feeble-minded. Indeed, the Commonwealth’s own acts in segregating these unfortunates in institutions like Laurelton would come under the penalties of this bill. It is, in other words, counter to the whole current of modern social endeavor, and, as has been pointed out, could be made a convenient club for the blackmailer. It would deny a physician the duty, in defined cases, of advising his patient. It would seal the lips of mothers and fathers in counselling their children. It is an attempt to do by legislation what should be done by education. It would be a law more honored in its breach than in its observance. It is impracticable and unenforceable.

“For these reasons this bill is not approved.

“Martin G. Brumbaugh.”

Woman of the Street

By Gertrude Boyle.

WOMAN OF the Street,
I stretch my hand to thee,—
Poor, dumb sister,
With no voice to utter the deep wrong
Mal-brewed laws inflict upon thee
And thy ill-starred offspring!

THE TOLL OF CHILD LIFE

BLOOD SEEMS TO BE the sympathy-producing liquid, and the sight of it gives rise to more emotion in the hearts of human beings than death itself. The proof of this has been made public by G. E. Earnshaw of Chicago, writing in the "Infants' Department." Earnshaw, through the published figures of war casualties and those from infant mortality records, shows that whereas the death rate of soldiers is 2 per cent, that of babies is 14! He does not go into the conditions which surround the child, the large family menace, inability of mothers of the working class properly to care for the infant because of eight or nine other children who must also be constantly attended, but from his statement it is easy to deduce why people will protest the destruction of war and never turn a hair at the astounding slaughter of infants in their cradles. He writes:

"Let us compare the losses. In a statement recently made public, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, says: 'Up to June 1 the losses of the British expeditionary forces from deaths in action and deaths from wounds were about 7 per cent of the total of all the men sent to France since the beginning of the war.' The war began three years ago, hence this total loss of 7 per cent 'since the beginning of the war' means a yearly loss of but little more than 2 per cent.

"The accuracy of this statement is strikingly confirmed by the published statement of an English insurance company—the London Prudential—which shows that out of a total of two million British soldiers insured, the losses during the present war have amounted to 30 per 1,000 per annum; but since the deaths in times of peace among men of the same age amount to 10 per 1,000 per annum, we must deduct the normal mortality (10 per 1,000) from the war-losses (30 per 1,000), leaving war responsible for only twenty deaths a year in each group of 1,000 men in service. Twenty deaths per 1,000 is two deaths per 100, or 2 per cent, as stated by Secretary Baker. This is the toll of war.

"Let us see now what happens in the nurseries. Out of every seven babies born one dies before it is a year old. One in seven is more than 14 in the hundred. So the soldier braving disease and death in the camp and on the battle-field has a seven times better chance than the new-born baby.

"Out of 2,500,000 babies born every year in the United States more than 350,000 die before they are a year old. Of the same number of soldiers only 50,000 will die in a year as a result of their exposure to the risks of war.

"Terrible as is the toll of life exacted by war the losses suffered by our infant population through improper foods and clothing, the ignorance of midwives, and—alas!—of mothers also, is yet more terrible. To our shame be it said that our soldiers on the field of battle are safer than our infants in their cradles.

"It is not possible, of course, to save the life of every little one that is born; but infant-welfare experts estimate that at least 50 per cent of the deaths are preventable. This is proved by the fact that in other countries the death-rate in

the first year of life has been reduced to less than half the death-rate in the United States. Also, by the fact that in certain cities in the United States infant mortality has been reduced to a point that is less than half the average for the whole country."

Mr. Earnshaw leaves it to his readers to reach a conclusion upon this parallel. And he brings home, unwittingly perhaps, one of the strongest arguments for voluntary motherhood, the argument to save the baby before conception in order to give those already born a more equal chance for life.—*Louis Weitzenkorn.*

Small Families and The Bible

IDEAS IN REGARD to the size of families are changing(and probably rightly so); to quote from a modern writer: "Two or three children are a necessary part of every good woman's education"; when not so long ago a dozen or more were not considered too many. The world moves. We are apt to think, with Matthew Arnold's British Philistine, "That it is only necessary to present ourselves before the Great White Throne with our twelve children, our big family (anything big is so impressive), to be received among the sheep as a matter of right." Where have we gotten this idea? From the Jews, I suspect, who wished large families, because among their children might be the expected Messiah.

But if we read their history we find that it was the child of promise long deferred, often the only offspring, who was most useful. Isaac, in whose seed all the nations were to be blessed, was an only child, born after long years of preparation. Sarah, his mother, a beautiful talented woman whose council was highly valued. Isaac's only children were twins—Jacob (the father of all Israel) and Esau—and Isaac's wife, Rebecca, was of a lovely character. Joseph, the child of Rachel ("whom Jacob loved"), was born late in her life, and she had but one other child. Jacob's affection for Joseph was the cause of jealousy among his brothers; and we know from his Egyptian experiences what a remarkable person he was.

Sampson, also, was a child of promise. Samuel, who judged Israel forty years, and of whom the people proclaimed that he had never wronged anyone, was an only child, born after years of prayer and supplication on the part of Hannah, his mother, who was herself a remarkable woman, and whose husband appreciated and loved her greatly, asking her, "Am I not more to thee than ten sons?" The child of the Shunamite woman (than whom no stronger character is portrayed in the Bible) was the only one and long delayed. What strength and decision was hers, and with what spiritual insight she recognized the Prophet in Elisha, and ministered to him with all faith, receiving help from him in return. John the Baptist was also an only child, and his parents were well along in years when he was born. By the Roman Catholics, Jesus himself is said to be Mary's only child.—*Jessie Thomas Knapp.*

The Birth Control Conference

A TWO-DAY CONFERENCE of the birth control groups of the Eastern states was recently held at the headquarters of the National Birth Control League, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Delegates and letters came from Boston, Philadelphia, Syracuse, Buffalo, Washington, D. C., Indianapolis, and Chicago.

No one listening to the discussion could doubt the virility of the movement. Indeed, knowledge of Birth Control is more acutely needed now than ever before.

The Conference emphasized the necessity of intentional family limitation because the lowering of the birth rate has always resulted in a more than proportionate lowering of the general death rate.

The most serious obstacle to progress is the ignorance of health officials and many physicians, who have not yet learned that a lowered birth rate results in an even more lowered death rate. It is forgivable if the people do not know this truth, for it has never had wide publicity. But it is unforgivable for physicians, health officials, and university professors whose business it is to study the basic necessities of health, to be so completely uninformed. The prize ignorant letters recently received by the National League are from Dr. John S. Fulton, Secretary of the Maryland State Health Department, who declares that "the aim of the National Birth Control League, however well-intended, is not that of Nature, Country, God, or Truth," and that "nowhere in religion, science, state-craft will an authoritative voice be raised for the National Birth Control League, that is to say for race murder."

More literature was the emphatic demand of the Conference. The two most popular leaflets are one giving reasons for urging birth control in war-time, and the one called "The Figures Prove It," giving the birth and death rates of some of the larger countries, showing the contrast between these with and without easily available contraceptive knowledge.

Among the new publications planned by the Conference was a leaflet on Birth Control as a health measure, another was a collection of typical letters received from parents in need of information.

A special edition of Drysdale's "Small Family System," usually sold for \$1.50, is offered to members of the League for 65 cents.

The conference gave a hearty welcome to Mrs. Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Review. The Review is not officially the organ of the National League, but five members of the Executive Committee are also directors of the Review.

One of the members of the National Executive Committee, Mrs. Lillian R. Sire, president of the Society for the Aid of Mental Defectives, associated with the Post Graduate Hospital, spoke at the conference urging the necessity of birth control information for defectives who

are capable of understanding the use of contraceptives but who cannot be the parents of normal children.

The Conference voted that a similar larger meeting should be called in Chicago probably in the autumn.

MARY WARE DENNETT, Secretary.

Observations of a Nurse

OF 289 WHITE MOTHERS examined by the social service department of a university dispensary, 49 had induced from 2 to 8 abortions apiece previous to the present pregnancy. Of these 49 women, 7 were of Jewish faith, 20 Catholic, and 22 Protestants. Among the 253 colored patients, 14 had induced abortions.

From these figures it will be seen that more than one-tenth of the patients applying at the clinic try to avoid carrying babies. In many cases their motive in going to the clinic is to find out whether they are pregnant, and when the birth is due, so that they can induce abortion. This makes the work in the department very difficult in the way of reducing the infant mortality, as no matter how hard the nurse may work she cannot present a report without miscarriages and abortions.

From the experiences of the worker, it was found that most of the miscarriages were induced by doctors; a very small number were done by midwives. There is only a nominal fee—\$5 to \$25—for this service.

When the nurse calls to find out why the patient did not return to the clinic she is met with a smiling face. The patient says, "Thank the Lord, I have been relieved." The doctor took the risk and induced a four months' miscarriage. She is very much astonished when it is explained to her that she and not the doctor took the risk as it might have cost her her life, and that she would probably realize the effects of it in the future.

One patient, only 21 years of age, induced 8 abortions between 6th and 8th week of pregnancy; with present pregnancy she had a hard time to carry to full term as her uterus was so badly affected from the abortions previously induced.

Clara Taylor.



LETTERS FROM WOMEN

LETTER NO. 16

I WANT TO TELL you a little about myself my average weight is 90 lbs. but since my last three children were born I never reach more than 80 or 83. We have had four children the oldest was with her father out and got hurt so nothing could save her, that was 14 days after my third baby was born. So you see it was pretty hard. I have never felt well since. I have nursed all my children as long as I could. I will tell you how close together they are. My girl was 4 years the 9th of April, a boy will be 3 the 22nd of November, the youngest boy will be 2 the 11th of December. The one was only a few days over a year when the other came. I am never sick or notice anything till I am about 4 months along then my legs ache both night and day so I am hardly able to walk or lift the children I have. The last 4 and 5 weeks if I am alone, I don't dare to sit down if I did I wouldn't be able to get up, if a child should fall and hurt itself my back and legs refuse to get up without help. I nearly always had my time when the baby was 9 months old but this time I never had them till in February and had them 3 times. I always feel tired and worn out. Do you suppose it could be that I am not regular or can it be that I am caught again. I can't be a month along as yet. Do you not think if it is, an abortion is justifiable in my case. They will never be necessary in my case again as my husband is in the same will about it as I. My mother was a small woman not as small as I. I am a twin. I was not full grown when I was born. I weighed 2 lbs. They kept me wrapped up in cotton with hot flat irons around me. My sister was full grown but did not live. My mother had fourteen children the last four or five were too weak to live. We are 8 living, six boys, 2 girls. Why is it right to have so many and not have them so they are able to live. If you should doubt what I have written isn't true, write to my sister, Mrs. J. L. She is the one that asked you to send your pamphlet to me. She has children when she wants. If you can send us anything no matter what price please do so. I am nervous and wakeful in the night.

Yours truly,

Mrs. L. E. J.

LETTER NO. 17

I HAVE READ SOME of your books and have heard people speak of you, and now I am going to ask you for a little advice or help, please. I am just 22, I have been married 6 years, I have three children, the oldest is five years old and my baby is 11 months old. My husband has tuberculosis and has been to the state sanatorium and as yet can keep his business going. My husband's parents are dead and we had to take their children three of them not large enough to work for themselves, and the other to pay board. There is five of them and five of us with baby making ten in family and I have to do all the cooking, house-work and sewing for all and my baby to attend to also. I am

telling you this so you won't think I am foolish for writing you, still I think I go crazy thinking about everything. Now, what I want to tell you is I have missed my monthly sickness once and I am afraid I am pregnant as I never miss unless I am. I don't know how it happened as I've been careful since my husband has been sick. I have taken laxatives and quinine and it has failed. I have been to my family doctor, and he knowing how it is with me refused to help me. I would pay you whatever you charge and keep quiet about it, and be so much obliged to you. If you can help me any or can't please answer this so I won't be writing and bothering you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. C. M. C.

LETTER NO. 18

I KNOW HOW MUCH some people need your advice, I would like to help the cause. I am a coal miner's wife. We have five children, so I think you will readily see how badly I need your advice, and many families are far worse, because the men do not earn quite as much as my husband. Still we have to economize. He is earning over 100 dollars a month, but everything is so dear, it's hardly sufficient, and I would like to see my children have some education, but if we get some more it will be impossible. I believe in having less and have them better. I know of families where there are 9 and 10 children and as soon as they are 16 years old are sent in the mine. It is absolutely necessary, because they need so much, and the earning of the father is not sufficient.

I am heart and soul with you, in your endeavor to let people have more joy out of life, not only misery. I am,

Yours very truly,

Mrs. J. B.

LETTER NO. 19

I HAVE BEEN married eighteen years and during that time I have had ten miscarriages, seven living children and three dead. Have always been in poor health and at the present am five months pregnant. Have been in bed the same length of time and will not be able to leave it until all is over. Now I have been to a number of doctors and all the information am able to get, is never to have any more children, as I can never stand it, or live through it, and also it would be a crime, but such advice has never helped me.

So if you will kindly advise me which book or books would be best for me. I never want to be this way again, as I suffer terribly all the time and my children cannot have the proper care or health.

My husband is a day laborer, and our living and finances are very limited and I would like very much for you to tell me just what books I shall get on birth control, and by so doing you will greatly oblige.

Mrs. B. P.

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TODAY

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(Continued from the last issue)

NOW IT IS COMMON knowledge that in all but a very small minority of cases the wages of a family do not increase at anything like this rate, and if there were no other help a considerable number of the children would succumb, as commonly happens, from insufficient nourishment or from diseases which it renders them incapable of resisting. The "constant tendency to increase" is the tendency for children to arrive whether food is ready for them or not; and although the wages or subsistence have not increased sufficiently, and the numbers have therefore died down to equality with them, there is no doubt in the mind of any intelligent married couple that population in their family has been attempting to increase beyond the means of subsistence, and that terrible misery has been caused by it.

Now what Malthus did in his Essay was to do for the nation or the world what we have just done for the family. He asked himself two questions. (1) How fast would the population of a country increase if there were no checks on it? (2) How fast can we reasonably expect to be able to increase food? This led him to put forward his famous Ratios, which have been so much criticised.

How fast would unchecked population increase? There are three ways of arriving at an estimate of this: (a) to consider the rate of increase of a family as we have done above; (b) to find out the rate at which population has actually increased in new fertile countries; (c) to consider how many births and deaths would naturally occur in such a country, from records of actual birth and death-rates.

Before doing this, however, there is another very important point. How should it increase? Should it increase steadily by an equal amount each year, or should it get faster or slower as time goes on?

Consider a sum of money invested in a bank paying say four per cent interest. If there is 100 pounds invested at first, there will be 4 pounds interest at the end of the year, and if this is kept the owner will have 104 pounds. Next year there will be another 4 pounds interest, making 108 pounds total, and so on, the total increasing every year by 4 pounds. This is a steady increase, or what is called an arithmetical progression, the importance of which will be seen in a moment. At the above rate, in twenty-five years there will be 25 times 4 = 100 pounds of interest, and the original 100 pounds will have doubled to 200 pounds, in fifty years it will be 300 pounds, and in a century 500 pounds.

But now suppose that instead of keeping the interest it is put into the bank every year to be added to what is there. This makes an enormous difference. The first year there would be 4 pounds of interest on the 100 pounds as before, but the next year there would be four per cent on 104 pounds = 4 pounds 3s. 2d., and each year the interest would be greater and greater, so that the total would increase faster and faster. It can be shown that the 100 pounds would have doubled to 200 pounds in about seventeen and a half years, and in the next seventeen and a half years it would again double to 400 pounds, in seventeen and a half years more another doubling to 800 pounds and so on, so that it would become about fifty times as great or 5,000 pounds in a single century. This is called a "compound interest" or geometrical progression, and in the case we have taken it means that the increase in a century is fifty-fold, or ten times as great as with the same rate of interest at an "arithmetical" progression.

Now, it is pretty clear that population must increase in one or other of these ways. Starting with a hundred people of ordinarily distributed ages on an island, there will be a certain number of births and deaths each year, forming the increase or "interest," and if this increase were added each year without in their turn swelling the increase there would be an equal number of additions in each successive year, so that if it was a four per cent increase, the population would increase exactly like the sum of money at simple interest considered above.

BUT IT IS OBVIOUS that the second, or "compound interest," rule is the true one for population if there is no emigration (i. e., withdrawing from the population bank). The excess of population, or "interest," of each year is added to the existing population, and in its turn becomes a source of

new increase.* If the birth-rate (the number of births per thousand of the population) and the death-rate (deaths per thousand of population) remain steady, as they obviously should do in a long settled country, this means a constant percentage rate of increase, and a total increase in a "geometrical progression." If the birth rate is 50 and death rate 10 per 1,000, the survival rate is 50-10, or 40 per 1,000 = 4 per cent; and the population must increase exactly like the sum of money at 4 per cent compound interest, doubling every 17½ years, and becoming fifty times as great in one century, 50 times 50, or 2,500 times as large, in two centuries, etc.

Now, what Malthus claimed was more moderate than this. He saw, what must be admitted by anyone who studies the question, that unchecked population in a settled country must increase in a compound interest manner or geometrical progression, but he purposely took a figure less than the possible one, and supposed that population would double each twenty-five years. This gives the following:

Year	0	25	50	75	100
Population	1	2	4	8	16

Malthus was able to show that in the United States and other countries population had actually increased for a century or more as rapidly, or even more rapidly, than this, quite apart from immigration.

THE MOST SIMPLE and commonsense way of starting out to find how fast population should increase is by thinking of what would happen in a normal average family. There can be no doubt that if there were no economic difficulty, almost every young man and woman would marry soon after the age of twenty, so that the progress of population in the nation as a whole would be practically the same as that of the families of which it is made up.

Let us, then, first take the case in which a couple marry when the woman is twenty, and suppose that she has one child every two years from twenty-one to forty-three. Forty-five is usually taken as the end of the child-bearing period. Here, then, is the series:

Age of mother..	21	23	25	27	29	31	33	35	37	39	41	43
No. of children..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

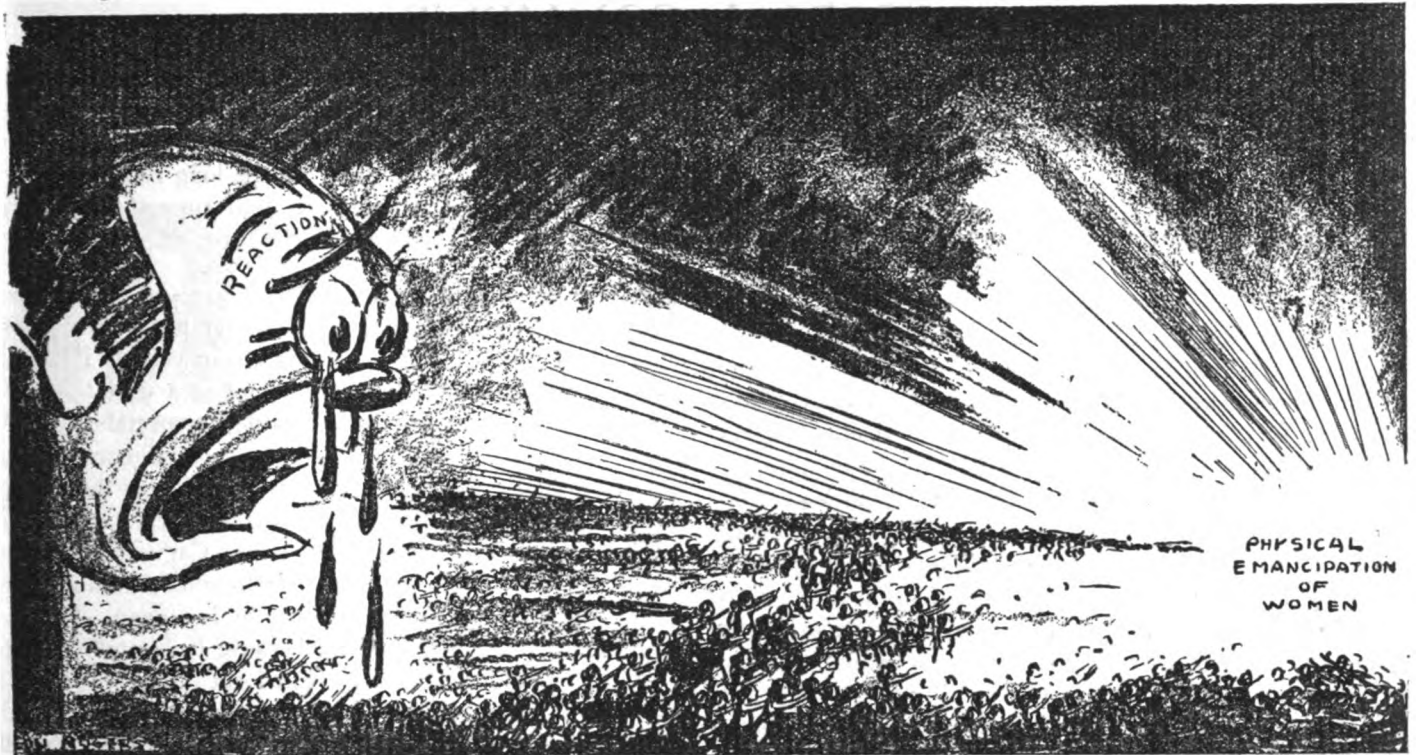
It is a long and complicated business to work out from this the number of grandchildren, etc., because the children come to the age of marriage in different years. But we can get a fair idea of the true rate of increase by taking it as if all the twelve children arrived together when the mother was at the age of midway between twenty-one and forty-three, or thirty-two years old. This means that in thirty-two years the number of people had increased from two to fourteen, or sevenfold. In sixty-four years there would be two grandparents, twelve parents and 12 times 6-72 children. But we will suppose the original couple to die at that age, so that there will be eighty-four descendants living—six times the number at thirty-two years. Thus it means that the population increases sixfold every thirty-two years, 6 by 6 or thirty-sixfold in 32 plus 32—64 years, and 6 by 6 by 6—216 fold in ninety-six years, and so on. This is equivalent to an increase of 5.6 per cent. per year, or of doubling in twelve and a half years.

(To be continued.)

* It may be objected that the children born in each year do not commence to reproduce till twenty years or more later. But although this is the case, in each year there are a certain number of others, born previously, who are arriving at the age of marriage.

Married Love—By Marie C. Stopes

This book contains a fascinating and tremendously illuminating interpretation of the sex impulse. It will interest every man who wants to understand woman—it will interest every woman who wants to understand herself. Price \$2.00, to be had at this office.



FEAR AND THE FUTURE RACE

(Continued from Page 7)

acquires the habit of self-confidence, which means having continually and increasingly more faith. Hence his ability to put things across from subjectivity into objectivity. It is also true that the fearful man or woman who is in a perpetual state of worry and dread usually brings about the very conditions dreaded.

When we are inclined to be too rash and to take foolish chances we should tone our attitude down to one of prudence and caution. In this case we reverse the current from faith to very moderate fear. Prudence and caution are beneficial mental states when not carried too far.

IN THE LIGHT OF the foregoing, it is interesting to consider what part fear has to play in birth control. Picture a woman living in constant fear and dread of pregnancy, and there are many such! The very fear she entertains makes her a prey to an army of egos looking for an opening into objective existence. It is a case of her will against theirs, and her fear makes it easy for them to objectify their desires at her expense. She is likely to have a very large family and to attract only those individuals who follow the line of least resistance. So her children are apt to be ordinary, if not rather worthless.

Suppose she conquers that fear. That would mean a tremendous stride toward self-control. If she should bring a child into the world under these changed conditions, it would be an ego of a very different type. If her self-control were not yet strong enough to prevent her becoming a mother against her will, still her child would be an ego more developed than she, to be able to overcome her resisting power.

Suppose faith has completely replaced fear in her soul. Then motherhood will of a necessity become voluntary. It could not happen against her will, for if she completely controls her faith she will objectify only what she chooses to. But if she should choose to become a mother, which is a wonderful privilege after all, she is now in a position to attract the type of ego she most desires her child to be. Ella Wheeler Wilcox declares that her mother desired and had faith that she was to give birth to a literary offspring, and it so happened. If we know the law of being and follow that law wisely, we mothers can all do likewise. What wonderful power lies in the hand that rocks the cradle! Think of being able to give birth to a Godlike race of supermen and women! This will be possible when we learn to control the forces already in our possession.

My Prayer

By Gertrude Boyle.

ENERGY of mind,
Swift winged Thought,
Bear my being's desire out to responsive worlds!

O power, O magic of mind,
Force thy way through quivering ether
And quicken a cosmic impulse to aid
This that my art-self wills, burns to create!

Potent Self, snap the chains that limit thee
And lay thy plea before the Universe!

Lo, I open wide my suppliant arms,
From Omnipotence would I receive
The generous flow of grace—
The influx of infinite Spirit!

EDITORIAL COMMENT

EVEN CONFERENCES are human. Each has a spirit of its own and it is this spirit that counts and makes such gatherings useful. The keynote of the recent Birth Control Conference in New York was struck when workers in the movement testified that everywhere they found a greedy acceptance that birth control is a necessity for women. They found it easy to convince people of its desirability and expediency even when doubt was felt at first. War has opened the eyes of women to their own position in the world. What birth control advocates now need in their work is a classification of facts, scientific facts on health, facts on population, increase and decrease, facts as to what the laws are in different countries and different states. They want facts as to what doctors can legally do now and how clinics can be legally opened. They want to know why so many physicians are indifferent and ignorant regarding contraceptive methods. The facts are scattered through many volumes, some of which cannot be had by the layman. The birth control movement now wants accurate knowledge of all these things made readily available for their use in a campaign of education. It is a hopeful note. It shows the workers in the movement feel victory coming soon. We wish to add a word of gratitude and appreciation to the splendid work of Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett who organized the Conference and also to the devoted spirit of Mrs. Amos Pinchot who though constantly active in various war activities, has rightly proclaimed that standing by the birth control movement today is a great national duty toward generations yet to be.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH is the bigotted, relentless enemy of birth control. It makes no bones about its stand. This movement threatens its hold upon the poor and the ignorant, and probably only the existence of restraining laws prevents it from applying the thumb-screw and the rack to all those who believe in woman's right to practise voluntary motherhood. But, since the methods of the Inquisition are out of date, it would compromise by clapping us all into jail. "The birth-controllers are at it again!" runs a medieval editorial in *The Holy Name Journal*, the organ of one of the most powerful Catholic societies in America. "Prison starvation seems but to have whetted their desire to continue the propaganda for what will ultimately be the extermination of the masses upon which our country must rely in the future." Observe the admission that our propaganda (as the Holy-Namers see it) "will ultimately" succeed. "Aside from its ethical and moral depravity," the article goes on to say, "the birth-controllers are disseminating a doctrine that is decidedly shortsighted and subversive of even the material welfare of the land. We need our teeming masses now; we shall need them more in the future. Would it not be a wise move on the part of the Government to intern all birth-controllers and suppress their teaching? It would be a prudent war measure." Do we expect ever to win over the Catholic Church to our way of thinking? Not right away. We are

aware that it will fight to the last ditch against this ideal. But we propose to go on enrolling Catholics under our banner of progress—by the thousands today, by the hundreds of thousands in a year or two. In the long run, reason will inevitably triumph over darkness and superstition. Even the Catholic Church will yield to the force of public opinion.

PRIESTS AND MINISTERS of many Christian sects (outside of the Catholic Church) have been among the converts to birth control during recent years. That men of their calling should join us has not sent us into special ecstasies of tickled vanity and gratified respectability. We have welcomed them as individuals, as intelligent persons who have had the courage of their opinions in the face of a good deal of social opposition. So the fact that the Rev. William Ralph Ince, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, has recently come out in favor of birth control and eugenics does not impress us merely because he is a dean. We consider it deserving of comment, because in his public statement on the subject Dr. Ince pointed out that a reduction of births will be necessary to combat unemployment after the war. He is reported as saying that this movement would "save and make happy the population." Church of England incumbents are paid by the State, and the British Government is clamoring for babies. Consequently, by telling the plain truth at this time Dr. Ince proved himself to be an honest and brave man, and we take off our hats to him. It is interesting to note that he asserted that the average life-time has increased one-third during the last sixty years—an additional reason for the general practice of birth control.

A REGRETTABLY FALSE idea of present conditions in the birth control movement has been caused in some quarters. The Birth Control League of New York held a meeting early in May, at which Hiram Myers was unanimously elected president; Mrs. Eugene P. Stone, vice-president; J. J. Goldstein, treasurer; and Elizabeth Stuyvesant, secretary. An erroneous newspaper report of the proceedings at this meeting stated that most of the leagues which had been founded following the prosecution of various leaders of the movement had now become inactive or gone out of business. "There seems to be something in the private nature of the subject," an ex-officer was said to have declared, "which makes it unsuited for a public movement." The misleading nature of the above statements must be apparent to the members of the twenty or more active leagues listed in our directory on Page 2. The birth control movement is very much alive. It is one of the few radical movements which has not been destroyed by America's participation in the war. The New York Women's Publishing Company has been formed to finance this magazine, and is offering \$10 shares in a \$10,000 fund to our friends and supporters. We have a growing circulation and have never felt more hopeful of the future.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE OF VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD



REGENERATION THROUGH SEX

By MAUDE DURAND EDGREN

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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 Fuersa*.
- 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. *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua Vizcande de Moran-guapez 25, Rio de Janeiro.
- CUBA (1907).—Seccion de propaganda. Secretary, José Guardiola, Empedrado 14, Havana.
- SWEDEN (1911).—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinke Berggren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

BIRTH CONTROL CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.
- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- CAMDEN, N. J.—Dr. L. A. Young, 522 Spruce St.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Ohio*. President, Alfred F. Bosch, 1611 E. 73rd St., Cleveland.
- COLUMBUS, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Columbus*. Arthur Gluck, 2054 Tuller Street, president.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Virginia Heidelberg.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
- PATERSON, N. J.—William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Avenue.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, secretary.
- ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue.
- ST. LOUIS, MO.—Clara Taylor, 5063 Page Boulevard.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- 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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Jailed for Birth Control, by James Waldo Fawcett..	.10

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REGENERATION THROUGH SEX

By Maude Durand Edgren

THE PICTURE EVERY WOMAN should hold up as her ideal is a Goddess radiant with life and love, wearing the sun for a crown and using the moon for a pedestal, at the same time holding aloft, for the benefit of the whole sisterhood of womankind, the serpent-twined staff of Mercury. The moon is the symbol of conception, the sun is the symbol of the highest illumination, and the serpent is the same old tempter that crept into Eden.

The best and surest contraceptives, physically considered, would be about as useful to the truly illumined woman as water wings or a life preserver would be to Annette Kellerman—mere useless encumbrances. But for the woman just learning to swim the wings might prove a great comfort in securing confidence and self-control in the water.

Fear is woman's greatest enemy. Constant fear and dread of pregnancy, to say nothing of its effect on the offspring, is enough to deaden any incentives toward progress. Progress, too, requires intelligent effort, and intelligent effort requires sex force. The very same force that goes out to build bodies for offspring has to be redirected and used for individual uplift.

To those so-called illumined ones who hold back their skirts and look askance at anything that might increase self-indulgence for sense gratification, we might say that their fear of evil outweighs their faith in good. We believe that with half a chance and just a little help in the right direction every woman, at least every normal woman, would strive to attain self control. If left to her own choice, she invariably would choose the higher path.

And this path does not lead to celibacy. Such a life means overcoming by annulling a great part of one's nature and it seldom results in illumination. It has been tried out by the monks and the nuns. The truly illumined among them have been few and far between; on the other hand, the dire outcome of their practices has produced some of the worst licentiousness that ever existed on this planet.

WHAT IS THERE between the deep sea of celibacy and the devil of sex gluttony? Let us look about us at the natural trend of human progress. In spite of all protests to the contrary, fewer and fewer children are born to the more intelligent parents. In fact, families seem to decrease in size as illumination increases. This is so evident that it looks almost like a natural law. It applies to the animal kingdom, as well as to man. The lower types of animals are far more prolific than the higher.

This seems to be a natural law of progress, and we are justified in assuming that, since illumination reduces the number of offspring, it must be counted as a main factor in the development of the human race.

The illustration on this page shows that our Goddess holds aloft two entwined serpents. We might quote the Bible about "raising the serpent," but will refrain, as we are given so many strange interpretations of that book nowadays. Instead, we will look in the book of nature. Look at the lotus, or water-lily. Its roots are in the mud at the bottom of the pond, its stem rises up through the water ever toward the light. At last the leaves and blossoms spread out in the air above the water and bathe in the heavenly sunlight. What is the lily blossom but the sex organ of the plant?

The lotus has long been a symbol of illumination. The earth wherein it has its roots is the physical body; the water through which the stem rises is the sea of human desire; the air is the realm of pure thought, and the sunlight

is divine spirit. It was the sunlight, remember, that induced the lotus stem to grow upward. It is the divine spark in each human soul that makes that soul strive upward for the light. It is confidence in the *latent divinity of each human being* on the face of the earth that justifies the advocacy of birth control.

SO WE SAY TO WOMEN, lift up this wonderful productive power within you, glorify, sanctify it. Let your aspiration carry it straight to your God as the most sacred



offering you can make. Let it be like the sacred oil that kept alive the fire in the ever-burning lamps.

It goes without saying that indulgence for mere physical gratification becomes sacrilege. This force becomes a healing, a regenerating blessing only to be used as such. The sages of old comprehended the beauty of sex. The urn, symbol of the female sex organ, has been venerated for ages. It was used to contain the precious ointments. The urn is the receptacle of all that is beautiful and holy. It symbolizes the mother of the race, the divine mother.

Through woman is the race regenerated, *through her growing ability to make concrete her spiritual aspirations*. Heretofore, she has taken man as he is, thinking it her duty to submit to his desires, while despising them often, and so havoc reigned.

When she can be made to realize the beauty—and to live up to it—of making the sex relation spiritually diffusive and not merely physically gratifying, then she is on the way to become the true redeemer of the race. Not by annihilation of the sex function or sex intercourse, but by spiritualizing it.

Yes, she must lift man to her level and not stoop to his. She should show him the falseness and narrowness of looking at only the physical. She must, to be a light, learn the higher laws—how the act of creation may be turned to higher planes than the physical. Thus will both he and she be recreated into the super-men and women of the future.

When a woman is free from the fear of pregnancy, if she knows absolutely that she can create when and only when she desires, then she can look to the higher aspects, the regenerative aspects of the sex relation. She may have to go through several hells to find the truth, but she will come up reborn to her newer, fuller and freer life.

As regards your duty to the coming race, you and you alone must decide on how many children you want and how many you can provide for and bring up as you want your children to be brought up. The incoming egos must wait. They will go forward faster for the waiting. They will have bigger opportunities in smaller families and so will benefit in the end.

Remember, woman is the symbol of the eternal mother; she is not merely the mother of children, but the mother of man, her mate. The realization of the truth and beauty of this fact raises the mated pair to a condition more than human.

A report published the other day by the French Academy of Medicine is significant. A commission, composed of eminent scientific men, had been appointed by the academy for the purpose of making a detailed inquiry into the declining birth rate. The commission examined into every one of the causes supposedly responsible, but only examined the facts and statistics bearing on the period previous to the war. The central fact developed was, that voluntary birth control was primarily responsible. The only other cause held to be important was that which came under the head of illegal operations.

POEMS OF A PARIS COCOTTE

By "Margot"

Literally rendered into English prose by
Walter Adolphe Roberts

SADNESS OF PAST DAYS

I.

AH, FRIEND! for almost four years now we have followed recklessly together the ways of life. We have been indifferent to wealth. Yet, strong in our mutual love, we have been able to seek in drunken orgies what the world might call our fortunes!

II.

Famine and poverty have been our lot. When the winter winds have been iciest, we have faced them all too simply dressed. The cry of our two souls has been one cry. The struggle has been bitter, but in the end fate has triumphed.

III.

Common our suffering! Long our hours of abandon! Hostile Providence has become, for us, a hurricane. Stunned and instinctive, our unappeased hearts in the same breath demand vengeance and implore forgetfulness.

IV.

Oblivion will submerge our existence in its vast blackness. But this, at least, will end our outrageous memories. Humiliations and griefs have taught us to hate, yet scorn, our hard destiny.

* * *

TO THE FRIEND OF MY HEART

THY MOUTH once held the secret of intoxicating tendernesses, which exalted thee.

Yet, it has been thy body's destiny to quiver under the yoke of any gallant's caresses.

Now, in thy sad abandon, thou hast learned to strangle thy heart—

Ay, even to prefer the habit of accepting love for a night, a day!

HAVELOCK ELLIS

To women he owes the best that is in him and to them he has paid back his debt. His understanding of the primitive and complex in their natures is a little bewildering even to those of us who think we know ourselves. The parasite, the doll, the rebel, the angel, the idiot, and the over-woman must all acknowledge that this man has somehow surprised many secrets which women themselves, as yet, scarcely realize. It is as if he has been eavesdropping at the threshold of their souls and envying them their role in the race-work of the world. His mother was his first revelation of the sweetness and strength of woman. No one can, of course, as yet declare who will be the last to intensify his belief in women, but he can say with Ezekiel that "his mother is as a vine within his blood." Nothing has puddled the clear waters in which the faun and the Christ in this student have looked into the mirror of women's natures.—*Mrs. Havelock Ellis, in The Bookman.*



CORNERED

THE WASTE OF CREATIVE ENERGY

By Jessie A. René

WHAT AN EXTRAVAGANT waste of creative energy is uncontrolled instinct! What a sacrificial waste is fruitless agony!

Woman is willing, glad and even eager to sacrifice for any cause really worth while; and, in passing, let us take sacrifice to mean the giving up of the lesser for the gaining of the greater, and not blind mother love which is so often mistaken for sacrifice.

The woman who becomes a mother by choice, who is prepared for and who longs for the privileges as well as the sacrifices of motherhood, gladly goes through the unspeakable physical agony, gives up her body to be racked and tortured by pain in order that a little Love Blossom may be welcomed into the home, this little Love Blossom which is the harmonious result of the blending of reciprocal ideals.

Woman expects to sacrifice her time, her energy, even her career, ambitions and desires for a time at least (giving up of the lesser), so as to assume the high office of motherhood, (the gaining of the greater). But should she be expected to do this cheerfully for chance maternity; perhaps because of an extra glass of champagne, a late supper or the taking of stimulants and indigestible combinations, or perhaps because of the innate belief in a "necessity," which science proves to be quite unfounded?

Are these plausible and sufficient reasons for expecting woman to enter upon motherhood and the many years of responsibility and care which the fruit of this excess or ignorance demands? That motherhood should be merely an incident of married life, the penalty for wifehood, is most inconsistent with the exalted praise which is given on every hand to the mothers of the nation!

IF ONLY BIRTH would ensure woman's freedom from the recurrence of chance maternity! But it does not. The constant fear, anxiety, dread and even horror as each month rolls by is something which only those who have been through it can fully realize, and how few women there are who do not know this fear! Let us do our utmost to put away such consuming wasteful mental anxiety, and bring instead *peace* within the marriage bond. Women want children, yes, of course, but they want children born at the proper time and under the right conditions; not when times are hard, not when the father is out of work or an invalid, and not when she, the mother, is a physical wreck and overwrought mentally in her struggle to keep alive and half way decent the children already here.

Women, do you realize what it means when we say: "The higher the birth rate, the higher the death rate?" Surely you see what a tragic and devastating waste of vital force it is to give birth to children that die with the first breath or within a few months after birth! Creative energy, of which mother love is part, is so powerful that it can remove mountains; it behooves us, therefore, to understand

and consciously control and direct this tremendous power for good results only. Do you know that out of every 1,000 babies born in this country 150 die? And this means that 150 out of every 1,000, or about 1 out of every 7 mothers, go through the perils and heartrending throes of childbirth for no useful purpose—for worse than nothing, to say nothing of their going through life generally with mutilated bodies. Now just multiply this by the tens of thousands. Can you not see these hundreds of thousands of mothers all writhing in pain? Can you not hear their cry of accumulated suffering as it rises to heaven in a long drawn-out wail for mercy? This barbaric waste of mother force must be stopped. If women must suffer to bring babies into existence, surely they should be free to choose their own time and convenience, and labor according to their strength!

WOMEN, YOUR BODIES are your very own, given to you as a sacred trust to treat with respect and to use with intelligent care for the carrying on of the Great Plan. How can you do your part well when you subject these instruments to improper treatment and even to misuse? Is it that you are afraid to stand up for your rights, not as women merely, but to stand up for your rights as human beings, equally with men? Are not men *and* women co-workers for the advancement of the human race!

Take comfort. This reckless waste of vital creative force can be stopped, and *you* can do it. You who are some day going to be mothers and you who are now mothers, why not be the very best mothers that study, care and thoughtful preparation can produce? How can it be done?

One way is to win political freedom so that you may share in framing the laws you must obey.

Another way is by obtaining a knowledge of the workings of your own bodies and minds, together with an understanding of how to control and direct your emotions and how to develop will power so that you will use your knowledge, once you have obtained it.

This can be done by establishing schools for lads and girls, husbands and wives, fathers and mothers throughout the land. No end of ways suggest themselves as to how this may be done; the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations is one far-reaching power for good.



PUTTING THE CHICKEN BACK INTO THE SHELL

THE CRYING NEED FOR BIRTH CONTROL

By Ida Wright Mudgett

PART I

THE CONSEQUENCES of unchecked birth, or on the other hand of birth control, reach down into every main avenue of human affairs. To the thinking observer there is hardly a human condition, social or individual, into which it does not force its way and have its determining influence.

More than any other factor in socialized life, surplus population determines the economic status of the wage-earning class, who constitute the great majority of humanity. Where there are a large number of wage-earners competing for a limited supply of jobs, the wage scale is bound to be forced down to the limit of subsistence. A dense population in a small area always means low wages and a very low standard of living for the masses and a corresponding increase of profit and means of tyranny for the privileged classes. When a poor man has a large family to support he cannot be too particular about the amount of wages he receives, nor too particular in regard to the abuse he will not allow in order to keep his job.

The above statement is equally true of the wage-earner as a class. Witness the older countries—China, India, etc.—where the rabbit-like population is reduced to hopeless poverty and abject subserviency; and then glance up through the ascending scale to those countries where the population has not yet swarmed over every inch of habitable ground and thus cut off its every means of independence from landlord or boss, thereby depriving the inhabitants of every sense of liberty, to say nothing of opportunity. A certain amount of space and contact with nature—unspoiled by man's art—is indispensable in breeding in the human being the sense of liberty and human dignity.

That the wage scale is controlled by the number of bidders for a stated number of jobs is, in a measure, illustrated by present labor conditions. On account of the large number of young men being taken from the labor market, there are fewer men to compete for jobs and thus wages are continually ascending.

TYRANNIES, OLIGARCHIES, autocracies, are always based upon thickly populated areas, democracies based upon areas where the inhabitants are in close touch with nature. Over population means many men bidding for proportionately few jobs, which in turn means low wages and low standards of living. A low standard of living means an ever greater growth of ignorance and superstition and consequent inability to understand and defend popular rights and liberties.

The desire of the privileged classes (clerical or secular) to keep in subordination the masses, upon whose helplessness their special privileges and opportunities depend, is one reason why these classes are so vehement in their opposition to birth control propaganda and so drastic in their laws concerning it.

More than any other one determining factor, the limiting of families has a profound bearing upon the higher education of the children of the masses. A man with a limited income cannot carry the burden of non-producing children for any great length of time. Each younger born presses the older ones more speedily and surely out upon the labor market before they have finished even the eighth grade, to say nothing of the High School or University.

The higher education of the masses is positively necessary to their well being. The educated classes, because of their superior knowledge, continually impose upon the more illiterate numberless laws which are wholly to their own advantage and detrimental to the masses. They continually impose customs, through social opprobrium, that present knowledge in the world, if attainable by the many, should long since have relieved them of. They perpetuate superstitions that the masses, if possessed of the *certain* knowledge now in the world, would long since have outgrown. Many superstitions persist, which are not much above the Indian myth of the Thunder Bird in explaining phenomena of the Universe, and many ceremonies, not much above the Indian Snake Dance, or Ghost Dance. The knowledge is in the world *now* to dissipate such nightmare dreams, but it is safely embalmed in technical treatises and dead languages, which only those with a University education can interpret.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT bearing too large families have upon the well being of posterity is the lack of proper development in the offspring, whether pre-natal or after birth. The pre-natal influence will be touched upon presently.

The first thing that stares one in the face, in considering this phase of the subject, is the lack of proper care of the children of large families. It is next to impossible for a poor mother burdened with ten or twelve children to do anything like justice to their simplest needs. She is over the wash tub, the ironing board, cooking and baking, wielding the needle, making, mending, darning clothes, or caring for the fretting younger members. The older children are playing in the streets, picking up and disseminating all kinds of bad habits and diseases—habits prohibitive of proper muscular and nerve growth, diseases often fatal to bodily health. The delinquencies of 70% of the children in Reformatories is due to street living and playing.

Moreover, it is practically impossible for the slender purse of the average wage-earner to cover the actual needs of a large family in the way of clothes and food. He cannot procure a properly *balanced* ration for his brood, and any good stock-raiser can tell what that, long continued, will do both to the present and future generations. Their clothing is cheap stuff with no warmth in it, fashioned very often into grotesque garments, which render them a laughing-stock to

(Continued on page 10)

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW has been declared unconstitutional and therefore void. This fact has been met by expressions of restrained indignation throughout the country. Indignation must be restrained these days when it is directed against any function of the Federal Government. But in this case even restrained indignation may be mistaken. The five learned justices of the Supreme Court, who rendered the majority opinion, may possibly have done a real service to the childhood of the nation by bringing this case once more before the people for study and discussion. For it was at best a weak and inadequate law with which to meet so great an evil as child labor. It did not meet this evil squarely with downright prohibition even within its limited sphere, but provided that no goods might be transported from one state to another if these goods were produced in a factory in which within thirty days of the removal of the goods, children under fourteen years of age had been employed or children between fourteen and sixteen years of age had been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week or after the hours of seven p. m. or before six a. m. In the "Survey" of June 8th it is stated that if fully enforced this law would have removed about 150,000 children from industry, but would still leave 1,850,000 children so employed. A patently inadequate remedy even if allowed to stand. The difficulty is that the Federal Government is not in a position to deal properly with child labor, because laws of this sort interfere with home rule in the states. Nevertheless, there is a way to deal with national evils or with such matters as should be national in their character. It was not difficult to amend the federal Constitution in such a way that a federal income tax became possible. If Uncle Sam can go after the incomes of his people, why can't he go after those who make money from the toil of children? It should not be harder to pass an amendment to the Constitution that would permit national laws to be enacted so framed as to save the nation's children from the joyless houses of industry, save them not only from factories, but from mines and sweat shops and even from overwork in their own homes. Children are often stunted and dulled by long hours of farm work or by the care of younger sisters and brothers. Generous minded individuals and amiable societies have put years of work and pots of gold into child welfare legislation, yet child labor and child degradation, child starvation and child imbecility continue in giant proportions. If child labor is a bad thing and there can be but little doubt that it is, then we should demand an amendment to the Constitution permitting laws of this sort to be enacted.

IN THE MEANTIME the war has opened our eyes in still other ways to the appalling condition of our youth; the selective draft has shown physical, mental and nervous afflictions due to neglect in childhood. Neglect caused by poverty produces ill-nourished children, stunted children, feeble-minded children. Ignorance and stupidity create too many children. An epidemic of effort to remedy and abolish these things by legislation has sprung into existence. Clinics and milk stations are being established, education for mothers provided, health examination enforced, labor laws, mothers' pensions, day nurseries all experimented with—the list is as long as your arm. Everyone is patriotically shouting "Save the babies." But when sober common sense suggests that this pest of ill-conditioned children could best be cured by a sane limitation of offspring by contraceptive methods, fear and ignorance manifest themselves, fear so strange and ignorance so appalling as to be positively dismaying. Those who work hardest to "save the babies" look with coldness upon the least suggestion of saving the mothers from hideously frequent births.

Children must not work, but parents may not be helped to limit the number of their children to those they can care for in health and decency. It is not immoral nor illegal to bring helpless youngsters into the world to slave and rot and die; it is not immoral nor illegal to eke out the family income by the use of baby hands, but it is criminal to tell a woman how to protect her health and strength and that of her family by limiting the number of pregnancies. Civilized people cry out against child labor and are indignant when a clumsy, ineffective law is thrown upon the scrap heap, but think it quite all right to send Margaret Sanger to jail for telling a woman how to prevent conception when she already has several poor little candidates for the factories tugging at her skirts. If each family were limited to the number that could be reared in health and comfort, there would be no need for child labor laws, federal or otherwise, but desperately poor parents need the extra wages that their little tots can earn and so they join hands with employers in opposing all legislation that would take these pennies away. Rich parents do not send their children to the factories or the mines, it is the poor parents whose little children need protection. It is a strange, illogical world that makes it a crime to teach the prevention of conception and encourages people to breed like rabbits and then makes no decent provision for the swarms of little tots that come tumbling into a sad world.



THE CRYING NEED FOR BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 7)

their more fortunate schoolmates and playfellows. This hurts their pride—a feeling of their own worth that all children naturally have—and eventually subordinates them in their own minds to children of a better outward showing. So, when they are grown their pride is dead, and they become the sycophants, the apologists, and the cringers before the silk hat and the gloved hand.

Such children generally have no refining surroundings in their homes. Only a little cheap furniture, crowding in living rooms, and worse in bedrooms, bad smells from cooking cheap food, the quarreling that is always going on among a large number of children herded together, when not properly amused; no good books, nor quiet to read them, no good music, nor skill in the household to play it; no refining home entertainment of any kind; no enlightening and educating conversations between father and mother, such as take place between parents in a more leisured home; nothing, absolutely nothing, of an elevating character. No caresses, no *individual* care and interest from mother to older child so necessary to the blossoming of its spiritual life. The mother's little time from household drudgery must be given to the younger members.

This idea associates itself with another aspect of the problem—the bitter injustice to the women of the poor, who are compelled to be the mothers of enormous families. What time have they for any mental development, or to keep what they might have had before they were married?

To give of their body substance for the building of ten, twelve, fourteen children, to face such a number of times the strain and agony of child-birth, always inadequately supported and sustained during the ordeal; never a first class surgeon who understands the merciful use of chloroform; never a trained nurse who understands the absolute necessity of antiseptic cleanliness. No proper rest in bed after the awful trial, always a bunch of crying, exacting dependents making demands upon the weakened hands, the aching back, the trembling loins. So she is up long before she should be making an effort to meet those demands. What chance has such a woman, I say, to retain any individuality, do any thinking, feed any artistic sense, keep her spiritual integrity? None whatever.

In the "good old times" when women were supposed not to have any souls, this was all very well; but now that it is admitted that they have at least provisional souls, things should be so arranged that each and every woman could have the proper environment in which to develop herself.

Just compare the wives of the wage-earning class, at the age of fifty, with the wives of the privileged class at the same age. Observe the difference in intellectual attainment, physical preservation, dignity of bearing, between them. And remember that that which is between them is the accident of birth continued through several generations. If it is absolutely necessary that the greater part of one sex shall be crushed, everything of a refining nature refused expression, all individualizing qualities smothered out, if such a monstrous sacrifice is necessary for the perpetuation of the

race, then it is not worth preserving. We had better quit and give the world over to the lower animals.

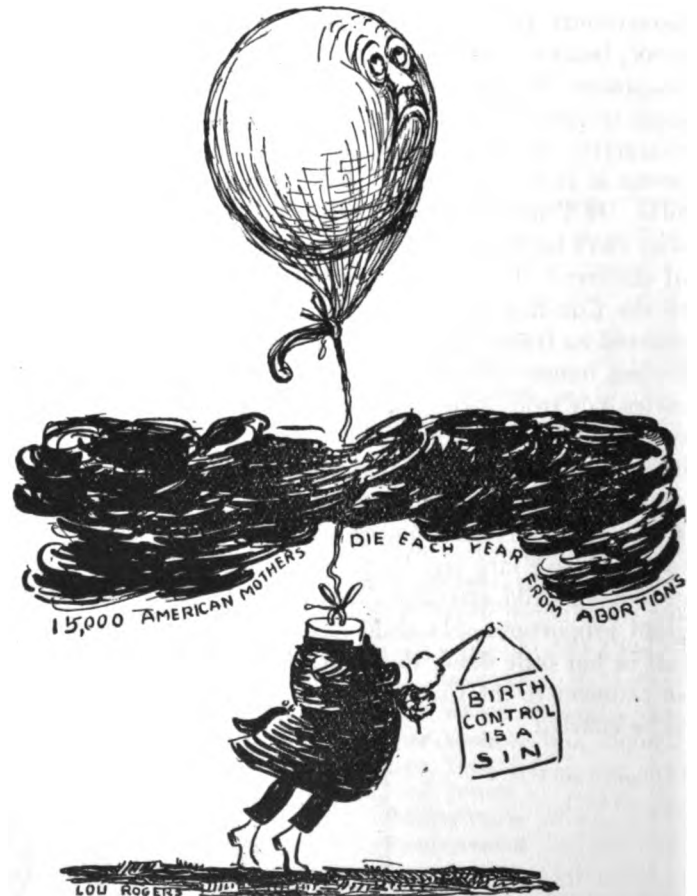
Don't misunderstand. There is nothing so refining, so spiritualizing, as mother-love when the mother has time and strength to individualize her children, to caress them, to fondle them, to nurse them at her breast, to instruct and educate them, and develop herself while and through developing them. But when she is simply a breeder, forced to push each little one aside, with hardly time to press one caress upon its little hands, watch one blossoming look of intelligence appear upon its face, observe one smile of baby recognition given to her—when, I repeat, she has to push it aside to make room for the next and again the next, there is no development in this; there is just retrogression.

(To be concluded)

NOTE

The August number of this magazine will appear in the middle of summer, at a time when many readers are away on their vacations and activities of all kinds are partially suspended. Consequently, we have decided to put out an eight-page issue. With the September number, however, we shall return to our regular sixteen-page size.—EDITORS.

Do not waste your time on social questions. What is the matter with the poor is Poverty; what is the matter with the rich is uselessness.—George Bernard Shaw.



HIS HEAD ABOVE THE CLOUDS

BIRTH CONTROL AND SOCIAL SERVICE

By Clara Taylor

I HAVE BEEN ASKED to write an article on the recent National Social Service Conference at Kansas City, and to state whether the above mentioned organization had grounds for advocating family limitation, and if so, was the subject included in its program?

After working seven years in the capacity of social worker and nurse, going among the working class families, some of whom are poverty stricken while others are on the border line of poverty, I cannot understand how social workers can pretend they are doing constructive work if they do not include family limitation in their program. I am compelled to say that most social workers are satisfied with "patchwork" and close their eyes to the real issue. However, there might be a broad field for educating the so-called social workers and opening their eyes.

There is really no question as to whether the Social Service Conference had grounds for advocating family limitation. Any worker who has ever been sent out by a Charity Organization society to make a home investigation and finds the average-sized family of eight, six children and husband and wife, living in one room and kitchen—the father sick, but not too sick to have more children; the mother only thirty years of age, and the children underfed and without proper clothing—immediately begins to wonder how to get information on birth control, to prevent adding more mouths to this family. Workers who have had the above experience came to the conference and took part in the discussions, but not a word was said on the subject of birth control.

I shall base my arguments for family limitation on three papers which were read at the conference, where birth control would have been a most important issue if the social workers seriously meant to do constructive work. One paper was on "The Rehabilitation of the Family," another was on "Juvenile Courts and Delinquent Girls," and the third on "Children's Work." The last paper was read by Sally Lucas Jean, of the People's Institute of New York; it was the most illuminating and inspiring, as it began with the child and seemed to lead to better future citizens.

FIRST I SHALL DISCUSS the paper on "The Rehabilitation of the Family." By what methods does the social worker aim to help the family to help themselves? There are six children, the oldest not yet twelve years of age; the father's earning capacity is only \$12 or \$14 a week and his work is only seasonal. The father has very little education, having gotten as far as the Fourth Grade in the Public Schools, and so has very little chance to compete with better educated men in this day of efficiency. When his work gives out, the Charity Organization is called on for aid and helps until the father is again able to resume his work. A year or so later, the family is again forced to call on the organization for help. There is probably another mouth to feed and the mother is unable to take in occasional washing as in the past

to supplement the income. Consequently the Charity Organization has to help a little more this time.

What is the worker's hope? She looks forward to the time when Johnnie or Mary, who is now thirteen years old, is fourteen so that he or she can get a permit to go to work. The social worker will find a job, where the child can earn about \$4 per week and augment the family income. The child is not considered; but it should be, as it is the citizen of the future, and should be given a good education and thereby a chance to do better than its father. If Johnny and Mary were better educated, they would see the need of having in their turn just so many children as they could properly bring up. Thereby they would eliminate the necessity of having to call on the Charity Organization for help and these organizations would gradually go out of existence. But social workers do not wish to have these organizations go out of existence, as it would mean a scarcity of positions.

Mary never has had sufficient food and has been unable to attend school regularly, because she was the oldest of the large family and had to stay home at different intervals. Mother was sick, or the baby was sick, and mother had to take him to the dispensary and Mary had to mind the other children. At the age of fourteen, she had to leave school and go to work to help supplement the income. What will she be able to do and what will her earning capacity be?

SHE BEGINS AS a cash girl at \$3 a week and when she reaches the age of eighteen she earns \$8 per week, which, for a person with her education, is considered a good salary. She is not able to buy "life" on \$8 a week. The family live in two rooms and a kitchen. Mary has no place to bring her "gentlemen friends," as her home always is dirty and upset, this being due to the many people living in so few rooms. Mary is young and wants to live, which she has a right to do, but what has the community prepared for her? There are public dance halls and demoralized movies, but she cannot go to these places as often as she would like. She cannot afford it, and naturally is glad to accept an offer from any "gentleman friend" to go out with him to any public place—dance hall, picnic or picture show. The results we all know: she becomes a delinquent girl. Who produced this condition? Yet to have taught Mary's mother to prevent having more than three children, which she could have brought up properly, would have been a criminal act.

The next paper was "Juvenile Courts and Delinquent Girls." The reader already knows the origin of some delinquent girls, now we shall see other sources of delinquency. The paper contained the following definition:

"Children from broken homes; the mother or father has either died or deserted the family."

It is a well known fact that many men desert their families when their wives are pregnant. When the father leaves, the mother, although sick and irritable, has to go to work and consequently the children are left either with an

older brother or sister of twelve or thirteen years of age, who is too young to work, or with a neighbor who has too many children of her own properly to care for them. While the mother is at work, the thirteen-year-old brother will run out with his playmates and leave the other children. We all know the environment in which these children live and what they are able to do in the congested districts. The next thing we hear is, that Johnny has stolen fruit from the grocery stand. Stealing coal from the railroad tracks is just a matter of course, as mother needed the coal and probably sent him there herself. While at the railroad tracks, Johnny meets other boys, who, like himself, had gone there to steal only coal, and they discover a carload of food and help themselves; as a result, Johnny is now a case for the Juvenile Court. To have taught Johnny's mother how to take care of herself so she wouldn't get pregnant so often and to keep Johnny's father at home would have been considered a criminal act.

We, also, must not forget the thousands of mothers who die every year as a result of childbirth, because they were physically exhausted from nursing and carrying the unborn child, besides having to care for too large a family and not having sufficient proper food when she needed it most. The result of this is motherless children who grow up without proper guidance and who constitute a large number of Juvenile Court cases and delinquent girls.

In the paper read by Miss Rippin, she gave an account of twelve hundred girls, most of whom came from broken homes, large families, and who had left grammar school when they were somewhere between the second and eighth grades. Miss Rippin said that most of the girls were bright, but on account of some misfortune in the home, they were retarded pupils. Out of the twelve hundred girls referred to, the greater number earned between \$6 and \$8 a week. Only three out of this large group earned \$19 a week and these were show girls. We all know the environment in which these girls live, and nothing can be expected of them but delinquency in the course of time.

The last paper was Miss Jean's paper. She advocated lunches for all school children. This paper was the most hopeful and made one feel that Miss Jean held the key to the salvation of the future generation. Her conclusions, however, were somewhat disappointing, because even if a child is given a good lunch for nine months, this does not solve the entire problem which faces the workingman's child. If the father is only able to earn \$14 a week and there are from five to eight other children, is a daily luncheon at the school going to bring about the ultimate results we would like to have?

Freedom is so splendid a thing that one cannot worthily state it in the terms of a definition; one has to write in some flaming symbol or sing it in a music riotous with the uproar of heaven.—*Padraic H. Pearse.*

* * *

Ignorance and prudery are the millstones about the necks of progress.—*Judge Wm. N. Gatens, of Portland, Ore.*

ANSWERS TO MR. LLOYD

Editors "BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW":

REJOINDERS HAVING been invited by the REVIEW to the letter by Mr. J. Wm. Lloyd, of Westfield, N. J., which appeared in its June issue, I beg to submit a few observations, prefacing them with recognition of the excellent spirit of Mr. Lloyd's communication, so different from the abuse in which criticism of birth-control frequently abounds.

FIRST. Mr. Lloyd says that nature is a pretty good guide, and that nature made birth instinctive and withheld instinctive knowledge of birth-control. But Mr. Lloyd seems to forget that human evolution, in an important aspect, is the record of the increasing control of knowledge over ignorance, of reason over instinct, of deliberation over impulse—consists, in short, of improvement upon nature. Left to his instincts, man would be a savage. By the cultivation of his higher nature, by the ascendancy of mind over body, by the sacrifice of present pleasure to larger future good, man becomes civilized.

SECOND. The vast areas of unpopulated and unproductive land throughout the world furnish no argument, in themselves, for increase of population. It is only when the population and development of new territory are accompanied by individual excellence and industrial freedom, on the part of the new inhabitants, that such expansion is desirable. Mr. Lloyd might as rationally desire to have the world's over-crowded cities expand yet further, slums and all.

THIRD. Mr. Lloyd names a long list of reforms (all of which the undersigned happens to favor as much as he), and says that these are vastly more important than birth-control. But is not this putting the cart before the horse? Did he ever stop to consider that progressive policies depend upon progressive people, and that progressive people are the product of moral and spiritual forces that gather strength just in proportion that physical appetites and selfish ambitions are held in abeyance or neutralized—that a progressive people, with progressive institutions, can never spring from the ignorance and poverty which the practice of birth-control would so materially lessen?

FOURTH. Mr. Lloyd says that birth-control is negative, not positive, and that the slogan should be, not "Fewer and better children," but "More and better children." But he is going too fast. There cannot be more and better children until there are first fewer and better children. He ignores the fact that everywhere, and at all times, both in nature and in human society, quality is and must be at the expense of quantity. At any given time, there are only so much knowledge and virtue possible, and when their content is increased in the individual, the number of individuals exemplifying them must relatively be diminished.

FIFTH. MR. LLOYD shares the prevalent but mistaken belief that birth-control tends to so-called "race-suicide." But he seems to forget that the same conditions that produce fewer births also reduce the death-rate in at least equal de-

gree, so that the net result in the direction of "race-suicide" is *nil*.

SIXTH. Speaking absolutely, it is doubtless true, as Mr. Lloyd says, that none of the contraceptives advocated by the birth-controlists is infallible. But experience shows that, when properly manufactured and properly used, they are not only harmless but preventive in a vast majority of cases, and will Mr. Lloyd say that, because they are not efficacious in every case, they should not be used as widely as possible? To apply such a principle generally would put an end to all social reform.

SEVENTH. The fact that birth-control is already practised largely among the better educated and more wealthy classes, and frequently for selfish reasons, is hardly an argument for its discouragement among the classes which need it most, where, as a matter of fact, most of the birth-control propaganda is found. The fact that a good thing is abused in a limited class of society is no reason why it should not be encouraged among the masses.

EIGHTH. It is quite true that the use of contraceptives tends to mar the "romance" of the sexual relations. The undersigned has no doubt that, with the progress of the race, such relations, except for the purpose of children, will gradually diminish. But until men and women are sufficiently spiritualized to find marriage useful and happy with only occasional indulgences, it behooves them to minimize the unfortunate consequences to themselves and to the commonwealth, to be found in present reckless practices, and birth-control furnishes them the most rational means for the accomplishment of this great and good end. Better less poverty—whether physical, intellectual, moral, or spiritual—even at the expense of less "romance."

NINTH. MR. LLOYD differentiates birth-control from eugenics, and expresses far more confidence in the latter. But, after all, birth-control is only one form of eugenics, and the true eugenicist will hardly fail to appreciate the important aid which birth-control offers him in his efforts for individual and social well-being.

In a time like the present, when the spirit of intolerance is abroad in the land, it is refreshing to find a man like Mr. Lloyd, so imbued with the spirit of democracy as to desire the repeal of all laws curtailing a propaganda to which he has serious objections. The land needs more true Americans like him, who have not forgotten that free speech is of the essence of Americanism.

Yours for liberty and progress,

KEPLER HOYT.

MY DEAR MRS. SANGER:—

The June letter of J. Williams Lloyd lies before me. Mr. Lloyd does not seem to have really thought much about the matter and his rambling criticisms are more than tinged with the strictly masculine point of view. Since woman has the chief (and often all) the burdens of parentage to bear I consider the matter absolutely her own to decide. Does Mr. Lloyd know that the average man has no realization whatever of what a woman must undergo at childbirth nor in the months preceding. He seldom grants the pregnant

wife the thought and care he bestows upon his livestock and he is equally indifferent to her mental and spiritual state. He has even made laws and under protest refuses to abolish them, whereby she is kept in ignorance and is compelled to reproduce whether she wants to or not, as though the matter were no concern of hers.

Mr. Lloyd says most women do understand preventive methods as "knowledge of that kind penetrates far and wide beneath the surface." Why should knowledge that is right and necessary be compelled to seek underground channels, a thing to be spoken of in whispers? Why be proud to state that most women are lawbreakers—or is he ashamed of the law? I have not known that he is working to have it abolished. But he mistakes. Why all these clinics and publications, the arrests and jails, the lecture tours, the plea for a free press, if women already know? Why the thousands of women dying annually of abortion and harmful practices if preventive methods were generally known? Why all the orphan asylums and immense families living squalidly, if preventive methods are understood? Many do not know. They have no way of knowing, especially if they are poor and uneducated or in remote places, and these are the women who most need help. But, I am glad to say that there are in existence safe, cheap, easily procured preventives and they are not the "undependable, injurious things" Mr. Lloyd says they are. Why all this tumult? Why all the opposition? Why so much ado about nothing? Because they DO prevent and that is why that, freed from overbreeding, parents can think more, read more, work more independently, live a less exploited life; that is why woman, awake at last, is asking: Why should I have a child I do not want or one I cannot provide for?

AS TO THE "lack of poetry and romance of the sex relation" where preventives are used—oh! that every woman in the world had for a moment the fabled gift of tongues so that they might let man know for once what his unbridled, irresponsible, brutish lust has done to her "poetry and romance" since the world began! Victims of force, often of drunken fury, often compelled to yield for duty's sake, for love's sake, at every convenient and inconvenient season, exhausted by muscular fatigue or nervous exhaustion, ill with recent or advancing maternity, no physical response, a spiritual loathing, a mental disgust, terrorized by the possibility of another unwelcome maternity, enduring the forced embrace of a husband she has long ceased to love or respect, told that if she refuses, "some other woman won't," financially dependent, a dozen children perhaps already on hand to be provided for. And now the "romance and poetry" of the average married pair's sex matters, are held up to us as a very real and wonderful thing that is apt to be jeopardized if the overburdened, unresponsive wife should happen to know about a compound procurable at the corner drug store. Life is short and it seems to me that a few cents of money and a little sanitary care are quicker and more effective than making a man over from the ground up.

LULU MACCLURE CLARKE.

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TODAY

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(Continued from the last issue)

NATURALLY, some deductions must be made from this extreme case, although it should be noted that no multiple births have been reckoned, and no smaller intervals than two years between births. About five per cent—not more—may be deducted for infantile mortality, and perhaps twenty-five per cent for celibacy, sterility, etc., although both these latter should be very small if economic conditions permitted general early marriage, and with it the almost complete elimination of venereal disease. However, making a total deduction of thirty per cent for these various causes, our five and a half per cent increase per year is reduced to four per cent, which means doubling every seventeen and a half years, very much more rapidly than assumed by Malthus.

Malthus claimed that in the Northern States of America, where food was more easily obtainable than in Europe, the population had continually doubled itself in less than twenty-five years. As Malthus pointed out, the death-rate in those times was much higher than it should be under the best economic conditions. There was certainly a considerable deficiency of women, and a fair amount of celibacy even among these, caused by the difficulties of life in a new country. There can be no reasonable doubt that with better conditions the population would have risen still more rapidly.

In his excellent Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, Mr. G. H. Knibbs has given diagram as regards the increase of population, showing that from 1860 to 1890 the rate of increase was even faster than that of the United States at its period of most rapid increase (from 1790 to 1860). In this case, however, the net increase by immigration was an important part of the total, averaging about twenty-seven per cent of it between 1861 and 1913. On the other hand, the birth-rate has fallen rapidly in Australia from about 1865, so that the immigration has not probably done more than make up for the reduction of births. This, of course, is only guesswork, but the American experience seems conclusively to prove that the natural unchecked rate of increase of population would follow a geometrical law, as claimed by Malthus, and at an even greater rate than that laid down by him.

Increase of Population from Birth and Death-rates.—In a country in which the loss or gain of people by migration is very small, the rate of increase in each year is evidently got by subtracting the death-rate from the birth-rate, which gives us the rate of survival, or of "natural increase." For instance, in our own country the birth-rate for the last few years has been somewhere about twenty-four per thousand, while the death-rate has been about fourteen. This means that for every thousand people in the country there have been twenty-four births and fourteen deaths, leaving ten additions to the thousand people, or an increase of one per cent in the year. If the birth- and death-rates were steady at these figures, and if there were no migration, the population would increase every year by one per cent, or at one per cent compound interest. It can be proved that a sum of money put out at one per cent compound interest doubles itself in about seventy years; at two per cent in 70 divided by 2 equals 35 years; at three per cent in 70 divided by 3 equals 23 1/3 years, and so on. So that in the United Kingdom, at the present rate, our population of forty-five millions would double to ninety millions in seventy years, and so on.

THE FOLLOWING table gives us the birth- and death-rates and period of doubling by natural increase for various countries:

Birth-, Death-, and Survival-Rates in Various Countries

(Average 1906-10)

	Birth-rate per 1,000	Death-rate per 1,000	Survival-rate per 1,000	No. of Years to Double
Australia	26.7	10.7	16.0	43.7
Austria	33.7	22.4	11.3	61.9
Belgium	24.7	15.9	8.8	79.5
Bulgaria	42.1	23.8	18.3	38.3
Ceylon	37.5	30.8	6.7	104.4
Chili	38.1	31.4	6.7	104.4
Denmark	28.2	13.7	14.5	48.2
England and Wales..	26.1	14.7	11.4	61.4
Finland	30.9	17.4	13.5	51.8
France	19.9	19.2	.7	1000.0
German Empire.....	31.7	17.5	14.2	49.3
Hungary	36.7	25.0	11.7	59.1
Ireland	23.3	17.2	6.1	114.7
Italy	32.7	21.2	11.5	60.9
Jamaica	37.4	24.1	13.3	52.6
Japan	32.8	20.9	11.9	53.8
Netherlands	29.6	14.3	15.3	45.7
New Zealand.....	27.1	9.7	17.4	40.2
Norway	26.4	13.8	12.6	55.5
Ontario	24.2	14.0	10.2	69.6
Prussia	32.3	17.3	15.0	46.6
Roumania	40.3	26.0	14.3	48.9
Russia*	45.4	28.7	16.7	41.9
Scotland	27.6	16.1	11.5	60.9
Serbia	38.6	24.4	14.2	49.3
Spain	33.5	24.3	9.2	75.9
Sweden	25.4	14.3	11.1	63.0
Switzerland	26.0	16.0	10.0	70.0
United Kingdom....	26.1	15.1	11.0	63.6
United States.....	?	15.2	?	—
India†	37.7	34.3	3.4	205.8

*1906-09.

†1908-10.

It will be noticed, of course, that the rates of increase are now all of them far below that given by Malthus, and this may seem to some people to justify those who, like Henry George, pretended that reproduction would automatically tend to adjust itself to the means of existence. But this contention was an absolute absurdity. There seems to be no evidence whatever that the human race is losing its unrestricted fertility to any important extent. If the women of the present time were all to marry at an early age and have children without any attempt at restriction, there is no justification in supposing that the birth-rate would be any less than the highest known in any country at any period.

IN RUSSIA, until a few years ago, the birth-rate was nearly constant at fifty per thousand, and in Cairo and Alexandria this figure is still maintained. This is evidently considerably below the maximum possible, owing to the amount of disease and celibacy which is forced on all rapidly breeding countries by economic pressure. When we see that the bulk of civilized countries now have birth-rates of only about half this figure, it means that their intelligence has caused people to put off or avoid marriage, in order to escape poverty, or that they have learnt the use of preventive devices, which have enabled them to marry and limit their families. We may take it as quite certain that in a country where no need for restraint on marriage or parenthood existed, the birth-rate would be at least fifty per thousand per year.

(To be Continued)

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

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OBJECTS
 (From the by-laws)
 The objects of this association are:
 1. To secure the repeal or amendment of all laws prohibiting the giving out of information concerning methods of birth control through the prevention of conception.
 2. To collect and distribute facts in regard to the legal status of birth control education in the United States and other countries.

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241
 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Telephone, Gramercy 3139

THE BIRTH CONTROL Review has offered a special page of each issue to the National Birth Control League. The League accepts this hospitality with pleasure and welcomes this and all other opportunities for co-operation with Mrs. Sanger and the Review.

The Review and the League have the same aim,—to help everyone who needs it to get information about birth control. That information is now illegal. The immediate program of the League is to have it made legal. The immediate program of the Review is to reveal the tragic need for knowledge on this subject, and to make people understand what enormous improvement there will be in individual, social and racial life when this knowledge is easily available.

With these two first objects accomplished, both the Review and the League will then be free to go on to great primary aim of getting the information to the people,—by the introduction of instruction on this subject in the medical schools, by the promotion of clinics in all big cities, and perhaps most important of all, by printing and distributing the best possible up-to-date scientific information.

VIRGINIA T. HEIDELBERG, Chairman.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT!

FLORENCE KELLEY once hushed an applauding audience by saying, "don't spend any of your vitality approving what I have said, the question is, what are you going to do about it?"

That is what the National League asks the readers of the Review,—“what are you going to do about it?” You believe in birth control. Your subscription to the Review proves it. Possibly you are amply informed on birth control for the needs of your own personal life, but what are you doing, what will you do,—to help the 40,000,000 men and women of this country to understand the meaning and benefits of birth control and to help make it legal for them to receive contraceptive information?

You want to do all you can? Very well, then. Begin now. Sign your name to both sections of the blank below and send it to our office. Then tell us how many of these blanks you will distribute. We will supply you with all you can use. If you want some good leaflets to distribute with the blanks write to us for them. This blank will appear in every succeeding issue of the Review for new subscribers to sign. Two months from now we should like to report that every single subscriber to the Review has signed the blanks.

When people say to you, “birth control, yes—but not in war time,” show them that just because of the war conditions, we all the more need birth control. Why? Because birth control is race conservation. It lowers the birth rate but lowers the death rate and infant mortality still more. Fewer people are born, but more survive. It eliminates waste. If we are rightly being trained by our government to save food and fuel and money, how much more ought we to be trained in saving the nation itself!

* * *

WHICH ARE the most valuable citizens for a country under the terrible strain of war, the man and woman who have children as fast as it is physically possible to have them, regardless of whether there is money or strength enough to care for them, so that some of them die and the parents and children become more or less a drain on the community,—or the man and woman who intelligently “space” their children, so that those who are born have a chance to live, and the health and welfare of all concerned is conserved?

Which of these families will be better able to render good service to the country during and after the war?

In other words, birth control is the highest, most far-reaching kind of patriotism.

MARY WARE DENNETT,
 Executive Secretary.

TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE

As a voter of this state, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the penal law, so that giving information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this state.

Name.....

Address.....

Sign and return to:

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue - - New York City

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

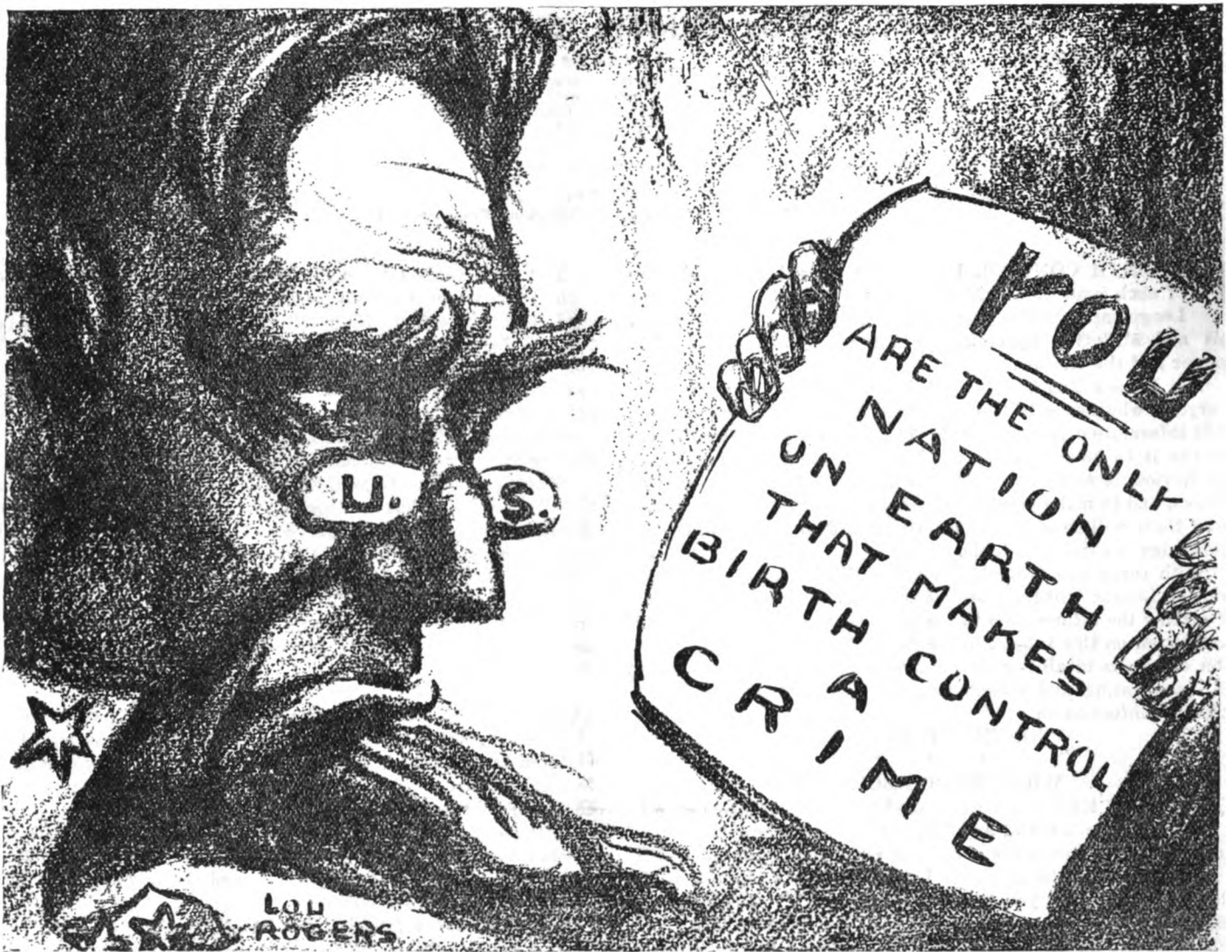
As a voter, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the Federal Penal Code so that the transportation of information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this country.

Name.....

Address.....

Sign and return to:

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue - - New York City



HYMN OF THE UNBORN BABE

OUT OF THE Land of Children's Souls,
Comes forth this cry unceasingly:

"Mother of mine, mother-to-be,
Oh, bear me not unwillingly!
I ask not life, but if you give,
Oh, grant me then the chance to live!

"Not one of an unwelcome brood,
Whose very presence doth intrude
Upon an anxious mother's care,
Of which too many claim a share.

"Oh, far, far better not be born,
Than aging one already worn!
For I would have my coming be,
A source of joy and hope to thee.

"Are poverty, disease and crime,
The heritage that come with time?
If such be my unhappy lot,
I conjure thee, Oh, bear me not!

"I come, I come on hope's soft wings,
With faith and love my offerings;
Lips to be kissed with love-lit eyes,
Smiles that were formed in Paradise.

"If blows and curses be my fate,
Oh, you can turn my love to hate!
Mine is the right to love and joy.
Create not, if you must destroy!"

A Friend.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE OF VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD



AN OBLIGATION FULFILLED

By MARGARET SANGER

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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- CAMDEN, N. J.—Dr. L. A. Young, 522 Spruce St.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Ohio*. President, Alfred F. Bosch, 1611 E. 73rd St., Cleveland.
- COLUMBUS, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Columbus*. Arthur Gluck, 2054 Tuller Street, president.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Virginia Heidelberg.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
- PATERSON, N. J.—William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Avenue.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, secretary.
- ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A. I. Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue.
- ST. LOUIS, MO.—Clara Taylor, 5063 Page Boulevard.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- SEATTLE, WASH.—*The Seattle Birth Control League*. Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West Seattle, Wash., secretary.
- SUMMIT, N. J.—Rev. Franklin C. Doan.
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The above prices do not include postage

A STATEMENT OF FACTS — AN OBLIGATION FULFILLED

By Margaret Sanger

THIS IS THE TWELFTH issue of *The Birth Control Review*, and as such marks the fulfillment of an obligation. To me a dollar given for the support of any movement such as ours—is more than one hundred cents, it is a pledge for the betterment of the world—of the human race. Thus it is doubly the attitude of those chosen to administer the monies contributed for such funds, to see to it that every cent of every dollar is rightfully expended and rightfully accounted for. Governed by this conviction I have issued the twelve numbers of *The Birth Control Review*, and have succeeded in bringing the magazine to a point where its future usefulness is assured. Before, however, forgetting the obligations of the past in the greater promises of the future, I consider it my duty to make plain to the subscribers of this magazine certain following facts: In October, the year of 1916, the task of stimulating the birth control movement through a monthly publication was undertaken by me with the assistance of Frederick A. Blossom, former manager of the Associated Charities of Cleveland, Ohio. He came to me in Cleveland during the month of July, 1916, and volunteered his services to the movement for a period of six months. Despite the fact that he had had no previous experience in any modern or progressive movement nor scarcely any knowledge of the physical, historical or economic facts of birth control, I accepted his offer, for I believed that with his experience and assistance as manager much of the routine work would be taken off my shoulders, and that I would be able to devote more of my time to agitation, to lecture work, to the opening of clinics and to organizing more intensely some of the many details which had to be neglected because of lack of time. I also hoped to be of more general service in bringing together in closer and more constructive operation the various birth control centers which I had just organized in the United States. In October of the same year, Frederick Blossom was placed in full charge of the New York office, of all the books, of monies received and spent, and generally of all financial affairs of *The Birth Control Review*. In fact, he was given a confidence usually earned by years of toil and sacrifice and accomplishment.

IT WAS EXPECTED THAT the first issue of the magazine would be issued immediately, but it was not until February of the following year, five months later, that the first number came from the press. The third issue and incidentally the last of his eight months of management of the magazine came in May of that year. Then, to my utter surprise, he proposed to abandon the publication, although he had accepted almost two thousand paid-in-advance subscriptions and had therefore incurred an obligation to continue the issuance of the mag-

azine to the end of the twelfth month. His explanation was he had spent on three issues all the moneys collected, a sum which by his own calculations should have been sufficient for twelve months. He also claimed the magazine owed him several hundred dollars. In May, 1917, Frederick A. Blossom resigned as manager of *The Birth Control Review* and was asked to discontinue his activities on my behalf. In leaving he took with him all the furniture and furnishings of the office that had been bought in the name of the *Review*, all books, vouchers, checks and business or financial records of every sort, leaving me with none of the equipments necessary to carry out the obligation to the subscribers of *The Birth Control Review*, with nine issues out of twelve yet to be published, and not one cent in the bank account of the *Review*. When Frederick Blossom thus abandoned his responsibilities as manager of the *Review*, I asked him to give me a complete report or statement of receipts and expenditures. This request was never complied with nor have I to this day been able to obtain the books from him, although this request was made at various times covering the period of a year, sometimes as often as once a week. I needed and asked for the following:

1. The total amount received from subscribers.
2. The names and amounts received from contributors.
3. Moneys received through cash sales of the *Review* other than through subscribers.
4. Total amount received from sales of the "Girl" and "Mother" books and other literature; also
 1. The dates and amounts paid for printing the various issues.
 2. Amount spent for postage, wrappers and other incidental disbursements.
 3. Amount paid for "Girl" and "Mother" books.

HIS ANSWER WAS that I could "count the number of subscribers on file and send to the printer for the printing bills" for any information. I then requested him, as I had not received a statement, to send to me by return mail the book or books in which a full account of receipts and contributions had been kept, also the bank book, check book and vouchers of the *Review* account, saying that I would prepare a statement and submit it to him for correction before taking it to the committee of friends who were willing to help me. He refused flatly to do this, and I then placed the matter in the hands of my attorney. Finally, one year after his resignation as manager of *The Birth Control Review*, he sent to my attorney not a financial statement of receipts and expenditures, nor the books, vouchers, etc., but what purported to be a statement of bank deposits and withdrawals by checks which amounted to \$4,816.25. Upon

obtaining a transcript of this account from the bank, it was found that their account showed deposits and withdrawals to the amount of \$5,185.50. That discrepancy is a question between Frederick Blossom and the bank. Much as the money involved is needed in the movement, its loss, if loss there be, is overshadowed by the difficulties, the embarrassment and injury to the movement resulting from his failure to return to *The Birth Control Review* its documents and to give an accounting of his financial transaction of his stewardship. All that we have to show covering that stewardship of eight months is the report of deposits and withdrawals, which does not agree with the banks and three numbers of *The Birth Control Review*. This meeting was finally brought to a head by the interjection of the B. C. L. of New York in the matter. An annual meeting of the B. C. L. of New York was called in Frederick Blossom's apartment on May 11th to elect officers. The newly elected officers, of which Hiram Myers was president, Mrs. Eugene Stone, vice-president; Jonah J. Goldstein, treasurer; Elizabeth Stuyvesant, secretary, requested Frederick Blossom, former treasurer of the League, to pass over to its newly elected officers all books, accounts, etc., of the League. This he refused to do, and the treasurer and president issued a complain against him in the district attorney's office.

IN THE MEANTIME the New York Women's Publishing Co., Inc., had been formed to take over the publishing of the *Review* and assist me in fulfilling my obligations to subscribers. This statement would have been made earlier, but it could not be made until absolute proof had been given that all obligations included in a year's subscription had been discharged. *The Birth Control Review* has made good its obligations to its supporters and to the movement—so far as we have been able to ascertain them—even in the absence of the records which Frederick Blossom has as yet not surrendered. If anyone who has paid for a subscription to the *Review* has not received it, information should be sent to this office at once in order that the unavoidable omission may be made good. Whatever the outcome of the disagreement—personal, petty in the extreme, it does not conflict with the work nor obstruct the goal that is to be reached. Everywhere throughout the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the birth control idea is progressing and the future of the movement is assured.

My dear Mrs. Sanger:

As there has been some comment concerning my action in requesting the District Attorney to institute an inquiry into the financial affairs of the New York Birth Control League, I wish to state to you briefly my reasons for so doing.

During the first year, following its inception, I was treasurer of the League.

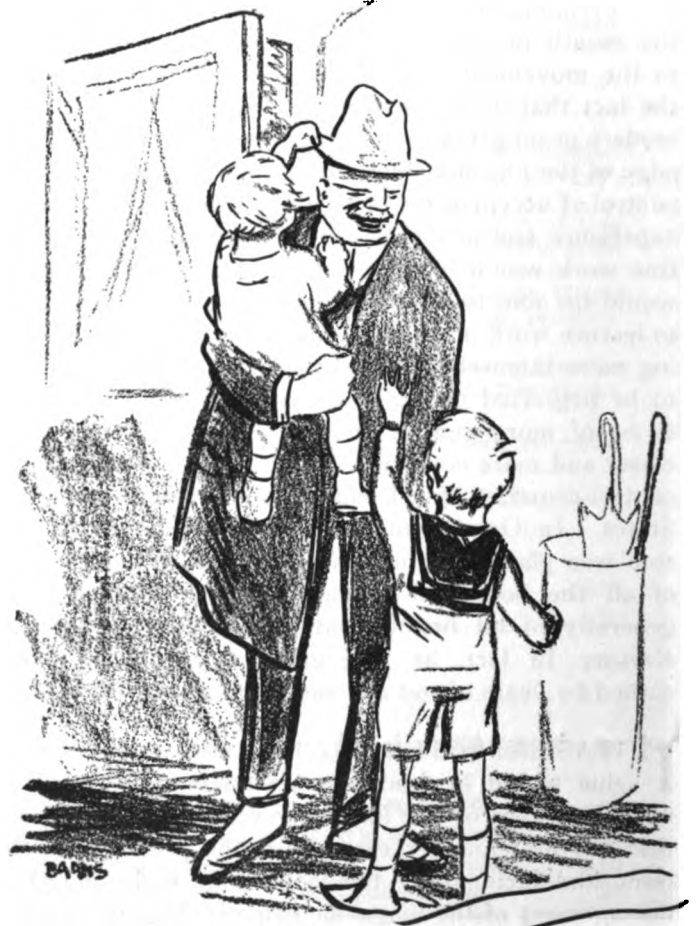
At the first annual meeting I was made assistant treasurer of the League, and since that time have found it absolutely impossible to get any adequate statement concerning the finances of the League.

After making another attempt to secure accurate information, and failing in this, I instituted a John Doe inquiry through the District Attorney's office, solely with the idea of protection of those who had contributed sums of money to the New York League, and in so doing have no doubt that my action was the only honorable thing to do, having been myself officially connected with the League's finances. I understand that the investigation is still pending.

I have recently heard from a majority of the members of the Executive Committee of the League, as constituted at the time in question, and from many of the original members of the League, and have received their endorsement of my action.

Sincerely yours,

HIRAM MYERS.



Judge Returning Home After Sentencing a Birth Control Speaker to Six Months Is Met by His Two Children, Ages Three and Six.

THE CRYING NEED FOR BIRTH CONTROL

By Ida Wright Mudgett

PART II.

HERE comes a time when an utterly exhausted man, fleeing from an enemy, ceases to care whether he lives or dies. He wants just to rest. The strong instinct of self-preservation can no longer spur him on. In similar circumstances the strong instinct of mother-love becomes impaired in quality and languishes for lack of an adequate nervous system to sustain it. The overburdened mother is like a cow, and cow-like she hooks the yearling away to make room for the suckling.

This thought brings to mind the reference to prenatal influence. What chance has the pauperized mother of a too large family to give her offspring the right of being born with a well-organized body and healthy nervous system? What kind of prenatal nourishment can she furnish for her child? What possible good influence can she have upon the nervous system (upon which morality so much depends in mature life) of her offspring?

A breeder of good horses does not overwork his brood mares until they drop in their tracks, nor over-breed them until they foal inferior stock. But the lord of society may treat his wife in that way.

The most horrible blight on civilized society, the most unanswerable arraignment of the system, the canker in the eye which prevents civilization from looking savagery squarely in the face, is prostitution. Savagery does not have to blush for *that*. Civilization does! The more civilized it becomes, the less humane, the more utterly destructive to the surplus female it becomes. (Note: A surplus female. One that can not be absorbed into the social body by the rules and regulations of organized society. As witness the arbitrary and ferocious methods of police machinery—the *male dealing with his female*—the organized vice trusts ramifying through every avenue of life, systematically roping, capturing and binding thousands of girls for the shameless traffic of civilization.) Yet men have the influence to affirm that prostitution is an absolutely necessary and inevitable function of society.

ONE OF THE CHIEF causes of prostitution is late marriages. All during the years when a man's passion is strongest and most uncontrollable, he is trying to get himself in a position where he can afford to marry. In the majority of cases this desired aim could be attained quite early in life, if he could be assured that he would have only the support of his wife, and a family keeping pace with his growing income. He could look with some degree of equanimity upon the idea of supporting a wife and a child coming every four or five years for twenty years, but he shrinks aghast from the idea of

possible offspring for every two years for twenty years. He will not venture to assume such a responsibility—not in this age when he is beginning to realize in his own person what lack of education, lack of opportunity mean. So he seeks satisfaction among women whom he feels to be "safe" in so far as possible progeny is concerned. To meet this demand, a large number of women is needed; women forever cut off from home and family life, women who would mostly have made good wives and built up good homes, and had their share of children.

The great cosmic urge is upon the young female as well. She many times meets her male half way. The usual result for her is abuse, social disaster and sometimes a nameless grave.

Now, if a young man was reasonably sure that a too numerous brood would not follow at once upon the heels of the marriage ceremony, he would marry. For what normal young man would prefer the chance consorting with a mere female—under such circumstances she means nothing more than that to him—to life with the one girl, a home and everything that it means. With this assurance he would marry, save himself from demoralization, perhaps physical ruin.

UNCHECKED FAMILIES have a direct bearing on war. Overpopulation means pressing upon the means of subsistence, pressing upon means of subsistence means need of territorial expansion, need of territorial expansion means wars. The action of Germany in launching the present conflict proves the point.

There are only two serious arguments against birth control. The first is, that the ignorant stratas of society and the lower races would multiply beyond and soon swamp the better products. This would lower the status of humanity. This argument is based upon the assumption that the women in the lower walks of life cannot be reached with the knowledge of personal sanitation as related to this subject, either because they are too stupid to learn or too superstitious to heed. I have not come into personal contact with this aspect of the subject, so I cannot be certain about it, but I have been assured by several who, years ago in London, worked in this matter, that such women were intelligent enough to learn and willing to practice. As for the lower races, biologists assure us that such races are mostly dying out from natural causes inherent in their organisms.

The second argument is, that the more desirable classes would refuse to have offspring. Undoubtedly this is, to a limited extent, true. Some of these women who now have children would refuse to have them at all if they had the requisite knowledge to prevent it. But they are the kind who push their babies away, refuse to nurse

them, largely neglect them, and eventually commit abortion. Their progeny is none too desirable, because of the mother's heartlessness and careless mind.

It has been my experience that both men and women, suitably situated, want a reasonable number of children, that they love them and know that their lives are not complete without them. These are the mothers who give every consideration, both prenatal and after birth, to the well being of their offspring. They bear them cheerfully because they want them, nurse them at their breasts and give them every personal attention. After all is said and done, these are the mothers who keep the race advancing, physically, mentally and morally. The birth rate among these would not be lowered, but perhaps increased.

Some agree that to limit population is desirable, but do not agree that the use of artificial means is permissible. Only moral means, self-control, abstinence are to be considered. If it were possible, yes! But I take it that practical people use practical means to attain desired ends.

There are two fundamental functions inseparable from organic life; they are food desire and sex desire, the former for the preservation of the individual, the latter for the preservation of the species. It is as profitable to ask the race to refuse expression to the former as to ask it to refuse expression to their latter desire. The experience of moralists, as far back as we have any history, shows that it can not be done. The biological forces planted in the organisms of its units are too urgent; and to modify these forces to any extent the race as a whole must have time and opportunity to think, to meditate, to develop the artistic and ideal sense, and thus have something in its consciousness to exhaust its nerve force upon beside passion. If we expect its animal limitations to be outgrown, a leisure incompatible with overgrown families must be secured.

MARRIED LOVE—A REVIEW

AMONG BOOKS DEALING with the love relations between men and women, "Married Love," by Dr. Marie C. Stopes, is unique in at least two respects. It is exactly what it purports to be—a book for *all* married people. To the author's faithful adherence to her purpose to make it a book for normal, average people we owe the fact that her knowledge is given to us with clarity and directness; and that there is not a superfluous word in the book. One is not confused and waylaid by excursions into the realms of the abnormal and the morbid.

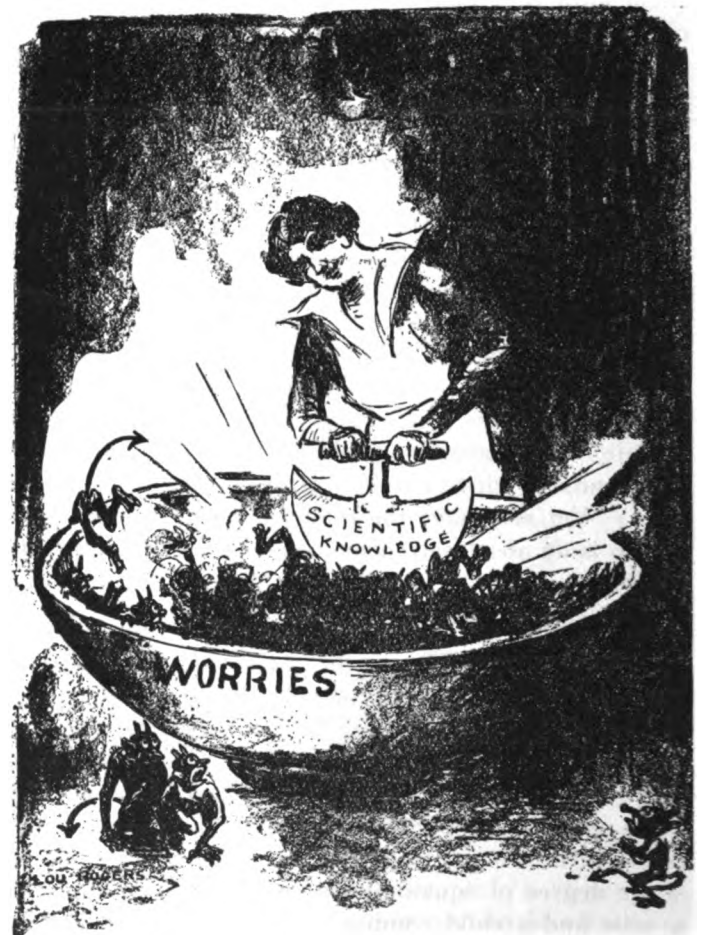
Another thing which distinguishes the book from all others of its kind is Dr. Stopes' discoveries in connection with the sex-life of women. This real beginning of a scientific study of woman is an encouraging sign that women will no longer acquiesce in the old, man-made dogma that woman is the passive instrument of man's

pleasure. Dr. Stopes' book is a convincing answer to Weininger's peevish complaint that women are so little interested in the wonder and laws of their being, that the only known description of the emotions of a pregnant woman was written by a man.

There is also a fine chapter on the cramping effect on married people of the perpetual propinquity of each other. It is not only that it takes courage of the highest order to leave one's mate free, but it is the rarest thing in the world to find married people who realize that the truest happiness lies that way. It is a truth we might all take to heart with advantage to ourselves that "even in a supremely happy marriage, which touches, as does the mystic in his raptures, a realization of the whole universe, there cannot lie in the *whole* of life's experiences."

Dr. Stopes' handling of the subject matter of her book is above reproach, but in form it could have been improved by giving the editor's comments in the form of footnotes, or as numbered notes at the end of the book. Nothing could well be more confusing to the reader than to have them as they are, in the body of the text. It is not only disconcerting to find the author's views in one sentence contradicted by the editor in the next, but it is hard to follow her thought when it is interrupted so frequently.

BLANCA VAN BEUREN.



Making Mince Meat.

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

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 Jessie Ashley
 Augusta Cary
 Mrs. Walter Chambers
 Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett
 Mrs. William H. Greene
 Dr. A. L. Goldwater
 Max Heidelberg

OBJECTS
 (From the by-laws)
 The objects of this association are:
 1. To secure the repeal or amendment of all laws prohibiting the giving out of information concerning methods of birth control through the prevention of conception.
 2. To collect and distribute facts in regard to the legal status of birth control education in the United States and other countries.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 Paul Kennaday
 Louise Kneeland
 Mrs. Woodruff Looming
 Mrs. Ames Finchet
 Marion Nichol Rawson
 Mrs. Lillian R. Sims
 Mrs. John H. Williams

200 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Telephone, Gramercy 3139

EVERY MONTH ON this page the *National League* will suggest something *to do* to make your interest in birth control effective. You believe in birth control, of course, and very likely you have already whatever information you personally need, but that will not help the thousands of suffering mortals who need information and are deprived of it by our cruel laws,—people like the woman who wrote this letter to us recently:

DEAR FRIENDS:—
 I am enclosing the blanks you asked us to sign. I do not know if they will do any good as we just came here from Canada four months ago. Though my husband and I were both born in the U. S. A.

But I want to help all I can for my own benefit and also for the benefit of other poor mothers who need, yes, sadly need the knowledge of birth control. I am desperately in need of something sure and harmless as my health is about ruined and I live in dread and fear of another confinement as each month goes by. I am only twenty-six years old and have had six children and one miscarriage. My first baby is dead.

We live on a farm and I had a lot of hard work outside to do, and with a baby every year, no wonder I am what I am. Two doctors I have already asked for some knowledge as they knew my circumstances, but all they told me was to be careful so many days before and after mensuration and single beds. That I knew, and I told them you know that it takes two to make a bargain even like that.

Tell me how is it the wealthier class of people get information like that and those that really need it, can't? I don't want to say that I don't want any more children, because I love babies, but I want a chance to get my health and get those I have a start in the right way. My husband only gets an average of \$16 a week, and there are seven of us. Oh, isn't there some one who can help me?
 Sincerely, Mrs. K. A. B.

NOW, WHAT IS TO be done about it? Why, *work as never before* to make every one you know understand what the birth control movement is, so they will join with us to get the laws changed at the next winter sessions of Congress and the state legislatures.

One of the best ways to get them to understand is to read "The Small Family System," by Dr. Charles V. Drysdale. It is a remarkable little encyclopedia of birth control data. The publisher has brought out a special edition exclusively for the National League, but the new postal zone regulations prevent giving the price. This article would be classed as an advertisement if we did, involving extra postage, the calculation of which by zones is impossible just as the Review goes to press.

This book convinces. Help us make it do a big work. People believe as soon as they understand. When they understand they demand that the laws be changed. When enough people demand the change, it will happen. Then *we shall be free to enlighten all the Mrs. K. A. B.'s. And the world will be a more "decent place to live in."*

MARY WARE DENNETT,
Executive Secretary.

TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE

As a voter of this state, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the penal law, so that giving information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this state.

Name.....

Address.....

Sign and return to:

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue - - New York City

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

As a voter, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the Federal Penal Code so that the transportation of information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this country.

Name.....

Address.....

Sign and return to:

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue - - New York City

LET'S HAVE THE TRUTH

ONE HUNDRED AND ONE of the men and women who have worked hardest, longest and most fearlessly for the wiping out of social and industrial evils, as those evils are defined and dealt with by the I. W. W., are on trial in Chicago. The charge is conspiracy to obstruct the conduct of the war and 10,000 crimes are alleged against those now under prosecution. The charges, however, are being overshadowed by the great outstanding fact that the I. W. W., as an organization, is on trial for its life. America may be said to be divided into two camps—those who believe that such organizations as the I. W. W. have a right to exist and those who believe that the members of such organizations should be hunted down, jailed or lynched as menaces to society.

This fact alone makes it imperative for the welfare of society that the full truth about the I. W. W. be known. Any issue sufficiently keen and clear-cut as to divide the country into two sharply defined camps brings with it a demand that, for the benefit of society, the fullest possible light be shed upon the facts in the case. Society, jealous of its own well being, must see that the facts are known, in order that it may determine its future course.

Besides this consideration, the fate of the persons on trial is of little significance.

The trial of the I. W. W., however, takes on even a more compelling significance, when it is remembered that the evils with which that body deals in its own particular way are the same ones of which newspapers are constantly complaining, the same ones that occupy the greater part of the time of the courts, of congress, of legislatures and federal commissions, the same ones that claim chief attention of reformers, revolutionists, churches, economists, social settlements, and the great army of uplift agencies, to say nothing of labor organizations of every kind and description. The trial goes to the very heart of the things which are occupying the social consciousness—the things of which society at large talks and thinks all the time.

Moreover, the I. W. W. is a distinctly American institution. It grew out of American soil, is the product of American conditions, deals with American problems. It is not an importation—it grew here. The problems with which it deals, its ideals and its methods are American. Until the problems are settled or conditions change, there will always be an I. W. W. or its equivalent.

So far as society is concerned—and society is the chief party to the I. W. W. trial—the demand rises clear, strong and unavoidable: "Let's have the truth."

THE CASE ITSELF gives the best available opportunity to get at the truth. The government's prosecutors and its army of detectives, backed by that great mass of employers, who hate the I. W. W., will present one side of the case. That much society at large can

be assured of but a trial is a legal battle and the prosecution does not concern itself with bringing out facts that might hurt its own side of the case; that is left for the accused to do. For every apparently sound fact brought out by the prosecution, there must, if the truth is to be known, be brought out another fact by the accused. It costs great sums of money to get at those facts—it means the employment of investigators and the bringing of witnesses from great distances, it means months of work for lawyers even before the case comes to trial.

The cost of the I. W. W. trial will be at least \$100,000. This sum will not meet all the needs of the case, but it will assure the public of getting at most of the truth. Whether you agree with the I. W. W. or not, you cannot escape the conviction, if you know even so much of the truth as has thus far seeped through, that these men have given up home, comfort and necessities—have risked liberty and life itself to bring an end to those evils which society itself is constantly struggling to eradicate. The membership of the organization has raised \$50,000 for the defense; the other \$50,000 must come from socially conscious persons who have a passionate devotion to truth.

Realizing this situation and its vast importance to society at large, a group of widely known liberals have formed a committee which is raising the second \$50,000. Albert De Silver, 2 West Thirteenth Street, New York City, is treasurer, and checks should be sent to him. The committee is:

Robert W. Bruère, John Dewey, John A. Fitch, Percy Stickney Grant, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Walter E. Weyl, Inez Haynes Irwin, Helen Keller, Jas. Harvey Robinson, Thorstein Veblen, George P. West.

M. H. S.

POST OFFICE CENSORSHIP

Word has come to this office that the book "Married Love" written by Dr. Marie C. Stopes of London has been suppressed by the postal authorities. In other words this book cannot pass through the U. S. mails.

On another page of this magazine is printed a review of the book, and it is our intention to have it reviewed by several women who are acknowledged leaders of feminist thought in America.

Needless to say the postal authorities have gone far out of their way to find this book "obscene" for it might be safely said that there is not another book of this character in the English language whose approach to the subject is so delicate, fine and beautiful. The book was brought out in London a few months ago and received the most enthusiastic comment from some of the most conservative sources.

It has not been suppressed in England—why in America?

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

LARGE FAMILIES AND HUMAN WASTE

By ANNA E. BLOUNT, M.D.

HOW NATURE GETS EVEN

**THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
ON BROADWAY**

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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

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- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*.
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- SPAIN (1904).—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bulffi, Calle Provenza 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuersa*.
- 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. *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua Vizcande de Moran-guapez 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. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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LARGE FAMILIES AND HUMAN WASTE

By Anna E. Blount, M. D.

"SELF-PRESERVATION is nature's first law;" but just as surely, race preservation is nature's second law.

There is no conflict, I think, between these two laws, except that each may be overworked, to the confusion of the other. People, and especially women, who are too self-centered, are apt to have no children; whereas the woman who overproduces (overworks nature's second law) is apt to die a wreck, and defeat the ends of reproduction by leaving an infant family to the mercies of the world.

There are two points of view, then, from which to observe the question of large families; first, that of personal welfare; and second, that of the public, the State or of humanity, as you like to put it.

Can fine people, of splendid heredity, and ample means for sustenance and education, have too many children, short of actually destroying the mother's life during the infancy of the children? Was Luther right concerning any class when he said, "Let your women bear children without ceasing; and if a woman die bearing, what matters it? She is there to do it."

If he was right at all, of what class of people was he right, and of what class was he not right? Was he right from the personal, or from the social point of view, or from both, or from neither? Do large families, *per se*, mean weakened children, or only when poverty and ignorance are factors?

There is no more hotly disputed question in the world than the relation between large families and mental and physical ability. Roosevelt is proclaiming loudly on the one hand that fine families cannot be too large, and that degenerate ones cannot be too small; while most of us are willing to admit that women are entitled to choose how many children they will bear, and not, like a salmon, spawn as copiously as possible, and then die.

THE READERS OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW are already in possession of the fact that a high birth rate in any nation is always correlated with a high death rate, suggesting that even when numbers alone are desired, the efficient number of births per mother is never the greatest possible. Thus Russia, with its huge birth rate (sometimes as great as 50 per 1,000), has a lower rate of increase of population than New South Wales or Queensland, both of which have very low birth rates. The birth rate is then only one of two factors in the increase of population, the death rate being even more variable and hence more important. If the death rate is 100 per cent, as it is in stricken Poland now, the greatest possible birth rate will produce no increase in population. This seems very elemental, but it is not unnecessary to mention, when such men as Roosevelt and Beale speak of birth rate, as though it were synonymous with increase of population.

In line with this correlation of national high birth rates with high death rates, Ploetz of Saxony shows that the twelfth child has about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many chances of death in infancy as the second, and that the infant death rate increases progres-

sively from the second child on, rapidly after the fourth. Clearly then there is a point in these families when further expenditure of time and raw material in the production of children produces diminishing returns. Conversely, of course, "Limiting the family would increase the family."

You might object that Ploetz's Saxon statistics concern only the poor, likewise that Russia is poor, while Australia is rich. Perhaps the child mortality which we ascribe to large families is really due to poverty. But poverty itself is due very often to large families. From the time when too early paternity stops a man's training or education, and compels him to take a poor job to keep the pot boiling, to the time when the hungry faces of six little ones at home makes a man into a strike breaker, or puts him into his employer's power through fear to change his job, the number of children is the all important factor in poverty.

But Ploetz made an attempt to distinguish between the effects of poverty, *per se*, and of over production, by collecting statistics of 3,319 children of the nobility. He classified them as 1st born, 2nd born, etc., and then reckoned what per cent. of each died before attaining the age of five years. He found that 26.4 per cent. of first born, and 24.9 per cent. of second born died before this age, and that 34.4 per cent. of 9th to 19th born died before this age. That looks as though in very large families, even with ample means, the later ones have a poor chance. It is perhaps fair to attribute this lack of vitality to over-production.

AN ANALYSIS OF Alexander Graham Bell's tables of the Hyde Family, published in the *Journal of Heredity* for July, 1917, showing the relation between the length of life of the individual and the number of his brothers and sisters, seems to show that up to ten children the longer-lived individuals come from the larger families. Above ten children the infant death rate was so high as markedly to lower the average duration of life.

That seemed at first astonishing, a poser indeed for birth-controllers, that the proportion of children who lived to old age should increase with the size of the family up to ten children.

But these figures concerned children born for the most part before birth control days, in a family of marked hereditary ability, and for the most part with ample means.

Now in such a clan, where reproduction is allowed to go to the limit, small families will be those where death terminates the marriage early, or where invalidism terminates the reproductive career. Bell was, therefore, comparing small families of debilitated or weak people, with large families of healthy people and good heredity, of course to the disadvantage of the former class.

The only fair comparison would be the longevity of unlimited with that of voluntarily limited families, other things, such as wealth, heredity, etc., being approximately equal.

Unfortunately, we live in a generation too early to deal

with this phase of the question. Children of birth-controlled families have not yet reached three-score years and ten, and we can have no statistics of their longevity, except the striking statistics so often given of their low infant mortality, as compared with that of unlimited families. I refer to the Johnstown statistics, Miss Hamilton's statistics, and Ploetz's figures, which prove that as a matter of practical fact, large families are correlated with frightful infant mortality.

If it later prove true that a small class of people, who have ample means during the period when their children are young, do not deteriorate their stock by their large numbers, then we must concede that from the point of view of good stock, such mothers have a right to as large a family as they wish, up to ten. If we concede the question from the point of view of eugenics, it becomes an individual question, whether so large a family is good for the mother, whether it is her duty, or even her right to devote herself to reproduction alone, or whether she has human duties, aside from those of motherhood; whether so large a production is consistent with those acts of companionship and education which we designate as the higher motherhood. These questions are perhaps to be decided by each mother, who can offer her child both excellent heredity and excellent environment. Let her, however, remember the words of Emerson: "A child is better unborn than untaught; certainly he is."

But alas, alas! It is exactly among this class of people that birth control is now practiced. They have means, and can find methods. They alone are unaffected by our Draconian postal laws, and our monstrous state prohibitions for the dissemination of this most necessary knowledge.

OF THE NEEDS of the vast majority of our population there can be no doubt. Too many children endanger somewhat the life, and very much more the opportunities, of those already born. This has been so amply proven, from so many angles, that further effort is useless.

As to the people who are really poor, they need family limitation clinics more than any other enterprise. Therefore, let the women demand them where the laws permit them, and demand the repeal of all laws which forbid them in other States.

I have touched the question of family limitation where heredity is good and means are ample, and where heredity is good and means are limited. There remains to be discussed the problem of those of defective heredity, with or without means. This is frankly the most difficult class to handle or influence. And yet the numbers of such people must be limited.

There they are, a motley group, from the gay, light-hearted moron, who cannot make an intelligent plan, even to do mischief; to the doddering idiot, the crafty paranoiac, the wretched epileptic, the moral imbecile, the chronic criminal with hereditary taint, and even the village ne'er-do-weel.

What do they cost us, in wealth, in labor and in misery?

They must be eliminated.

Eugenics makes birth control imperative.

Defectives may be segregated, they may be sterilized, and the brighter ones of them may learn methods of contraception. Their marriages should be forbidden, as an expression of the public will that their children are not wanted. But whatever the means this stream of human waste must be deflected from the melting-pot.

The best authorities in the various countries all reckon the present average families of defectives as much larger than those of the general population. They average from 6 to 8 per mother in the various countries, as against a general average of four plus or minus.

Until this question is carefully dealt with by public opinion and the law, we shall continue as of old, breeding most largely from our human waste.

It was Darwin who said: "Except in the case of man himself, hardly anyone is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed."

AS A DOCTOR SEES IT

By B. Liber, M.D.

"**Y**OU HAVE TO GIVE it to me! You have to give it to me, doctor! *You* told him not to go to the shop, and now I must work instead. I know you are not allowed to give it to me; but I don't care and, doctor, don't be afraid—nobody'll ever find it out. I have got two children; that is enough!"

I am not certain whether the most law-abiding physician could have resisted her pleas.

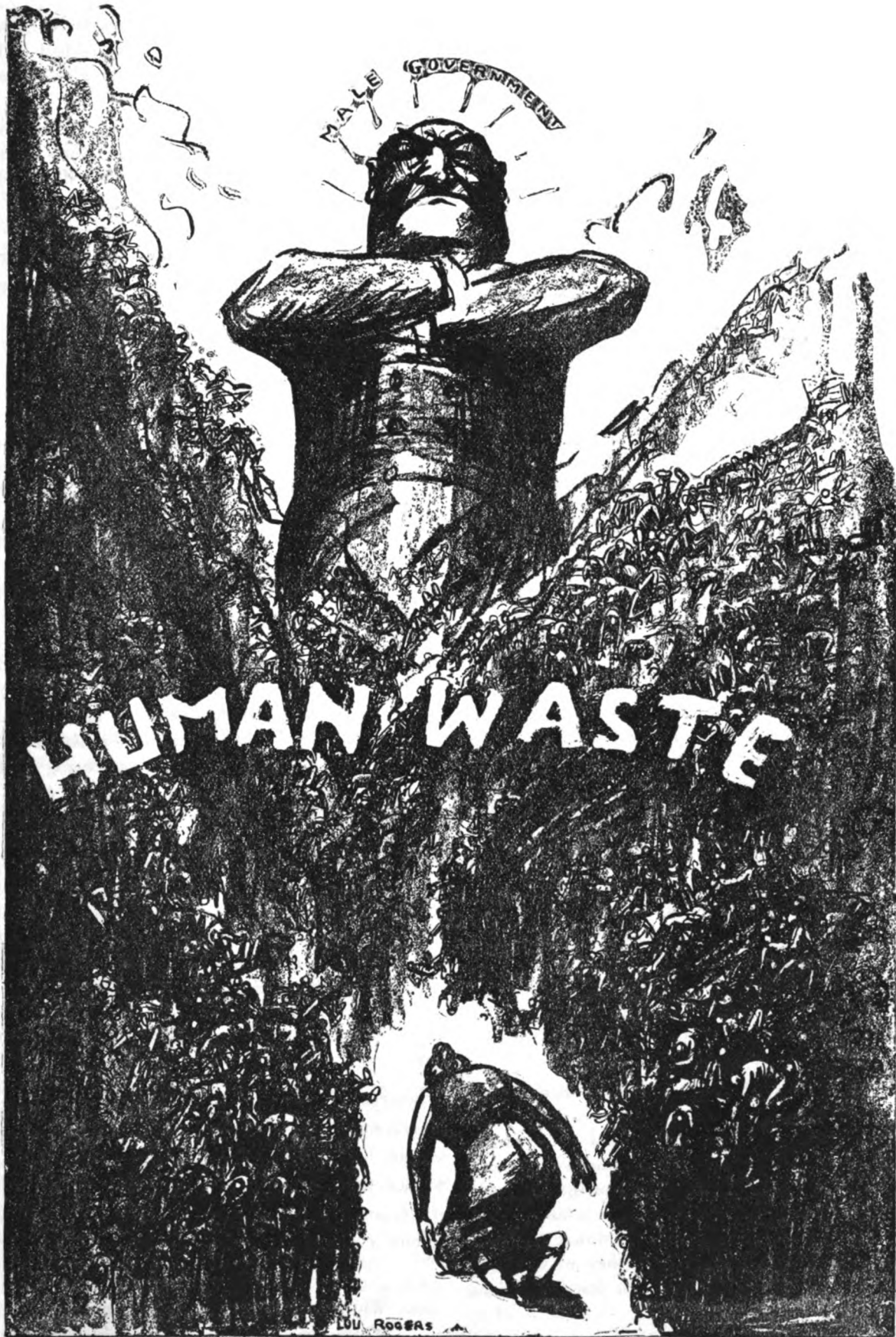
For months her husband had been without work and they were both happy when he found an occupation, which although not in his line, paid him more than they had expected. They were overjoyed. They calculated all their needs and decided how much they must spend, so that a part of the salary could go for paying their debts. They promised themselves to live strictly according to this plan, and so they did until he became ill.

At first it was only for a few days; later he had to stay away from the shop for a longer time and it happened more frequently.

At last I had to advise him not to return to his new trade, which was very dusty, and to look for some outside work; I wanted him to be as much out in the air as possible. And such a job was difficult to find.

With a broken heart, his pride vanquished, deceived in his hopes, he was forced to permit her to go to earn a living for the family, something against which he had resisted until now with all his might.

That was the reason why she came and asked so energetically for a means to prevent her from becoming pregnant again.



WHY WE NEED BIRTH CONTROL!

THE SUICIDAL BIRTH RATE

(We had occasion in a recent issue to criticise an unfair attack on the birth control movement, which had appeared in THE MEDICAL TIMES. It gives us great pleasure to find in the same magazine an excellent article on "The Law of Economic Determination of the Birth Rate," and to reprint it in full, as follows.—EDITORS.)

THE BIRTH RATE of a country represents the effect of economic laws. Where the standard of living is high, the birth rate is low.

Bertillon has shown that "the order of size of the family is invariably the reverse of the order of the economic condition."

Since economic status is definitely related to efficiency and social worth we must expect to find a low birth rate in the best equipped groups.

A high standard of living makes for good hygiene and sanitation, longevity and the salvation of the children in small families.

There has been no biological deterioration in France, whose birth rate increased only 2,000,000 between 1860 and 1900, whereas poverty-stricken Russia, with her low standard of living and very high birth rate, has not successfully withstood trial by fire and blood and iron as has France.

All highly civilized countries, with proper standards of living, show low birth rates, for example, New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, Holland and Sweden.

A generally low birth rate would tend to prevent war. The human rabbit hutch known as China is a menace because of her vast and increasing population. In 1800 Germany had a population of 23,000,000. In 1900 her population had grown to 65,000,000. Her imperialistic dreams and her industrial and military program have been based upon numbers. Had she ordered her affairs like the intelligent Dutch, instead of accepting the guidance of a criminally ambitious group, the world would have been spared its blood bath.

Overzealous advocacy of a high birth rate suggests a lack of information or frank furtherance of essentially vicious social and economic conditions, upon which progress is fatuously supposed to depend. The industrial slave driver imperialist and militarist represents a breed by no means peculiar to Germany. His desires with respect to the world's birth rate must be frustrated if ever the world is to have peace.

There is now a strong movement in the United States looking to improvement in housing conditions for the working class. It is realized that the environment of men goes far toward determining their efficiency. The dwellers must have better and more food, more air and sunlight and greater prosperity. All this attention arises out of the facts that there is a labor shortage due largely to interrupted immigration, and that the backbone of an army consists of workers who, if they are to be fit, must have had decent childhoods. It is seen that the saviors of France are the sons of the poor.

The propagandists of reform ignore the law to which we have called attention, namely, that in proportion as economic conditions are improved the birth rate is lowered.

England furnished an interesting object lesson when she gave up the foreign slave trade and enslaved instead her own yeomanry industrially. Merrie England had had a rational birth rate, but the brutalized workers soon achieved a high one.

So sensitively does society react to the law of economic determination of the birth rate that the efforts of the reformers to whom we have alluded must seem hazardous and ill-advised to reactionaries with a glimmer of intelligence.

You cannot have really decent conditions of life for all and at the same time maintain industrial and military armies.

Let Faust cogitate this problem, while Mephistopheles leers.

THE SCRUB WOMAN

By William E. Williams

I SAW HER cleaning endless stairs,
A figure lean and gaunt and old;
I read a thousand black despairs
In one quick glance of hers that told
More than an epic's fatuous lore,
More than a laureate's unctious lay;
One bitter, patient glance, no more!
The while she scrubbed the dirt away.

I saw behind her in a cloud
Rise up like myriad forms of Fate,
The women whom the yoke had bowed,
Who learned like her to hate—and wait!
Lean, haglike forms with sunken eyes
And withered breasts and caving flanks;
Poor cheated things, I saw them rise
In ghastly ranks on ghastly ranks!

That night I dreamed that Toil arose
And like a giant long in pain
Shook off his puny little foes
And choked the roads with masters slain;
The stair whereon the woman drooped
Dripped clotting red from the affray,
Her thin laugh crackled as she stooped
To wash the stain away!

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.*

While there is a lower class, I am for it.

While there is a criminal element, I am of it.

While there is a soul in jail, I am not free.

—*Eugene V. Debs.*

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW ON BROADWAY

KITTY MARION, English actress and suffragette, has become a Broadway institution. Not as a theatrical star, but as something vastly more important to humanity—a Birth Control propagandist. A fighter of the good fight in the woman suffrage movement across the water, the habit of working for the freedom of her sisters has fastened itself upon her and the allurements of the agitator's role has proved stronger than that of any part behind the footlights. That is why, rain or shine, sleet or gloom, work days, Sundays and holidays finds *The Birth Control Review* on sale on Broadway.

It is work—hard work, good work, indispensable work for the cause, but Kitty Marion has taken a leaf from her experience as a London suffragette and goes joyously about the business of making converts by personal contact with *The Review* as a letter of introduction. And while the Broadway crowds wonder why this distinguished looking woman is selling magazines, afternoon and nights, on what in times of peace is the Great White Way, Miss Marion, to use her own words, is enjoying “the most fascinating, the most comic, the most tragic, living, breathing movie in the world.”

It is well that she gets fun out of it, well that her interest in the movement is so satisfyingly thorough to transmute into entertainment the slings and arrows of an otherwise outrageous fortune that is inevitably the lot of so extraordinary a newsie. Those who have grown in spirit and in deed from one cause to another and another, know what sort of consecration to duty is necessary to extract laughter from that chorus of “You Ought-s” which greet Kitty Marion when she encounters some of the varieties of Broadway types.

I BELIEVE I HAVE met them all,” says she. “And many of them had a ‘you ought’ for me that was intended to have a sting in its tail! You ought—to be ashamed,—to be arrested,—to be in jail,—to be shot,—to be hanged, or, maybe, what I ought to suffer was just ostracism. At least, according to my good sisters, my action in selling *The Review* and advocating birth control, was disgraceful, disgusting, scandalous, outrageous, villainous, criminal, and—and—unladylike! The poor dears!

“Some of them, however—the big, farseeing women who know that suffrage is only a beginning and that the real fight for the emancipation of womanhood lies deeper, had things to say that renewed hope and courage, things that brought joy to the work and inspiration to greater effort. ‘Good for you—good luck!’ they would cry when they caught sight of me at my unusual task, ‘I admire your pluck. Takes courage to do this, but keep it up! Sensible, I say! Bravo!’”

“Somehow, it is these greetings from the big souls I have encountered in the other movement that linger longest in my memory and the fine glow of them shuts out the mocking sting of the words of my former comrades who have not yet come to understand that motherhood must be voluntary.”

One of the men who understood was a young naval officer. He had passed me in company with a lieutenant of infantry,

but turned back, despite an effort upon the part of his companion to dissuade him.

“Is your friend an ‘anti’ or is he just shy?” inquired Miss Marion.

“Oh, he’s an unbeliever!” replied the naval officer, “but personally I prefer birth control to a lot of weaklings.”

If Miss Marion’s experience on Broadway is an indication of the growth of the movement for intelligent birth control—and she believes that it is—the propaganda has made astonishing strides in the past year. Particularly has the fact that birth control means a better, stronger, more capable race impressed itself upon a considerable proportion of the public.

AS THIS PHASE of the great truth underlying the cause is being driven home, men and women alike are asking more and more frequently why birth control should be unlawful in America when it has not penalized in other countries. A hard-headed young Scot, who told Miss Marion that his home was in North Carolina, was and is one of the usual groups which had collected about the purveyor of *The Birth Control Review* and a warm discussion had started. The Scot and a companion, supposing that a war argument was in progress, stopped to listen just in time to hear Miss Marion explain that the *Review* is a propaganda magazine setting forth the purposes and the progress of the birth control movement.

“Birth control is lawful in England but not in America,” she was saying. “If it’s lawful in one section of the English speaking world, there’s no good reason why it shouldn’t be lawful in another,” was the Scot’s verdict, “I want a bundle of those magazines. As soon as I get home, I am going to work for birth control.”

Who buys *The Review* on Broadway? People of every kind and description. Some are attracted by the novelty of the personality of the newsie. A few are looking for something “spicy” a few are seeking the morbid, a few are merely curious, and a few are looking for anything that can be made to excuse a complaint to the police. Some buy it under the impression, perhaps, that it gives information concerning contraceptives. But the majority, having heard of the birth control movement and the work of the groups of propagandists who have fostered it in America, are seeking more light as to the real meaning of that movement. Girls of marriageable age, mothers of families, fathers, young men about to be married, social workers, ministers, physicians, reformers, radicals, revolutionists, strangers just in town—members of each of these elements stop, buy and announce their interest.

A minister usually buys without comment, a theosophist is likely to approve material means of birth control in the absence of the spiritual control which he advocates. The physician gives a word of encouragement and the social worker pours out the tale of things which she has seen, but does not yet know how to cope with adequately.

“I have always given the information on to patients who need it,” more than one physician has said to Miss Marion,

(Continued on page 10)

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Miss K. S. Dreier	New York	1			

EDITORIAL COMMENT

IF ANY SUBSCRIBERS to THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW failed to receive the August number of the magazine, we wish them to know that it was because that issue was ordered barred from the mails by the authorities in Washington. The reason given was, that we had printed a review and an advertisement of an important book which had been enthusiastically received in the British Empire, but which was declared to be unmailable here. Our readers know that we have been exceedingly careful to keep within the letter and the spirit of postal regulations. We did not propose to give reactionary minds in officialdom an opportunity to interfere with the work for woman's freedom to which this publication is devoted. At last, however, a cause has been found. Our answer to this attack, as to all others, is to be propaganda of the most effective kind. It will be the only answer intelligible to the type of official who is seeking to hamper the birth control movement. In the future, as in the past, we shall not intentionally violate postal regulations. But, by means of a bigger, broader, still more fearless magazine, we shall combat the spirit which led to the assault upon us. To that end we have asked our subscribers to co-operate with us in trebling the REVIEW's circulation. We intend to deal telling blows at the dark superstitions which perpetuate in America the lust of witch burning. Those who read the leading article in the suppressed number know what difficulties have been overcome in bringing out the first twelve issues of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. Said difficulties did not deter those who have made the publication a power for free womanhood. The barring of an edition from the mails, far from discouraging us, has moved us to new efforts. But it is possible that this first interference with the REVIEW may have more significance than now appears to be the case. The powers of reaction have recently taken away many of the reforms that American women have won in fifty years of toil, hardship and sacrifice. Yesterday, the Federal child labor legislation, such as it was, went to the scrap heap. Tomorrow, the attack may be wider in its scope. As for the advocates of birth control, they intend to battle in the first ditch, not the last one. With all that we have of inspiration, courage and resource, we shall hold fast to what we have gained. We shall not let up in our fight on the medieval intolerance, which makes it possible to deny the mails of this country to a message of woman's freedom.

THE MAYOR of New York's Committee of Women on National Defense, the Division of Child Hygiene of the same city's Department of Health, the New York Milk Committee and similar agencies have united in a "save 100,000 babies" campaign. One child in every seven born in the United States dies from malnutrition or from some disease directly traceable to poverty. So the "save 100,000 babies" movement has for its slogan: "Save that seventh child!" We confess to finding this a ghastly mockery and an intolerable piece of irony. The agencies quoted appeal to the mothers to do the saving, but

why more mothers do not save their babies is indicated pretty clearly by a circular sent out by a charitable association, which says: "Tired and despairing mothers with the telling mark of day-in and day-out grind on their features, midnight retiring and five o'clock rising—keeping the tattered ends of the housework together, struggling with the everyday problems of sickness, poverty and widowhood—three thousand and seven hundred such mothers and children are waiting an invitation to Sea Breeze, but we must have help if we are to continue these outings." The best that Society offers the child today is occasional charity to keep it alive; the only help that has thus far been suggested for the mother is two weeks of fresh air a year, plus a few weeks of prenatal care. But what is the matter with making birth control information free and open to all, so that seventh children shall not be born in an age when food, shelter, clothing and wholesome air are at a premium? The earlier offspring might then have a chance to grow up in decency and the mother to preserve her health. If the philanthropic reformers have not thought of that solution of the problem, we call it to their attention.

THE CARE of the insane cost the State of New York \$8,320,000 last year. The total economic loss on the insane for the year is officially estimated at more than \$35,000,000. The institutions for the insane in New York are overcrowded to the extent of nearly 6,000 persons. There are already 37,069 persons in public institutions for the mentally defective and it is to be presumed that if these hospitals were not now overcrowded there would be some thousands more. And the number of insane and feeble-minded is increasing. And it is still a crime to impart to the mothers of such the information concerning birth control, which would save the state \$35,000,000 a year and the relatives of the unfortunates inestimable trouble and sorrow. The facts and figures given are those of the recent annual report of the State Hospital Commission. The commissioner recommended five means of preventing the increase of the number of the insane:

Checking the excessive use of alcohol.

Checking the ravages of syphilis.

Informing the public more fully concerning mental diseases and teaching mental hygiene.

Steps to eliminate extreme poverty.

Extension of out-patient departments of state hospitals, etc. It did not recommend the repeal of those survivals of witch burning days, the anti-birth control statutes. So far as the committee is concerned, this direct, simple and effective means of saving this huge cost of money and human agony is still criminal. And so far as the committee is concerned, it prefers \$35,000,000 worth of criminal prejudice upon the part of officials and lawmakers, to birth control.

REVIEW ON BROADWAY

(Continued from page 7)

"I had no idea that it was unlawful to do so and that fact will have no influence upon my course."

"The charge that the spreading of the knowledge of birth control will encourage immorality among girls is "groundless in the light of my experience," says Miss Marion. "The girls who buy *The Review* from me usually ask a good many questions about the publication. In nearly every case, the girl is one who expects to be married and become the mother of a small well-cared-for family, or is a business woman who sees no reason why she should deny herself conjugal companionship because circumstances prevent her from giving proper attention to children. The Broadway crowd, taken by and large, is perhaps the most typically American of all crowds. It comes from the far corners of the country as well as from Manhattan, Harlem, The Bronx, Brooklyn and Staten Island. And the Broadway crowd, which might, two years ago, have been ready to chase anything labelled "Birth Control" off the Great White Way, displays a serious, intelligent interest in the movement.

"But under it all and through it all," says Miss Marion, "is the deep chorus of grief, of the breaking of mothers, the overburdening of fathers, the enslavement and the starving of children because of the lack of the knowledge of the means of preventing large families. Physicians, settlement workers, nurses, child welfare workers, young mothers, mothers who are old and broken, stop to tell the story of pain, misery, defeated ambitions, lost hope because of those laws which prevent nurses and physicians giving to mothers the information which will enable them to keep their families at a size which will permit proper care.

"I wish the legislators no harm, but if a majority of them could be with me for a few nights when the apparently care free Broadway crowd begins by ones and twos to lift the veil of its misery, the next session of the general assembly at Albany would relegate the anti-birth control statutes to that limbo which holds the laws against witch craft, cooking on Sunday and other ancient monstrosities of legislation."

THE WHOLE OF TRUTH

No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that, in order to get the whole of truth, you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—*Wendell Phillips.*

IMPROVING ON INSTINCT

AN ANSWER TO MR. LLOYD

MR. J. WILLIAM LLOYD offers in the June issue of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*, some critical remarks on birth control that are plausible, but hardly fundamental. He does not seem to have gone far enough in his analysis of the underlying theory of Neo-Malthusianism. I beg to add a few words of comment on several points made by him.

Lloyd—"Nature herself is a pretty good guide as to what is of first importance, and it is significant, is it not, that nature has made birth instinctive and almost inevitable and has not furnished instinctive knowledge of birth control?"

Comment—No, there is nothing at all significant about the facts as Mr. Lloyd presents them. He is advancing a discredited teleology that is no longer ascribed to Nature. What is instinctive birth? There is instinctive union of the sexes, resulting frequently in births. People used prudishly to say "procreative instinct" when they meant "sex instinct." It is doubtful if there is such a thing as a pure "procreative instinct." The relation between sexual union and procreation, as we understand it, is the result of intelligent observation, not of instinctive or intuitive knowledge.

Mr. Lloyd forgets that man's directive power corrects Nature's blind mistakes and immeasurably improves her results. For detailed proof of this read Lester F. Ward's "Applied Sociology." To prevent the birth of syphilitic or other kinds of diseased and defective children, for instance, is certainly an improvement on Nature's inevitable tendency to produce them. Because there is no "instinctive knowledge of birth control" is no reason for our neglecting to use intelligence. Such neglect of intelligence is what Mr. Lloyd tacitly asks of us. There is no "instinctive knowledge" of a good many things necessary today to the life of man. Why urge us to rely only on instinct and discard intelligence? We use intelligence in production. Society would crumble if it depended only on instinct to provide food. Why not use a little intelligence in reproduction? Our failure to do this is one trouble with the world today, as Neo-Malthusians constantly insist. In the basic business of procreation too much is left to instinct.

LLOYD—"The need of children after the war will be world-wide and tremendous. . . . Universal co-operation to exploit the undeveloped resources of the earth and seas, destroy disease, drain marshes, irrigate deserts, terrace mountains, build sea-walls, create islands . . . these are vastly more important than birth control."

Comment—Here is a fundamental oversight in all utopian socialist schemes. The projects suggested by Mr. Lloyd are often highly desirable and feasible. But let us not forget that first of all, especially under democracy, it takes time to induce people to co-operate. After you have succeeded in convincing them that they would gain by working together, it takes time to carry out plans, assuming that those agreed upon are really wise and from an engineering standpoint, not visionary. Between the budding of the first idea of vast social enterprise and its actual creation as an external fact,

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A JUDGE ON BIRTH CONTROL

J. C. RUPPENTHAL is judge of the twenty-third judicial district, one of the largest in the state of Kansas. He is also a member of a state commission on the feeble-minded. Remember his name and the positions he holds. He is one of the first judges to come out courageously and unequivocally for birth control. He takes this step partly because of the birth control agitation and partly because of incontrovertible facts which have come to his attention in the course of his public duties.

Not only is Judge Ruppenthal interested in the birth control movement, but he has thought it worth his while to devote much time to the investigation of laws on the subject in the United States and in Canada. It is his apparent intention to seek to educate some of his contemporaries.

Judge Ruppenthal is no theorist. His is the judicial mind that one would expect in his position. Being a judge he will hardly be accused of advocating a cause that is "freakish," "dangerous" or "obscene" or any of the other things that the prejudiced and unenlightened are fond of calling this movement.

The fight for birth control will not be won by doctors, judges, college professors or lawmakers. Before they get out into the ranks, the battle will be over. It will have been won—as all battles for fundamental rights are won—by the elements of the working class most interested. In this case, it will be wives and mothers of workers who have brought the victory. It is highly significant of progress, nevertheless, that judges are beginning to come fearlessly and uncompromisingly into the open in favor of birth control. It means that a good many obstacles have been overcome, that many of the barriers have been blasted away. It means that we are beginning to break through into the opposition's last line of defense.

Here, in a nutshell, is Judge Ruppenthal's position:

"Undoubtedly we are producing too many human beings who are congenitally defective, mentally and physically, and it seems to me that this should be stopped by wise legislation and both by contraception and by the sterilization of the very unfit."

We wonder how many other judges would announce similar views if they dared take a stand against a masculine puritanism that manifests itself in a determination to forbid woman the knowledge of her womanly rights and functions? We wonder, too, if the fact that the women of Kansas are voters does not make it easier for Judge Ruppenthal than for some other judges to take this stand.

Judge Ruppenthal outlines his position in the following letter to Margaret Sanger:

July 10, 1918.

Dear Mrs. Sanger:

..... I write now to assure you of my continued interest in the whole subject of birth control in all fields—eugenic, hygienic, ethical, moral, religious, legal, etc. Your letter in the *Medical World* last November gave my mind a new impulse upon the subject. The result was that I sought to test your statement in the *Medical World* as to the universality of laws

against instructing, etc., on birth control. I went through all the statute law of the United States and all our states and possessions, and Ontario, and embodied the matter in an article which has just been published in the July number of the *Medical World*. I assume that this article of mine will be of value in your birth control propaganda.

It hardly seems to me that you and Roosevelt differ irreconcilably on birth control. He wants families to be large and strong—just how large I do not know. You want families to be strong and healthy—just how small, I do not know. Certainly America is far from overpopulation on the whole, though there is deplorable congestion in certain areas. Undoubtedly we are producing too many human beings who are congenitally defective, mentally and physically, and it seems to me that this should be stopped by wise legislation both by contraception and by sterilization of the very unfit so that their kind shall not be born.

IN MY WORK as judge, I come into contact with all these problems in a great variety of phases. For some time I have been member of a special committee to study the feeble-minded, appointed by the Governor of Kansas.

My very thorough inquiry in divorce cases leads me to conclude that quite an amount of domestic infelicity comes by reason of the ills that flow from uninvited motherhood. Without doubt, great numbers of women do not enjoy the sexual act as they should, if at all, because of wrought-up nervous condition in apprehension of possible pregnancy under conditions—financial and otherwise—that hampers them in rearing children. And out of this grows bitterness at the husband who gets all the enjoyment and suffers nothing. I have repeatedly found this state of mind in divorce cases and all physicians know of such conditions.

Evidently the discussion you and others are arousing will have good effect in the long run in making people think about these matters. The editor of the *Medical World* in commenting upon my article approves of changing the statutes from their present restrictive form.

I read with keen interest the brief in your case on appeal to the New York Court of Appeals and I wish I knew the outcome of that case. If it has been decided by the highest court of New York, I would like to know in what volume of the New York reports it is published. It is not often that anyone cares to test unsatisfactory laws by risking fine and imprisonment, but you did so, and as a consequence many should know more about these laws and the theory on which they have been enacted.

It is not easy to obtain a fair consideration and discussion of this subject in any legislature, or committee, because of our prudishness as a people, and the mock modesty that professes a lofty ignoring of all that relates to sexuality in any form or relation or attribute, as if problems would not exist if you refuse to discuss them.

Hoping for good to civilization through these discussions.

Very truly yours,

J. C. RUPPENTHAL.

IMPROVING ON INSTINCT

(Continued from page 10)

much time is likely to elapse. Meanwhile, there is this urgent sexual instinct in human beings. It does not wait until engineers "terrace mountains." Any intelligent farmer will tell you it is easier to breed stock than to raise food to bring it to maturity. Similarly, human fecundity constantly outruns the capacity of mankind to apply, co-operatively or otherwise, their labor-power to natural resources. It is the sexual instinct pitted against all the other powers of the human mind, plus that great sluggish thing, social inertia. So far, the sexual instinct has always had its way. It is simple, constant and direct in its operation, while social changes are very complex and slow. This idea ought to be perfectly apparent to any thinking person who has outlived the unreflecting enthusiasm falsely engendered in youth by the fascinating dreams of utopians. The co-operative proposals to feed the world made by Mr. Lloyd involve great problems of engineering and fertilization, as well as questions of crop selection and cultivation. Let Mr. Lloyd frankly ask himself how long it will take before his schemes are accepted, applied and at work. Does he think fifty years or twenty years or even ten? At any rate, his practical judgment must tell him it will take a long, long time. Meanwhile, children are born every minute. It is easy to produce children compared with the difficult and complex work of carrying out the elaborate schemes proposed by Mr. Lloyd.

In view of this certain lack of balance between getting children and providing food for them—a fact which ought never to be overlooked—the birth control movement presents the plan of regulating blind human fecundity by bringing it into harmony with the inevitably slower process of economic and social change. As far as I know, in the present state of man's control over natural forces and social institutions, limitation of population is the only way to establish immediately that necessary correlation. The old injunction was, "Multiply and replenish the earth." The new code says, "If you would avoid much misery on earth, never multiply beyond limits set by your physical and social environment." We may look for no great improvement in social conditions until this principle is understood by the leaders of men and widely acted upon. Birth control is therefore not a cult but an essential element in progress.

LLOYD—"It is negative, it is more a stopping of doing than a doing."

Comment—This is a specious distinction, indeed. A thing is either negative or positive according to the point of view. In the same way as preventing typhoid, small pox, cholera and other epidemics is negative, birth control is negative. It prevents the evils of congestion and over-population, reduces disease, impedes the coming of war, and avoids famine and the ruthless competition for jobs. By preventing overbreeding, poverty and wretchedness, it makes possible conditions under which the citizens of a nation will have leisure to enjoy life and have energy left to carry out constructive work for future generations.

Lloyd—"Make motherhood a specially trained and most honored profession, surrounded with all social support and assistance."

Comment—Nothing will hasten the day when maternity becomes a profession like controlled fecundity. With prolific breeding no professional feeling or attitude can possibly develop. Woman is ignorant and degraded where she has no control over her own body. Human life is cheap, as in China. The professional idea regarding any sort of activity is based on purposive control and limitation. Once birth control is sufficiently widespread, motherhood will come to be looked upon as a trained profession. It never will be so long as reproduction remains purely instinctive.

Lloyd—"Observation shows an overwhelming tendency among women of beauty, culture, ability and wealth . . . to avoid motherhood wholly or in part. . . . Women who do need birth control, the diseased, drunken, degenerate, irresponsible ones, are the ones least likely of any to use it."

Comment—These facts are sound enough, but Mr. Lloyd's use of them is not. Contrary to what he supposes, they are a powerful argument in favor of birth control. Can Mr. Lloyd's writing or preaching stop the "higher types" of women from practising family limitation? No more than the Pope or Colonel Roosevelt can stop it. The custom has grown beyond control of an individual or group. A whole sequence of scientific discoveries and industrial processes has made birth control a reality in the modern world. It is a social phenomenon, this declining birth rate. It may be regrettable that the better strains do not have more children, but sermons and moral lectures are going to have little effect upon them as long as science furnishes the means for restricting offspring. Surely Mr. Lloyd must have a sense of his own helplessness when it comes to compelling or persuading what he calls the "higher types," in the interest of eugenics, to be more prolific. For reasons of their own, they will not heed his jeremiads. Such is the real situation. Both Mr. Lloyd and Colonel Roosevelt, being practical men, very much concerned about the future of the race, ought not to waste time trying to scold away such obstinate things as facts, but to adapt their teachings to the world as it is. The eminently sensible thing to do is to help Margaret Sanger and others to give family limitation knowledge to the lower types. They will then multiply less rapidly, and so there is bound to come about a better numerical balance between the superior and inferior stocks in the human family. All opponents of birth control are really encouraging dysgenics. It is not the slow breeding of the intelligent and strong that is a menace so much as the fecundity of the foolish and the weak. By all means, let us create an environment which leads people to take joy in having more and better babies. But until we can succeed in doing that—and it will take some time—let us not force unlimited proliferation of inferior types by withholding information from them which a birth control clinic could so well supply.

Lloyd—"All (contraceptives) are likely to injure the sensitive organs of woman and shock her nervous system; all undependable and treacherously unsafe for the purpose designed;

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HOW NATURE GETS EVEN

By Margaret Sanger

WHEN YOU HAVE READ this page, tear it out and put it into your handbag. Show it to the next crank who denounces birth control as "criminal" or "against nature."

Out of the Queens County (New York) Penitentiary comes a startling reply to the constant question: What has Nature to say about birth control?

Nature's answer is just this:

Control your birth-rate in a sane, scientific way in this generation, or in the next I will control it no less effectively, but at an untold cost of money and misery.

Look for a moment at the tragic table printed below. In it you will find summed up in cold figures the misery of several hundred lives.

Thirty-one of those lives are those of women in the Queens County penitentiary. What existence must mean to them is readily guessed by the fact that they have been in prison.

Note that by far the larger proportion of this number came from families that were too large—families denied the knowledge of birth control.

Note that the mothers of the unfortunate thirty-one gave birth to 217 children. Now note also that the thirty-one gave birth to 53 children. Of these 53, only 38 survive. Fourteen of the thirty-one women prisoners have no children.

While the mothers of the thirty-one women prisoners averaged seven children each, the prisoners themselves averaged one and a fraction.

The two generations of these thirty-one families had this choice:

They could control births in the first generation or Nature would control them in the second, while society would send at least one child of each family to the penitentiary in the process.

That is Nature's answer to the argument that birth control is "unnatural." Incidentally, the crime that society committed in preventing the overburdened mothers from avoiding their load of misery, comes home hard to that same society in the cost of taking care of the unfortunate offspring in prisons and in hospitals for the insane. That sordid fact stands out like a frightful signpost from this table:

Freda -----	None
Sadie -----	None
Annie -----	Single
Ruth -----	Single
Josephine -----	3—(all dead)
Violet -----	2—(1 dead)
Agnes -----	None
Elizabeth -----	5—(2 dead)
Elsie -----	1
Minnie -----	11—(4 living)
Ida -----	1
Olie -----	1
Minnie -----	1
Dora -----	None
Tessie -----	None
Annie -----	4
Eleanor -----	None
Irene -----	None
Rose -----	None
Ethel -----	None
Bessie -----	None
Pearl -----	1
Ruth -----	1
Lily -----	None
Alice -----	6—(1 dead)
Total -----	53

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	
MOTHER HAD	8 -----
5, 1 miscarriage -----	13, 2 or 3 miscarriages -----
9, 7 living, 2 dead -----	3 (in 3 years), died -----
1 -----	in childbirth -----
5 -----	15, 10 living -----
1 -----	6, 2 or 3 miscarriages -----
1 died -----	7 -----
11, 7 living -----	6, 5 living -----
4 -----	2 -----
8 -----	13, 8 living -----
4 -----	4 -----
11, 3 miscarriages -----	1 -----
1 -----	1 -----
17 -----	13, 4 living -----
8, 4 miscarriages -----	11, 8 living -----
4 -----	10 -----
14 -----	-----
TOTAL -----	217

NAME	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
Mary -----	None
Rose -----	2
May -----	2—(1 dead)
Clara -----	9
Rose -----	2 living
Mary -----	1 son

It still remains unrecognized that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a *moral crime* both against the unfortunate offspring and against society.—*John Stuart Mill.*

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TODAY

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(Continued from the July issue)

ACCORDING to the Registrar-General's reports the population of England and Wales in 1801 was 9,156,000, or in round numbers nine millions. Had there been no restraint upon marriage or families, no premature deaths and no migration, this should have doubled to sixteen millions by the middle of the year 1818, again to thirty-two millions in 1836, and become fifty times as great, or four hundred millions in 1901. As a matter of actual fact, the population of England and Wales only reached 32,612,022 in 1901, and the very much slower increase has been held by many sapient individuals to be a disproof of the Malthusian law.

Of course, the population of a country can rarely, if ever, increase at the full rate. If it could there would be little economic basis for a neo-Malthusian propaganda. But why does it not do so? Because it is held in check either by actual want or by the fear of want, both of which it is the object of every humane sociologist to remove.

If we take the present century, we started in England and Wales with a population of thirty-two and a half millions, which should increase, as shown by the upper line, to six hundred millions by the end of the century, so that the population of England and Wales should by the year 2001 be equal to the population of the entire world in 1901. Can any rational person imagine that we shall be able to support even a tenth of this number, with any progress in agriculture or food production which is even remotely in sight;

This, then, is the crux of the neo-Malthusian position. Our examination having shown that unchecked population increases at a far more rapid rate than that at which we can possibly expect to increase the food supply, it follows absolutely that in order to avoid a continual shortage of food each year, with the starvation and disease which results from it, the output of children must be greatly restricted, either by celibacy or late marriage, or by prudence within marriage. Neo-Malthusians, having recognized that sex-starvation is as painful as food-starvation, reject the solution of abstinence from marriage, and they are therefore forced to claim that the only possible means of escape from misery and disease lies in the restriction of families within marriage, by contraceptive devices. No scheme whatsoever of redistribution or of social reform will ever get rid of the absolute necessity for birth control, it can only affect the extent to which it will be required. A country with good and progressive institutions and food opportunities may at present increase by about one and a half per cent per year, or at about one-third of its unrestrained rate, while older or less-favored countries can only increase by a quarter of this amount or less.

BEFORE LEAVING this part of the subject, it may be well to consider how large families should be on an average in this country, in order to keep up its present rate of increase, without economic pressure and premature death. Our present rate of increase is about ten per thousand per annum (birth-rate twenty-four, death-rate fourteen), which means a doubling in each seventy years. Let us suppose that all young people marry and have three children to each couple when the mother reaches the ages of twenty-five, twenty-eight, and thirty-one years. This is roughly equivalent to having the three children together at the age of twenty-eight. If we start with one thousand people, or five hundred couples, we shall have the following table:

Year	0	28	56	84	112
First generation.....	1,000	1,000	1,000	—	—
Second generation.....	—	1,500	1,500	1,500	—
Third generation.....	—	—	2,250	2,250	2,250
Fourth generation	—	—	—	3,375	3,375
					5,063
TOTAL	1,000	2,500	4,750	7,125	10,688
					etc.

When this has been going on for some time, it results simply in an

increase of population from two to three, or one and a half-fold increase, in each twenty-eight years. Hence, in fifty-six years it would increase $1\frac{1}{2}$ times $1\frac{1}{2}$, or two and a quarter-fold, so that it evidently doubles in about fifty years—a much more rapid increase than at present. However, if we deduct about one-third for celibacy, sterility, and infantile mortality, we shall get the doubling in seventy years. We may, therefore, lay it down that an average family of three children coming at the ages of twenty-five, twenty-eight, and thirty-one is amply sufficient to maintain the increase of population of this country at more than its present rate, even allowing a very considerable margin for accidents. Or, to put it more definitely, if every three couples had on an average eight children between them surviving and reproducing at the same rate, our present rate of increase would be maintained.

AS MALTHUS STATED, it is by no means so easy to find out how fast food can actually be increased. Nowadays we have an enormous amount of information concerning food production and distribution, but it is not as reliable as the figures concerning population, and we are met with two serious difficulties which Malthus had not to face. We can no longer consider a single country by itself, as the transport of food is now so enormous. It is, therefore, necessary to tackle the problem as a world question, and we are then in difficulties concerning some of the primitive countries. We are also confronted with the question of the food values of the various agricultural products, and of the amounts used for feeding animals, etc. We shall go into this matter more fully later, mainly by the help of the excellent work of M. G. Hardy, but there is one way in which we can get an immediate idea of the increase of subsistence, and which shows how close to the facts Malthus's much-derided illustration of the steady or arithmetical increase of food seems to have been.

If population is always trying to increase faster than food, it is evident that the excess is always dying off, and that the actual increase of population really represents the increase of food. Now, as we have just said, the figures as to population are more easy to arrive at than those as to food, and from time to time estimates of the world's total population have been made by various authorities. In Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" a table of these estimates has been given. It will be noticed that these estimates of population lie almost exactly along a straight line, showing that, if they are correct, the world's population has actually gone on increasing almost exactly in an arithmetical or simple interest manner, which confirms Malthus's suggestion that food might increase in this way. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of these earlier estimates, but it is most remarkable how closely they confirm the arithmetical increase suggested by Malthus; and no one certainly has a right to sneer at his illustration in the face of such a remarkable confirmation by the only evidence available to us.

It will be seen that the present rate of increase is not more than about five per thousand per annum, which means a doubling in one hundred and forty years. An average family of only just over two children is, therefore, all that can be supported.

(To be continued)

We are of a race of women that of old knew no fear and feared no death, and lived great lives and hoped great hopes; and if today some of us have fallen on evil and degenerate times, there moves in us yet the throb of the old blood.—*Olive Schreiner.*

* * *

Nothing will permanently affect pauperism while the present reckless increase of population continues.—*Milicent Garrett Fawcett.*

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 Mrs. Max Heidelberg, Chairman
 Jessie Ashley
 Augusta Cary
 Mrs. Walter Chambers
 Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett
 Mrs. William H. Greene
 Dr. A. L. Goldwater
 Max Heidelberg

OBJECTS
 (From the by-laws)
 The objects of this association are:
 1. To secure the repeal or amendment of all laws prohibiting the giving out of information concerning methods of birth control through the prevention of conception.
 2. To collect and distribute facts in regard to the legal status of birth control education in the United States and other countries.
 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Telephone, Gramercy 3139

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 Paul Kennaday
 Louise Kneeland
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 Mrs. Lillian R. Sire
 Mrs. John H. Williams

WHAT TO DO NEXT? First, sign the legislative blanks if you have not already done so. Many readers of the REVIEW have done it, but by no means all. Remember it does no good to want the laws changed unless you say so to the government. Signing these blanks takes your opinion to Washington and to your state legislature, where it will count.

If you do not already know how your own physician stands on the subject of birth control, find out. It will be a valuable and interesting addition to the data being collected in our office.

Of forty-seven physicians recently questioned on birth control by a well known medical journal, about one quarter of them answered that *they knew too little of the subject to warrant the expression of an opinion.* This is an amazing proportion of ignorance, and yet we cannot be too severe in blaming the physicians, because there is no instruction in contraception included in the training given in the medical colleges. There never will be until it is legal for the doctors to give information. This is one of the great reasons for getting the laws changed as quickly as possible.

In a few states it is legal for a physician to give the information verbally, but in not a single state is a physician free to publish his information, no matter how scientific and reliable it may be, and mail it to anyone, no matter how desperately it may be needed.

Since it is so regrettably true that only relatively few

physicians are equipped with adequate contraceptive information at present, it is all the more necessary that those few should be allowed to publish what they know for the benefit of their fellow physicians and for the parents who want to use at least the same intelligence in "spacing" their children that they do in spacing the vegetables in their war gardens.

Ask your own doctor if he feels that he has sufficient knowledge on this subject to help his patients, provided the law did not forbid it. Ask him if he does not wish the law changed so he can act freely in the matter. Ask him to sign the legislative slip.

Send to our office for the questionnaire which we send out to physicians and health officials and get your doctor to answer it.

Write us the result of the talk with your doctor, giving us his name and address or not, according to his wishes and your own judgment. Just in proportion as the doctors realize that people are in earnest about having birth control information and insist on having it removed from its wretched legal connection with abortion and obscenity, just so will their indifference and prejudice disappear. Fortunately for our movement there are many physicians whose attitude is all that could be desired and to them we give constant and hearty appreciation.

MARY WARE DENNETT,
Executive Secretary.

TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE

As a voter of this state, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the penal law, so that giving information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this state.

Name.....

Address.....

Sign and return to:

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue - - New York City

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

As a voter, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the Federal Penal Code so that the transportation of information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this country.

Name.....

Address.....

Sign and return to:

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue - - New York City



CHEER UP! IT'S MELTING FAST!

IMPROVING ON INSTINCT

(Continued from page 12)

all hideously interfere with the poetry and romance of the relation."

Comment—Thousands of women could assure Mr. Lloyd from experience that certain preventives, intelligently used, are not injurious either to membranes or nerves. By spreading knowledge of harmless means the use of injurious means will be discontinued.

As to being unreliable, there must be means that are effective enough to have caused Mr. Lloyd to be anxious about the declining birth rate.

The relation between romance and contraceptives is a matter of taste, about which there is no disputing.

H. C. DEKKER.

THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCH

The churches of the various religions have been for thousands of years propagating the idea of peace on earth. They have failed to bring it about despite the tremendous wealth and power at their disposal. Birth control can bring universal peace to us, in fifty years, if labor would include the advocacy of the practice, in its march for emancipation.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

TRAPPED!

By Margaret Sanger

**BRITISH HEALTH OFFICIAL ADVOCATES
WORLD WIDE BIRTH CONTROL**

LEGAL BARRIERS OF STATE AND NATION

By Judge J. C. Ruppenthal

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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

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- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
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- SWEDEN (1911).—Sallskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring. President, Mr. Hinké Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

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- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.
- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- CAMDEN, N. J.—Dr. L. A. Young, 522 Spruce St.
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TRAPPED!

By Margaret Sanger

KITTY MARION, a devoted laborer for the cause of Birth Control, has been arrested for imparting information concerning contraceptives. She will come to trial in New York, October 10th.

Arrest has no terrors for this women consecrated to the freedom of her sisters. An actress, she left the London stage to become one of those militants who fought by the side of Emmeline Pankhurst for the enfranchisement of English women. For that cause she went to prison.

In prison, Kitty Marion went on a hunger strike. Of the horrors she endured while incarcerated, one hundred and twenty-eight forcible feedings constitute but a single item.

Her spirit strengthened rather than broken by these experiences, she kept up the fight in England until the coming of the World War put an end to the struggle for suffrage, through an understanding between representatives of the English government and the militants. Then she came to America to resume her stage career.

Birth Control, as a means of bringing women relief from the economic and physical slavery of large families, appealed to her as a more immediate and effective emancipation of woman than suffrage. To Birth Control she gave and is still giving the same single-minded devotion that she gave to the militant's battle. For this she has once more laid aside personal ambition, home and even many of the comforts of life.

Only through such a devotion could Kitty Marion have been trapped. For trapped she was—trapped by one of those creatures who profess high ideals and practice baseness as a lucrative profession, one of the sort that shouts for war for democracy, but keeps clear of men with guns, preferring to stay at home and trap for hire women who have staked their all in a struggle for the freedom of their sex.

After all, there is something to be said for Judas. To earn his thirty pieces of silver, he betrayed a strong man, not an over generous woman. Afterwards, he had the decency to hang himself. Bamberger, of the mis-named Society for the Suppression of Vice, betrayed a women to whom he came whining for aid for another woman, and he will appear in court to testify against her. This appalling brazenness is due doubtless to the fact that he will not receive his pieces of silver until he has sworn to the "criminal" generosity of Kitty Marion and thereby to his own shame.

IN ORDER TO snare this woman who has placed her all upon the altar of woman's freedom, Bamberger played the agent provocateur. Fortunately, this abhorrent term is not as familiar to American ears as it is to those of the oppressed of other countries. The agent provocateur is the shamed and shameless, disowned and uncontentanced spawn of the vilest tyranny the world has ever witnessed. Known

wherever oppression flourished he attained the height of his vulturous activities in the reign of the unlamented czar who quaked in his hidden chambers while he bargained away an enslaved people to titled parasites, to foreign plutocrats, and finally, in spite of his agreements with his allies, to the Kaiser.

Conscienceless, prostitute in honor, gorging upon human misery, this creature earned alike the hate of those whom he betrayed and those whom he served for the monetary offal of his filthy trade. In America, the ironically called Society for the Suppression of Vice, has brought into play the native specimen of this monstrous instrument of dead and dying tyrannies.

This is the same Society that, in the persons of one Sumner and of Bamberger, who with too credulous contributors constitute its being, has devoted its quasi-legal activities to suppressing fearless literature, inspired works of art and movements for the betterment of mankind. It is the same Society who, in the person of the same Sumner, was pilloried recently by Frank Harris in a series of magazine articles as yet unanswered, though they contained charges that would have brought sleepless nights to clean men.

It was upon the first day of August that the agent provocateur called upon Kitty Marion. He came, as his kind always comes, with a story of misfortune, with a plea to save a woman, his wife, from hardships unendurable. He came again, a week later. Still again he came, on the fifteenth day of August, repeating his tale of misery and appealing for aid for his wife. And then, having procured with great difficulty the information desired for the fictitious woman, Kitty Marion imparted the information. Her arrest followed—on the nineteenth day of August.

LET IT BE SAID so plainly that none can misunderstand it—we have no apology to make for the act of Kitty Marion. We glory in her deed. It was born of a brave generosity, of an unflinching determination to mitigate human suffering. It came from a heart consecrated to the freedom of woman—it was the fruit of a motive too fine, too holy for the understanding of a trapper of women.

Let it also be said that neither this arrest, nor those which have been made before, nor all the arrests that can be made, will for a moment deter us from this fight to which we have committed ourselves.

Agents provocateur may ply their obscene trade; misguided, masculine-minded Puritans may oppress, the authorities may fill the jails with women, but this fight will go on. For every woman you jail, we will raise up ten for this struggle. Woman's right to control her own destiny is being established for all time and it is being establish by women, in and out of jail.

MEDICAL JOURNALS ADVOCATE BIRTH CONTROL

BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS the movement for Birth Control grows. Individuals, organizations and agencies which yesterday were indifferent, fearful or antagonistic, to-day declare themselves openly in favor of voluntary motherhood as a matter of social justice and racial improvement.

In our last issue we made public a letter from Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, of the Twenty-third Judicial District of Kansas, who is also a member of the State Commission on the feeble-minded. He came out unequivocally for Birth Control.

On another page of the present issue will be found the story of a fearless advocacy of Birth Control by Dr. C. Killick Millard, a British scientist and health official of international repute, who lends the weight of his fame and his official position to the cause.

Now comes the Medical World of Philadelphia, which for more than a third of a century has been one of the strongest, most conservative voices of the medical profession in America, declaring in favor of making Birth Control legal. Moreover, it incorporates in its own editorial one from the Texas State Journal of Medicine, making a similar declaration.

The Medical World's leading editorial in the July issue not only demands that the subject of Birth Control be divorced from the obscenity statutes, but that laws permitting the use of contraceptives and the imparting of information to patients be enacted.

THE MEDICAL WORLD, naturally enough, deals primarily with the problem as it confronts the physician. There are a number of viewpoints in the editorial that we do not agree with, but it marks such an important step in advance for journals of this type, and is so sure to be followed by similar declarations upon the part of like publications, that we reproduce it in full.

The fight for the right of mothers to decide the size of their families is not yet won, but it is being won more rapidly than most of us realize. It is to be won, when all is said and done, by those most interested, the wives and mothers of workers. But the advocacy of Birth Control by men of high standing and of official position and the espousal of the cause by conservative professional journals are straws which show which way the winds blow. The rate at which these straws are increasing in number indicates a gale, a whirlwind of woman's freedom.

Here is what the Medical World says:

"WE ARE PLEASED to be able to present in this issue a digest of the laws of the United States, our various States and Territories, and the Province of Ontario, Canada, on the subject of the dissemination of information concerning birth control. Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, of the Twenty-third Judicial District of Kansas, has very kindly and carefully prepared this digest for us and written his comments thereon. As will be seen by a perusal of them, these laws were enacted with the praiseworthy object of preventing obscenity, lewdness, indecency, abortion, and such things. Many of the laws are not very specific and leave to the court the determination of the offense. The object of the laws as above given are highly commendable and embody good motives, and

therefore should be continued. *Birth control does not belong among such laws, and should be given separate consideration and enactment. It is now time to consider the matter and arrange for this separation.*

"We agree with the object desired by these laws quoted by Judge Ruppenthal. Indecency, abortions, and such things should be suppressed. Many of the State laws refer to drugs to be used for the purpose of producing abortion. That is quite a different matter from the use of methods to prevent conception. We are all agreed that abortion should not be performed except, if ever, as a last resort to save the life of the mother, although even this exception is opposed by some people. It should not otherwise be done. Laws for the purpose of preventing criminal abortion should remain in force.

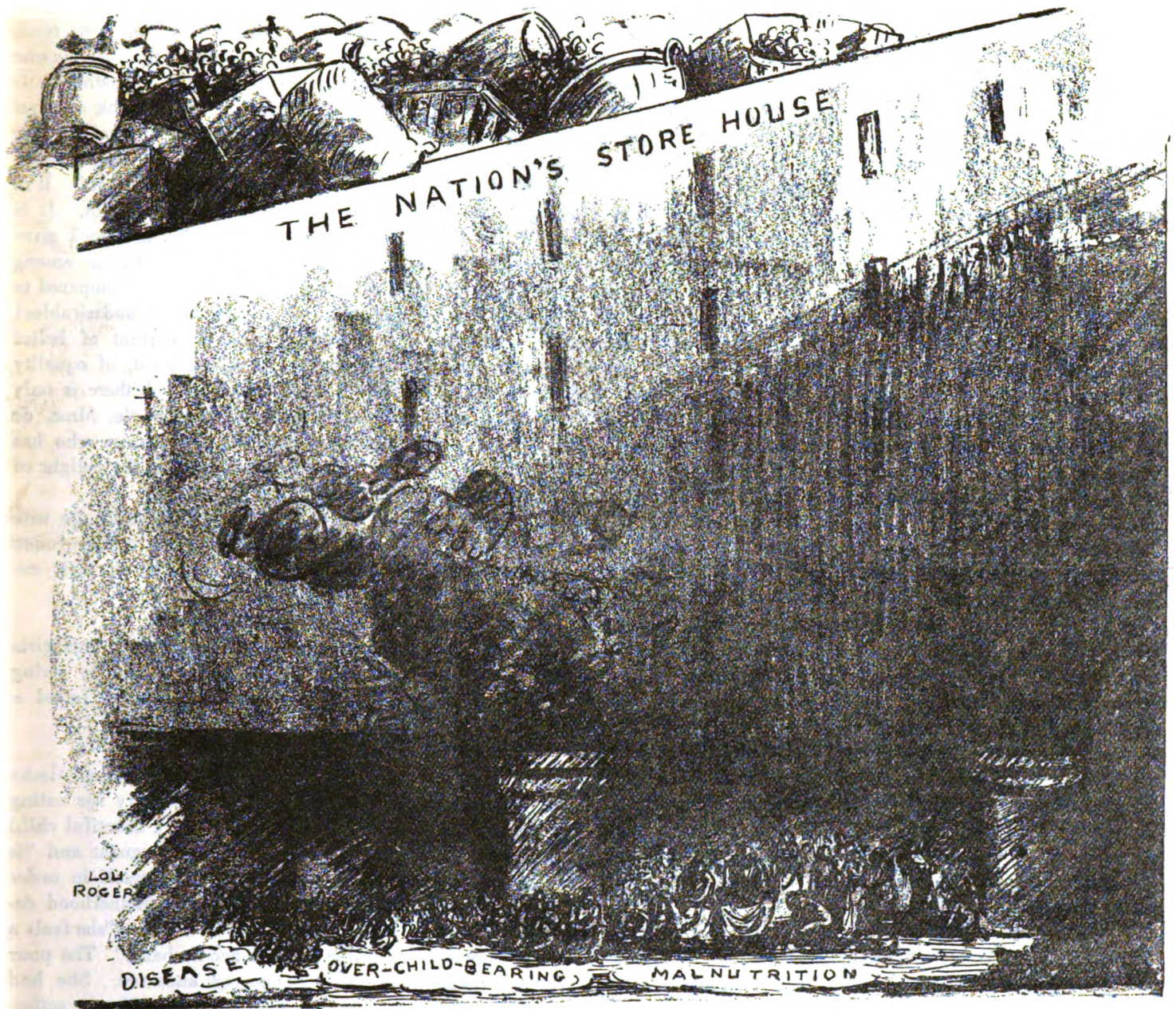
"Many people are calling for the rescinding of the laws concerning the prevention of conception. There is no question that there are instances where the information is needed by women, some because they have too many children and are unable to care for more, others because they cannot afford to keep more; others should not fear more children for physical reasons, etc. It is admitted by the laws quoted that the physician in his discretion may tell his patients such things if he have just cause. It stands to reason that the physician would not desire to have his patients childless, for he is paid for attending the mothers in childbirth and the families in illness. The physician makes his living by treating sickness, and without a good reason he would not tell his patients how to avoid pregnancy.

"The question of the advisability of birth control is part of the problem. It has been urged that children born of parents late in life are heir to greater intellectual advancement and business acuity than those born of younger parents. For this reason some men oppose the use of contraception. But those born of younger parents are more likely to be endowed with a healthier body than those born of older parents, as we all, in general, are healthier in our early adult life than after we have endured the strenuous life for a few decades. We have heard it said, and also vigorously disputed, that the child born of old parents is not the equal of those of younger ones. The question may hinge more on the qualities of the parents other than their age, such as ancestry for years, training, business sagacity, diseases, such as those of the ductless glands, syphilis, tuberculosis, leprosy, epilepsy, alcoholism, etc.

"EUGENICS AIMS TO secure better babies. As a means to this end some people who are giving thought and attention to this matter suggest the idea of fewer and better babies. It stands to reason that if a family is to raise children well and carefully there must be a limit to the number requiring care, otherwise the end cannot be accomplished, for the more children in the family, the less care each individual can receive. If a mother gives birth to a child every year or eighteen months, she soon becomes physically weak, sometimes a physical wreck, as a result of the strain of pregnancy, labor, accidents of labor, puerperium, lactation, and the work of rearing the children. In such conditions the best nurture,

(Continued on page 14)

THE BREEDERS OF THAT SEVENTH BABY



“One child in seven born in the United States dies from malnutrition or from some disease directly traceable to poverty. So the ‘save 100,000 babies’ movement has for its slogan, ‘Save that seventh child!’

“We confess to finding this a ghastly mockery and an intolerable piece of irony.

“ . . . What is the matter with making Birth Control information free and open to all, so that seventh children shall not be born in an age when food, shelter, clothing and wholesome air are at a premium?”—September Birth Control Review.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

By Jessie Ashley

EVERYBODY KNOWS it is a bad thing to break the law, at least it is a bad thing to break some laws, but we can take comfort in the fact that those who break the laws (some laws) will be swiftly or slowly brought to justice, and punished as they deserve, often, more than they deserve. But what can be said of those who deliberately induce others to break the law, while remaining quite safe themselves, even in some cases, receiving a salary for their efforts? Is there any one so mean as to condone such meanness? Yet we have in our midst a Society which deliberately sets out to induce people to break the law. Incites them to do so, uses fraud to trap the victim, pitifully appeals to the best feeling of the unwary and then when the victim falls from grace, presto the hard-luck-story-man turns out to be merely an agent of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, actively engaged in the trade of being vicious. Thus fell Miss Marion, of the staff of the Birth Control Review. Thus triumphed the agent for the Society for the Suppression of Vice. He—it was a he—came to Miss Marion with a tale of his wife's needs, of his own poverty, urgently begging for information that one may not legally give. The victim withstood temptation. But the agent was not satisfied, he knew the frailty of women and he was determined to induce this one to break the law. So he returned with his story grown more harrowing than before. Alas, alas—let us draw a veil over the sad scene. Suffice it to say that now Miss Marion faces a trial and perhaps jail, because she tried to help a man and his wife out of misery. She is a law-breaker. But what is he, this agent of the Society for the Suppression of Vice? Is it for the good of any community to allow fraud to go unchallenged? Is it for the good of any community to allow agents of any Society to tempt people to break the law? The community wants the laws obeyed not broken, at least so we say. What good thing can be accomplished by such contemptible methods? To our minds such things are demoralizing, they teach methods of deception that are harmful, they set up false standards of conduct. Any organization that tolerates them should itself not be tolerated.

WE FREQUENTLY READ the New York *Tribune*. It is a good paper. Until recently it used to quote at some length speeches made by labor leaders, or socialists, or pacifists. It does not do this now because it has discovered that people read these things when they are printed in perfectly good loyal papers like *Tribune* or the *Times* and that is unfortunate. But we still frequently read the *Tribune* and we repeat it is a good paper. In to-day's issue, September 26th there is a list of books that they say should not be read by men in the army or navy or in the air. Judging from the titles few would want to read most of them. Who would care to read "Understanding Germany," by Max Eastman when everyone knows Max is only good at poetry. Can you imagine anyone sitting down to read "Origin of the War" in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighteen? The

list is like the *Tribune*, good with qualifications and again like the *Tribune* a little surprising. However, we think it would be a good idea for THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW to follow suit and print from time to time a list of books its readers had better leave alone. And we might go the *Tribune* one better and tell why the book is undesirable. Whether it is untrue, whether it is stupid, whether it is too frank or what not. For instance, there is one book on the market that we consider distinctly harmful. It is a novel, a French story Englished under the name of "You No Longer Count." It is being rather widely read and praised by the critics. It is said to have had a big success in Paris. Yet this book gives the most distressing picture of neurotic conditions among civilians due to the war of any book we know. Compared to it "Under Fire" (included in the *Tribune* list of undesirables) is of real cheer, for it shows an under current of belief among the men in the trenches of future good, of equality wrested from out of the fire. But in this book there is only bewildered, hopeless wretchedness. For example, Mme. de Blauve has a daughter between fifteen and sixteen who has much charm. She has just become engaged to the delight of her mother who speaks (in part) as follows:

"To be sure my daughter would have liked to be the wife of a soldier who remained a soldier—but wives must be found for the less favored who have been checked in their career—"

"Don't tell me that he is badly—"

"Oh this is not the time to think about things that girls used to care for; the question is to save our men by giving them wives so that they may be in a position to found a family."

"What is the matter with him?"

"Oh it is very sad—his face—how can I tell you—lacks everything except the passages that are necessary for eating and breathing." And this is to be the fate of a beautiful child of sixteen. Later the poor child becomes pregnant and "is obliged to put the strongest restraint upon herself in order not to show her aversion for her husband." Motherhood debased and brutalized, became an honor to woman—"she feels a sort of apprehension at the sight of her husband." The poor mother of this young wife "appeared unnerved. She had grown thin, her eyes were sunken; she was evidently suffering." Whether the book is intended as a huge protest or is merely a picture of what the author sees or thinks he sees we do not know. But it has been lauded as fine sacrificial patriotism. But surely no nation can be strong or civilized that is based upon unhappy, shuddering motherhood. This shattering of fine young bodies and crushing of fine young spirits is an immoral prostitution of a nation's youth. It is a picture of degeneration such as we hope may not be the real outcome of the war. If only this little world of ours would learn something about women it would see that no amount of birth control information could so injure the race as the propaganda contained in "You No Longer Count."

ALL TOGETHER—NOW!

Dear Co-Workers:—

Birth Control is breaking through. The barriers against which we have been dashing ourselves are beginning to fall. No one who has read the last few issues of The Birth Control Review can doubt that we have made even greater progress than we had realized toward the emancipation of woman.

This number is the record of a significant success and of a strong counter attack. You will find in it the stories of the unprecedented indorsement of our movement by staid old medical journals and by hitherto silent or antagonistic officialdom. You will find also an account of the arrest of Kitty Marion.

We are in a battle—every foot of ground we win moves the reactionaries to a fresh effort to wipe out all we have done.

Recently when an issue of this publication was held up by the postal authorities, we met that interference with the declaration that instead of receding we would issue a bigger, better and more fearless magazine. With your help, we are making good.

In this issue we are saying to that odorous organization left behind him by Anthony Comstock that for every woman jailed, we will raise up ten women to devote their lives to this fight for free womanhood. With your help we can keep this promise too.

We need more women—more women actively and consciously at work for this cause. Two out of five wives in the United States now practise and privately approve of Birth Control. We want these women to come into the open and stand courageously for the liberation of their less fortunate sisters.

The quickest way, the best available way to enlist new champions of this movement is to place in the hands of your neighbors The Birth Control Review. First, see that your copy does a maximum of service—pass it on to your friends and tell them to pass it on to theirs.

Next, see that at least three of your acquaintances subscribe for The Review. Explain to them that this publication is not conducted for profit, that neither editors nor stockholders get a cent out of it—that it exists only for the betterment of the condition of women.

Every new subscriber means several new readers. Every new reader means the possibility of another woman consecrating herself to this work.

Women alone can win this fight for women. You are both soldier and recruiting agent in the army battling for Birth Control. The times are full of hope and full of danger. Do your part now!

Margaret Sanger

Famous British Health Official A

“WE MAY NOW SUMMARIZE some of the principal conclusions to which our survey of the subject has led us:—

“1. The fall in the human birth-rate is a world-wide international movement, which has come to stay.

“2. It is not due to diminished natural fertility, but to the adoption and spread of birth-control principles.

“3. It is not a symptom of national decadence, but a mark of advancing civilization.

“4. It is the civilized substitute for those natural checks to population-scarcity, disease and war—which have always operated in the past.

“5. Rapidly growing populations in countries with circumscribed territories are a fruitful pre-disposing cause of political unrest and war.

“6. Internationally, a competition in birth-rates is compared to a competition in armaments, and both are undesirable.

“7. The prosperity of this country is absolutely dependent upon an abundant supply of cheap coal. The more rapidly the population of this country increases the sooner will a commencing exhaustion of our coal fields manifest itself.

“8. The birth-control movement is a natural ally of the maternity and child welfare movement. A low birth-rate is closely correlated with a low rate of infant mortality, and vice versa.

“9. Birth-control is an essential factor in the campaign against poverty. It is calculated to reduce the supply of unskilled labor, to increase efficiency, to raise wages, and to encourage a higher standard of life.

“10. Detailed knowledge of birth-control is not readily available for the very poor by whom it is most urgently needed.

“11. Birth-control encourages early marriage by removing the fear of a large family. It is, therefore, an important factor in the campaign against immorality and venereal disease.

“12. Properly used, and not abused, birth-control is a valuable eugenic instrument, capable, by restricting the multiplication of the least fit, of greatly raising the quality of the race.”

THESE CONCLUSIONS are not those of a fanatic. They did not emanate from the brain of an agitator, a reformer, nor even a special pleader. They are the scientific conclusions of Dr. C. Killick Millard, one of the most eminent British physicians, a health official and a scientist of the first order. Birth control, in the opinion of this man, is one of the prime necessities of English society. He also believes that it is indispensable to the well being of the rest of the world. Thus again does the dispassionate scientific mind, after years of investigation and deliberation, bear witness to the soundness of the contention of the radical and the bitter need of the change for which the radical contends.

Dr. Millard is Medical Officer of Health and Chief Administrative Tuberculosis Officer for Leicester, Medical Superintendent of the Borough Hospital and Sanatorium, Medical Officer to the Municipal Infants' Milk Depot, Vice-Chairman of

the Leicester Health Society, Honorary Secretary of the Leicester Branch of the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases and President of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, one of the most famous bodies of its kind in Great Britain. While an American physician of similar views and equal prominence might have feared, because of our national hypocrisy and Puritanism, to have taken such an unflinching stand, this famous English scientist, has no hesitancy in announcing to his profession and to the world that his unusually wide experience as a scientist, physician and medical officer has compelled him to espouse the cause of the Birth Control.

The announcement was made in Dr. Millard's annual presidential address before the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, the prestige of that organization thus being added to the great weight which his own name bears among his colleagues in the English speaking world.

WHATEVER THE LAW may say of Birth Control, whatever Puritans and lewd minded persons may urge against it, whatever the upper strata of society may do to prevent the women of the masses from obtaining knowledge of their own beings, the privileged classes practice that which they pretend to regard as evil when practiced by the workers. Dr. Millard strikingly illustrates this point by quoting the following tables from the report of the Birth Rate Commission of the British National Council of Public Morals:

SOCIAL CLASS	Birth per 1,000 married males aged under 55 years including retired.
1. Upper and Middle Class.....	119
2. Intermediate	132
3. Skilled Workmen	153
4. Intermediate	158
5. Unskilled Workmen	213

The infant mortality in these same groups follows the same order, viz., 76.4, 106.4, 112.7, 121.5, 152.5; i. e., the death-rate among infants is twice as high in the group where the birth-rate is highest, as in that where the birth-rate is lowest.

Thus, among the upper classes, who make the laws and regulate the morals of the workers, Birth Control is practised to the extent of limiting the birth rate approximately to one-half of the birth rate among those who are by law and social custom denied the knowledge which is within reach of the well-to-do. Judging by these tables, the governing and privileged classes regard Birth Control as a necessity for themselves but a sin for the men and women who are looked to to keep up the world's supply of wage-slaves.

Dr. Millard, however, boldly asserts that it would be a better thing for his country and the world at large, if the families of the laboring classes had fewer children.

“IT SEEMS OBVIOUS,” he says, “that anything that reduces the supply of labor and especially the superabundant supply of unskilled and inefficient labor will tend to

Indicates World Wide Birth Control

raise the wages of labor. Now unskilled labor is chiefly recruited from the large families of the very poor. Birth control is capable of affecting the supply of unskilled labor in two ways.

"(1) It would directly reduce the size of the family and thereby diminish the number of potential recruits for the unskilled labor market.

"(2) Smaller families would enable the parents to give such children as were born a better start in life with more chance of becoming skilled, thus still further reducing the supply of unskilled labor. A skilled workman is of course worth much more to the country than an unskilled; but apart from that it is the surplus supply of unskilled labor which is one great cause of low wages, poverty, casual employment, sweating, and many other evils at present troubling the community. If we could abolish this surplus of unskilled labor it would certainly be a very good thing both for unskilled labor as a class, and for the community as a whole."

Once more the voice of science bears witness to the soundness of the contentions of the maligned radical. Before such a voice as Millard's, entrenched in respectability, and speaking from the bulwark of official position, even the professional jingoes, junkers and Puritans must pause. After all, what is good for labor is good for society at large and is the highest patriotism, internationalism, altruism or any other idealistic name you want to call it by. And as Millard points out, Birth Control is the salvation of labor.

Not only is Birth Control the salvation of labor, in Dr. Millard's opinion, but it is the hope of a war-torn world.

"IT WOULD APPEAR," he says, "that most nations have an inherent desire to increase and become greater as compared with their neighbors, and if necessary at the expense of their neighbors. This feeling is usually taught to the young as patriotism, although it is really *pseudo-patriotism*, and it is a sentiment which is certainly fraught with danger to the peace of the world. Undoubtedly the Teuton race, from this point of view, is intensely patriotic, and bad for the world has it been that it is so. All through the world's history, ever since the herdsmen of Lot strove with those of Abraham, one of the fundamental and predisposing causes of war, apart from immediate and personal causes, has been the pressure of increasing populations and the desire for national expansion. As the Birth-rate Commissioners state in their Report (p. 431): 'A pressure of population in any country brings as its chief historic consequence overflows and migrations into neighboring or other accessible countries, not only for peaceful settlement, but also for conquest and for the subjugation and exploitation of weaker peoples. This always remains a chief cause of international dispute and wars.'

"We may recall, also, how Julius Caesar explained the causes of invasion: 'proper hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam' (because of hordes of men and need of land).

"Can anyone say that this has not been a most important predisposing factor in the causation of the present frightful

world-war? Did it not originate in the Pan-German dreams of national expansion and world supremacy, and were not these dreams fostered and encouraged by the rapid growth of population due to the high birth-rate which prevailed in Germany until recent years?

"Is it not probable that if the decrease in the birth-rate had set in Germany 25 years earlier, the deadly doctrine of Pan-Germanism would have been sapped at its roots? A country with a nearly stationary population like France can scarcely be aggressive or dream of world supremacy.

"THE BIRTH-RATE Commissioners were of opinion that if it is possible that the birth-rate will continue to fall in all civilized countries until ultimately a condition of equilibrium is established between the birth-rate and the death-rate, as is now nearly the case in France, and the population becomes stationary. Whether the forecast is justified or not I cannot say, but from the point of view of a world peace surely it would be a good rather than a bad thing. If certain countries are to continue increasing rapidly in population whilst their neighbors remain nearly stationary, it will not inevitably introduce a disturbing element and be likely to upset any international arrangements which may be made for the peace of the world. And let us remember, as Mr. Asquith said the other day: 'The attainment of peace' (i. e., the permanent peace of the world) 'is at this moment the supreme interest of mankind.'

That hypocrisy which practices Birth Control in the realms of wealth and ease and which denies the knowledge of it in the homes of the poor is pitilessly held up to scorn by this health official.

"It does seem to me something approaching hypocrisy for the educated classes—the so-called better classes," he says, "to be quietly and privately availing themselves of the knowledge and means which science—Providence some would say—has placed at the disposal of mankind, in order to escape from what they regard—and with good reason—as the evil of over-childbearing, and yet to join in a conspiracy of silence to keep this same knowledge from reaching the poor who need it so very much more.

"IT IS CRUEL for us to tell the poor that if Providence sends more mouths he will also send the food to feed them with. The poor see no evidence of this. Moreover, is it not merely a figure of speech to say that children are 'sent?' The educated classes have discovered that the size of the family is largely a matter within their discretion, and they act accordingly.

"There was a time, not so very long ago, when certain worthy people disapproved of the use of chloroform for women in labor on the ground that labor pains were 'sent,' and that it was wrong to thwart the Divine Will. Happily that old idea about chloroform has been swept away, and there is little doubt that the one we are now considering is destined soon to follow it."

LEGAL BARRIERS OF STATE AND NATION

"Criminal Statutes on Birth Control"—from *The Medical World*.

By Judge J. C. Ruppenthal

IN THE UNITED STATES, laws relating to birth control seem to have been developed since about 1873. Congress and the legislatures of eighteen States and Porto Rico have enacted statutes that clearly and definitely refer to the prevention of conception in women as a practice to be declared a crime by such laws. In Canada, at least Ontario has such law. Twenty-two more States of the Union and also Hawaii have statutes which the courts with liberality of construction or strictness may hold to apply or not apply criminally to the matter of birth control, at least through prevention of conception, or "contraception." The District of Columbia, and the States of Rhode Island and Florida have kindred enactments, relating in the States to causing miscarriage of a pregnant woman and in the District to abortion. Five States, Georgia, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina and Washington, and also Alaska, appear to have no legislation that either certainly or possibly may be held to apply to birth control. All the forty-six sets of enactments referred to are found in the statute books under "obscenity" and "offenses against morals," as headings. In most cases the phraseology relating to contraception is found imbedded among many clauses relating to pornographic or non-mailable matter, to indecent and immoral printing, writing, painting and the like. Colorado, Indiana and Wyoming mention "self-pollution," and Massachusetts names "self-abuse" along with abortion and prevention of conception.

CLEAR and definite laws on contraception are found on the statute books of the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma and Wyoming—eighteen—as well as Porto Rico, Ontario and the United States federal government. The federal laws are quite full in expression, and perhaps served as model for most of the States.

If a court regards written matter relating to contraception or means to accomplish this as "obscene, vulgar and indecent," then laws apply also in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin—twenty-three in number. In some States a limitation is "if they manifest a tendency to corrupt the morals of youth" or morals generally.

"Articles and instruments of immoral use or purpose" are denounced, but no specific purpose or object of such is set out in the laws of Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Utah. In Maryland "obscene and indecent" books are mentioned, and "obscene" matters in South Carolina, with no more specific designation. In Ontario the law very widely includes the assertion or warranty of the offender, as the language is "any article intended or

represented as a means of preventing conception or causing abortion." To make prosecutions more easy, Idaho provides that the complaint need not set out any portion of the language alleged to have been unlawfully used. To aid in capture of contraband articles, instruments and literature or other things, search warrants or seizure or both, are authorized in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho and Nevada.

WHERE ADVICE OR information as to abortion is forbidden, though some States as Minnesota and New York, carefully discriminate against "unlawful abortion," others, as Kansas and Iowa, say "procuring abortion" with no intimation that such could in any case be lawful. Kansas, however, in another statute, as to manslaughter of a woman pregnant or her child, excepts "when it shall be necessary to save the life of the mother," and thus inferentially distinguishes acts as of two classes.

While some statutes are word for word alike in several States, most of them vary in scope. Among the forbidden acts, in connection with articles, instruments, books, papers, etc., are to "exhibit" (United States law and Colorado); "bring into the State" (Alabama); "import" (Hawaii); "buy," "sell," "lend," "keep for sale," "have in possession" (Iowa); "have in possession with intent to sell," "have possession with or without intent to sell" (Indiana); "advertise," "distribute" (New York); "manufacture" (Missouri, New York); "has possession with intent to utter or expose to view or to sell," "for gratuitous distribution" (in Ohio, drug or nostrum; in Kansas, literature); "conveying notice, hint or reference to," under "real or fictitious name" (Rhode Island); "give information orally" (New York, Minnesota, Indiana); "write, compose, or publish" (notice or advertisement, in Arizona); "manifesting a tendency to the corruption of the morals of youth or of morals generally" (Hawaii); "cautions females against its use when in pregnancy" (Ohio); "drug or nostrum purporting to be exclusively for the use of females" (Ohio). To meet the ingenuity of evasive devices New Jersey includes all persons "who shall in any manner, by recommendation against its use or otherwise, give or cause to be given or aid in giving any information how or where any of the "literature, instruments, medicines, etc.) may be had or seen or bought or sold. Whatever is prohibited directly to anyone is usually expanded in terms to include aiding in any way toward the forbidden end.

A few exceptions from the sweeping provisions are incorporated. In Ontario the offense must be "knowingly, without lawful excuse or justification"; in New Jersey, "without just cause." In some States the law provides that it "shall not be construed to affect teaching in medical colleges." (Colorado, Indiana, Ohio); "nor standard medical books" (Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Ohio); "nor the practice of regular practitioners of medicine and druggists (Colorado) in their legitimate business" (Ohio); "nor works of scientific character, or on anatomy, surgery or obstetrics" (Kentucky); "article

or instrument used or applied by physicians is not . . . indecent" (New York). In Connecticut possession of the things forbidden is unlawful "unless with intent to aid in their suppression or in enforcing the provisions" of the law.

Almost everything denounced under any of these laws is non-mailable under the laws of the United States, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio and New York. Delivery of such to express or railroad companies is forbidden by the United States, Illinois, Indiana and New York. Besides forbidding the deposit of such matters in the mails, Colorado adds, "or with any person."

From the foregoing it may be seen that no general principle runs through the statutes of all the States, etc. As with laws everywhere that impinge upon sex matters in any way, there is more of tabu and superstition in the choice and chance, the selection and caprice, the inclusions and exclusions of these several enactments than any clear, broad, well-defined principle or purpose underlying them. Without such principle well defined and generally accepted, the various laws must remain largely haphazard and capricious.

ABSTRACT OF THE CRIMINAL LAWS.

of the United States, the Several States Thereof, and Ontario, Canada, Relating to Birth Control.

UNITED STATES

U. S. "EVERY OBSCENE, lewd, or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, printing or other publication of an indecent character, and every article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion, and every article or thing intended or adapted for any indecent or immoral use, and every written or printed card, letter, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement or notice of any kind giving information directly or indirectly, where or how or of whom or by what means any of the hereinbefore mentioned matters, articles or things may be obtained or made, whether sealed as first-class matter or not, are hereby declared to be *non-mailable matter*, and shall not be conveyed in the mails, nor delivered from any post-office, nor by any letter carrier; and any person who shall knowingly deposit, or cause to be deposited for mailing or delivery, anything declared by this section to be non-mailable matter, and any person who shall knowingly take the same, or cause the same to be taken from the mails for the purpose of circulating or disposing of, or of aiding in the circulation or disposition of the same, shall for each and every offense be fined \$5000, or sentenced to five years' imprisonment or both."—Act of June 8, 1872; amended March 3, 1873; amending act of Congress Sept. 26, 1858. Laws of Postal Service, section 3893 Revised Statutes of the United States. Considered by courts in case *Bates v. U. S.* 10 Federal 92; *Grim v. U. S.* 156 U. S. 604.

U. S. "Every person who, within the District of Columbia or any of the territories of the United States, or other place within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, sells or lends or gives away, or in any manner exhibits or offers to sell, or to lend, or to give away, or in any manner to exhibit, or otherwise publishes or offers to publish in any manner, or has in his possession, for any such purpose, any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, drawing or other representation, figure, or image, on or of paper or other material, or any cast, or instrument, or other articles of an immoral nature, or any drug or medicine, or any article whatever,* for the prevention of conception, or for causing unlawful abortion, or who advertises the same for sale, or writes or prints, or causes to be written or printed, any card, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind, stating when, where, how or of whom, or by what means, any of the articles in this section hereinbefore mentioned can be purchased or obtained, or manufactures, draws or prints, or in anywise makes any of such articles, shall be imprisoned at hard labor in the penitentiary not less than six months nor more than five years for each

offense, or fined not less than \$100 nor more than \$2000 with costs of court."—Act of Congress March 3, 1873; Rev Stat. §5389.‡

U. S. "It shall be unlawful for any person to deposit with any express company, or other common carrier for carriage from one State or territory of the United States or the District of Columbia, to any other State or territory or District of Columbia, any obscene, lewd or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, print or other matter of indecent character, or any article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion, or any written or printed card, letter, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly, when, where, how or of whom, or by what means any of the hereinbefore mentioned articles, matters or things may be obtained or made; and any person who shall knowingly deposit . . . or take from, etc., with intent to sell, distribute, or circulate," etc. (fine of not over \$5000 or five years prison or both).—Act of Congress, February 8, 1897, 29 Statutes at Large, 512, Chapter 172.

ALABAMA. "Any person who brings or causes to be brought into this State, for sale, or advertise or prints or sells or offers to sell or receive subscriptions for any indecent or obscene book, pamphlet, print, picture or paper, must on conviction be fined" (\$50 to \$1000).—Act of Dec. 3, 1884; Section 7428, Code of 1897, Alabama.

ALASKA. Alaska does not seem to have any laws upon the subject of birth control or that can be construed as such.

ARIZONA. Every person who writes, composes, prints, publishes, sells, distributes, or keeps for sale, gives or loans to any person or exhibits any obscene or indecent writing, paper or book, etc., or writes, composes or publishes any notice or advertisement of any such . . . is guilty of a misdemeanor . . . (such) may be seized and destroyed.—Section 313, Revised Statutes of Arizona of 1913.

Every person who wilfully writes, composes or publishes any notice or advertisement of any medicine or means for producing or facilitating miscarriage or abortion, or for the prevention of conception, or who offers his services by any notice, advertisement or otherwise, to assist in the accomplishment of any such purpose, is guilty of a misdemeanor.—Sec. 318 Rev. Stat. Arizona, 1913. *Cp.* California, §317; Montana, §8399.

ARKANSAS. The sale, circulation or attempted circulation, etc., of obscene, vulgar and indecent papers, books and periodicals in which are illustrated any indecent or vulgar pictures is forbidden.—Sec. 2099, Kirby's Digest of Statutes of Arkansas, 1916.

Every person publicly exhibiting any obscene or indecent picture or figures shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor.—Sec. 2103, *ibid.*

CALIFORNIA. Penal Code of California, 1915, section 311, is similar to Arizona, §313, and was enacted Feb. 14, 1872. The act was amended by "Code Amendments, 1873-4" by omitting "or any notice or advertisement for producing or facilitating miscarriages."

Sec. 317, Code Amendments 1873-4, is the same as §318 of Arizona except as to the penalty attached for violation of the act.

COLORADO. Whoever exhibits, lends, gives away, sells or offers to . . . or in any manner publishes or offers to publish or has in his possession for any such purpose, any obscene, lewd or indecent or lascivious book, pamphlet, circular, paper, drawing, print, picture, writing, advertisement, circular, or other representation, figure or image . . . for procuring abortion, or for self-pollution, or for preventing conception . . . (then follows language similar to U. S. Rev. Stat., §5389, and a penalty of \$20 to \$2000 or one month to one year in prison or both, and a further limitation that the law shall be) "not construed to affect teaching in regularly chartered medical colleges, or the publication and sale of standard medical books, or the practice of regular practitioners of medicine or druggists in their legitimate business."—Act of 1885, §1; Colorado Statutes, §1777.

Sec. 1179 *ib.* makes it a crime to deposit in the mails or with any person any of the things denounced in §1777.

Sec. 180 authorizes search for such forbidden matter with a search

warrant for authority, and the destruction of the material when found.

CONNECTICUT. Every person who shall buy, advertise, give, lend, offer or show, or have in his possession with intent to sell, etc. . . . containing obscene, indecent or impure language, or any picture . . . of indecent or immoral use or purpose, unless with intent to aid in their suppression or in enforcing the provisions hereof, etc. (punishable by sentence of not over two years, or fine up to \$1000, or both).—General Statutes of Connecticut, 1902, Section 1325.

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.

DELAWARE. Whoever prints, etc. . . . a book, etc., . . . containing obscene or indecent picture or any description tending to corruption of the morals of youth, is guilty of a misdemeanor.—Sec. 2231 Rev. Statutes, Delaware, 1915.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Forbids "obscene books, pamphlets, etc., and articles of indecent or immoral use . . . or any drug, etc., . . . intended to produce abortion."—Sec. 872, Meyers' Code, 1911, Dist. of Columbia.

FLORIDA. Books, papers etc. . . . "for the purpose of causing or procuring the miscarriage of any woman pregnant with child," punishable in State prison up to one year, or fine to \$1000.—Compiled Laws of Fla., 1914.

GEORGIA. Park's Annotated Code of Georgia, 1914, seems to contain nothing relating to birth control, directly or indirectly.

HAWAII. Importing, printing, publishing, selling, offering, etc., . . . obscene pictures "manifesting a tendency to the corruption of the morals of youth, or of morals generally" . . . such "is a common nuisance."—Penal Code of Hawaii, 1896; Revised Statutes Hawaii, 1915, section 4129.

IDAHO. Idaho revised code of 1908, sec. 7695 (same in Rev. Stat. 1887), provides that in proceeding in court against this class of offenses the complaint "need not set forth any portion of the language," etc.

Idaho Rev. Code, sec. 6840, of 1908 (same as Rev. Stat. 1887), is the same as California Penal Code of 1872, and Arizona Code, except that clause 4, after "or" omits the provision about miscarriage.

Idaho Code, 1908, sec. 6841, provides how officials "may seize any obscene or indecent writing, paper, book, picture, print or figure found in the possession of or under the control of a person so arrested (for violation of the preceding section) and to deliver same to the magistrate before whom the person so arrested is taken."

Idaho Code 1908, sec. 6843, is like Rev. Stat Arizona, sec. 318.

ILLINOIS. Forbids to "bring in or sell, etc., any book, pamphlet, etc., . . . instrument or article of immoral use . . . or (that states) where such indecent or obscene articles and things may be purchased."—Illinois Statutes Annotated 1913, sec. 3861.

Sec. 3862, *ibid.*, forbids to "deposit (such) in postoffice or in express office or with a common carrier."

INDIANA. Whoever sells or lends, or offers to give away, or in any manner exhibits or has in his possession with or without intent to sell, lend or give away, any obscene, lewd, indecent or lascivious book, pamphlet, paper, drawing, lithograph, engraving, picture, daguerreotype, photo, stereoscopic picture, model, cast, instrument or article of indecent or immoral use or instrument or article for procuring abortion, or for self-pollution, or medicine for procuring abortion or preventing conception, or advertising the same, or any of them for sale, or writes or prints any letter, circular, handbill, card, book, pamphlet, advertisement or notice of any kind, or gives information orally, stating when, how, where, or by what means or of whom any of the obscene, lewd, indecent or lascivious articles or things hereinbefore mentioned can be purchased, borrowed, presented, or otherwise obtained, or are manu-

factured; or whoever manufactures, draws, prints," etc. (such things) shall be fined \$10 to \$5000 and may be further imprisoned ten days to six months; "but this shall not affect teaching in regularly chartered medical colleges," etc.—Burns' Annotated Indiana Statutes, 1914, section 2359.

Sec. 2360, *ibid.*, forbids depositing any of the things denounced in section 2359 in postoffice or express office.

IOWA. "Whoever sells or offers to sell, or gives away, or has in his possession with intent to sell or give away any obscene, lewd book, etc., or any instrument or article of indecent or immoral use, or any medicine or thing designed or intended for procuring abortion or preventing conception, or advertising the same" . . . shall be fined \$50 to \$1000 or sentenced to jail not over one year, or both fine and jail.—Code of Iowa, 1897, sec. 4952, being Acts of 21st General Assembly, ch. 177, sec. 1.

Sec. 4953, Code Iowa, forbids depositing such things in the postoffice as are forbidden in the preceding section, 4952.

KANSAS. "If any publisher or other person shall by printing, writing, or in any other way publish or cause to be published, or expose to sale any obscene pictures; any account, advertisement or description of any drug, medicine, instrument or apparatus used or recommended to be used, for the purpose of preventing conception, or procuring abortion or miscarriage; or shall by writing or printing in any circular, newspaper, pamphlet any advertisement or obscene notice herein recited; or shall within the state of Kansas keep for sale or for gratuitous distribution any newspaper, circular, book or pamphlet containing such notice or advertisement of such drugs, medicine, instrument or apparatus named . . . such publisher or other person . . . shall be fined \$50 to \$1000 or 30 days to six months in jail, or both. Provided, That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the publication and sale of standard medical works."—General Statutes of Kansas of 1915, sec. 3676, being laws of 1874, chapter 89, section 1.

"Every person or persons who shall bring or cause to be brought into the state or shall buy, sell or cause to be sold, or shall advertise, lend, give away, offer, show, exhibit or have in his possession with the intent to sell, lend, give away, offer, show, exhibit, distribute or cause to be distributed, or shall design, copy, draw, photograph, print, etch, or engrave, cut, carve, make publish, or otherwise prepare or assist in preparing, or shall receive subscriptions for any indecent or obscene book, pamphlet, paper, picture, print, drawing, figure, image, or other engraved, printed or written matter, or any article or instrument of immoral use, or any book, pamphlet, magazine, or paper devoted principally or wholly to the publication of criminal news or pictures, or stories of deeds of bloodshed or crime, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor . . . (penalty \$5 to \$300, or not over 30 days in jail, or both)."—Sec. 3677, Gen. Stat., 1915, being chapter 101, section 1, laws of 1886.

KENTUCKY. Section 1352 of Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1915, forbids the sale, etc., . . . of any immoral or obscene book, etc. . . . "or any article or instrument of indecent or immoral use" . . . (No allusion is made to the purpose of such article or instrument.)—Act of Jan. 27, 1894.

Sec. 1355 provides that the preceding sections do not apply to works of a scientific character or an anatomy, surgery and obstetrics or other scientific publications, nor prevent issuing and selling such books.

LOUISIANA. Marr's Annotated Revised Statutes of Louisiana, 1915 (act 111 of 1884), section 2088, makes it a misdemeanor to "bring into the state . . . books, papers, article or instrument of indecent or obscene use." (No purpose of such instrument is pointed out.)

MAINE. Revised Statutes of Maine, 1916, chapter 126, section 23, forbids publications tending to corruption of the morals of youth. Section 24 authorizes seizure of such when an arrest is made.

MARYLAND. Public General Laws of Maryland, 1904, article 27, section 339, forbids to "bring into the state, sell, lend, etc., . . . obscene or indecent books, etc." (No specific purpose is mentioned.)

MASSACHUSETTS. Chapter 212, section 20, Revised Statutes of Massachusetts, 1902, penalizes "whoever imports, prints, etc., . . . any book, paper, pamphlet, etc., . . . tending to corrupt the morals of youth."

Chap. 212, sec. 26, penalizes "whoever sells, lends, gives away, . . . etc., . . . any instrument or article for self-abuse, or any drug, medicine, instrument or article whatever for preventing of conception, etc."

MICHIGAN. Howell's Michigan Statutes, 1913, chapter 406, section 14785, prohibits anyone to "import, print, etc. (matter) tending to corrupt the morals of youth."

Section 14786 authorizes a search warrant to seek such. Section 14787 refers to "Prints, . . . instruments," etc., but no specific purpose thereof is denounced.

MINNESOTA. Section 8705, General Statutes Minnesota, 1913, is the same as California, section 311.

Sec. 8706 makes it a crime to "sell, lend, . . . etc., have in possession to sell, advertise to sell, or distribute, any instrument or article, or any drug or medicine for the prevention of conception or for causing unlawful abortion, . . . or to give oral information where such can be obtained or who manufactures such articles, etc."

MISSISSIPPI. Hemingway's Annotated Code of Mississippi of 1917, section 1025, forbids persons to sell, lend, etc., articles, etc., of indecent or obscene use, but names no specific purpose of such articles, etc.

Section 1026 is the same as Section 8706 of Minnesota.

MISSOURI. Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1909, section 4737, forbids to manufacture, print, publish, buy, sell, etc., indecent or immoral articles, etc. (but names no specific purpose of such articles).

Section 4738 penalizes the deposit of any such forbidden things in the postoffice.

MONTANA. Section 8399 of the Revised Statutes of Montana, 1907, is the same as Arizona, §318, and California, §317.

NEBRASKA. Whoever sells, etc., things of obscene or immoral nature is punishable, but no special purpose of such articles is named.—General Statutes of Nebraska, page 777, Annotated 2289.

Laws of 1887, page 672, penalize deposit of such things in a post-office.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. The Public Statutes of New Hampshire, 1901, appear to contain nothing in relating to birth control.

NEW JERSEY. "Any persons who without just cause shall utter or expose to view of another, or have in his possession (with such intent) or to sell, any obscene or indecent book, pamphlet, etc., or any instrument, medicine or other thing designed or purporting to be designed for the prevention of conception or the procuring of abortion, or shall in anywise advertise the same or in any manner by recommendation against its use or otherwise, give or cause to be given, or aid in giving any information, how or where any of the same may be had or seen or bought or sold, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."—Compiled State Laws of New Jersey, 1911, page 1762; P. L. 1898, page 808.

NEW MEXICO. New Mexico Annotated Statutes, 1915, appear to contain no enactment relating to birth control or kindred matters.

NEW YORK. Consolidated Laws of New York, 1909, volume 4, section 1141, forbids anyone to sell, lend, etc. . . . anything immoral, etc.; but names no especial purpose of such thing forbidden.

Section 1142, same statute of New York: "A person who sells, lends, gives away, or in any manner exhibits or offers to sell, lend or give away, or has in his possession with intent to sell, lend or give away, or advertises, or offers for sale, loan or distribution, any instrument or article, or any recipe, drug or medicine for the prevention of conception, or for causing unlawful abortion, or purporting to be for the prevention of conception, or for causing unlawful abortion, or advertises or holds out representations that it can be so used or applied, or any such description as will be calculated to lead another to so use or apply any such article, recipe, drug, medicine or instrument, or who

writes or prints, or causes to be printed, a card, circular, pamphlet, advertisement orally, stating when, where, how, of whom or by what means such an instrument, article, recipe, drug or medicine can be purchased or obtained, or who manufactures any such instrument, article, recipe, drug or medicine, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to the same penalties," etc.—Sec. 1142.

Sec. 1143 penalizes depositing any such thing, etc., in a postoffice, express office, or with a common carrier.

Sec. 1145: "Any article or instrument, used or applied by physicians lawfully practicing, or by their direction and prescription, for the care or preventing 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."

NEVADA. Revised Statutes of Nevada, 1912, section 6461, is the same as the laws of Arizona and California in general on these matters.

Section 7069 provides that, in prosecuting, the exact language used by the defendant need not be set out in the complaint, etc.

NORTH CAROLINA. Pell's Revisal of North Carolina Statutes, 1908, appears to contain no law on matters like birth control.

NORTH DAKOTA. Section 9652, Compiled Laws North Dakota, 1913, is similar to the California Statute.

OHIO. "Whoever sells, gives away, or keeps for sale or gratuitous distribution, a secret drug or nostrum purporting to be exclusively for the use of females, or for preventing conception or procuring abortion or miscarriages shall be fined" not over \$1000, or sentenced to six months, etc.—Page & Adams' Annotated Ohio General Code, 1912, section 13033.

Section 13034 of same statutes forbids printing or publishing any advertisement of things denounced in sec. 13033, under fine, which is applicable also if such printing, etc., "cautions females against its use when in a pregnant condition."

Sec. 13035 penalizes also any "whoever sells, etc., any book, etc., . . . or drug to prevent conception."

Sec. 13036 makes it an offense to deposit any such matter in a post-office.

Sec. 13037 limits these acts to "not apply to medical colleges or medical books, or regularly licensed practitioners or druggists."

OKLAHOMA. Section 2463, Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910, is substantially the same as the laws of Arizona, omitting a clause after "or" as to miscarriage.

OREGON. Lord's Oregon Laws, 1910, section 2094, being Laws 1864, sec. 637, forbids importing, printing, etc., obscene or immoral articles; but does not state any object of such articles.

PENNSYLVANIA. Act of May 66, 1887, section 365. Purdon's Digest of Pennsylvania, 1905, forbids to bring into the state or sell, etc., indecent or immoral; but does not name any special object of such articles, etc.

PORTO RICO. Revised Statutes of Porto Rico, 1911-1913, section 5725, is the same as California laws on matter of birth control, omitting after "or" the clause as to miscarriage.

RHODE ISLAND. Chapter 347, section 13, page 1277, General Laws of Rhode Island, 1909, forbids importation, etc., of articles and things to corrupt the morals (but gives no particulars).

Sec. 24, page 1279, of the same General Laws, says: "Every person who shall advertise, print, etc., book, paper, etc., containing words or language giving or conveying any notice, hint or references to any person, from whom, or to any place, house, shop or office, where anything whatsoever, or any advice, direction, information or knowledge, may be obtained for the purpose of causing or procuring the miscarriage of any pregnant woman, shall be imprisoned not over three months."

(Continued on page 16)

MEDICAL JOURNALS ADVOCATE BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 4)

training, education, etc., are not possible of attainment. When the mother's health has deteriorated, the children she bears suffer proportionately. And it follows that where such unideal conditions exist, it is a very unhappy state for all the family, parents and children. To make the matter worse, in this state of affairs some men might possibly shirk their parental duty by staying away from home as much as possible, throwing all the burden on the wife, and wife and children thereby suffer the more. Children uncared for are a menace to their own health, that of their parents, and to the community. Therefore, philanthropy requires that this matter be considered on its merits as concerning everyone and worked out to a successful conclusion.

"In this connection the following editorial, that appeared in the *Texas State Journal of Medicine* last September, brings up the point at issue which we wish to emphasize. It is the situation that confronts physicians frequently. Were it settled everywhere as easily as in Texas it would undoubtedly prevent the necessity of women importuning their physician to prescribe emmenagogues. A short time ago a physician was convicted of sending by mail a prescription of an emmenagogue to a patient, and was sentenced to prison. Another physician recently had his license revoked in Pennsylvania after conviction for a similar offense. Proper information given beforehand would have avoided these troubles for both the patients and the doctors. The editorial is as follows:

BIRTH CONTROL.

"THE OTHER DAY a patron handed us the following letter, written by his family practitioner:

DEAR DOCTOR: I am sending you Mr. _____ and pregnant wife and two children; there are four more. Mr. _____ is a tenant farmer, badly in debt and has had nothing but sickness in his family since marriage nine years ago. All the children are scrawny and nervous. I suspect syphilis, but there is no history. Look them over and tell me what to do. Will the law allow me to instruct the mother in methods of prevention of conception? Fraternaly yours,

"The members of this family all gave three or four positive Wasserman reactions. The history pointed to congenital maternal infection.

"We wish to send broadcast through this state the information there there is no law in Texas, so our attorneys tell us, which makes it illegal to instruct the public in methods of prevention of conception, nor which debars the sale of articles and appliances necessary to that end. For distributing information on this subject through the mails, Section 211 of the U. S. Criminal Code provides a penalty of five years in prison, or a fine of five thousand dollars, or both.

"The knowledge of methods of limiting off-spring is not an unmixed blessing; it is liable to misuse. Life itself, love, religion, politics, opium and firearms are not unmixed blessings, but for use with discretion and wisdom. Without imparting a knowledge of the methods of birth control how can we do our duty to parents like the above, to the poor with swarming broods, to wrecks from coitus interruptus, to the

deformed, to the epileptic, to the mother who constantly aborts, to the chronic eclamptic, to the consumptive, to those to whom pregnancy means death?

"Rarely do we find a physician who does not admit the desirability of the dissemination of knowledge along these lines, but even medical literature, as well as letters and pamphlets dealing with such matters, are not allowed in the mails. This law reflects the tenets of some of our strong Christian denominations, and was placed on our statute books by influences which were not controlled by humane, intelligent medical opinion. In 1912, Dr. Abraham Jacobi in delivering the presidential address before the American Medical Association advocated the instruction of the people on the best means of the limitation of offspring. This presented a magnificent opportunity for the physicians of America to demand the repeal of an inhumane and undesirable statute. From time to time we read of individuals serving penitentiary sentences for the dissemination of such information through the mails. It is high time the medical profession rise and demand justice in the name of suffering humanity.'

"IMPROVEMENTS IN SOCIAL organization would solve the problem admirably by providing for each person according to his needs. Thus, in a family with ten children there would be provided clothes, food, games, house, fuel, furniture, amusement, etc., for all; and the same would be done in a family with two children, and other families in proportion. The wants of each one would be provided for. But this method is not in existence, and the problem must be settled according to the present-day possibilities.

"It seems a fitting time now to consider laws whereby the dissemination of the necessary information for the limitation of families is permitted. What restrictions may be needed have yet to be formulated. Possibly an act permitting the dissemination of the knowledge among married women only would meet the objections of all parties for and against the matter of birth control by the use of contraceptives.

"What is needed is a revocation of state laws forbidding the giving of *information* along the lines suggested—the use of contraceptives, and to permit the inclusion of the matter in books disseminated thru the mails. The state laws permit medical books to contain the information, but the nonmailing clause of the federal government makes it hazardous to be very specific in the descriptions and prevents the dissemination even among physicians.

"We wish again to emphasize our position in this matter. Laws permitting the use of contraceptives and the dissemination of the necessary information to patients should be enacted, and at the same time the sections of other laws that forbid this should be repealed; but the laws forbidding criminal abortion, indecency, lewdness, obscenity, fornication should still remain in force."

It is taken for granted that those who oppose Birth Control never mean the exclusion should take place on themselves. Their great concern of morality is always and ever for others.

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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 TREASURER
 MISS JESSIE ASHLEY
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200 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Telephone, Gramercy 3139

OBJECTS

1. To secure the repeal or amendment of all laws prohibiting the giving out of information concerning methods of birth control through the prevention of conception.
2. To collect and distribute facts in regard to the legal status of birth control education in the United States and other countries.

WHAT TO DO NEXT? If you want to help prepare for the campaign in Congress to remove the ban on contraceptive information, do for your own city what a fine group of Chicago citizens did for theirs. They got well known signatures to the following statement, which was then given to the papers.

Note the advantages of this procedure. The names are not made public till a certain specified number are secured. This gives convinced, but timid people the chance to "stand up and be counted" in a group instead of alone. It is dignified. It is influential. The newspapers can not ignore the significance of the well known names.

Begin now. A small committee of three, or even one, can secure the signatures. Get them as quickly as possible. And when you give them to the local papers give the name and address of the chairman, so that interested people can connect themselves with the movement. Report results to us, and send clippings:

A STATEMENT BY THE CHICAGO CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ON FAMILY LIMITATION

We believe that the privilege of having children carries with it responsibility for the happiness and welfare of each child. We contend, however, that it is inconsistent to preach the importance of healthy, well-developed families to parents who are denied the knowledge whereby they can determine the size of the family for which they are to care. All too frequently, as a result of parental ignorance or helplessness, undesired children are born to ill-health and misery, or are destroyed before birth by parents who feel themselves driven in desperation to this terrible recourse. Owing to fear of legal restrictions, real or fancied, and to general misunderstanding as well, the knowledge which might remedy these evils is withheld from great numbers in the community.

We believe that such knowledge, properly imparted and properly acted upon, and supported by the sanction of public opinion, would lead to a higher standard of family life. It would protect the health of the mother, by sparing her the exhaustion of uninterrupted child-bearing or the risks of bearing children when on account of physical disability maternity is attended with serious danger to life. It would safeguard

the health of the children by offering them a fair start in life and by reducing the excessive illness and mortality that prevail in recklessly large families—for the largest numbers of children raised to maturity are not always found in those families where the largest numbers of children were born. It would help to assure to children reasonable education and opportunity for physical, mental, and moral development. It would in some degree remove the civic menace of a too-unequal increase of the different elements or classes of the population, and thereby mitigate the inequality of the opportunities which these different classes now enjoy.

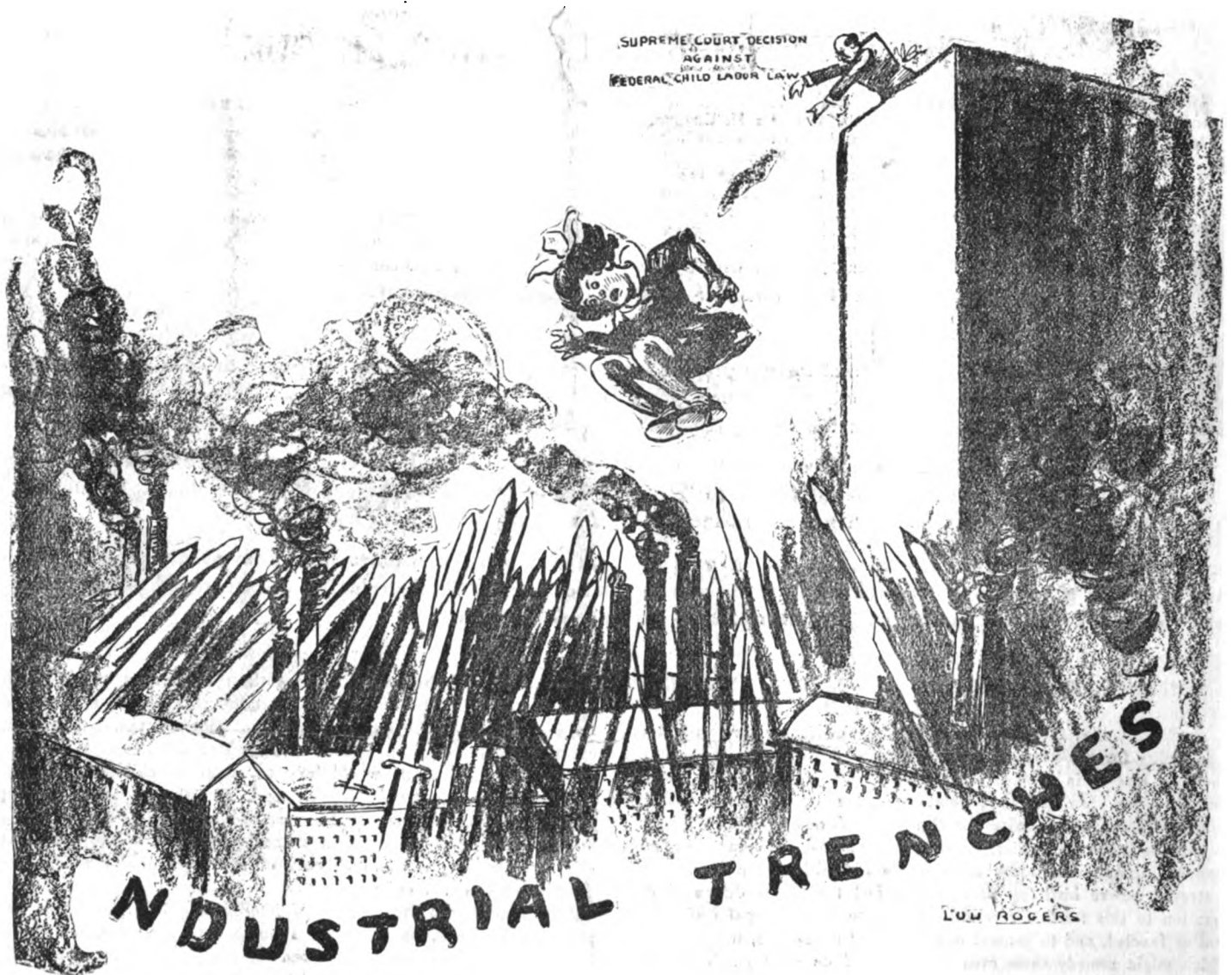
As a step toward the creation of intelligent opinion upon this vital problem we desire, by means of suitable books, articles, and public lectures, to bring about a freer and more scientific discussion of the principle of voluntary parenthood. We recommend that lectures on the general subject be offered under the auspices of institutions of public health and welfare; and that special educational centers be established, where similar lectures may be provided, where approved books may be made available, and where advice concerning family limitation may be had from properly qualified persons, with due regard for the social and moral issues involved.

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 The Rev. Myron E. Adams
 The Rev. Edward S. Ames
 Dr. Charles S. Bacon
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 Victor S. Yarros
 Mr. and Mrs. Sigmund Zeisler

"SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN!"



LEGAL BARRIERS OF STATE AND NATION.

(Continued from page 13)

SOUTH CAROLINA. South Carolina, Code 1912, criminal code, sec. 931, denounces with penalty the corruption of youth.

Chapter 33, sec. 391, denounces the corrupting of youth. Chapter 33, section 371, penalizes certain obscene or indecent matters, but does not specifically indicate for what special object such articles must be designed.

TENNESSEEE. Code of Tennessee, 1896, section 6770, forbids obscene books, etc., that tend to corrupt morals.

TEXAS. Vernon's Criminal Statutes of Texas, 1916, article 508, forbids printing, etc., designed to corrupt the morals of youth.

UTAH. Compiled Laws of Utah, 1907, section 4247, penalizes one who writes, etc., . . . obscene, immoral, indecent, etc., but no special purpose of the articles, things or instruments condemned is named.

VERMONT. Public Statutes of Vermont, 1906, section 5894, forbids import, print, etc., . . . any book, etc., . . . tending to corrupt morals of youth," he shall be punished, etc.—Virginia Code, 1904, Pollard, section 3791.

WASHINGTON. General Statutes of Washington, 1910, seem to contain no law relating in any way to birth control.

WEST VIRGINIA. West Virginia, Code 1916, page 1221, chapter 149, section 11, is substantially the same as Virginia law.

WISCONSIN. Section 4590, Wisconsin Statutes, 1915, is practically like the law of Virginia and others.

WYOMING. "Whoever sells, or lends, etc., . . . any book or article, etc., . . . for self-pollution or abortion or to prevent conception" shall be punished.—Wyoming Compiled Statutes, 1910, section 5911, being laws 1890, chapter 73, section 81.

Section 5912, *ibid.*, penalizes the deposit of any such things for delivery by others.

CANADA

ONTARIO, CANADA. Everyone is guilty of an indictable offense and liable to two years' imprisonment who knowingly, without lawful excuse or justification, offers to sell, advertises, publishes an advertisement of or has for sale or disposal any medicine, drug or article intended or represented as a means of preventing conception or causing abortion.—Criminal code, sec. 179.

* A Colorado statute, similar in general, here inserts "instruments" also.

† "Section," "sec." and § have been used interchangeably thruout these abstracts. They all mean the same thing. Some law books use one, some another means of designating a section.

‡ Idaho in a similar statute omits "writes, composes."

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

KITTY MARION JAILED

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALFRED E. SMITH

VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

By Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee, Ph. D.

WHEN SHOULD A WOMAN AVOID HAVING CHILDREN?

By Margaret Sanger

BIRTH CONTROL THE CURE FOR WAR

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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EDITORIALS

By Jessie Ashley

IT IS A QUEER world we live in. On the one hand, we have an appeal to buy Liberty Bonds, so that America may bring death and destruction to Berlin. On the other hand, we have a newspaper report of a married couple in France who had received ten thousand francs from the French Government upon the birth of their twenty-second child. First we are urged to deal death, then we are paid for giving life. Inconsistent? No, for how can man make war without lives to sacrifice? It is, in fact, cynically consistent. Consistent in the utter disregard for the happiness and welfare of women. Twenty-two children. Ten thousand francs (about \$100 a child, unless the worthy couple dealt in children, and received 10,000 francs for each) and then some other government squeezes money from its people to make machines to destroy these same poor little \$100 children.

Well, that is all right from the man's point of view. Men like to fight and for ages have occupied themselves in killing animals for food, as well as in warring upon each other either in actual battle or in commerce or industry. The more men there are, the bigger the fight. But the interesting thing about it, is the attitude of women. Why do women consent to bring twenty-two children into the world only to see them swallowed up in warfare, both industrial and political? Do they, also, like killing? Do they gloat over the children, thinking how this one will kill and that one bear 22 children? Do women really think this sort of thing pays? Do they think they really live, these women who breed excessively? We call our men noble and self-sacrificing, give them honors without stint (medals of course) for spending a year or two in the trenches, in an unnatural life, created by mankind itself. But imagine

twenty-two years of more or less active discomfort and pain in one lifetime and then a worn-out middle age, and all for the purpose of reproducing her kind for the same sort of woeful existence. What under the bright sun can a woman find tolerable in such a fate? Yet, women go on enduring this sort of thing, generation after generation. Endure it, and pay taxes to bring death to the children of their enemies. To us, they seem incredibly stupid, incredibly brutalized, these prolific mothers of men. To us, it seems immoral to hand out 10,000 francs in praise of such a life, which is no life. It seems to us degrading to encourage the race in such excessive reproduction. It cheapens life, it lowers responsibility, it encourages the will to kill, because lives are so easily replaced. But let any one so much as peep about rebel woman! Let any one so much as whisper, that life might be free and gay, even for women. Let any bold little, poor little woman of them all, learn a secret that might help and tell it. Let her even ask for such knowledge as exists (there is little enough of it, at best), in order to understand her own body and control it—then, well, she is a bad woman, bad and immoral, probably a criminal, and certainly an unnatural creature. That is the plain, unpainted truth, no camouflage about it. And men tell us that women like it!

IN THE MEANTIME, however, word comes from "Over there" that all standards have gone by the board and that no one any longer thinks of marriage. This is but individual, personal observation, to be sure, but the observer is a perfectly good married American, working in France, with the Red Cross. She has unusual opportunity to look and listen, if not to stop, nor does she explain whether it is the willful male, in the role of soldier hero, who is upsetting our precious standards, or the eternal feminine person busy on the job of keeping up the morale of the aforesaid heroes, who is to blame in the matter. Perhaps it is the government itself. All governments seem to be feeling a trifle worried about the size of the birth rate in their respective countries. Possibly they are experimenting with informality along the hitherto rigid rules of matrimony. If ten thousand francs for twenty-two children does not bring the desired results, perhaps a little freedom from legality along the line of one or two children, may be helpful. We can at all events rest assured that State and Church and Society will co-operate and will sanction that standard, old or new, high or low, legal or illegal, that promises to bring the best results in human material; and to State, Church and Society quantity is deemed better than quality. That is the point that progressive women must keep in mind. They must educate women to protect themselves from excessive child bearing. When enough women insist on having scientific contraceptive information, that information will be forthcoming. When women refuse to lead a life that is even less desirable than that of the cow, there will be ways found to meet the demand. Many individual women today, know what a life of broad human activity may mean to them and are leading such lives. They are not the women who have twenty-two children. On with our fight in this tough little world for more intelligence, more health, more of the spirit, and less of the material sex-ridden lives that women have to lead.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALFRED E. SMITH

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH,
President of the Board of Alderman,
 City Hall, New York.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH:—

On September 26th, I addressed to you the following letter:

“The subject of birth control is of vital importance to the women voters who are casting their first vote in the coming election of this state.

For the benefit of the thousands who are interested in this subject will you not state your position regarding it, inasmuch as Governor Whitman has already gone on record for a Commission to investigate the necessity of changing the anti-birth control laws.

I will greatly appreciate hearing from you at your earliest possible convenience.”

Very truly yours,

[Signed] MARGARET SANGER.

At the same time I addressed a letter in identical language to Charles W. Ervin, Socialist nominee for governor. Mr. Ervin has replied as follows:

NEW YORK CITY
 October 2, 1918.

MY DEAR MRS. SANGER:—

Replying to your letter of September 26th, it is almost needless to state that I think that woman should be mistress of her own life, both economically and physically, and further, I think it is a crime for children to be brought into the world unless there is positive assurance that they can be given the best physical, moral and mental surroundings from birth until they blossom into manhood and womanhood.

Believing this, I therefore am certainly in favor of a commission to investigate the necessity of changing the anti-birth control laws. I would, however, be most emphatically opposed to having this commission composed of a majority of men, but, on the contrary, I should just as emphatically favor the appointment of a majority of women on such a commission.

Very Very Truly,

[Signed] CHARLES W. ERVIN.

Thus far I have received from you no reply to my query in behalf of the women who have written to me asking where the various candidates for governor stand upon the question of Birth Control.

I have noted, however, your interview in the *New York American* of October 13th. In that interview, you declare yourself in favor of these policies and measures, among others:

LAWS REGULATING HOURS of employment for men, women and children.

Extension of Workingmen's Compensation law to include “occupational diseases.”

Extension of labor laws “to take care of women and children forced into new lines of endeavor because of the war.”

Minimum wage for women and children.

Widow's pensions.

Maternity insurance.

Under present conditions, these are excellent palliatives, but are you aware, Mr. Smith, that they are only palliatives?

And are you aware that they touch only superficially “the solution of the problems affecting men, women and children?”

If we are to judge a candidate upon a few pleasant sounding superficialities, uttered with the unction born of the necessities of a political campaign, many of the women of New York would doubtless be moved to vote for you. But in these days an awakened womanhood is beginning to pay attention to the fundamentals. We are more interested in the removal of causes than in the application of palliatives. We care less for the multiplication of hospitals than we do for the prevention of sickness and wounds.

Laws regulating the hours of employment for men, women and children are all very well, Mr. Smith, but do you know that most of the women and children now forced into toil in the state of New York would not be there, war or no war, if it were not for the fact that the family of the average workingman is too large for the husband to support?

ARE YOU AWARE that the high infant death rate is due principally to the family too large to afford proper living quarters, proper food and proper physical attention? Do you know that each year 300,000 children in the United States die of diseases due to poverty and neglect? Are you aware that there are upon the statute books certain “dark age” laws which make it a crime to convey to the over-burdened mothers the knowledge by which she can limit her family to the size which makes it possible to give it proper care, proper food, proper clothing and proper medical attention?

Are you aware that the well-to-do and more highly educated almost universally practice family limitation, more popularly and accurately known as Birth Control, while the wives of workingmen are denied this knowledge?

And are you aware that the cost of the care of the insane alone in New York state last year was \$8,320,000, while the economic loss, due to insanity, according to the annual report of the State Hospital Commission, was \$35,000,000?

Do you know that most of the 37,069 persons in the state institutions for the mentally defective, came from large families reared in poverty? And do you know that unchecked breeding of these defectives has already overcrowded the state institutions to the extent of 10,000 persons?

Are you aware that the repeal of the statutes prohibiting the dissemination of the knowledge of Birth Control would in a few years rid the state of this burden, to say nothing of freeing women of the most abject of all forms of slavery, that of unwilling motherhood?

And do you know that there are hundreds of thousands of women in New York crying for the knowledge which shall enable them to have smaller but healthier, better-cared for families?

We are not asking you at this time to go on record in favor of Birth Control. But we are asking you to go on record in favor of a commission to ascertain, scientifically, accurately and without prejudice, whether under present economic conditions the unchecked birth rates in certain elements of society is responsible largely for the need of prisons and institutions for the mentally defective. We are asking you to pledge yourself to an impartial commission to ascertain the relation between too large families and the health and death rates. We are asking you to name a commission which shall discover whether the repeal of the anti-Birth Control statutes will in a few years remedy these conditions.

MATERNAL INSURANCE is, after all, but small relief to women whose lives have been wrecked by too frequent childbearing. Workingmen's compensation does not go far toward the support of a family of five or six or seven. You may find that Birth Control, which prevents the multiplication of children who can not have proper food, proper clothing nor proper shelter will do more to solve the problem than even strict child labor laws and regulation, which we all favor.

I am well aware, as are all women who have devoted their attention to this cause, that it is not the custom of candidates

for office to go deep into the fundamental causes of intolerable conditions. But, whatever you may think of it, Mr. Smith, the women of New York know where the trouble lies. They know that legislative palliatives mean little to women, until they are freed from this most degrading servitude. They know whence come the inmates of prisons and reformatories, the inmates of institutions for defectives. And they know whence comes the child labor evil.

Governor Whitman, prior to America's entry into the war, promised a state commission to investigate the need of the repeal of the anti-Birth Control statutes. Charles W. Ervin, Socialist nominee for governor, has gone one step further. He has pledged himself to a commission of which a majority shall be women.

In behalf of the women who have written to me, in behalf of the thousands of New York women who believe in making the knowledge of Birth Control accessible to the wives and mothers of toilers, I ask you again, Mr. Smith, where do you stand upon this matter so vital to the well being of hundreds of thousands of New York women, and therefore so vital to the well being of society?

Very truly yours,

[Signed] MARGARET SANGER.

Kitty Marion Gives Up Freedom --- What Will You Give?

WHEN KITTY MARION was sentenced to thirty days in jail or the payment of a five hundred dollar fine, she unhesitatingly chose the jail, although she knew that in the wave of emotion and indignation that swept over the supporters of the Birth Control movement, at the excessive amount of the fine, five hundred dollars, could then and there have been raised.

But Kitty Marion put the cause before herself and bravely sacrificed her liberty rather than use money that she thought should go to the cause of Birth Control. She is now doing hard labor for the sake of humanity.

We must do this. One hundred dollars has already been pledged. Come on, the rest of you, rich and poor alike, give

dimes and give dollars, hundreds of them. Send literally all you can to the Kitty Marion Fund to be used in the propaganda she is in jail for. It is time woman's voice was heard loud enough to be heeded.

Come no, noblesse oblige!

Send your contribution to Mrs. Frances B. Ackerman, Treasurer, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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Children to Come

By E. Ralph Cheney

OH, HUSH, for a moment's space and, listening, stand aside

From the frenzied battle for bread and the crushing burden of fears!

Take heart in the breathless race from the wolf with jaws gaped wide,

For, hark, there's a lilt ahead in the litany of the years:

"Oh, healthy, happy, hearty, singing, bringing strength and courage new,

The perfect fruit of perfect love, we, wanted, needed, come to you!

Now, Nature's lavish nuptial hand, by science stayed, to man gives heed;

And strong your bodies, brave young spirits answer wholly to your need."

Judges With Small Families Jail Kitty Marion

IF YOU BUY this number of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW* from a woman whom you are unaccustomed to see selling magazines on the street, it is because Kitty Marion, of *THE REVIEW* staff is in jail for her convictions.

In a recent issue we told the authorities that for every woman jailed for her activities in the movement for Birth Control, ten women would rise up to do her work. We underestimated the vitality of our own cause. Instead of ten, fifteen women have volunteered to sell *THE REVIEW* on the street.

That was only the beginning. Wherever the news of Miss Marion's arrest and imprisonment has spread it has brought wider, deeper interest in the cause for which she is suffering. Words of encouragement come from every side. Proffers of co-operation multiply. Women who have not before taken an active interest in the Birth Control movement are awakening to the necessity of carrying forward this light.

It is peculiarly fitting that this English woman, a veteran of many fights for the rights of women, should through her dauntless courage and cheerful martyrdom, be the means of bringing home once more to the women of America the vital fact that they and they alone can win and establish their liberties.

FORTY YEARS AGO, in the dock of an English prison stood Kitty Marion's countrywoman, Annie Besant, and uttered words which awoke the women of the British Empire to the brutality of the laws which prevented them from attaining a knowledge of their own beings. That first martyr to the cause of Birth Control was sentenced to prison for six months and fined £200, though the sentence was never imposed. But the fire kindled by her example swept away the vicious laws against contraceptives and today it is not unlawful in the British Empire to impart information concerning Birth Control.

Woman's martyrdom bears abundant fruit for woman's freedom. Miss Marion is a member of the staff of *The Birth Control REVIEW*. No member of that staff pauses at anything which will further this battle for the freedom of woman. Hence it came that every afternoon and every night, Miss Marion went among the Broadway crowds to sell and thereby advertise *THE REVIEW* and the Birth Control movement. Other women, inspired by her example, have come forward to do this work. Still others have volunteered to do her work in the office.

We beg to revise our previous statement. For every woman jailed for the sake of Birth Control, twenty will rise up to do her work. Miss Marion was given her choice by the court of Special Sessions. She could pay a \$500 fine, or go to jail for thirty days. Instantly she choose the latter.

Whatever improvement you may note in *THE REVIEW* in the next few issues is due in great part to that decision upon Miss Marion's part. Money is not plentiful in the Birth Control movement, but had Miss Marion so chosen, her fine would have been paid instantly by contributors to this cause. She chose, rather, to give another proof of her great devotion.

"Put the money into *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*," said she, "I'll stay in jail."

THE TRIAL OF Kitty Marion, October 14th, was very brief.

She did not deny that she had imparted the specified information to Agent Bamberger of the so-called Society for the Prevention of Vice. She was not given an opportunity to tell in court the pitiful story of an ailing and desperate wife and a discouraged man by which Bamberger induced her to procure and give him that humane knowledge which it is still unlawful to communicate in New York.

She did not apologize. She did not promise "never to do it again." She admitted the facts and received her sentence. Judge Freschi favored a fine of \$250 instead of \$500. Judges Kernochan and Murphy over-ruled him. Judge Kernochan was particularly insistent upon punishment of women who dare "to break the law."

One of the ironical features of the case is that while all three of the judges are married, one is childless, and two have but small families.

One wonders why, Your Honors of the court of Special Sessions, if you think it your duty to send a woman to jail who has given information concerning contraceptives to a man who says that his wife's health and life are in danger, you, yourselves, have not large families? One wonders, Your Honors, why Kitty Marion is in jail and your families to all appearances, have been the subject of a wise and judicious limitation?

Even this, however, is not the most ironical feature of the case. Bamberger, who played the agent provocateur and who receives a salary for inducing people to break the law, is still at liberty. He was not even reproved by the court. He is free to continue to draw his salary for inducing still other violations of other laws.

Kitty Marion has no apology to make for her violation of a dark age statute. Neither have we one to make for her. We approve of her generous courage and we are proud of the unselfishness and fortitude with which she undergoes the penalty imposed by law for her work for women. Bamberger cannot be left to his conscience for a trapper of women assuredly has none. His case and the cases of those who like him have chosen to lead the existence of human vultures can be committed to the awakening social sense of a long outraged public.

Possibly because Miss Marion has several times undergone imprisonment in England for her work as a suffragette and because she there instituted a hunger strike, she has not been committed to the workhouse on Blackwell's Island. Instead, she has been held in *The Tombs* which is, in some slight degree, better than the Island prison.

Kitty Marion, refusing to pay a fine because she feels that the money is needed for the Birth Control movement, is a magnificent example of fearless womanhood ready to pay a man-imposed price for the freedom of her sex. In the eight of that example we can but pledge ourselves anew to a constant, more unflinching devotion to the cause for which she suffers.

When Should A Woman Avoid Having Children?

By Margaret Sanger

IF ONE JUDGES by the letters and personal inquiries that come to an advocate of Birth Control the one thing that women wish to know more than any other, is how to escape the burden of too frequent child bearing. Next to that they are interested in the question of when a woman should avoid having children.

One who has examined the books bearing upon the latter subject is quickly brought to the conclusion that there has been a great amount of disagreement among so-called authorities in regard to this matter. Once it seemed that every one who discussed it, whether it was from the standpoint of medicine, morals, social welfare or individual rights disagreed with everybody else who had attempted to give an answer.

Within the past few years, however, medical and social science have made such strides in this direction that it is now comparatively easy to separate the worthwhile conclusions from those which are of doubtful value or plainly worthless. Those who have made a careful, scientific study of Birth Control are pretty well united upon the points which I shall set forth in this article. I do not give them as my own opinions so much as the result of investigation by others, which I have proved correct by my own studies.

THERE ARE MANY circumstances to be considered before one attempts to advise a woman who asks when she should avoid having children. When all is said and done, the answer is never the same in any two cases. There are certain things which the mother or prospective mother should know. Then she must decide for herself.

(1) *Generally speaking, no woman should bear a child before she is twenty-two years old. It is better that she should wait until she is at least twenty-five.* Not only is it desirable from the mother's viewpoint to postpone child bearing until she has attained a ripe physical and mental development, but it is all-important to the child. The best authorities agree that a child born when a woman is twenty-five or older has the best chance of a good physical and mental equipment, provided, of course, that the health of the mother is good.

(2) *Child bearing should be avoided within two or three years after the birth of the last child.* Common sense and science unite in pointing out that the mother requires at least this much time to regain her normal strength in order to give a new baby proper nourishment both before and after its birth. For the mother's sake it is sufficient to point out, as does Findley in "Diseases of Women" that "frequent child bearing . . . almost certainly results in some sort of pelvic ailment."

(3) *By all means there should be no children when mother (or father) suffers from such diseases as tuberculosis, gonorrhea, syphilis, cancer, epilepsy, insanity, drunkenness or mental disorders. In the case of the mother, heart disease, kidney trouble and pelvic deformities are also a serious bar to pregnancy.*

Thousands of volumes have been written by physicians upon

the danger to mothers and offspring of having children when one or both parents are suffering from the diseases mentioned above. As authorities have pointed out in all these books, the jails, hospitals for the insane, poorhouses and houses of prostitution are filled with the children born of such parents, while an astounding number of their children are either still born or die in infancy.

These facts are now so well known that they would need little discussion here, even if space permitted. Miscarriages, which are particular frequent in cases of syphilis and pelvic deformities, are a great source of danger to the health and even to the life of the mother. Where either parent suffers from gonorrhea, the child is likely to be born blind. Tuberculosis in the parent leaves the child's system in such condition that it is likely to suffer from the disease. Childbearing is also a grave danger to the tubercular mother. A tendency to insanity, if not insanity itself, may be transmitted to the child, or it may be feeble-minded if one of the parents is insane or suffers from any mental disorder. Drunkenness in the parent or parents has been found to be the cause of feeble-mindedness in the offspring and to leave the child with a constitution too weak to resist disease as it should.

(4) *No more children should be born when the parents, though healthy themselves, find that their children are physically or mentally defective.* No matter how much they desire children, no man and woman have a right to bring into the world those who are sure to suffer from mental or physical affliction. It condemns the child to a life of misery and places upon the community the burden of caring for them, probably of their defective descendants for many generations.

(5) *There should be no more children whenever the conditions of life and the uncertainty of livelihood make it improbable that the children can be given proper care, both as to their physical and mental needs.*

AT LEAST ONE CHILD in every seven that dies in the United States perishes from malnutrition or some disease due to poverty. It is neither just to the baby, to the mother nor to the father, to bring into the world a child that is likely to lack for proper food, medical attention and healthful home surroundings. The want of these things inevitably bring disease and disaster to the child and a crushing burden to the parents, to say nothing of the burden to society at large. If there is not accorded to the infant the mercy of an early death, the jail, the poorhouse, and the house of prostitution have a great chance of claiming it. This is another point upon which medical and social authorities are now well agreed.

This, then, is the answer of science for all women generally. But I want to impress upon the mind of the reader who belongs to the toiling masses that women who labor, who do useful things in the world, have a special and exceedingly deep interest in Birth Control. Society, for ages past has been and still is indifferent to the needs of the worker's children. Every now

Birth Control A Parents' Problem or Woman's?

New York, October 4, 1918.

"MY DEAR MRS. SANGER:—

I have for some time been interested in the Birth Control movement. I have been a reader of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, and a contributor to the funds for the support of Birth Control. I mention these things that you may know that I am fully in sympathy with what you are trying to do.

For some time past I have been going to write to you about a question that has arisen frequently in my mind as I have read THE REVIEW. Don't you think you over emphasize the woman's side of the problem to the exclusion of the man's?

Women have all the pain and the danger of childbearing. Doesn't it seem little enough that the man should take upon himself the problem of protecting her when protection is needed? Shouldn't the instruction in methods of Birth Control be given to men and more stress laid upon appealing to them to take this responsibility?

The more I think of it, the more I feel that this is a man's

problem and that without his co-operation we can never solve it.

Yours for a better race,

M. B. H."

WE PUBLISH THIS letter from "M. B. H." because it raises a question bearing immediately upon the direction which the Birth Control movement is to take.

We are well aware that there is a wide difference of opinion upon this matter. My own convictions are very decided. I would like before expressing them, however, to give an opportunity to others who may have something to say on the subject.

We will, therefore, devote a page of the next issue of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW to this discussion. Please make your letters as short as possible, so that everyone may have a hearing. In the issue following the publication of the letters, I hope to state my own views.

M. H. S.

and then some new law is passed which attempts or pretends to give the child of the worker some protection. Usually the protection amounts to so little that we might as well have been spared the mockery of it.

So I have no hesitancy in putting down the following answers to the question:

WHEN SHOULD A woman avoid having children?

If she is a working woman she should have no more children while society remains indifferent to the needs of her offspring and forces them to toil in mills and factories.

"Industrial diseases" due to accident, overwork, lack of fresh air and lack of play, stunt both the mental and physical development of the child, which through the pressure of poverty at home, has been driven to coin its childhood into dollars.

The working woman should have no more children while the profit system exists, for it dictates where you shall live, and what you and your children shall eat and wear.

In the case of the majority of workers it dictates too little food, adulterated food, food of inferior quality, shocking living quarters, exposure to disease and inadequate medical attention.

While there is a struggle between the forces of Poverty and Plenty the working woman should have no more children. Every child is likely to have to go into the mill or the factory and compete with its father and mother for its daily bread.

THE WORKERS WILL win their fight for better conditions, only when they cease to produce cheap labor for the labor market, and use birth control as the most immediate weapon for their emancipation.

The mothers of workers have made human life cheap with battalions of unwanted babies. As long as life is held thus cheap, society will continue to waste life prodigally in under

paid toil. It will not place a higher value upon the life and the health of the worker until the women of the working class make babies scarce.

Do not be deceived. Your children are commodities—they are bought and sold in industry. And the price of infants like the price of everything else, goes up when the commodity grows scarce.

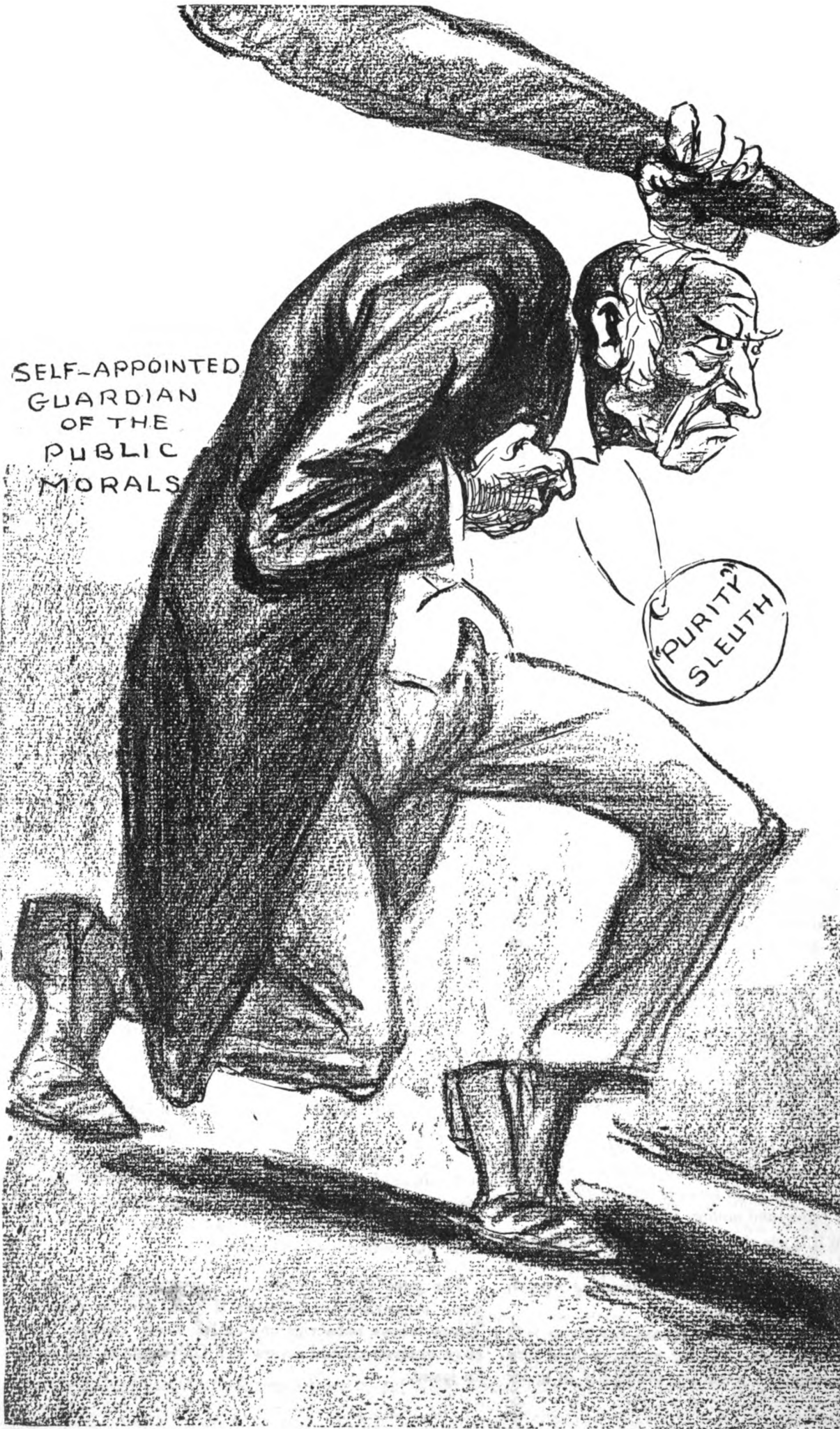
The war has brought women into industry as never before. Poverty has driven them into the factory and the mill beside their fathers and brothers. It has taken their children with them.

All of the creative energy of womanhood, the maternal energy that is looked to for the renewal of the world, goes into a sordid, dead, unfeeling machine. That is society's decision in the matter, and from it there is no appeal. But until Society permits woman to give to the bearing and rearing of children the maternal energy given her by Nature for that purpose, and so long as she must give it to a factory machine, she must for her own sake, for the sake of other workers, for the sake of the child, avoid bearing children.

REMEMBER KITTY MARION is doing thirty days in prison because she is a brave honest woman who sees a big fight before her and follows it. Who will be the first to buy a share of stock in THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW as a protest against such laws, and such excessive penalties, for a kind and sensible, if illegal act? Send ten dollars to keep our flag aloft. On with our education!

The post office regulations require that you pay for your magazine in advance if you are to receive it. Those whose subscriptions to the Birth Control Review have expired should renew AT ONCE so as not to miss an issue.

SELF-APPOINTED
GUARDIAN
OF THE
PUBLIC
MORALS



BIRTH CONTROL
MEANS
HEALTH, HAPPINESS,
PERFECT CHILDREN,



Verboten! Verboten! Verboten!

THE OFFICE OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW is flooded with heartrending letters begging for knowledge of contraceptives. Each letter is a plea hot from an overburdened heart, to whom life has ceased to be sweet. Each letter is in a peculiar sense an appeal to society to abate the burden of involuntary motherhood.

And what answer is made to these mothers whom custom and law have made unwilling brood animals?

Three judges, all married, one childless and two with but small families have sent Kitty Marion to jail for thirty days for imparting information concerning contraceptives. The answer of the reactionary and lawgivers is simply "Thou shalt not—verboten!"

Women may die of too frequent child bearing, men may break themselves at the wheel of toil to support in pitiful poverty large families, but when the mother asks for the knowledge of how to prevent more children the answer is always the same—"It is forbidden—Verboten!"

Clear thinking women with the realization of the brood-slavery of their sex burned into their minds appeal to the legislatures and to Congress to change the dark age laws in order that the humane message of contraception may go forth to their suffering sisters. But the nearest official, with the gesture of a Prussian policeman, makes the same answer: "Verboten!"

ON THIS PAGE are reproduced the cries of anguish of mothers who have appealed to THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. Shall society continue to wave aside these living, hopeless tragedies?

What excuse can the lawmakers, the courts, the Puritans, the comstock societies offer, in the light of these letters?

If today their answer is "Verboten!" what will it be tomorrow?

Can they go on thrusting aside these pleas from the depths of misery and despair with the abominable retort of a dying junkerdom—"Verboten?"

Husband Constantly Drunk.

"Dear Madam:—

Owing to the fact that I am compelled to go to work and would think it a great favor if you could kindly send me your advice on birth control. My reasons are that *I have a husband who is continually drunk and in order to give my children enough to eat I must go to work.* I am 28 years old, have four children, youngest 2 years. Kindly oblige as I am ready to do anything in the world for my children and feel it would be a sin to bring more children into the world. I think you are doing the finest work in the city and wish you luck."

Ten Dollars a Week for Five.

"Dear Madam:—

I ask as a great favor of you to send me one of your pamphlets as I am married six years last July and have had five children, three living, 2 dead, the youngest 1½ years. My hus-

band does not earn more than ten dollars a week and find I have all to do to get along. If it were not for my folks I would go hungry many a time."

Can't Care for Children Properly

"Dear Madam:—

Having read of your lectures on birth control I thought it possible you would be kind enough to help a mother of five.

We have five little ones from two to eleven and expect another one soon. *Although we love them dearly we would like very much to wait at least four years before another one comes along for the babies do not get a fair chance to make good strong men and women and I am failing very fast. We are poor folks and unable to take proper care of the little ones or ourselves.* I am twenty-seven and my husband is ten years older. So if you can help us please do and God Bless you and your work."

"Three Times in Four Years."

"My dear Mrs. Sanger:—

I am a mother of the working class and am in need of some knowledge of birth control. I have tried my best to gain knowledge from friends and from doctors but have never found anything that would be effective. *I have been a mother three times in four years and had a miscarriage besides. The strain of such frequent motherhood combined with the economic stress is getting to be almost more than I can bear.* I am expecting to be a mother again soon and feel that if I can possibly do anything to avoid so frequent child-bearing I must.

I certainly honor you for the great work you are doing to help the overburdened mothers to whom the great gift of motherhood is more a calamity than a joy.

If possible I would like to send you names of several others like myself who are in great need of contraceptive knowledge."

In Two Years!

"Dear friend:—

"I am twenty years old. Have been married two years last February. I married a man just my own age and one not able to support me. Since I have been married I worked nearly all the time and of course have *become pregnant nearly every month. I have taken several different medicines recommended to me by my friends to keep from having children and I have had six abortions performed. These operations have broken my health and broken me all down.* I do not want any children, as I could not support even one child. I almost went crazy when I found out that I am pregnant now. Dear Mrs. Sanger I thought of you this morning, and I would appreciate it so very much if you would help me and explain your birth control to me so that I can take care of myself and regain my health. I am only twenty years old.

"I intend to start to work again tomorrow in a laundry for six a week so I will have some money."

Voluntary Motherhood

Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee, Ph. D.

OUR TRAIN WAS crossing the Nevada desert, and four passengers were conversing in a corner of the observation coach. Our group consisted of a successful physician from the Middle West, taking a brief vacation on the Pacific Coast; an earnest middle aged clergyman, giving up a New York pastorate to accept a larger one in California; a well known San Francisco lawyer returning home from Washington, where he had argued a case before the Supreme Court, and myself. Our conversation had touched various angles of the great world war, and we were then discussing the child of tomorrow, as he would be affected by these war changes.

"He must be given more practical schooling," said the lawyer.

"More attention must be paid to his physical needs," added the doctor.

The minister, fearing that his radicalism might shock us, earnestly said, "I speak for the unborn child. He must be well born." To which I quickly added, "His birth should be a voluntary act and the deliberate wish of his parents."

At once, the three professions were arrayed against me. "Do you stand for birth control?" they spoke as with one voice, and I smiled in assent.

My clerical acquaintance questioned me first. "If you are a true minister of God, how dare you interfere with the laws of Nature?" I replied that a law of Nature which controlled the actions of dogs, pigs and cats might not arbitrarily be binding on man as well. Surely there must be some degree of difference.

"But, Rabbi," he continued as though clinching his argument, "does not the Bible say 'be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth'?" I replied that God's word never commanded us to fill the earth with idiots, imbeciles and blind babies, the inevitable outcome of accepting this verse of Genesis without question. A command which was given, if we literally accept Genesis as divine, when the world was in its infancy and needed population, requires some modification in these days of overcrowded tenements and filthy slums.

Strange indeed and very sad, how the Bible can be used to uphold dangerous doctrines. The Kaiser quotes the Bible to show that he is divinely appointed. People, utterly unacquainted with Bible criticism, cite verses from Daniel to prove the approaching end of the world. Had Columbus listened to the so-called wisemen, and their Bible interpretations, he would never have discovered America. The Bible is a holy book, but its interpreters have not always acted wisely. No friend of the Bible will quote its pages to prevent such action as will stop, at the source, this terrible increase of insanity and sex diseases.

THE MEDICAL OPPOSITION to my position was along different lines. "If you think I shall perform abortions for the sake of your theory, you are much mistaken" the doctor said. Of course, I quickly assured him that voluntary mother-

hood also objects to abortive operations. We further believe that it would minimize the number of these illegal acts because we stand for education along sex lines by competent teachers.

The doctor rather hotly protested and said that medical men—not laymen and faddists—should lead a reform movement which will so radically change methods of living. I reminded him that house cleaning does not always come from within. Not the insurance men, but Charles E. Hughes, a lawyer, had led the way to insurance reforms; not the lawyers, but an outraged public opinion, was overcoming the antiquated legal procedure of a century ago; it is not the doctors of America, but the Army and the Navy that is wiping out the segregated districts. Ten years ago, five years ago, we were still told by medical men that prostitution was a "necessary evil." Now, if the doctors will not lead in this movement for voluntary motherhood, forward looking men and women will be compelled to take the lead in this struggle for higher living ideals.

The lawyer belonged to the old school. "Whatever is, is right." He had made a very comfortable living, let others do likewise. Because he had been born with a healthy constitution, he expected the same of others. I asked how many children he had and slowly he answered "one." His wife did not wish the burden of caring for a second. The doctor likewise was the father of but one child. His wife was physically unable to bear another without grave risk and danger. The minister added corroborative evidence of a very startling nature. His family, also was limited to but one child. Both he and his wife loved children, but his salary did not allow him to support a larger family.

So these three opponents of voluntary motherhood were proving my argument through their own lives. But with this very important difference. The poor who should limit the size of their families, lack the necessary information. These three strong and cultured men, well able to care for their personal interests, would deny the knowledge of birth control to the very people who need it most.

Having thus disarmed the three men, I explained the true meaning of voluntary motherhood to them. Let us frown on those women, physically, economically and mentally fit to be mothers who refuse this highest function of womanhood. They are the real upholders of race suicide, not those poor ignorant souls who seek guidance and light. From the homes of the healthy and the independent citizens, not from the weak, struggling and pauper families should the majority of our future babies come. Voluntary motherhood does not lay emphasis on fewer normal babies, but it does insist on fewer babies who are unfit to fight life's battles properly. Voluntary motherhood hopes for more babies, more of the fit, more of the healthy and strong, so that this world may be properly rebuilt for the residence of man.

Chicago, Ill., September 1918.

Birth Control—The Cure For War

THE DEEPER THAT thinking minds look into the causes of the Great War, the more evident it is becoming that the chief cause of the cataclysmic struggle is high birth rates, particularly the high birth rate of Germany. High birth rates mean expansion of national boundaries, conquests, annexations, exploitation, and all the manifold oppressions of a militaristic and imperialistic policy.

The soundness of the general policy laid down by Dr. C. Killick Millard, the eminent British scientist and health official, whose notable address was quoted in the last issue of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*, is strikingly exemplified in detail by conditions cited in the Fortieth Annual Report of The (British) Malthusian League just issued. Dr. Millard laid down the principle that only worldwide birth control can preclude the possibility of another such race-wrecking conflict as we are now undergoing. The report brings to light certain facts which leaves no doubt as to the necessity of limiting population by those normal methods for which advocates of Birth Control contend.

That these facts are beginning to take hold upon the public understanding is startlingly evidenced by the doubling of the demand for the literature of the Malthusian League during the twelve months covered by the report. The horrors of war are bringing home to the English people the necessity of reducing the birth rate.

THE WAR HAS certainly stimulated interest in the population question and birth control" says the report. "First the public was impressed by the statements of the Kaiser, Von Bernhardt, Von Bulow and others as to Germany's necessity for conquests in order to provide for its high birth rate, and next by the food difficulties and by the questionableness altogether, of bringing more children into the world at such a time. So the demands for our literature and for our free Practical Leaflet began to increase rapidly. People were interested to learn how, since 1901, Germany's high birth rate had been falling with amazing speed, and how we had hoped that peace between us might continue a few years longer and thus become permanent.

"In 1908 its birth rate had fallen below thirty per thousand per annum, and we hoped that Germany would soon enter into a peaceful alliance with France, Britain and America. Now we know that the preparations for war which Germany had made in its high birth rate years, had gone too far for this. But the fall of its birth rate since 1914 has been tremendous, and has aroused great indignation and alarm among its militarists.

"The January issue of *Maternity and Child Welfare*, in an editorial article in favor of birth control, quote as follows from Dr. Marcuse who had discussed the subject with hundreds of sick German soldiers: The large proportion of them do not wish ever to have children again. They said in effect that factory-food and cannon-food, all that kind of thing, has got to go, and only after our women have proclaimed a general birth strike will things be better.

"It seems certain that Germany, though its birth-rate like ours will probably rise for a year or two after the war, will soon become a very low birth rate country. Unfortunately, Russia and the Balkan States will continue for some years to have high birth rates causing a high pressure of population which will still endanger the peace of Europe."

Still other "war problems" bring home the necessity of birth control. "Many doctors and social workers" says the report just quoted from, "expect a serious increase in prostitution and venereal disease after the war.

"Our remedy for prostitution is to encourage early marriage by spreading the knowledge that couples can avoid having any more children than they are able to do justice to.

"There may be a period of terrible poverty and suffering after the war, and the fewer children born for a year or so, the shorter will that period be. The population of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand continues, and will continue, to increase very rapidly, so Britain and France need not be in any hurry to raise their birth rates above the present level. In any case, the only way we can do something towards compensating for our losses in the war is to bring about a better distribution of children by upholding the Malthusian principle that people should not have more children than they can provide for."

THERE YET REMAINS the threat of an increase in the birth rate after the war and the intensification of the evils of poverty. Says the report:

"In the year or so after the war the birth rate will probably rise, alas, to about its 1914 figure of 23.6 per thousand. As there was still a large amount of poverty with this birth rate before the war, it would seem certain that there will be a greater amount with such a birth rate after the war.

"Moreover, if there is much emigration of young workers to the Colonies it will increase the amount of poverty. So the birth rate will soon begin to fall again, and it will go on falling until poverty (i. e., insufficiency of the necessaries for good health) has disappeared. Those who look upon the falling birth rate as an evil and oppose it, only succeed in retarding the movement slightly; but they hinder its spreading where it is most needed, namely, amongst the poor and the unfit.

"We consider the falling birth rate to be a good thing, so to us the only question is—should the inevitable further decline of the birth rate be among the richer or among the poorer classes? We say that it should be among the poor and that advice on contraception, which they are generally so eager to get, should be freely given them. Birth control clinics, like those in Holland, should be established in every town, and doctors and nurses should also be called upon to give the information when needed. The Dutch Neo-Malthusian League, which is officially recognized as a Society of Public Utility, enables poor people to get the information easily, and the improvement in the condition and physique of the nation has been extraordinary."

Looking After Legislation

AMERICAN WOMEN

THE JOLLY LITTLE candidate for Congress, somewhere in New York was being heckled. It was at a small campaign meeting and her dark eyes sparkled and twinkled as she flashed back answers to rapid questions. She was pretty, the lady candidate. Under the brim of her red hat waived dark hair and her cheeks were flushed with color.

Silly questions were flung at her, wise ones, searching ones, dull ones, stupid ones. For the most part the voters wanted to know what she would do about the cost of living, high rents, no sugar, bad bread, about long working hours, about daylight saving and so on and so forth. She answered straight from the shoulder, promising only what was possible if elected, not the usual impossible.

At last someone asked "Would you introduce a bill to make it legal to give people contraceptive information?"

On this instant the sparkle of excitement and combat died from the candidate's face, she turned gravely to the questioner, "yes," she said quietly, "I would." Then was a sudden lull in the fire of questions and the candidate continued. "There is no one thing I deem more important for women or for the country; there is no one thing that is wrecking more lives than the lack of contraceptive information. Our laws are dangerous, cruel and antiquated. I can promise you I will introduce a bill that will remedy this evil."

That was all, but the whole spirit of the meeting was changed. A note of reality had been introduced, a vital intimate issue had been raised, one that touched every life, one that was at the foundation of many of the questions asked before.

For the heart of our country knows that contraceptive information is needed and desired. But how few candidates will honestly and fearlessly say "yes, if elected, I will introduce a bill to make contraceptive information available to all who need it."

In New York State women may vote. In many other states they have that right. If your State is one of these, watch your candidates for election and ask them if they will vote for Birth Control. If it is too late before election, watch what they do while in office and put them on record on this question by asking them to introduce such a bill and tell them

women want action in this issue. Where women vote this will be easier than in the non-suffrage states, but even there it will be worth while to try the legislators out. See that at least they know what the law is and what it ought to be.

Then send in to the *League* or to the *REVIEW*, the results of your political activities. It will be a real help in other states, to know how things go in yours, and through the *REVIEW* your experience can so easily be shared with others.

As a last word; if you live in New York look out for the jolly little candidate with the red hat, for she is a winner.

HUN WOMEN

AND HERE IS something else to keep your eye on:
"Women for Self-Determination.

"The *Dresdner Volkszeitung* reports that, at a meeting held in Hamburg on August 19th, some 3,000 women present adopted strong resolutions against the proposed laws for increasing the population of Germany being considered by German legislators, and declared that the proposal to prohibit the dissemination of information concerning birth control was "an unpermissible invasion of the right of self-determination of mankind, especially that of women."

Actually something good coming of Hun Land (were there any women Huns, real ones, in those old days of wild horses, and shouting men with hunks of raw meat for saddles? If not, they have at last arrived, women Huns in protest!) It is rather wonderful this vision of German women rising in their wrath at an attack upon their humanity, for that is what the legislators were trying to do, defraud the women of the advantage of being human, instead of pure animal.

While nations are battling for the right of self-determination, applauded and upheld by all patriots, even to the point of death, it is surely significant that the women of militarist, autocratic Germany should recognize and insist on retaining self-determination for themselves as women.

It is shameful to think that women in the land of the Hun have the right of self-determination now while in the United States the law sends women to jail for taking even a wee bit of that self same privilege that German women have in full measure; shameful and incredible that we, who are fighting for liberty, should be jailed for using a freedom that already belongs to German women—J. A.

This page is contributed by

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

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OBJECTS

1. To secure the repeal or amendment of all laws prohibiting the giving out of information concerning methods of birth control through the prevention of conception.

2. To collect and distribute facts in regard to the legal status of birth control education in the United States and other countries.

200 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Telephone, Gramercy 3139

How About This, Mr. Burleson?

IT WOULD SEEM that so far as minor officials of the post-office department are concerned, it make less difference what is said than who says it. Upon these minor officials rests the decision, in the first instance, as to what is mailable under the federal statutes and what is nonmailable. The August number of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW was excluded from the mails because it contained a review of "Married Love," a book by Dr. Marie Stopes of London, which has received a most enthusiastic welcome in England. That book is mailable in any part of the British Empire and is hailed as the beginning of a new epoch in freedom of woman.

In the United States, just across an invisible line from Canada, where Anglo-Saxon civilization welcomes Dr. Stopes' fearless utterance, the book is not only unmailable, but any critique of it is banned—providing it appears in some publication like THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. This ruling, however, does not seem to apply to *The Survey*, which in its October issue published an excellent review of "Married Love." We are glad to know that the minor officials of the postoffice

department have not attempted to interfere with *The Survey*. One wonders if Mr. Postmaster General Burleson can explain this apparent unfavorable discrimination against THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW upon the part of his subordinates.

A curious feature of the case is that Dr. Stopes cannot receive a copy of her own book through the international mails because of the ban upon it by the United States authorities. In order to mail "Married Love" to its English author, one must board a train, ride to the Canadian border and drop the parcel into the first Canadian mailbox one comes to. Unless someone does just that, Dr. Stopes, who has written for a copy of the American edition of her book, must go without it.

Isn't it about time that Mr. Burleson and his aides get together on these matters? And isn't it about time that the two great sections of Anglo-Saxon civilization, the United States and the British Empire agree also? We have no hesitancy in stating our own position. Between the postal practices of the two, we much prefer those of the Empire.

HAVELOCK ELLIS

I WALKED IN darkness on an unknown way,
 Bearing a burden like a funeral pall,
 Afraid lest by some hapless step I fall,
 And, burden sore, by roadside hedge, decay.
 Moreover, not a word dared I to say
 About the thing I bore; yet I saw all
 Who passed me bearing burdens great and small,
 Such as the leech-like load that on me lay.
 Then in the troubled, burden-bearing night,
 One crossed my path, a torch was in his hand;
 And from its light I came to understand
 The burden that I bore was naught of shame,
 But happy gift of God. For this clear light,
 With me forever fair shall be his fame.

MAX EHRMANN,

Bibliography of Birth Control

THE fact that the Birth Control movement is becoming widely and permanently fastened upon the public consciousness is strikingly emphasized by Theodore Schroeder's "List of References On Birth Control" just issued from the press of the H. W. Wilson Company, New York. More than 1,400 books, pamphlets and magazine articles dealing with this subject are cited and the compiler does not, of course, contend that the list is complete. It is, however, the most exhaustive possible under present conditions.

More than 200 of the books and pamphlets are in the English language, as are some 600 of the magazine articles. The other 600 items represent books, pamphlets and articles in other tongues, including French, Spanish, Italian and German. Thus it is apparent that the philosophy of birth control is becoming a matter of familiar interest throughout the civilized world. By far the greater proportion of the books, pamphlets and articles are of comparatively late date, and this fact indicates a progress that is as rapid as it is widespread. Judged by its bibliography, the Birth Control movement is winning its way at a rate seldom approached by any movement with which it can be aptly compared.

Mr. Schroeder's list of references is issued by the publisher as one of a series of "Practical Bibliographies" as a commercial venture and not for sentimental or propaganda reasons. This fact, too, indicates a gratifying rate of progress. A few years ago there were neither the writings to make up such a list nor the general interest in Birth Control which would have made the publication of such a list of profitable. That it is practical from the standpoints of public interest and publisher's profits tells in emphatic fashion how great and how permanent have been the results of this fight for the freedom of woman.

BOOKS TO BE HAD AT THIS OFFICE

Population and Birth Control	
A Symposium	\$3.00
What Every Mother Should Know	
By Margaret Sanger.....paper 25c., cloth	.50
Limitation of Offspring, by Dr. Wm. J. Robinson...	1.50
List of References on Birth Control	
By Theodore Schroeder.....	.35
The Small Family System, by Dr. C. V. Drysdale...	1.50
The Love Rights of Women, By Havelock Ellis.....	.25
The Objects of Marriage, by Havelock Ellis.....	.25
Birth Control in its Medical, Social, Economic and Moral Aspects, by Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf.....	.10
Jailed for Birth Control, by James Waldo Fawcett..	.10
Uncontrolled Breeding, by Adelyne More.....	1.00
Small or Large Families	
By Drysdale and Havelock Ellis.....	1.00
What Every Girl Should Know	
By Margaret Sanger.....paper 25c., cloth	.50

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
 104 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc.

(Continued from September issue.)

THE REAL OVER-POPULATION DOCTRINE

WHY DID MALTHUS claim that the world was over-populated, and his followers that it is so now? Why do we go on reiterating that this country and all other important countries, except New Zealand and Australia, are and always have been over-populated? It is perfectly evident to any intelligent person that the population of the globe has not nearly reached its limit. There are still large areas of habitable, uncultivated, potentially fertile land available in Canada and elsewhere, a considerable portion of land in this country appears to be capable of much greater agricultural development, and the steady increase of the world's population indicates that we may yet expect a rise of population for many years to come.

How, then, can we speak of over-population? As an opponent once said: "Until the last blade of grass is grown on the last acre, it is folly to talk of over-population. It is the discouragement of agriculture by land monopoly, high rents, and bad distribution, which is the cause of any shortage of food which may now exist." This represents the point of view of Henry George and the land reformers, and it appears perfectly plausible to those who have not grasped the real meaning of over-population.

* * * * *

The Two Kinds of Over-population.—The real difficulty which lies at the root of all the confusion and controversy over the population question is that there are two kinds of over-population, and that practically everyone who talks or writes about the subject has a totally false idea of what really constitutes over-population. They picture the world as capable of holding or supporting a certain number of inhabitants, just as a vessel is capable of holding a certain amount of water. Therefore, they say, there is no need to worry about over-population until the world is full, just as there is no need to fear water overflowing from a tank until it is full up. Not only can they then easily claim that there is plenty of opportunity for better agricultural development at home, and especially in the hitherto uncultivated regions of the earth, of which there are still large areas, but they triumphantly point to the fact that during the last few decades of unprecedentedly rapid increase of population people have been getting better off as a whole. "Is it not absurd," say they, "to pretend that the world is or is getting over-populated, when we are better off with a larger population than we were formerly with a small one? Surely, if the world is getting full up, the larger the population, the worse off we should be."

This is the constant objection made to the claim of over-population at all discussions, and I do not know of a single modern writer who is free from the misconception it implies. And yet, it is such an absurd misconception of the true Malthusian doctrine, and so ridiculous even from the point of view of ordinary daily life, that one wonders how any intelligent person can write in such a strain.

CONSIDER THE case of an ordinary working class couple starting life on 25s. a week, with a prospect of obtaining two pounds a week eventually. If we allow 1 pound a week for rent and for the support of the man and wife, and 5s. a week as sufficient for the support of each child, this means an eventual possibility of supporting four children.* What the opponents of Malthusianism say in effect is this: Your limit of income is 2 pounds a week, on which you can support four children. Hence, if you have at present three children and your wage is 30s. a week, it is absurd to say you are suffering from too many children. You are going to get 2 pounds a week, so that until you have more than four children you cannot be said to be over-populated."

Suppose next that the young couple had had their first two children as quickly as possible after marriage, before their wages increased beyond 25s. This would mean a very severe struggle for them in London at the present time. Now comes along one of our distributors and hands them a tract, which causes them to write to us and get a leaflet showing them how they can restrict their families. They therefore cease having any more children for the time, and devote themselves to those they have for a few years, during which time the husband's wages increase from 25s. to 30s. and 35s., which gives them a decent margin. They then decide they would like to have another child, and soon after it arrives the husband gets his 2 pounds a week. Round comes a health visitor, finds the family happy and prosperous, and goes away to a public meeting to declaim against the absurdity of the over-population doctrine, because she has just found a family which is more comfortable now when there are three children than it was formerly with two.

THIS SEEMS absurdly elementary, but it is absolutely on a par with the reasoning of practically all modern writers on the population doctrine. Because the world may some day be able to support a very much larger population, they talk as if it could do so, immediately; and that there can be no over-population if the population is less now than its ultimate possible value. Because a large number of people in this and other civilized countries have learned how to limit their families, and have therefore caused a decline of the birth-rate, which has made them better off (in the sense of being less badly off), while the food supply, like the workman's wages, has been gradually rising, we are told that the Malthusian doctrine is absurd, because people are better off now with a greater population. They cannot get into their heads the simple notion that instead of there being a definite limit to the food supply, there is a limited rate at which it increases, and that the real question of over-population is as to whether the rate at which the children arrive is faster than that at which the food increases or not. What is needed is for people to realize nationally what they do individually, that the food income of the world increase in the same way as a workman's wages rise, and that if children arrive faster than this there is over-population of the world, just as there is in the family. It does not in the least matter what the ultimate limit of the world's food capacity may be, or even whether there is a limit at all.

(To be continued)

* I have purposely put these small sums, as the advocates of large families are continually claiming that so much can be done with small incomes. This does not in the least mean approval of them.

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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 Fuersa*.
- 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. *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua 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. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.

- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- CAMDEN, N. J.—Dr. L. A. Young, 522 Spruce St.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- COLUMBUS, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Columbus*. Arthur Gluck, 2054 Tuller Street, president.
- DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK:
- The Committee of One Thousand*. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.
- The National Birth Control League*. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.
- The Woman's Committee of One Hundred*. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
- PATERSON, N. J.—William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Avenue.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- 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.

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, 1918, State of New York, County of New York, s.s.

Before me a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared MARGARET H. SANGER, who, having been duly sworn accordingly 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 (and if a daily paper, the circulation), 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., INC., 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor—MARGARET H. SANGER, 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—MARGARET H. SANGER, 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Business Managers—NONE.

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 CO., INC., 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, 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 stockholders or security holders 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.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is:----- (This information is required from daily publications only.)

MARGARET H. SANGER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 24th day of September, 1918.

[SEAL]

Form 3526.—Ed. 1916.

JACK G. KARPF,

(My commission expires March 1919)

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

BIRTH CONTROL OR ABORTION?

By Margaret Sanger

“WHY?” By the
Women Who Ask

ON THE DUMP

By Rita Wellman

EDITORIAL COMMENT BY JESSIE ASHLEY—CARTOONS BY
LOU ROGERS AND RYAN WALKER

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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JESSIE ASHLEY

ART EDITORS

CORNELIA BARNES LOU ROGERS

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Editorial Comment

By Jessie Ashley

VICTORY! IT IS ACCLAIMED in showers of scraps of paper, in shouts and song and in wonderful drinks a plenty. But hardly any one of us knows what the victory actually is, because every one of us knows that in the place of the erstwhile satanic majesty, there has arisen another majesty that we fear as much or more. He has always been with us, but in chains and hidden away. Always right at hand, but always subdued—we give him various names. Sometimes we call him Chaos, sometimes Disorder, sometimes Freedom. But we fear him mightily, for we know him to be the aroused spirit of dissatisfied people. Surely we don't want Chaos (even if we don't know very clearly what Chaos means)—we don't want Chaos or Disorder because we like the cleared path, the well regulated office, the organized work, the set rules and clearcut prejudices. All these things are dear to our hearts. Neither do we want Freedom; we know that Freedom is just another name for disorder, for chaos; it means mental shocks, let down bars, open windows. Where Freedom is, there must each one have the pain of individual thought. Besides we have a suspicion that freedom means that everyone shall be equally free, and what then becomes of our special privileges? To have a poor man as free as a rich one, and in fact not to have any more poor at all to look after, nor any kind rich to look after them. Dear—dear, that would indeed be chaos. And it would be most intolerable that a woman should be as free as a man. No, we don't want Freedom.

We thought Victory would mean a kind of glorified Dem-

ocracy—power of the people, rule of the people, but power and rule would still be left to some one, to the people in fact. We know all about the people. Kings and queens and kaisers are not people, neither are dukes nor princesses nor lords nor magnates people, nor millionaires. People are plain, they vote and go to church and sometimes form just the right kind of labor unions. But they have enough food and clothes and often bank accounts. But unskilled, unorganized working men are not people; they are the masses, they are mobs, they are part of what makes chaos unpleasant. So we want democracy, because we want the People to rule. But somehow we don't seem to be getting Democracy, what we have gotten—what our Victory is turning out to be—is this other thing, Freedom or Chaos.

AND THIS FEAR OF FREEDOM is the very same fear that is at the bottom of most of the objections to Birth Control. We are basically afraid to let people decide important questions for themselves. We have the idea that we must control their brains and their bodies and their actions or we will disturb the dear familiar ways of life and call Chaos into being. Last year when a member of the board of the National Birth Control League approached the New York Legislature she met with a cold reception. So she turned to the doctors. They listened quite sympathetically and actually gave her some advice as to who would be acceptable to the doctors and the governor on a commission to investigate the subject of Birth Control. They discussed Birth Control as a health measure, particularly the health of babies. They discussed it as a measure calculated to replenish the race, to multiply the number thereof. It was just like talking about democracy, perfectly proper and safe, until this misguided member of the board of the National Birth Control League, happened to suggest that Birth Control would be a boon to women, by giving them protection and a little freedom by helping them to control their own bodies. Horrors! the worthy doctors grew cold. "That," they gravely answered, "would be personal, individual liberty; we cannot consider personal freedom." The wolf in the sheep's skin had been exposed. This woman believed in freedom, alias Chaos, alias Disorder, alias Bolsheviki, alias Feminism, alias—every other impossible thing. No, we don't want freedom. We don't understand it. We will utilize our full force against it, wherever we suspect it to exist or to be trying to exist, whether it be in Russia, in Germany, or in New York with its victory licensed Saturnalia of drink and paper. Fear of the truth is colossal and is responsible for reams and reams of misstatements and irrelevant statements. The short cut to truth is barred by our fear. We take the long and tedious road because we think it safer, only to find that we land back in the same old camp of prejudice, only in a different corner of it. The aim of this Review is to secure free access to all available knowledge for all human beings, especially the knowledge that pertains to contraceptive methods of birth control. We want the truth!

BIRTH CONTROL OR ABORTION?

By Margaret Sanger

FAMILY LIMITATION WILL be practiced. No law has yet been framed that can prevent it. The church has been powerless and the champions of wornout moral creeds find themselves trying in vain to force all women to become mothers against their wills.

Abundant evidence of the futility of seeking to impose involuntary motherhood upon women is found in the size of the families of the rich, of the well-to-do and of the wage workers of larger earning capacity. The women of these classes long ago refused to be mere brood animals—usually they prefer to be voluntary mothers, determining for themselves the number of children they shall have and when they shall have them. Family limitation for them is an accomplished fact.

It is also an accomplished fact with many of the wives of the less highly paid workers. But with the latter, as well as with some of their more fortunate sisters, family limitation takes a far more drastic and too often a terribly dangerous course. The awakened woman of today will not bear unwanted children. She will not bear more children than she can care for. And if she is denied the knowledge of the safe, harmless, scientific methods of Birth Control, she limits her family by means of abortion.

IN THE VERY NATURE of the case, it is impossible to get accurate figures upon the number of abortions performed annually in the United States. It is often said, however, that one in five pregnancies end in abortion. One estimate is that 150,000 occur in the United States each year and that 25,000 women die of the effects of such operations in every twelve months. Dr. William J. Robinson asserts that there are 1,000,000 abortions every year in this country and adds that the estimate is conservative. He quotes Justice John Proctor Clark as saying that there are at least 100,000 in the same length of time in New York City alone.

Dr. Max Hirsch, a famous authority quotes an opinion that there are 2,000,000 abortions in the United States every year!

"I believe" declares Dr. Hirsch, "that I may say without exaggeration that absolutely spontaneous or unprovoked abortions are extremely rare, that a vast majority—I should estimate it at 80 per cent.—have a criminal origin."

"Our examinations have informed us that the largest number of abortions are performed on married women. This fact brings us to the conclusion that contraceptive measures among the upper classes and the practice of abortion among the lower class, are the real means employed to regulate the number of offspring."

THE QUESTION, THEN, is not whether family limitation should be practised. It is being practised; it has long been practised and it will always be practised. The question now is whether it is to be attained by normal, scientific Birth

Control methods or by the abnormal, often dangerous, surgical operation.

That is the question which the church, the state, the moralist, and most of all, the woman herself, must face.

The knowledge of Birth Control methods may for a time be denied to the woman of the working class, but those who are responsible for denying it to her, and she herself, should understand clearly the dangers to which she is exposed by the dark age laws which force her into the hands of the abortionist. To understand the more clearly what these dangers are, and to realize the more fully how much better it would be to avoid them, it is first necessary that women should know something of the processes of conception, the prevention of which frees them of all risk of having to resort to abortion.

IN EVERY WOMAN'S OVARIES there are imbedded millions of ovules or eggs. They are there in every female at birth and as the girl grows into womanhood, these ovules or eggs develop also. At a certain period or age, the ripest ovule leaves the nest or ovary and comes on down one of the tubes into the womb and passes out of the body. When this takes place, it is said that the girl is at the age of puberty, for the ovule is now ready for fertilization (or conception) by the male sperm.

About the same time that the ovule is ripening or developing, the womb is preparing to receive the fertilized ovum by a reinforced blood supply brought to its lining. To this lining the ovum will cling and gather its nourishment after fertilization takes place. If fertilization (conception) does not take place, the ovum passes on out of the body and the uterus throws off its surplus blood supply. This is called the menstrual period and occurs once a month or about every twenty-eight days.

In the male sexual organs, there are glands (testes) which secrete a fluid called the semen. In the semen is the life-giving principle, the sperm.

When intercourse takes place (if no preventive is used) the semen is deposited in the woman's vagina. The ovule is not in the vagina, but is in the womb, further up, in safety, or perhaps in the tube on its way to the womb. As steel is attracted to the magnet, the sperm of the male starts on its way to seek the ovum. Several of these sperm cells start, but only one enters the ovum and is absorbed into it. This process is called fertilization, conception or impregnation. If no children are desired, the meeting of the male sperm and the ovum must be prevented. When scientific means are used to prevent this meeting, and thereby to limit families, one is said to practise Birth Control.

But if preventive means are not used and the sperm meets the ovum and development thus begins, any attempt at removing it or stopping its further growth is called abortion.

THERE IS NO DOUBT that women are apt to look upon abortion as of little consequence and to treat it accordingly. An abortion is as important a matter as a confinement and requires as much attention as the birth of a child at its full term.

"The immediate dangers of abortion," says Dr. J. Clifton Edgar, in his book "The Practice of Obstetrics," "are hemorrhage, retention of an adherent placenta, sepsis, tetanus, perforation of the uterus. They also cause sterility, anemia, malignant diseases, displacements, neurosis, and endometritis."

In plain, everyday language, in an abortion there is always a very serious risk to the health and often to the life of the patient.

It is only the women of wealth who can afford to give an abortion proper care and treatment both at the time of the operation and afterwards. These women often escape any serious consequences from its occurrence.

The women whose incomes are limited and who must continue at work before they have recovered from the effects of an abortion are the great army of sufferers. It is among such that the deaths due to abortion usually ensue. It is these, too, who are most often forced to resort to such operations.

If death does not result, the woman who has undergone an abortion is not therefore safe. The womb may not return to its natural size but remain large and heavy, tending to fall away from its natural position. Abortion often leaves the uterus in a condition to conceive easily again and unless prevention is strictly followed another pregnancy will surely occur. Frequent abortions tend to cause barrenness and serious, painful pelvic ailments. These and other conditions arising from such operations are quite likely to ruin a woman's general health.

WHILE THERE ARE CASES where even the law recognizes an abortion as justifiable if recommended by a physician, I assert that the hundreds of thousands of abortions performed in America each year are a disgrace to civilization.

I also assert that the responsibility for these abortions and the illness, misery and deaths that come in their train lies at

the door of a government whose authority has been stretched beyond the limits of the people's intention and which, in its puritanical blindness, insists upon suffering and death from ignorance, rather than life and happiness from knowledge and prevention.

It needs no assertion of mine to call attention to the grim fact that the laws prohibiting the imparting of information concerning the preventing of conception are responsible for tens of thousands of deaths each year in this country and an untold amount of sickness and sorrow. The suffering and the death of these women is squarely upon the heads of the law-makers and the puritanical, masculine-minded persons, who insist upon retaining the abominable legal restrictions.

Try as they will they cannot escape the truth, nor hide it under the cloak of stupid hypocrisy. If the laws against imparting knowledge of scientific Birth Control were repealed, the 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 women who undergo abortions in the United States each year would escape the agony of the surgeon's instruments and the long trail of disease, suffering and death which so often follows.

HE WHO WOULD COMBAT abortion" says Dr. Hirsch, "and at the same time combat contraceptive measures may be likened to the person who would fight contagious diseases and forbid disinfection. For contraceptive measures are important weapons in the fight against abortion.

"America has a law since 1873 * * * 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."

There is the case in a nutshell. Family limitation will always be practised as it is now being practised—either by Birth Control or by abortion. We know that. The one means health and happiness—a stronger, better race. The other means disease, suffering, death.

When all is said and done, it is not the advocates of Birth Control, but the bitter, unthinkable conditions brought about by the blindness of church, state and society that puts up to all three the question:

Birth Control or Abortion—which shall it be?

Another Near-Ban of The Review

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW who failed to receive their copies of the November issue in good time are respectfully referred to the postoffice department

Just what there was in THE REVIEW that the postoffice censorship thought dangerous, the editors do not know. Following their usual practice, the department's officials held up THE REVIEW without notifying its editors or publishers. That it had been held up was discovered only when complaints began to come to the office that subscribers had failed to receive the November issue. An inquiry by telephone brought the information that the issue was not being allowed to go through the mails and that copies had been sent somewhere for examina-

tion. A second inquiry a few days later brought word that whoever it was who was examining THE REVIEW hadn't been heard from. Finally a letter dated November 20th said that the issue had been declared mailable.

There is no question of the authority or the power of the postoffice department to treat any publication it chooses in just such a manner and to keep on doing so as long it chooses under the present law. Prussian censorship is dead in Germany but the transplanted species apparently flourishes all the more in American soil. In addition to being tyrannous it is silly. It will continue to be both tyrannous and silly as long as Americans permit it to be.

For Birth Control Clinics

BIRTH CONTROL CLINICS are possible under the laws as they now stand in the state of New York. The need of them is imperative. These facts were pointed out by Dr. Mary Halton in her address at the dinner given at the Civic Club, November 14th, to Kitty Marion to celebrate her release from jail.

"Such clinics can be established under the law," declared Dr. Halton, "and they will meet a need that is not being met in any other way. In the various institutions where tubercular women are being treated, for instance, no instruction is given them as to how to avoid pregnancy, although it is known that for a tubercular woman to become pregnant is a grave danger. There should be established at once clinics to which these women can come to receive proper instruction at the hands of physicians. In many cases, the treatment given to women patients in existing institutions is rendered useless by pregnancy beginning after the treatment is under way. Birth Control clinics can abolish this situation."

Birth control clinics in charge of physicians are possible under the ruling of the highest courts of the State in the Margaret Sanger case.

Dr. Halton brought to the dinner a bag of 500 one cent pieces which had been collected by women who had visited her East Side clinic. The contributors had instructed Dr. Halton to "give their love" to Kitty Marion who had gone to jail for the cause of Birth Control. The coins were a contribution

toward the \$500 fund for THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, which originated when Kitty Marion refused to permit her fine to be paid, telling those who had volunteered to raise the money that she preferred that it be devoted to the expense of publishing this magazine.

KITTY MARION TOLD briefly of her jail experience and called for volunteers to assist her in selling THE REVIEW on Broadway. A number responded and have been co-operating with Miss Marion in placing the magazine before the theatre crowds. Not content with having served 30 days in The Tombs in order to save \$500 for THE REVIEW, Miss Marion contributed \$20, which she told those present that she had saved as room rent for the month of her imprisonment. Figures given by Miss Marion showed that she alone during the past twelve months has sold some 7,000 copies of THE REVIEW on Broadway. Since Miss Marion's release, the Broadway circulation of THE REVIEW has doubled and trebled.

Scott Nearing, Margaret Sanger and Helen Todd also spoke. Mrs. Eugene P. Stone was chairwoman. The dinner was arranged by members of the New York Women's Publishing Co., Inc., which is the publisher of THE REVIEW. About 100 persons attended the dinner.

These voted unanimously for a resolution protesting to the postoffice department for the holding up of the November issue of the magazine. That issue has since been permitted to go through the mails.

A Parents' Problem or Woman's?

A letter from "M. B. H." in the last issue of The Review raised the question: Is Birth Control a parents' problem or woman's? Lily Winner in the following article takes the position that it is a woman's problem. Mary Ware Dennett in a letter holds that it is the problem of both parents. Further discussion is invited. In a later issue Margaret Sanger will give her views on the question.

A Woman's Problem

By Lily Winner

IS BIRTH CONTROL the problem of the man or the problem of the woman?

Theoretically, it is, of course, the problem of both. Practically, it seems to me, it is the woman's problem. Unconsciously, perhaps, man has for centuries held his power over his mate through her own ignorance and dependence upon him, and consciously, as evolution wrought its inevitable awakening process, man has struggled to keep that power by nursing prejudice and superstition in the land to prevent his mate from sloughing off that ignorance and dependence.

Vaguely he has felt the slackening of bonds he once held on

her, but so gradual has been the process of slipping them that he is, in the vast majority, unconscious of a definite revolution, and only feels that something is wrong, that women have changed, that new ways are upon him and that they are evil ways, so that he antagonizes every idea that struggles within her for expression, and fights every step she makes towards a greater freedom, even when that freedom means a lightening of his own burdens.

In this purely sex struggle, he blinds himself to the greater issues. The sudden transition from the home to the workshop that has marked the wonderful, almost terrible development of the industrial age has forced women from the narrow confines of her so-called sphere, into the turmoil and pitiless treadmill of the labor machine. Her man is no longer the sole arbiter of her existence. The struggle for existence has become, in the main, the driving force back of her, in the case of the poor, and in the case of the so-called leisure class woman, the moral center of gravity has shifted from the home; has become diffused, largely through the instrumentality of the press. "One drop of printers ink makes countless millions think." The press shrinks the whole world into a neighborhood. The telegraph, another potent modern instrument, con-

(Continued on page 15)

“WHY?”

By the Women Who Ask

IT IS NOT ALWAYS pleasant to publish the truth. Often, it is even more unpleasant to read it.

Some truths—the ignored, submerged truths, the horrid truths that we shut away because we dare not face them—are almost too terrible to find their way into print.

But if we are ever to move forward out of the vicious and all but hopeless mesh of dark age laws and customs, we must face just such truths. If we are ever to put a stop to the crucifixion of womanhood—a life-long crucifixion that is the more terrible because the victim dare not cry out—we must tell the truth bluntly, plainly and without mitigation. The best way, the most honest way to tell this truth is to enable the women who are undergoing the horrors of involuntary motherhood to tell their stories in cold type. All other avenues save **THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW** are closed to them, but these columns are open and will remain open while **THE REVIEW** exists.

And what have you to say, you masculine lawmakers and you masculine minded members of the race who still make it a crime to tell a woman how to choose the number of children she shall bear and the time when she shall bear them?

What answer have you to make to the suppressed cry of oppressed womanhood:

“Why? Why? Why?”

When you have read the letters published here, what is your medævil superstition and morality worth? What is the worth of your laws? What is your answer to the advocates of Birth Control and to these women who plead for it?

Is there any answer—has civilization, has the church, has the state, any answer to this agonized moan of “Why? Why? Why?”

“Why? Why? Why?”

“Dear Mrs. Sanger:

“Why did God put us poor women here to marry poor men and then suffer so many hardships and bring poor little children in the world to follow in our steps? If you can send me the information I need I will never be able to do enough for your cause, but the little I am sending is all I can do now. I have been sick or I would have sent sooner. I hope to get good news from you.”

And Again, “Why?”

“My dear Mrs. Sanger:

“I am poor and in trouble and would like to know if you could help me? I suppose there are many others, but we women seem to suffer most. My home would be much happier if my husband wouldn't drink.

“Once in a while he takes a notion and stays out all night and don't show up until late the next day. A man like that is not worthy of a good home, wife and children. I have two children and fear I am in the condition for another one. Dear

Mrs. Sanger let me know your opinion, do you think a woman should bear more than two children with a man that is not worthy of them? If my husband was as he should be to a wife I wouldn't mind if I had six children. I love my children dearly and it is the darlings that keep me with him. At times I think I'll go crazy. I have to sew to meet my expenses.

“Now will you please tell me why it is some women that can have children haven't them? While others who are broken down in health must have them one after the other? Another friend of mine has five children and also a husband like mine, that is good for nothing. He only brings in \$10 or \$12 a week. And she tries her best to keep her family from disgrace. Suffers to keep up her home with a man that thinks only of drink.

“Isn't there an Almighty? I used to be very religious but when I see myself slowly getting into the same trouble as that of my friend, I have dropped all faith in God. How can He look down upon us and see us suffer so? If there is anything you could do to help me Mrs. Sanger I would be very grateful to you. Give me your good advice and if there is a living God you shall be rewarded. Hoping you will have pity on us poor women, I remain,

“Yours truly”

“Would Rather Die”

“Dear Mrs. Sanger:

“I have read in the paper about you and am very interested in Birth Control. I am a mother of four living children and one dead the oldest 10 and baby 22 months old. I am very nervous and sickly after my children. *I would like you to advise me what to do to prevent from having any more as I would rather die than have another.* I am keeping away from my husband as much as I can, but it causes quarrels and almost separation. All my babies have had marasmus in the first year of their lives and I almost lost my baby last summer. I always worry about my children so much. My husband works in a brass foundry it is not a very good job and living is so high that we have to live as cheap as possible. I've only got 2 rooms and kitchen and I do all my work and sewing which is very hard for me.”

Her Daughters Prefer Death

“Dear Lady:

“I have born and raised 6 children and I know all the hardships of raising a large family. *I am now 53 years old and past having children but I have 3 daughters that have 2 children each and they say they will die before they will have any more and every now and again they go to a doctor and get rid of one and someday I think it will kill them but they say they don't care for they will be better dead than to live in hell with a big family and nothing to raise them on.* It is for there sakes I wish you to give me that information.”

On the Dump

By Rita Wellman

A DUMP. TREES ABOVE. Below the river—yellow and sluggish. The factory whistles blowing their noon hour release. Every now and then the rush and roar of a train. In the blanched wall of the tenement opposite fluttering American flags. These things presented themselves to Mrs. Robinson's brain no one thing standing out salient. The dump, perhaps, would claim eminence if anything could. It sparkled, the dump. The sun-light was caught and held by hundreds of assorted articles.

"Like diamonds," Mrs. Robinson thought at last. Then she began to think of diamonds. She had been given a diamond once. *The* diamond. She remembered how she and "him" (he was always *him* then) had gone to select it. The young man who had sold it to them had said something about science. The real diamonds were too expensive so they chose one produced by science. Mrs. Robinson always remembered that. Her diamond and science? It had seemed very important. But that was so long ago. The important feeling had never repeated itself. She remembered *his* talk afterward. He had felt important too. How long ago!

There was a woman's corset. A soiled white thing flung prostrate across the dump heap. There was the mould of her soft hips. There was something disgraceful about the thing. Tomato cans, tobacco cans, old pans, dirty ripped mattresses. Familiar things, imperious things in the routine of one's life, now distorted things, somehow obscene. Now there was a goat looking up at her with its insane white eyes. And across the river there were the walls of tenement houses with their waving cotton flags.

NOW IN THE CYCLE of thought she had reached the terrible thought again. She spread her red hands impotently on her knees and drew in a sharp breath. She had thought it was going to be all right this time. She had no real reason for this hope, but little inherited wisdoms and superstitions of her own, had encouraged her to believe that everything would be all right. But today and yesterday!

She feared and hated them at the hospital. They represented to her all that was most awful in life. She had gone instead to see Mrs. Molarsky, the mid-wife. She was intimate, at least, almost a friend. Mrs. Molarsky's little parlor had snuffed out her courage with its familiar smell and significance. The long hours of waiting! And finally Mrs. Molarsky herself with the wart on her face and her secret, her sinister black bag. Even Mrs. Molarsky's cheerfulness had hurt. She had listened to her sentence with a gasp. Mrs. Molarsky's fat heavy arm had half helped, half pushed her to the door.

"Don't you chry, don't you chry," she had commanded.

"It's nopotty to blame now, ain't? It can't pe helped. It's Life, dat's all, Life."

Mrs. Molarsky was right, of course. It was Life. Everyone

must have children. That is what women are for. No one can deny that. But why so many? For ten years Mrs. Robinson had not had one year free from child-bearing. When her last child was only three or four months old there was always another growing within her body, the body that must care for the living child, the body that must clean and cook for those running around, the body that must always be at the disposal of her husband. At the thought of him she grew sick with loathing.

Their bed At other times, eating, going out together, they were strangers, almost enemies. It was only here that they were intimate. Here on this sagging bed they lived their common life, here they discussed their business affairs, here they had their quarrels, here their plans, here she fought the never failing, pitiless appetite which sent him whining to her like one of her own hungry children, and which left her alone to endure the consequences. And how helpless she was! There was no one in the whole world to help her. Other women? They understood somehow, but their philosophy was like Mrs. Molarsky's—"it is Life."

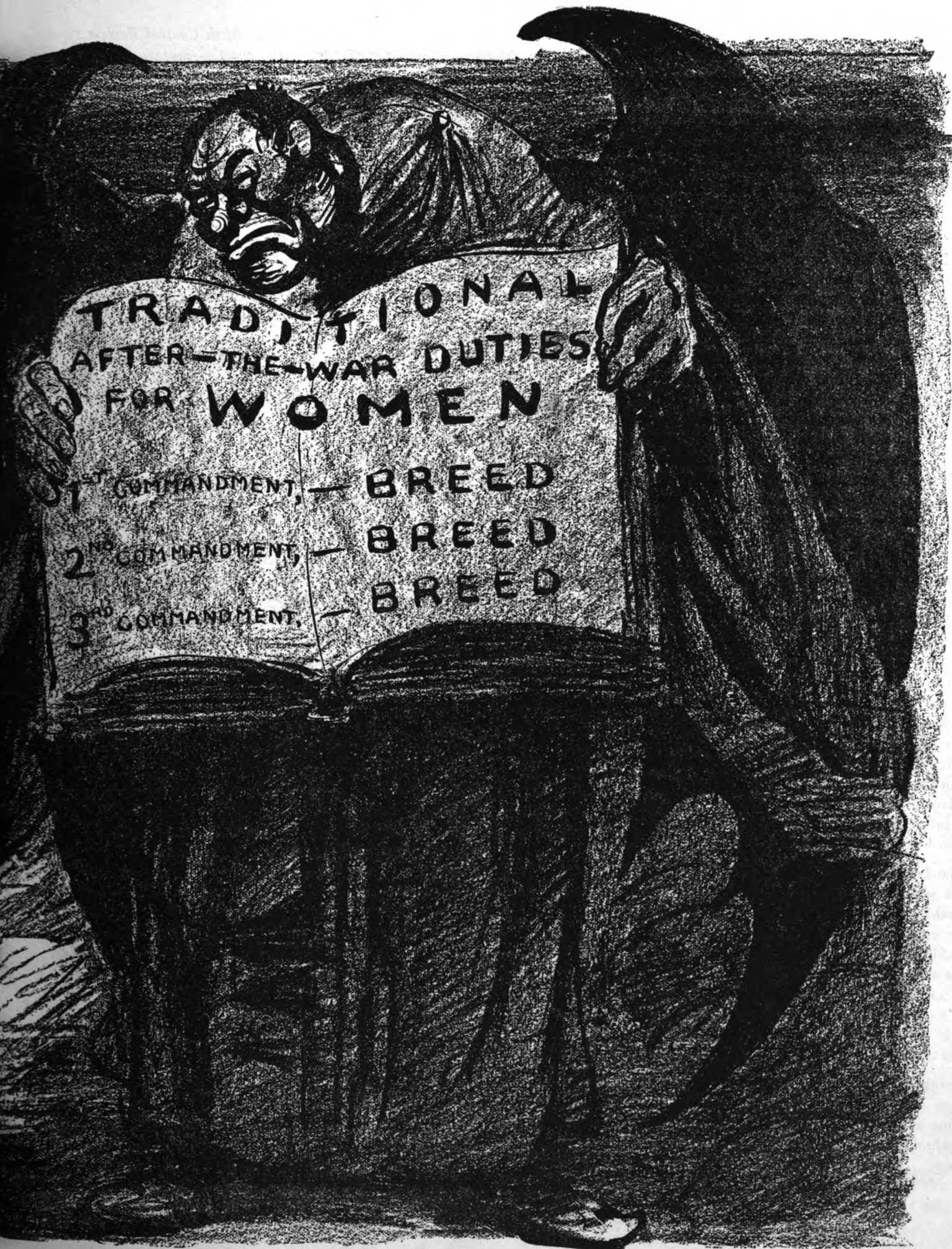
THIS WAS AUGUST. She continued on her fingers January then. John was born in January too. That was during strike time. Jim had been laid off two months. They were put out, all of them, into the street. A newspaper charity had helped them. She suffered again the humiliation of that. Their names in the papers—Jim Robinson's family! And how everyone had talked and made fun.

John was exactly eleven months older than his brother. She had been very ill before the brother was born, but during that time John had gathered being and was finally given life. She had very little actual memory of pain. She remembered acutely her mental attitude. She remembered how she had scratched the nurse's hands and begged to be allowed to die. Why hadn't they let her die? She had faced death ten times. After her last shrill shriek had torn the air a great calm always came, a buzzing, warm, damp calm of ether and release from torture. Always in that moment, before the child made its first sound, she had prayed for death. Death! That was it then? That was the prize of life. It could not go on forever. Someday, some great day of calm, this body, this tired body would no longer be wracked and torn and mercilessly used. Peace would come.

THE FACTORY WHISTLE blew again. Jim's dinner! She had stayed away during Jim's dinner. Here at her side was the loaf of bread she had bought to take home. Fifteen cents too. They dared charge fifteen cents for a loaf of bread. What if it was war time? Don't the poor have to live? And ten children to feed! There was coffee on the back of the stove. Mary would see that he got that. Mary ought to be able to do



LOU ROGERS



TRADITIONAL
AFTER-THE-WAR DUTIES
FOR WOMEN

1ST COMMANDMENT, — BREED

2ND COMMANDMENT, — BREED

3RD COMMANDMENT, — BREED

something now. She was ten. But she was getting wild. She played on the street too much.

She couldn't go home now. Her back ached—from the rest, she supposed, just as in the morning it ached before she got up to work. Let him go without his dinner for once. A warmth of hateful joy came to her. She smiled wryly. Let him do without it for once. Was she to bear everything? Everything!

What was this strange excitement? She could feel that some strap in her mind had loosened. The trees, the trains, the wall opposite, the dump began to reel in her mind—and the waving American flags. It was half past twelve and she was away from home. It was unbelievable. She looked across the river to a house which stood apart on a narrow street. Across its whole exposed side, from roof to yard, there was a painted sign "Let the Gold Dust Twins Do Your Work." In the midst of this irony her three rooms opened their four oblong eyes to the light of day. A room to cook and eat in, and two sleeping rooms. Here Jim would be sitting reading his newspaper, thinking that the end of the world had come. He would have to give up waiting finally and go back to work. He would surely find the coffee though. The baby might cry. This morning in a fit of anger, caused by strained nerves and weakness and nausea, she had struck him when he cried. When she left, he was lying on the floor by the stove with a bleeding cut on his forehead. She might have struck him harder than she knew. She was ashamed now. He felt sick, no wonder he was peevish. She rose. She must go home.

HER FOOT SLIPPED and she fell forward, sliding. She caught at something. It was the corset. She let it go and clutched frantically on each side, tomato cans, tobacco cans, chair backs. In the soft mass of ashes, everything gave and she felt sliding downward. All at once she felt her arms wet, wet with muddy river water. With all her strength she caught the locust stump which grew there, and saved herself from falling in. Panting and half dazed she clutched there, backing upward to safety. Then gradually her fear left her.

She began to listen to the song the water made, sort of a quiet whistle she thought, like that of a small boy busy at something. The water looked not so muddy now. It wasn't very cold, she knew that, because her arm had been in it. She looked up. Way above, the trains rushed, and there were the trees. Way above on the other side was the wall of tenement houses. The waving flags seemed far away. The wall with the sign—"Let The Gold Dust Twins Do Your Work"—that seemed very far away. The whistling of the water seemed to be growing louder—whistling to her.

Another strap loosened. Nausea and torture and work, nausea and torture and work, forever and ever. There was no one to help. And him always there with his dinners and his whining. And the children with their crying and their sickness. And another Never to be tired again! To lose this body, this used-up, aching body. To drop it quietly into the river, to float and float and float endlessly on the

water, rising and falling like a child on its mother's breast. Peace. Peace and Death!

She gave a long shriek as she raised her arms to plunge in. Down and down into the deep river water. Like ether, closing out all pain! Back came the memory of the dump and the diamonds. The diamond was on her hand now. Up again, she struggled frantically and yelled for help. Was this it then? No, not like this! She was choking. She wanted air. Help! There was no one to help. What was that word? Science. Science . . . Funny word. Meant something. And then down again. Peace. Peace and Death. Thank God!

SHE WAS PRETTY and looked very charming in her spotless white dress. She stood blonde and tall and defiant before the judge, and her dark blue eyes sparkled with spirit. Everyone in the court room was interested in her. She was a lady.

"I simply did my duty," she told the judge in her clear firm voice, now raised a little too high. "I am a woman first of all. I want to help women."

"You broke the law."

"No woman should be allowed to bear a child every year. You even give men a rest from war."

"Women are made to bear children—it is life."

"You broke the law—you must be punished."

"I simply did my duty. I am proud of it. I am glad to be punished. When woman comes to the rescue of women then let the law look out for itself."

Proud and defiant and a little nervous they carried her off. She spent the night in jail where she learned much about women that shocked and sickened her and loaded her earnest young soul with distrust and fear. The next morning her family came for her in their automobile, and carried her home like an erring and chastened child.

YET LATER, AT HOME, she began to consider. How glorious! To think that *she* had stood on the street corner handing pamphlets to women, pamphlets containing information which was it their right to have, which would better their lives and free them from slavery. She had never been struck for a moment, carried away in the work, by the incongruity of the thing, of the carefully raised, virginal, young college woman distributing such literature to women of the slums. She had felt a thrill as the two different hands touched the same paper, the white and the red hand, the one giving, the other greedily getting. It was this thrill which had given her courage to face the judge and the whole court room and later the group in the prison mess room. And now her family? No, they could not ridicule her. It was *big!* She knew now. Oh, for strength to go on believing!

"Help! Is there no one in the world to help me?" The young woman in white linen raised her head above her college theories—and listened. All about her, insistent above the city's sounds, she could hear Mrs. Robinson's lonely cry, echoed by countless smothered cries:

"Help! Help! Is there no one to help me?"

The young woman flung up her head and answered, "I am here. Sisters, I am here to help."

Debs and the Woman's Movement

By Leonine Napiere

THE SENTENCING OF Eugene V. Debs to ten years at hard labor under the "Espionage Act" may well come as a personal sorrow to every woman who has given herself to the battle for the emancipation of her sex. The fearless stand which Debs took in court should be to every such woman a cause for congratulation. For, while the question of feminine freedom was not emphatically involved in the trial of this champion of human liberty, his clear understanding and keen sympathy with woman in her efforts to break her chains have given his whole career a high significance in relation to the woman's movement.

From the beginning, Debs has been a voice crying in the wilderness of masculine error and oppression, for the liberation of womankind. He has shouted his warnings in the press and thundered them from the platform. From the time when, as a young man, he heard and became the devoted friend of Susan B. Anthony, until the day he faced a jury which had convicted him of "espionage" for declaring the faith that is in him, Debs had one message and one only for men who stand in the way of the freedom of their wives and sisters and daughters.

Realization of the necessity of delivering that message may have been burned into him when he stood as the associate and defender of Miss Anthony, braving with her the universal scorns and jeers which greeted those who asserted woman's right to battle for equality. Certain it is that neither his message nor his attitude toward the woman's movement has changed. His championship of laws for the protection of women workers and his advocacy of Birth Control are of a piece with his impassioned pleas in behalf of the early suffrage movement.

AND ALWAYS, THROUGH his years of organizing and oratory, he reiterated his plea to men to understand woman's portion in the struggle for a better world. In a speech many years ago, he phrased his message thus: "Man has not reached his best. He will never reach his best until he walks the upward way side by side with woman. Plato was right in his fancy that man and woman are merely halves of humanity, each requiring the qualities of the other in order to attain the highest character. Shakespeare understood it when he made his noblest women strong as men and his best men as tender as women.

"Under our brutal forms of existence, beating womanhood to dust, we have raged in passion for the individual woman for use only. Some day we shall develop the social passion for womanhood, for then the gross will disappear in service and justice and companionship."

Possessing in himself that wide sympathy, that tenderness in personal relations and dauntlessness in combat, which, as he aptly notes, were the qualities assigned to the most heroic men by Plato and by Shakespeare, Debs of course understands that woman will never enter into her freedom until she asserts

and wins it for herself. He has no delusions as to the mercy of masculine domination.

In an article published under the title "The Pickets at the Gate" in this issue of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*, he exclaims, "Precious little will women owe to their male 'protectors' when emancipation dawns upon the world. The 'Fathers' did nothing for the 'Mothers of the Revolution' but to ordain their political servitude, and every right that women have secured from that day to this they have had to fight for and wrest from a reluctant power based upon the self assumed right of man alone to govern the world."

DEBS IS THAT rare creature, a man big enough and brave enough to live his vision. He has no fear of being called a sentimentalist. When his deep, sympathetic understanding of woman flowers into poetic language, that language goes down on paper a vital confession of faith, as sincere and unstrained as his denunciation of wrong and his pledge of consecration of the social revolution. Man must save himself by ceasing to oppress woman, Debs believes; woman must free herself from masculine domination in order to bring the race to its flower. "I have a vision of woman that is loftier, nobler and diviner than the mothers and wives, the sisters and daughters have been in the dark days of the past and are still in the dawning days of the present," he writes. "In the full-orbed day of the world to come woman shall be free, and because she is free, the world shall be free.

"In that hour woman shall have opportunity, and because her day has come at last, everything that lives shall rise and unfold and share in the common blessing that shall come to the race. Love shall reign instead of hate, beauty shall take the place of deformity, peace of war, plenty of poverty, and all the world, under her sweet, unfettered ministry, shall be a home, safe and saintly and satisfying."

This is the faith and the vision of Debs. This made him in his private life more than son and lover-husband; it made him a comrade. This stirred his pen and his voice to the demand that men for their own sakes give and ask comradeship of women. It is this, too, which in great measure distinguishes his career from those of other men who have fought magnificently for human rights but who have failed to understand woman's inevitable and indispensable part in that world-embracing battle.

ALMOST ON THE EVE of his sentence to the penitentiary, Debs uttered once more a bitter cry against the age-old injustice to women. "When I think," he said, "what the world would be without the inspiring influence of women, I am ashamed of what the world has done to her. She has done everything for the world, and man has done everything evil to her. He has filled her delicate hands with burdens she could not bear, and laid upon her shoulders weights that crushed her to the earth, and though she has stumbled on un-

complainingly, kissing the hand that smote her, he has taunted her as inferior and ruled her as if she were a slave."

The remedy? Debs has never been in doubt as to the remedy. It is not the forbearance of man—that is to be for his own sake. For woman's—the revolt of women.

The Pickets at the Gate

By Eugene V. Debs

(Written last winter and contributed especially to
THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW)

THE WOMEN WHO STAND in silence at the White House gate in Washington with white banners in their hands have invested the word *picket* with a meaning that makes it historic in the struggle of women for emancipation.

These pickets are the bravest and noblest of women, and they are the real leaders of the suffrage movement in the United States.

They have been taunted by thugs in male attire, jeered at by blackguards, manhandled by ruffians, assaulted and trampled upon by brutes, fired upon by assassins, and jailed and fed upon refuse by official underlings; but they have not wavered, they have not flinched, they have not been deflected the breadth of a hair from their patriotic purpose to wipe from their sex the vulgar brand of inferiority and from their country the insufferable stigma of woman's servitude.

The heroic pickets may be in jail but their invincible banners are at the gate!

The President is eternally confronted with himself in these spectral banners, and he cannot escape their dishonoring impeachment. He may allow the pickets to perish in prison but the white banners will remain to greet him at the gate and make their mute appeal to the still small voice within him.

The President, were he the greatest monarch that ever strode the earth, could not resist the conquering white banners in the hands of the silent heroines at the gate of his mansion.

These banners he has beheld with startled vision in his troubled dreams. These banners are the thorns in his restless pillow. These banners give him more immediate concern than the war. These banners moved his administration to sanction suffrage in the New York campaign.

The spectacle of these high-souled American women at the President's gate, with their silent appeal for simple justice, touched the hearts of men and made strong appeal to the conscience of the nation.

The spectacle of these same splendid women, void of offense, save "obstructing traffic," in filthy felons' cells, starved, insulted, outraged, threatened to scandalize the nation.

The President and his cabinet capitulated. Tammany Hall fell into line and Boss Murphy unctiously announced: "We will give the ladies anything they want."

THE PICKETS CONQUERED the President and the politicians by their loyal leadership and militant methods. This accounts for the victory in New York. It is the victory of the pickets, their courage and constancy, their unrelaxing devotion to their convictions and ideals that won the day, and

they owe absolutely nothing to the President and the politicians.

When the President at the assembling of congress recommends the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, as he will, and it passes that body by an overwhelming majority, as it must, it will be another victory for the Pickets at the Gate.

Since the war only the cave man still holds out; only he is left to yawp his maudlin lay about 'chivalry' while denying to women the standing of a human being.

Precious little will women owe to their male "protectors" when their emancipation dawns upon the world. The "Fathers" did nothing for the "Mothers" of the Revolution but to ordain their political servitude, and every right that women have secured from that day to this they have had to fight for and wrest from a reluctant power based upon the self-assumed right of man alone to govern the world.

The war has proved that women can do anything that men can do.

How any male, even a survival of the stone age, can any longer deny equal suffrage is one of the mysteries that only an inscrutable providence can explain; that there are still women who protest against their own liberation is enough to make a graven image shed tears.

But the day of victory, sweeping and complete, is now dawning.

The Pickets at the Gate have written the most thrilling and dramatic chapter in the historic struggle.

Theirs is the glory of having led the charge that conquered; of having had the spirit of martyrdom which triumphs in every great cause and is finally crowned with immortality.

Woman

By Eugene V. Debs

WHILE I SCORN the chivalry that kisses the hand of woman, and then denies that hand the reins with which she might guide the rolling world along safe roads; while I would not bow to her as being more than man, yet

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would I give her every right I claim for myself. Still, I cannot think of woman without a feeling of reverence that amounts to worship, and that which I worship in her I would also worship in man if he had not banished it from his life.

Great is the hand of man. He smites the mountain ranges and they smoothe out into plains; he strokes the ocean and it carries his craft to safety; he shakes his fist at the night and new creatures of steel come forth at his command to do his bidding. But if the hand of man is strong to do, the hand of woman is greater because it is softened and skilled to comfort and heal. If the hand of man is magical with accomplishment, the small, white hand of woman has even greater magic in that it soothes and blesses ever. With the touch of her finger she changes the hard sick-bed into down and dreams. With a stroke of her palm she banishes the tears of childhood and gives smiles for sobs.

If man the titan makes the world big, woman the enchantress makes it beautiful. If man finds the food, it is woman that brings the babe through paths she sets with roses, and it is she who makes shining and sweet the gateway when the soul fares forth alone to the unknown land.

Man may make the nation, but woman does more, she makes the home.

WHEN I THINK what the world would be without the inspiring influence of woman, I am ashamed of what the world has done with her. She has done everything for the world, and man has done everything evil to her. He has filled her delicate hands with burdens she could not bear, and laid upon her shoulders weights that crushed her to the earth, and though she stumbled on uncomplainingly, kissing the hand that smote her, he has taunted her as inferior and ruled her as if she were a slave.

Still is woman the guardian of the sacred fire. Should she fail, earth would return to the stone age, and man become again

sacred, more divine than womanhood charged with the future destiny of the race, which means the weal or woe of all the breathe.

No true man can think of his mother other than as perfect. No husband who is still a lover—as every husband ought to be—can believe that his wife is less beautiful or feel that she is less dear than when she was in the bloom of beauty and first won his heart.



Debs in Action

I have a vision of woman that is loftier, nobler and diviner than than the mothers and wives, the sisters and daughters have been in the dark days of the past and are still in the dawning days of the present. In the full-orbed day of the world to come woman shall be free, and because she is free the world shall be free. In that hour woman shall have opportunity, and because her day has come at last everything that lives shall rise and unfold and share in the common blessing that shall come to the race. Love shall reign instead of hate, beauty shall take place of deformity, peace of war, plenty of poverty, and all the world, under her sweet, unfettered ministry, shall be a home, safe and saintly and satisfying.—*The Melting Pot.*

LARGE FAMILIES AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
Recruiting Sergeant to candidate for enlistment—"Married or Single?"

Candidate—"Married, Sir."

"How many children?"

"Twelve."

'Ere, you 'op it. We could get a field marshal for what you'd cost us.

Apparently the separation allowances have taught the government the value of the small family system."

Malthusian—London.

Candidates Change Their Tune When Women Vote

HERE ARE THE QUESTIONS sent by the New York Committee of the National Birth Control League to all candidates for the Legislature and Congress.

"Dear Sir:—

"On behalf of the New York State Committee of this League, I am asking your opinion on the measure we propose for removing birth control from the category of crime, as it now stands in the penal code.

"If you have not yet considered the question, will you please read the enclosed literature, and answer the following questions?

1. Since the experience of foreign countries, proves that birth control information results in a healthier, happier population, which increases normally without waste of life and strength,

Do you not believe in it as a race betterment measure?

2. Since the war makes all kinds of conservation imperative, and it is obvious that the family which is the best national asset now is not the one in which an annual baby is born to deplete the mother's health, the father's earnings and the other children's food and care, but rather the family where the babies are intelligently "spaced" like the vegetables in the war gardens,

Do you not believe that the law should at once make contraceptive information legal, as a war-time necessity?

3. As many people confuse birth control by the avoidance of conception, with abortion and all manner of immoralities,

Do you not believe that the subject should be removed, once for all, from its damaging and misleading context in the law?

4. In view of the fact that there are few individuals who are personally opposed to birth control, and that the law is constantly broken by hundreds of thousands of the well-to-do, while the poor who most need the information are largely ignorant,

Do you not believe in making the statute consistent with the actual practice of privileged society and with the crying need of the poor?

5. Because certain religious influences, notably the Catholic Church, are opposed to the principle of birth control, and it is equally true that no one would be obliged to adopt contraceptive methods of birth control who did not approve them,

Do you not believe that the religious scruples of the few should not stand in the way of free choice for those who do, believe in birth control?

6. As the United States is the only large country with a democratic form of government, which penalizes this information,

Do you not believe that we should follow the lead of the more progressive countries by removing the restrictive laws on this subject?

We shall greatly appreciate your pledge of co-operation to secure this desired legislation, if you are elected to Congress. It is obvious that nothing would more effectively commend

your candidacy to the attention of the women of the state, than a statement that you will stand for the repeal of the restrictive laws on this subject."

THE ANSWERS ARE a revelation of the marked change of attitude in the two years since our bill was introduced for the first and only time in the New York legislature. Then you could count on the fingers of one hand all the legislators who favored the bill.

But now times have changed. The taboo against birth control is wearing thinner and thinner. And women have the vote. The result is that not one single adverse answer to our questions was received. Eighty per cent. of our answers were unqualifiedly in favor of the bill. Eleven per cent. asked for more light on the subject. Only three candidates side-stepped the question altogether.

Most of the favorable answers were from Socialist candidates, as might be expected, as practically all Socialists have long been sound on the question, but the quality of the letters we received from Republicans and Democrats is a most encouraging indication of a new clean-minded attitude which will give our bill dignified consideration. The following letter is characteristic of these hopeful answers.

"In the abstract, I do not see that any harm can result from the giving out of information regarding birth control, provided it is given to mature people who are married and who request the information. I am not opposed to birth control, but I must be shown that nature has made some sort of a blunder which mankind has discovered and can surely remedy. If I am elected a member of the Assembly, I will favor any legislation which has for its object the betterment of conditions concerning the matter of birth control, provided I am convinced that this legislation will result in a healthier and happier population."

HEALTH HAS BECOME A public responsibility as never before. It is becoming obvious that an intelligently controlled birth-rate is the basis of health.

The typical Republican is apt to see it, because he perceives that asylums, hospitals and jails will be less needed, and therefore less expensive, if fewer unfit, handicapped babies are born.

The typical Democrat sees it because he realizes that the country under the strain of war and reconstruction should not have the additional drag of looking after families which have grown so fast that they cannot adequately look after themselves.

And all the Socialists see it because they stand for freedom of access to all knowledge, freedom for all women to decide as to the frequency of motherhood, the right of all children to be well born.

This page is contributed by

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE
200 Fifth Avenue
New York City

The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

(Continued from November issue.)

IN THIS SUPPOSITION no limits whatever are placed to the produce of the earth. It may increase forever, and may be greater than any assignable quantity; yet still the power of population being in every period so much superior, the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the strong law of necessity, acting as a check upon the greater power."

Static and Kinetic Over-population.—In order to bring the difference between the popular idea of over-population and the true Malthusian doctrine into prominence, I have been accustomed for sometime past to speak of them by the two terms, static and kinetic over-population.

Static (stationary) over-population is the ordinary idea of over-population, i. e., that there are too many people in a country for it to be able to support if all its resources were fully and most advantageously employed. Neither Malthus nor any modern Malthusian has contended for a moment that any country is over-populated in this sense, and the only countries that are even near it are China, India and perhaps France.

Kinetic (moving) over-population exists wherever the number of children born into a family, community, or State is in excess of the increase in the food supply coming to that family, community, or State in the same time. This is the true Malthusian meaning of over-population, and in this sense every important country in the world, except New Zealand and Australia, is, and practically always has been, over-populated.

Illustrations of Static and Kinetic Over-population.—As the thorough understanding of the meaning of over-population is by far the most important thing in the whole range of sociology, a few analogies may be given to simplify it.

LET US TAKE first the case of a reservoir into which a stream of water is continually pouring. If the reservoir were large and of fixed size, it would hold all the water, without any loss, until it became filled, after which no further increase is possible. This is similar to the case of static over-population, in which the world is supposed capable of holding a certain population, and no loss is caused until the limit is reached.

But now suppose the stream is there without a reservoir. We can dam it and build up the dam higher and higher to form a reservoir of increasing size as the water flows in. If we can build up the walls of the reservoir faster than the water flows in, well and good, and none will be wasted. But the question of preserving the water is no longer a question of the final size of the reservoir; it is that of a race between the builders and the stream. If the builders cannot raise the height of the dam as fast as the water rises, it will escape and be wasted, no matter how large they can make the reservoir finally.

This is the true analogy to the population difficulty. Instead of the earth being ready from the start to support its final

population, it has had to be laboriously cleared and prepared by people who had to learn by gradual experience, as they went, how to produce crops; while the stream of babies has ever been flowing. It has always been a race between the stream of children and the efforts of those who have tried to develop the latent possibilities of the earth to support them and the children have always won as regards numbers, and been wasted like the water. And what makes the population difficulty greater than that of stemming the stream is that we have not to deal with a steady flow, like a river, but with a compound interest flow, since every individual saved helps to swell the flow by renewing reproduction. It is like the magic yellow water in the "Arabian Nights," which increases from itself, and overflows any vessel into which it is put.

(To be continued).

A PARENTS' PROBLEM OR WOMAN'S?

(Continued from page 5)

tracts the continents into a whispering gallery, and the magazines supply every mind with predigested mental food.

THE WIFE OF the workingman, struggling to make his wage cover the multitudinous needs of their life, craves the knowledge of birth control to free her from the slavery of incessant child bearing, but her husband is indifferent, or prejudiced against such "new-fangled notions." The middle class woman, struggling also to make her husband's wage cover not only necessities, but those little luxuries and refinements her opening mind craves, struggling to broaden her life, to feed that growing hunger in her soul for higher aspirations



and wider human service, searches for the knowledge that will give her greater personal freedom, the knowledge of controlling child birth, against the will of her husband, who feels, either unconsciously or consciously, this lessening of the sex dependence that has made her subject to him, and fights her enlightenment to the bitter end.

Of course, there are exceptions. There are men, in the working class and in the professional classes, who long for the greater freedom insured by a moderate sized family, who realize that this knowledge is necessary and inevitable. But this type of man is exceptional. Usually he either opposes birth control consciously, or else he is indifferent. In the meantime, it is the woman who faces and demands a solution to the problem. Bearing children has been her Great Problem. She will make it her Great Privilege—her Great Prerogative.

The Problem of Both

New York City, November 15, 1918.

Men's co-operation both in the birth control movement and in the actual use of contraception, is surely more in line with modern idealism than to make the question exclusively a women's affair. It takes a man and a woman to produce a child. Both are jointly and should be equally responsible for it's birth and rearing. Parenthood implies partnership. The more complete the partnership the higher the type of civilization.

True feminism is not isolated development for women, but the fullest development for women as human beings. This development is incomplete if it does not include relationship with men as mates on a basis of equality and co-operation. Because all men and women have not yet reached that basis is no reason for not working toward it fast and hard. Nothing is gained by emphasizing sex exclusion or antagonism.

—MARY WARE DENNETT.

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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 Fuersa*.
- 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. *Zadruchy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua Vizcande de Moran-guapez 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. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.

BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.

CAMDEN, N. J.—Dr. L. A. Young, 522 Spruce St.

CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—*The Birth Control League of Columbus*. Arthur Gluck, 2054 Tuller Street, president.

DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.

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

HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.

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

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.

NEW YORK:

The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.

The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.

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

PATERSON, N. J.—William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Avenue.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.

PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.

ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.

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.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

ARE BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES INJURIOUS?

By Margaret Sanger

THE STUPIDITY OF US HUMANS

By Mary Ware Dennett

“FOR THE CHILDREN’S SAKE”

By Mothers

SELLING “THE REVIEW” ON BROADWAY

By Genevieve Grandcourt

THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT IN VERSE, EDITORIAL AND CARTOON

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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Editorial Comment

By Jessie Ashley

A FEW OF OUR READERS have expressed disapproval of some things that have appeared on this page. Of course we are pleased, disapproval shows that we are read and we write to be read. Besides, we assure ourselves that when we arouse irate comment we are real enough to live on a bit longer. Praise is usually dangerous, it implies the innocuous. Then again, irate comment often suggests what next to write about, and that surely is something to be grateful for.

This time it is methods of propaganda. There are many roads leading to belief in Birth Control, there are many reasons for advocating it. To some, there is a desire to increase the number of people in the world, and to accomplish this they want fewer, but healthier children, in order that more of them may grow to mellowness. Others want health for mothers, so want to give them more time between births. Others want economic relief for fathers. All these are worthy motives and can be convincingly explained. It is certainly easy to make people agree with you when you ask, "Now, wouldn't you really rather see a family of four healthy children, than one of eight sickly ones?" Of course the answer is "Yes." Then you exclaim: "Well, then, save the mother's health and the father's pocketbook and let them limit their family to the number they can care for." But is the healthy mother of ten to have no protection? Must she spend her life over milk bottles and mutton chops, wornout shoes and clean pinafores? Must father be compelled to an everlasting interest in schools, colleges and careers for innumerable sons and daughters, just because he has a pot of money? All this kind of propaganda

is based on the assumption that people would want large families, if only they could be healthy and well fed. But the facts contradict this theory. It is, speaking generally, only the poor who have large families. As soon as men and women are so placed that they can avoid having many children they do so. In the majority of cases neither men nor women want large families. Birth Control is as precious to the strong and rich as to the poor and sickly.

Recognizing this, some people advocate birth control by means of continence or of abstaining from sex relations. It is a fine idea too, and has the virtue of being open to all who care to try it. Only when it is openly advocated, the great medical men jump into the arena with their theories or facts regarding nerves and other little things of that sort. We meet Freud with his dreams. Clergymen with the Bible as a weapon of woe. Money makers who remind us of Mexican mines to be developed and devastated France to be rebuilt. We meet the Rooseveltians who see vast wars before us and want millions of human popguns. So every one gets quite scared and confused and all go right on with their sex habits.

Then we hear from Malthus that it is our duty to have as few children as possible, because the world simply can't feed so many, that population always keeps ahead of food production. This is a very imposing argument, but somehow it makes people think about food, not children and besides no one knows anything about the earth's capacity for food production anyway.

ANOTHER KIND OF PROPAGANDA for Birth Control is that which appeals to all alike, rich and poor, sick or well. The kind that everyone wants, we mean power, power to control ourselves. This reason for Birth Control is fundamentally sound. No device can take its place, no plan can be found in it. It rests on the solid base of universal human desire for happiness. We ask why should women be denied knowledge that will help them to live happier lives, will permit them to better control themselves and their destinies? We ask what right has anyone to prohibit anyone else from giving knowledge to those who want it? Knowledge, mind you, not fairy tales. Knowledge that would soon be more thorough, more useful, more intelligently applied if only it could be freely studied and discussed and experimented with. As it is doctors try Birth Control on rabbits and guinea pigs, while suffering human beings are pleading vainly to know what these methods are.

WHAT THEN IS the best course to pursue under the circumstances? Shall we suggest half truths to lure our wily legislators and label Birth Control "Better Babies?" Shall we soar to the idealism of continence and be quite overlooked in the scramble of realities? Shall we give our mothers and law makers pause with the Malthusian cry of Famine? Or shall we make ourselves objectionable creatures by preaching freedom and self control for all? It really is a puzzle, isn't it? So we of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW have come to the conclusion that we will go right on our way, telling the story as we see it and let every one else do the same.

Are Birth Control Methods Injurious?

By Margaret Sanger

ADVOCATES OF SCIENTIFIC Birth Control are sometimes met with the absurd statement that such methods are injurious to the health of the woman. It is even asserted that they cause cancer and other disease and that they bring about sterility.

As applied to scientific Birth Control, these statements are both false and silly. In the light of the best authoritative information of the day, it can be unequivocally set down that modern Birth Control methods, properly employed, are not only not injurious but are often positively beneficial to the woman's health. The contrary is maintained for the most part by those who are mentally honest but uninformed or by such as are altogether prejudiced.

The clergy, bound to its theological dogmas is usually opposed to Birth Control methods and is only too ready to accept any bald statement levelled against them. A few physicians who are uninformed as to modern means of Birth Control, still incline to the opinion that they are injurious, but these physicians have in mind the earlier, cruder means of preventing conception.

Some of the persons who maintain that preventive measures are injurious are so ignorant of the whole subject that they in opposing abortion call it Birth Control. Still others believe that harmful drugs are given internally as contraceptives. They, of course, confuse abortives with the means of preventing conception. Anyone who knows anything about either Birth Control or abortion knows that scientific Birth Control methods would do away with abortions which occur in appalling numbers in America every year.

ONE COMMONLY PRACTICED method of preventing conception is not only uncertain but beyond all doubt injurious to the woman's health. This is the one which, because of the withholding of scientific information upon the subject is most commonly used. It was perhaps the earliest method known and was condemned by the wise men among the ancient Jews, being anathematized in the Bible in a very specific fashion. Modern science sometimes calls it Onanism from the name of the Biblical character who, we are told, was signally punished for practising it.

Until recent years it was supposed that this method was injurious to the man alone, but it has been discovered that the man in many cases seems to suffer no ill effects, while the woman's health may actually be wrecked.

Mantegazza believes that organic disease of the spinal cord may follow this practice. Hirt says that it may lead to neurasthenic disorders. Eulenberg is of much the same opinion. Valenta declares that it is one of the chief causes of chronic netritis. Kleinwachter says that its harm to the system of the woman is by no means trivial. Still other great authorities who have pointed out the dangerous effects of the practice are

Forel, Von Krafft-Ebing, Mensiga, Freud, Lowenfeld, Elischer and Ellis.

"The lack of sexual satisfaction" says Kisch, as a sort of final word upon the subject, "aggravates nervous and hysterical troubles in women, while suitably regulated intercourse with mutual satisfaction has an actively beneficial effect."

This method, then, in the opinion of the best informed of modern Birth Control advocates is unscientific, and dangerous. In the same class so far as being unscientific and injurious to the health is continence, much advocated but little practiced. This subject will be considered in a later article as will the question whether scientific Birth Control methods are certain. For the present it is enough to point out that scientific Birth Control methods exclude those which are either uncertain or injurious and that the advocates of Birth Control stand for the dissemination of knowledge which will permit mothers to limit their families in a sane, scientific, healthful way.

THE FIRST ESSENTIAL in Birth Control is cleanliness and a sane observance of the principles of sex hygiene. These factors alone, taught to a woman, ignorant of the proper care of her physical functions until she sought knowledge of Birth Control, have restored many to health and have even disposed of many cases of sterility. It is the concensus of modern medical opinion not only that scientific Birth Control methods are not harmful but in thousands of cases very beneficial to women suffering from leucorrhœa, inflamed cervix and other local disturbances.

Among the objects of attacks by opponents of Birth Control are cleansing, antiseptic solutions, and the like. It is to be remembered that these are not preventives and are not to be depended upon as much. As the term indicates, an antiseptic is designed for and serves certain medical purposes. Its function when applied to the reproductive organs of a woman is medicinal or hygienic, not the prevention of conception. Injuries to women from the use of antiseptics result from ignorance or lack of proper directions, as would be the result if such solutions were improperly applied to a wound or a surgical incision.

Mechanical means have also been attacked, it being alleged that they cause cancer. Mechanical devices worn too constantly might produce irritation and cause trouble. A number of new devices have not yet been sufficiently tested to make an opinion as to their harmlessness possible at this time. And dangerous devices will be employed or devices misused as long as law and custom deny to woman knowledge of scientific means of determining the number of her children and the time of their birth.

A glance at statistics disposes of the contention that Birth Control is responsible for the development of cancer. The implication which the opponents of Birth Control seek to leave is that as the birth rate falls because of the use of con-

traceptives, the cancer rate rises. The contention is sheer nonsense. As far back as 1876 before the birth rate began to fall, the cancer rate began to rise. Moreover, it is only among women who have reached the age of 65 that the increase is noted. It seems probable that woman above 65 have not used contraceptives, as they were not so widely known during the child bearing days of women even now at that age. And if they had been known, it would seem very unlikely that a contraceptive used during their child-bearing period would cause cancer twenty years afterwards. Nor is this all—further light on this particular absurdity is that no increase in the rate of cancers affecting women's reproductive organs has been noted.

STATISTICS OF SEVERAL countries throw still more light upon the preposterousness of the contention. Ireland has had an increasing cancer rate for twenty years with a constant birth rate. Birth Control certainly is not responsible there. For five years of diminishing birth rate due to the application of scientific Birth Control, Holland has shown also a decrease in the cancer rate. France, where Birth Control methods are in wide use, has a cancer mortality of only .76 per thousand, as against .95 in England and Wales, where the birth rate was .28 per thousand at that time.

The assertion that Birth Control methods induce sterility is equally ridiculous. Many a woman, through the use of scientific contraceptives has so toned up and strengthened her reproductive organs as to become capable of child bearing when she would otherwise have continued barren. Where sterility has been laid to contraceptives, physicians have discovered in nearly every case conclusive proof of some condition in the woman or her husband which would have prevented children under any circumstances. In thousands of cases where women have practised scientific Birth Control for five, ten and even twenty years, they have later borne strong, healthy children. Usually the child is stronger in such cases because the mother has waited until her health is at its best and the family means are such as to give the baby the proper care, before and after its birth.

Dr. William J. Robinson's challenge, issued several years ago, still remains unanswered. "I challenge" said he, "any physician and gynecologist to bring forth a single authenticated case in which disease or injury resulted from modern methods of prevention."

The gist of the matter then is this: scientific Birth Control is not only harmless but often a direct benefit to the health. Unscientific contraceptives are as likely to harm their users as any other unscientific thing applied to or used in connection with any part of the body. The plain conclusion is that with the health of the womanhood of America at stake, the mediævil laws and customs which prevent full and free dissemination of information concerning scientific Birth Control should be sent to the scrap heap along with rack, the thumb screws and other outworn instruments of torture.

BESIDES BEING HARMLESS and of positive benefit locally, scientific Birth Control methods have a much more important function for the improvement of the health of women. Anyone who knows anything at all about the subject knows

that the health of a woman who is the mother of two or three children born several years apart is better than that of the mother of many children who follow each other at periods of a year or two.

Nor is this all. The dread of undesired pregnancy is the nightmare of the lives of millions of women. To this cause and this cause alone is directly traceable the wrecking of the physical systems of many of them. Wille, a prominent authority quoted by Kisch, asserts that "the continued fear of pregnancy will in most cases do more injury to the feminine system than all the preventive measures in the world."

No woman can be healthy or strong who lives continuously in fear. Moreover, it is a fact universally recognized by physicians that to a nervously weak woman, preventive measures are necessary and a number of them are even helpful in regaining her health.

The sooner these facts are understood, the sooner the laws against the spread of scientific Birth Control are abrogated and information concerning reliable and safe or beneficial contraceptives comes within the reach of all women, the quicker the question of the general health of women will be settled.

Shaking the Gates of Privilege

ONE BY ONE, those men and institutions, which from the vantage point of wealth and privilege have frowned upon the worker's demand for Birth Control, are bowing to the inevitable. In England, following the fearless address of Dr. C. Killick Millard, published in a recent issue of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, the ultra-conservative Royal Institute of Public Health was moved to invite Dr. Millard to address it.

"The discussion which followed was taken part in by Major Darwin, F.R.S., Dr. Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Bernard Shaw and Dr. Saleeby" says the recent annual report of The Malthusian League. "It was very sympathetic to the lecturer's views."

"Sir Robert Mordant, Chairman of the National Insurance Commission, in moving the vote of thanks, said that this important question of Birth Control should be kept prominently before the public and that he would be interested to hear more about the Birth Control clinics in Holland."

One can imagine the astonishment of Sir Robert at discovering that this maligned working class demand for Birth Control is neither immoral nor degrading. Being an insurance man, Sir Robert doubtless is attracted by the very evident fact that Birth Control means better insurance risks because it means better babies.

Not Obscene

Judge M. T. Dooley, of the United States District Court, sitting in San Francisco, held in the case of A. Belinski, that Birth Control literature does not come within the provisions of the federal statute penalizing the mailing of obscene matter.

Belinski was charged with having posted some of Margaret Sanger's literature.

The Stupidity of Us Humans

By Mary Ware Dennett

WE HAVE FOUR BASIC human functions:

- to feed ourselves
- to clothe ourselves
- to shelter ourselves
- to mate and reproduce ourselves.

In the exercise of these functions, how much does unaided nature do for us?

Nature provides *food*,—only for a few weeks or a few months, sometimes not at all.

Nature provides *shelter*,—nothing beyond trees and an occasional cave.

Nature provides a *strong sex impulse*, but no guidance for the use of it.

We want more than these primitive provisions, so we have to use our *minds* to secure them for ourselves.

In the exercise of these functions, what have we learned to do, in addition to what bare nature does for us?

As to food,—we do something besides satisfy our hunger. We feed ourselves scientifically and artistically,—that is, we *dine*. We avoid gluttony and intemperance.

As to clothes,—we do something besides merely covering ourselves. We try to dress healthfully and to give delight to the onlooker, if we can. We avoid excess and ostentation.

As to shelter,—we do something besides merely crawl in out of the weather. We make homes, with beautiful furnishings and an atmosphere of charm. We entertain.

In other words,—we have added science and art to natural instinct and need, in order to make these three functions *socially* productive beyond their primary intent. We produce emotional, mental, moral and spiritual values from our expanded exercise of these basic functions. Each one thus becomes a *double* function. It serves its primary purpose and variously enriches our lives besides. We take pride in this development. It is, in a large way, the measure of our civilization.

BUT AS TO THE fourth great natural function, sex relations,—what do we do, what have we learned besides what bare nature teaches us? Mightly little. We don't know what to do. We flounder.

As to the primary use of sex relations,—the production of children, we are neither willing to follow primitive nature's way which is to have an annual baby, nor do we insist that the race shall understand how to improve scientifically upon nature's way, by spacing births with reference to health, income, environment and choice. The law declares it a crime to learn this science, and tradition, outwardly at least, upholds the law.

As to the secondary use of sex relations,—we are even more at sea. Some people insist that there ought not to be secondary uses of this function at all.

They claim that sex relations for the sole purpose of repro-

duction are beautiful, sacred, perfect, and the like, but that otherwise they are degrading self-indulgence. These people are relatively few. Yet they have a persistent influence on the majority who do not hold such views. They do not succeed in altering the practice of the majority, but they do make the majority feel somewhat apologetic and shame-faced,—for the simple reason that the majority are ignorant and feel somehow that it is improper to be intelligent on this subject.

The mass of people hardly dare to believe that there are precious and vitalizing results from sex relations which are an enrichment of life and a source of happiness just as children are. They are afraid to assume that there are similar emotional, mental, moral and spiritual values to be derived from the exercise of this function, just as legitimately as from the acts of providing ourselves with food, clothes and shelter. Feeling that perhaps the whole thing may be wrong, they find it hard to determine what temperance and good taste in sex life may be. There are no standards. There is little open discussion. The splendid books by Ellis, Meisel-Hess, Gallichan and Dr. Stopes reach relatively few people. The mass blunder on in darkness and embarrassment.

THE "PURISTS" BEG the whole question. They accept sex relations as necessary for parenthood and demand complete suppression otherwise,—and arbitrarily call that *moral triumph*. But curiously enough, they do not apply a similar theory to the other basic functions.

They do not say that we should use eating for nourishment only, or that it is wrong to utilize meal-time as a means of social enrichment.

They do not claim that we should merely protect our bodies from the elements, or that it is wrong to utilize clothes as a means of pleasure and the expression of beauty.

They do not insist that we should have only a bare shelter to live in, or that it is wrong to make lovely homes, fine hotels, beautiful libraries, school houses, and the like.

How stupid, limited, lazy and unimaginative it all is!

Here is a great field of human development neglected and weed-grown. When shall we wake up and begin seriously to work upon it?

Getting the Birth Control question straightened out is the first imperative step: It will open the way for all the rest. And presently it will be natural to apply science and art to sex relations as fully as we now do to the matter of food, clothes and shelter.

We find laws upon our statute books which are enslaving a great part of the population, laws which have inflicted upon our womanhood a state of poverty, degradation, illness and death unequalled in the whole history of our times.

"For the Children's Sake"

Excerpts from Letters from Mothers.

"FOR THE CHILDREN'S SAKE," is the plea that rings again and again through the letters of suffering and sorrowing mothers; letters that come daily to the office of THE REVIEW; letters asking for information concerning contraceptives.

"For the children's sake" plead the mothers, "tell us how we may prevent more children than we can care for."

Upon the necks of these mothers, upon the necks of their children rests the barbarous yoke of the laws and customs which would deny to them the knowledge by which they may be free. It is not only for themselves that they ask freedom; it is for their helpless infants, doomed to neglect, hunger, ignorance and disease.

Nothing that a writer may pen, nothing that an editor may conceive, can be so bitter and so unanswerable an arraignment of the laws and customs of yesterday—persisting viciously today—as are these simple letters from mothers.

Can you masculine minded moralists, you conventional minded puritans, carrying over dark age laws and customs from a past which even you are only too happy to forget, read these letters unmoved?

Can you persist in your mistaken, abstract convictions, in the face of this concrete evidence of your error? Can you look undisturbed upon the fruits of your determination to force your own ideas upon a suffering womanhood and a starved and diseased and broken childhood?

Is there one among you, who reading these letters, can still say that woman shall be denied the knowledge of her own womanly function for which she pleads for her own sake, and "for the children's sake?"

Children Haven't Got a Chance.

DEAR MRS. SANGER:

I have just been reading some letters from women in your BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, and it certainly makes my heart yearn for them. I am a mother of six children now, have had one miscarriage; my health isn't any good, I am simply a nervous wreck. My baby is now near 6 months old, and after suffering agony in child birth it seems there is no end to the misery that a mother has with her children. My husband's health isn't any good and hasn't been for sometime. *My children has not and chance for school. O, and the many dark and dreary hours that I have pondered and worried over this, and I am one among the women sex who has just awoken out of sleep, just awoke to the fact that woman's right is full control of her own body.* My husband has been a man that has worked hard and pleaded with me to try to control and not have so many uncalled for and unwanted children to have to go through this world and yet the future looks darker yet for them than for us. But I thought it a sin and other women would talk to me and say it was to. But thank the Lord the way will seem much

brighter to me if you will help me. I am pleading with you now for help and believe I can use something in the way of Birth Control with a clear conscience.

May the Lord help you in your undertaking for I certainly think it will be such a blessing for the poor class of women if they can only get something to help them out in Birth Control.

Please answer at once for I am uneasy all the time—we are very poor and can hardly make support for our children. Sure will appreciate your help."

"Starving to Death."

DEAR MRS. SANGER:

"Knowing that you are giving advise, how poor women can prevent birth of babies which she cannot feed and clothe.

"I am one which has had seven children inside of ten years. I am only 32 years of age. Also I am very sorry but regret and misery compels me to ask for advise. My husband is only a common laborer and makes only \$3.50 a day. You know how we get along by paying rent and living for nine on \$3.50 a day—we are starving to death now."

"Who Will Look After My Babies?"

DEAR MADAME:

"I certainly believe there ought to be a way in this world to save mothers for their children's sake. I have had four children and not over 16 months between each birth—my baby is four years old and ever since her birth my health has been a total wreck. I am so nervous and over worked I can't be the mother I want to be and do justice to my family. My husband thinks I don't try to be pleasant, but how can I be when I am unfit for anything but a hospital, my health is like this tired, nervous and were it not necessary I could never move. I bore children, and now I get pregnant every two or three months, and in few weeks miscarry. *I realize it is killing me—soon I'll be gone and then who will see to my little children.* I don't know how to prevent miscarriage, the doctors say to go to bed, etc., but how can I as I have my babies to see after and no help and no money to hire your work done. One doctor said an operation might relieve me, but we have no money for that still another said guard against conception, I can't for I do not know how. It is one thing certain my husband won't give up his right as a husband for I've plead for it, as my very life seemed to hang on it. There is nothing I can expect of my husband or doctors. I long to feel well one more time, just so my children might know their mother as she would be if she was only well and had strength to be a mother, as things are I can't last long unless things are changed and their remembrance of me will be a worn, tired out nervous woman who never had time for anything, not even strength to do their washing and sewing as it should be done."

(Continued on page 13).

Selling "The Review" on Broadway

By Genevieve Grandcourt

IT WAS "WRITTEN" that I should sell THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW in Broadway. I stood holding copies for someone else one evening when a man advanced and bought one, another immediately followed and bought two. I was not in the least sorry that the ice was broken, for, truth to tell, I was ashamed of my faint-heartedness in a cause with which I thoroughly sympathized.

My first experience was a triumph. "Good for you!" people cried out, greatly to my embarrassment. It was as if fate had ordained that I get an abundance of stimulus. But no sooner was I fully launched as a Review seller than I saw the other side for I was next greeted by a chorus of disapproval, beginning with "unlady-like," and ascending to "infamous," and then descending the scale to "unlady-like" again. I ought to be ashamed; I ought to be arrested or shot; I ought to be thrown into the street; I ought to know better; and then, like a ray of sunshine, "I ought to thank God for my courage!"

This last was the fervent verdict of a nurse, back from an all-night vigil at the death bed of a widow of 34, with nine children and nothing to eat! She grasped me by the hand not holding THE REVIEW.

"I have seen enough to know this is the only possible way to go about it," she explained. . . . "It is frivolous to advocate the continence of men; it simply doesn't work. . . . And I think the priests ought to wake up to it, and help us."

I asked her if the case, as regarded them, was hopeless, and she seemed to think, for the present, it was. They may be trying to make some of their men over, but all they *talk* is the sin of Birth Control as we see it, never admitting the sin of allowing children to be born of mothers who, not being fit to bear them so soon, render themselves thereby unfit to bear healthy children a few years later. She was heartsick at the looseness of reasoning among us Americans. Were things to go on like this, until we grow weary of trying to mend them, and lapse into the apathy which is responsible for much of Europe's failure?

HER REFERENCE TO the looseness of our reasoning remained with me after she had gone. A voice jerked me out of my reverie. . . . "So you're advocating *British* control, is it? Well, I'll let you know the Irish in this country won't stand for it; I don't care who you are." Now, as British control is the very last thing I should advocate. I laughed aloud and asked him to "Read again," which he did in an excess of astonishment.

"Birth-control, was it?" he didn't know but that might be "worse yet." Think of the Irish that wouldn't be here to put a bit of ginger into the world. . . . Ah, well, "he was a merry old soul, and a merry old soul was he," in spite of the fact that

he totally disapproved, and threatened me with eternal damnation.

"I'll take my damnation, and let you have yours," I shot after him, at which he took off his hat, and waved it in challenge, grinning as he went.

On another occasion a husky young woman stopped before me "I'll have as many children as I want; I'd like to see any law limit me." As she snapped this new point of view, dissolving me into sudden laughter, a long faced, clerical looking man advanced to reproach me for making light of serious things. He had looked into Mrs. Sanger's work, and had come to approve of it, yet I, a woman, could stand here selling a skit on it . . . a comic weekly! I assured him that I was selling Mrs. Sanger's very "work," but that it was quite impossible, all the time, to ignore the funny side of things. His face cleared and he bought a paper, saying he would ask his congregation next Sunday to pray for me

A DEAR OLD LADY came up with a sprig of holly in her hand, saying the Christmas season was near to remind her in contrast more and more, of the evil and suspicion of the world. She thought no more children ought to be born until we had cleansed society. She loved children and had had many, but they had their own families, and were not interested very much in her. She wished sons, in particular were less exclusive of their mothers.

"But I blame myself," she added, "I never gave them any reason to think the sacrifices I made for them cost me anything . . . and they don't know they did. And if their wives spoil them in the same way, how can we women expect that they won't continue to throw away love . . . and that is what they do all the time, throw away the love that might help them to control themselves and make the world over."

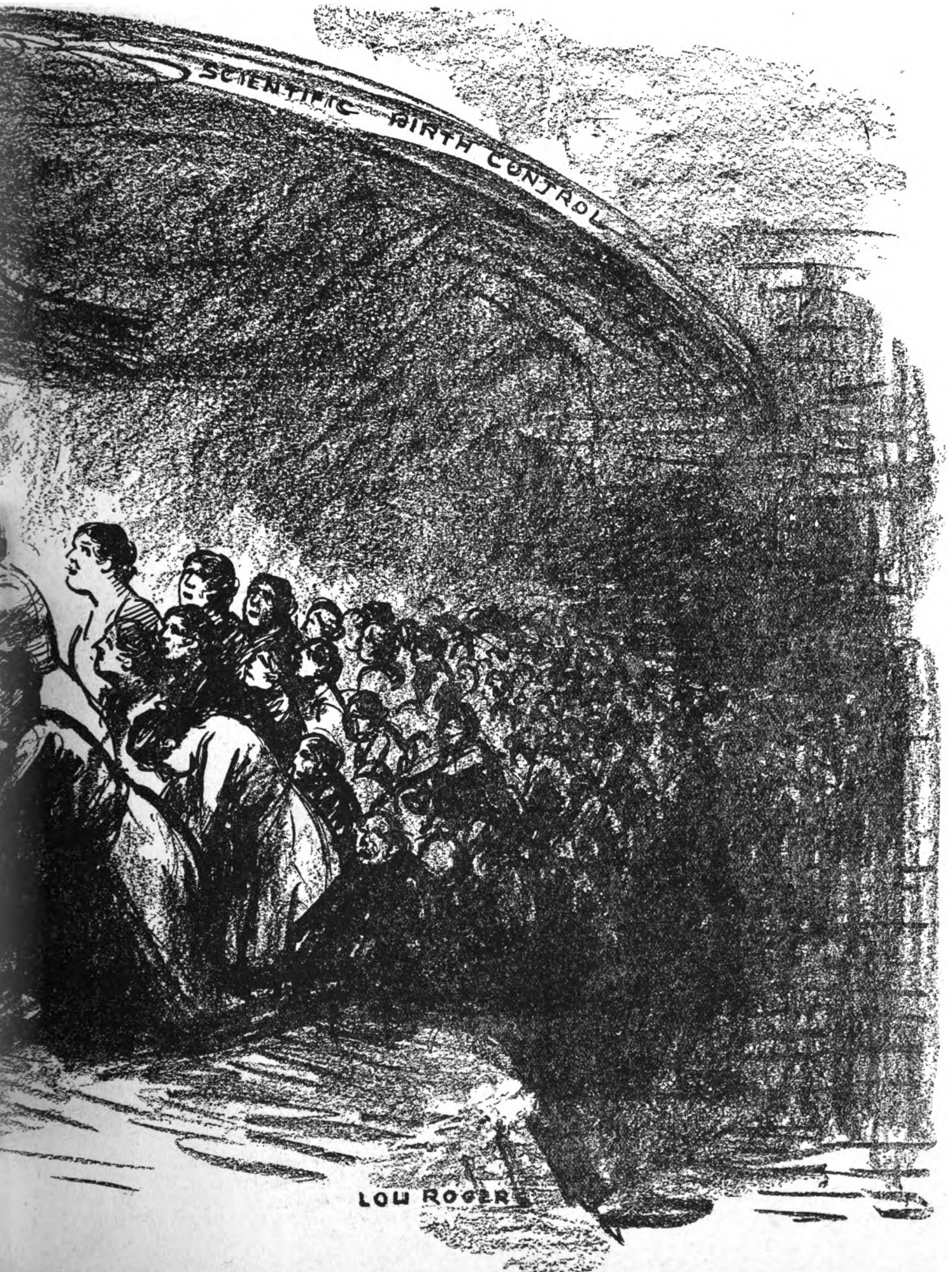
When I asked her if women didn't throw away love, as well, she admitted it but said the love we offer them is worth more than we get in return.

A much bedizened lady paused in front of her automobile, and said, "Between you and I, I *would* like to give you a lesson." I couldn't forebear retorting that I hoped, in all conscience, it wouldn't be in *grammar*.

One very significant aspect of the situation is the objection offered, by an occasional flaneur or fatuous old roue, that the Birth Control movement would injure young girls! I cannot imagine that any young girl disposed to evil ways would need this kind of information for long, or, requiring it, would find it hard to obtain while we have such men in our midst.

While selling THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW on the street, I often seem like an impersonal Being standing apart





SCIENTIFIC BIRTH CONTROL

LOW ROGER

Birth for All Women

watching events. It is good for my soul to know how very few indecent gibes are flung; how correctly, on the whole, the scales are balanced between good and evil among my countrymen and women as represented by the passing throngs in Broadway; how eager, for the most part, young and old, men and women are to get the truth and arrive at a just estimate When freedom of speech and freedom of the press come to us Americans, we may appreciate it all the more for its present withholding

Thinking thus one evening, I looked up to greet a keen-eyed Frenchman. He came, it seemed, bearing gifts the gifts of reassurance and condolence. One of our number had been jailed! He was very sorry. It was such a comment on the hypocrisy of men. I agreed with him, but assured him at the same time, that Miss Marion regarded her martyrdom as an opportunity to spread the Birth Control movement among those unhappy prisoners whom (according to one of his well known countrymen), we have a right to protect ourselves against, but have no right to punish

He agreed, saying that it had its uses—even the shortsightedness of the law.

"Nevertheless, those judges don't know what to make of you," he added.

As he went on his way, I reflected that if the judges who jailed Miss Marion didn't know what to make of our enthus-

iasm for the Birth Control movement, their's wasn't a circumstance to the ignorance of those who uphold the so-called Anti-Vice Society and the stool-pigeon system, in their fight against knowledge of the fundamental laws of life.

Wanted: Volunteers

We want twenty women to volunteer to sell THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW on Broadway. We want many times twenty women to sell it on the streets of every other big city in the country.

There is little unpleasantness to be faced. No undue attention is paid to the vendors and—the best of the people who pass are the buyers. Even the weather is not often unfavorable long enough at a time to interfere seriously with the work.

An hour or two a week is all the time that is required and the experience is interesting.

"We want help," we ask you to do this for THE REVIEW. You can put it on its feet financially and make it known to thousands of new readers, who when they understand the Birth Control movement will come forward to help the cause.

Send your name to Mrs. William I. Colt. or to Kitty Marion, in care of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, 104 Fifth Avenue. They will give you all necessary instructions and will form small groups to work together. Volunteer today.

To A Prisoner of the Social War

(For Kitty Marion)

By James Waldo Fawcett

WHAT IS A PRISON? After all,
 Nothing but one encircling wall,
 A net of bars, an earthly chill,
 A pulsing silence, sadly still,
 A careful warder's prying eye,
 And now and then a wild strange cry
 Where some soul writhes in mortal pain,
 And dares to scream and scream again,
 The restless footsteps overhead
 Where all but agony is dead,
 And above all the sad dark night
 To show God weeps at such a sight

Full many weary mortals go
 To share the prison's human woe,
 So many that the very stones
 Shudder to hear their piteous moans
 And are ashamed that they should hold
 About a place so deathly cold

But there are many who go free
 To taste the dregs of liberty,
 To watch the dreary shadows creep
 Across a mockery of sleep,

To comfort seek in pride and name,
 In mere escape of prison shame;
 And these are sadder far than those
 The horrid dungeon must enclose.

Still others go in this world's ways
 Who seem to know but careless days,
 Who bend the Law to their desire
 And forge it in an evil fire
 To chain Man's dream and Woman's right,
 To keep from Love the wondrous light
 By which it flourishes and flowers,
 But only by some few brief hours
 May these restrain the coming Dawn,
 They know our Victory marches on.

We are the free souls, in the night,
 We are the bearers of the light.
 They may not prison us away,
 They may not hold us in their sway,
 They are the prisoners in jail,
 Theirs is the fight foredoomed to fail,
 Ours is the Victory to be,
 We are of those forever free!

“Birth Control---A Parents’ Problem or Woman’s?”

THAT LETTER FROM “M. B. H.” in the November issue of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW stirred up a lively discussion, as was expected. She urged that Birth Control is the problem of both parents.

The same view was taken by Mary Ware Dennett in a letter published in the December issue. Lily Winner in an article maintained the view that it is, after all, a woman’s problem.

Two of the letters published herewith set forth much the same position. Two other writers contend that Birth Control is the problem of both parents. Margaret Sanger will close the discussion in an article in an early number.

Problem of Both.

ALL PROBLEMS ARE human problems. No problem can be solved without the joint efforts of men and women. Unfortunately, however, from the mere mechanics of the matter, the infinitely heavier part of the burden of both bearing and preventing the bearing of children must fall on the woman—which is all the greater reason for men giving women what sympathy and aid they can, and for having the need for this co-operation driven home to the consciousness and the conscience of men.

There is, moreover, no lack of good compelling, selfish reasons for men’s backing the Birth Control Movement, just a few of them being: the ability to marry as soon as one desires, having one’s wife stay a wife and not become merely the mother of one’s children, the absence of incentive to frequent prostitutes, the resulting health advantages, the tremendously important lightening of the economic burden, the actualization of marriage as a sacrament complete in itself and as a proud father, need I add: the greater amount of attention and care and comforts one can give the children one can afford?

For these reasons I agree with M. B. H.; and yet perhaps the most vital lesson Birth Control has to teach is that a woman’s body does not belong to the church, or the state, or to man, but to woman herself, now so often “the slave of a slave of a slave”—and all effective gospels of emancipation must be preached to and by the oppressed, not the oppressor.

Philadelphia.

E. R. C.

Fathers’ Problem Too.

UNDER THE TITLE, “Birth Control, A Parents’ Problem or Woman’s?” you invite in your November issue, opinions from readers. I think it possible that my experience may help a little to solve this problem:

The trend of mind of many a father of a poor family favors the birth of many children because, as they have told me, “When the children are older they will go to work and provide for us so that we do not need to work any more.” Therefore, the more children there are, the better is the chance that the fathers can soon stop working. They do not figure the extra expenses caused by more children; they are proportionally inexpensive and will soon be productive. Neither do they consider the burden of the mothers: childbearing is a wife’s

duty anyhow, and the children grow up by themselves. Housework is done in an hour or two and the rest of the time mother sleeps or goes to the movies—if she does not also go to work! So those fathers think, even those working hard and feeling a sense of duty towards their children.

The fathers, therefore, often deliberately create those big families in which their children are underfed and are not brought up to be healthy and ambitious, but to be sent as soon as possible to earn money for the upkeep of the family.

It appears to me that those fathers ought to be taught what wrong they do to their children, how uneconomical it is to set ten children into the world, who feeble and abused before they grow up, cannot earn what five healthy strong ones would; what physical and mental strain the care for a large family is for most women and how much better they themselves could be cared for by their wives if they had fewer children. In short, what a benefit to themselves and their children it would be to limit their number of children.

The wives have, in such cases, mostly, nothing to say as they usually present their objections from a too personal point of view which does not count in the eyes of man. Therefore, men should also be instructed in the methods and benefits of Birth Control, but also, and in equal measure at least, should women know them, if it is only to protect themselves when they are not protected.

A MERE MAN BORN FROM A GERMAN MOTHER.

New York.

“The Woman’s.”

I read in the November issue of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, the interesting question of M. B. H. as to whether Birth Control was a woman’s problem or both parents’. I started to write you then, but on account of the Flu did not do so. Now have before me the December issue with the several letters answering the same. May I suggest the following to that interesting question:

Is Birth Control the Problem for the Man, or the Woman, or Both?

At the present time there is but one answer, it is a woman’s problem.

Under different conditions, different training and education it will eventually and ought to be the problem for both, but in the thousands of years of known recorded history and perhaps before that, woman has been the burden bearer, the slave in fact, of the human race. She is just now coming to the time when she has the opportunity to stand side by side with the man in the ordinary affairs of life, in many if not most cases, she would yet rather have “her man” even if he beats her, rather than to be free to live an independent life. For the last hundred years marriage has been for the majority only a means of gratifying the sexual cravings, and to bear children, whether or not, the woman’s part.

Now at the dawning of a new day, the woman must still

satisfy her man's sexual desires—if she keeps him—and the burden of prevention of conception, falls upon the woman, if conception is prevented, for the man is blind or still be unmindful of the effects *on the other fellow*.

In the hundreds of divorce actions that have come to my knowledge in the last twenty years, more than 90 per cent. of them are traceable to the *sex* problem, and believe that at least 40 per cent. of all divorce cases are caused by reason of the woman refusing to indulge in the sexual act, by reason of sickness or fear—that she will conceive—accepting the burden of divorce, rather than that of child bearing. While it ought not to be so, still, the woman will have to prevent if there is prevention.

Yours truly,
M. C. LASELL.

Woman Must Solve It Alone.

I DO NOT AGREE with the opinion of M. B. H. that, considering woman has the pain and danger of child-bearing, therefore Birth Control becomes, in justice, the man's problem and without his co-operation it cannot be solved.

While co-operation is desirable and to a certain extent essential; while justice demands that each should bear the responsibility of his own acts, especially when the burden is great and the victim disadvantaged, yet it is after all, woman's problem and practically alone must she solve it.

With so much at stake, personally, she is more interested than man—colossally selfish and unthinking—can ever be. Death, insanity, desertion or divorce is about the only thing that will open *his* eyes and even in any one or all of these

extremities he does not always seem to understand the real cause of the disaster. Radically, development of child-life is woman's job. Man frankly and most liberally reproduces and as frankly and liberally kills off the progeny. This seems to comprise his chief, self-determined functions and duties in which she is supposed to have no concern whatever. Incidentally, he has brought the warfare idea into industry and while legally and sentimentally he may be required to "make the living," the unlimited reproduction forced upon her in turn forces her out into a martial world to fight for her own bread and for that of her swarming brood.

He isn't interested in eugenics. He doesn't fight child labor. He doesn't concern himself with the Better Baby Campaign or Primary Education. The disastrous results of his "double standard" on the home or the race doesn't disturb him one iota. He legislates for her without her consent and over her protest. He has made—and retains—laws which compel her to remain in ignorance of the control of her own body. What immediate change can we expect in him? Men are not developed nor organized in regard to the justice or progressive phase of any one of these subjects. Women are. All they need is to realize their own power—sexually everywhere, politically in a few states, their majority in the churches, their unchallenged place in "society," so-called, their growing power in industry. Realize these things, stand by each other, and take decisive action. It is woman's work because it more sharply affects her and her life-work. She must solve it for the cool, common-sense reason that if she doesn't, *nobody else will!*

St. Louis, Mo.

LULU MACCLURE CLARKE.

ON CONTINENCE

A CERTAIN LADY who may be called Miss X was asked last month to attend the dinner given to Kitty Marion at the Civic Club. She declined because she believed Birth Control to be the only means of salvation for the race. Sounds odd doesn't it? But the method of birth control approved by Miss X is not contraception, but abstinence from all sex relations. Fact. But of course the lady believed in marriage and the perpetuation of the race.

A Reply to Miss X.

By Mary Knoblauch

WE ARE DEALING with facts which call for immediate attention, not with moral ideals.

If the world is to be inhabited by people who shall be capable of attaining the heights you (Miss X) suggest, we must begin by recognizing the weight of physical forces.

No one would now be able to fly had the law of gravity not been taken into account. It is more natural to sink than to swim; would you therefore agree that it is debasing to use a life preserver or to go down to the sea in ships?

There is nothing to prevent those who think as you do from abstaining from all sex relations or from all such relations

except those with procreation in view, but for the others, and they are certainly, at present, in the large majority, it is for their offspring that care must be taken. It is the children who pay the penalty, who become public charges, menaces and nuisances. I can't agree that some thought for the morrow, especially when it concerns the future of our citizens, is debasing, either to men or women, or to their relations. Quite the contrary.

The world has proceeded upon your view of things for many a long century, and the result has been—wives and prostitutes! Neither of them has benefited by the arrangement.

MORALITY

It is just as absurd for a State to make laws to impose or enforce a morality as it is to impose a religion. For neither the law nor the penalty imposed by the law convinces. We know that knowledge is the only thing which convinces, and knowledge is advanced through the expression of new opinions and the truth is discovered by the free discussion of such opinions. We ask the State to make terms with progress, with human needs, with human welfare, in fact with civilization.

When Laws Prohibit

DEEP ARE THE difficulties of the Destroyers of the Demon. Booze, booze in quantities, is finding its way be aeroplane into the sternly sovereign State of Florida—booze by the way of New Orleans; booze from Cuba; booze from the four winds of heaven. The Florida prohibition bill, which its author describes as “the most drastic anti-liquor law ever framed in the history of the world,” is being defeated of its purpose. Hundreds of aviators fly regularly from half a dozen places in Florida to various points where illicit stills are in operation. Flights even as far as Philadelphia have been known.

As a result this law of unparalleled drasticity has had to be amended so as to include in its sweeping confiscation of all vehicles or means by which booze is brought into the state “all machines travelling through the air.” Already it has made contraband of automobiles rigged with “jag tanks.” It seems that another way of introducing the demon into Florida (and apparently other dry states) was by motor cars as well, so rigged that the tanks shall carry gasoline one side and alcoholic atrocities in the other. Then rooms are rented by the hotels at so much per night (sometimes as high as \$10), which includes booze to be found in the bureau drawers.

All this is a new and unexpected diversion of the devil. With a thousand miles of border to the south of us, three thousand to the north of us and aeroplanes flying in every direction the outlook for an absolutely air-tight, water-sealed America is not so bright as it was. The aeroplane is evidently more of a complication than anybody had ever dreamed. And the sudden ending of the war finds the United States with ten thousand aeroplanes on its hands, part of which it may have to sell off at bargain prices. We hope for the sake of

the cause that these may not fall into the hands of the unrighteous to be used for nefarious purposes.—*New York Tribune.*

NO DOUBT THESE aeroplane booze carriers will be fined or sent promptly to jail, and no doubt the Society for the Suppression of Vice will at once do all in its power to secure a little of the booze so as to testify against the trade.

But the point is this. When laws are passed that men (or some men) don't like, they have so many wonderful ways of evading them. Just think of it. Aeroplanes at their service and airplane experts to fly them. Hotel proprietors with bureau drawers at their disposal. Automobile makers who will manufacture trucks to hold both gasoline and booze. And a lot of booze sellers who are quite ready to sell gallons of the fire water. Just think of the money! think of the skill, think of the people, of the ingenuity! All at the service of rebellious law breaking men who want to get comfortably drunk.

And when women want medical information, safe, sane, decent contraceptive information to protect their health and their homes and their children—they are hounded, villified, jailed, fined, trapped. Yet their efforts at rebellious law breaking consist in pitiful attempts to distribute a pamphlet or give quiet oral information to decent human beings seeking needed human help. They have very little money, no aeroplanes, automobiles, trucks, hotels or anything but their own personal pluck and determination to help others.

There you are. A nice clear cut contrast in law breaking.

“For the Children's Sake”

(Continued from page 6).

“All in Fifteen Years.”

“My dear Mrs. Sanger:—

I have been much interested in the little I have found to read upon birth control. *I am the mother of five living children and one dead at age of 6 months and have lost three prematurely—all inside of fifteen years.* I am 42—have not been well in months. Doctors now tell me I have dropsy, my limbs so badly swollen I cannot be on my feet but little. My husband is not strong and not able to work all of the time. We find it a struggle to keep our little family going.

“If you can and will give me any information on this line, oh, how glad I will be, for there is the thought all the time possibly there may come another little mouth to feed and body to clothe. We poor mortals must bear our burdens, for there is no money to pay doctors to make us wise.”

“Life Not Worth Living”

“Dear Mrs. Sanger:—

“Life is not worth living to a woman that does not know how to take care of herself, and it would be a Gods' blessing to those poor women if only they could get your help, if they would know of you. I will tell you just these few things of myself. I am a woman at the age of 26 years and *in seven years had five children which just took all my youth, strength and my health and I am not well to this day.* I am going to ask you if you will please be kind enough to let me know of contraception methods which I would thank you very much and God's blessing to you for your kind deed to the poor suffering women.

“My husband is a farmer, and at times does not earn enough to buy food. So please if not too much trouble for you write me just a few lines and let me know.”

The Sixty-five Cities of Disgrace

Do You Live in One of Them?

SIXTY-FIVE OF THE LARGER cities of the United States are wasting babies at a rate that is a black discredit to a country with any pretensions to civilization. The baby death rate in these cities is from 100 to 182 under one year of age for every thousand babies born alive. It does not include the still births, which are likewise a shocking figure.

"It is three times as safe to be a soldier in the trenches as to be an American baby in a cradle." This is what Dr. S. Josephine Baker was quoted as saying during the war. She is head of the Department of Child Hygiene in New York City. She proved it by the figures showing that the casualties in the Allied armies were four in a hundred, while the baby deaths in this country were over twelve in a hundred.

What is the matter with this country? Are other countries as bad? Certainly not. There are Holland and New Zealand for instance, with rates of only 7% and 5%. And of all the large European countries, none have a rate so bad as that of the United States, except Germany and Russia.

EVERY READER OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW knows that the answer to this question is that in Holland and New Zealand Birth Control knowledge is free and wide-spread, while here it is called a crime and is suppressed.

In most of these sixty-five cities mentioned the birth rate is high. The estimate rate for this country is 124 per thousand, which is higher than those of any European countries except Austria, Bulgaria and Russia. These two universally go together, a high birth-rate and a high baby death-rate,—the most tragic and inexcusable waste of which the human race is guilty.

These sixty-five cities are the milling and mining towns, the congested industrial centers, the big factory communities. These are the places where swarming tenements abound, where mothers as well as fathers are employed at wages which cannot keep up with the cost of living, where ignorance and lack of opportunity make people the victims instead of the masters of life.

SOME DAY POVERTY, and the privilege which causes it, and the ignorance which follows from it, will all be wiped out,—but not in this generation,—probably not in the next. Meanwhile, the very least that a decently responsible government can do for these struggling victims is to free the information by which they may have only those babies to whom they can give health and a chance.

Suppose a Birth Control clinic were opened in every one of these sixty-five cities within a year? Does any intelligent person doubt that the mothers would flock to them for help? Does any one doubt that the benefit which Holland has gotten from its fifty-two clinics would fail to be duplicated here?

According to present laws, clinics are now legally possible in thirty-two of these cities. In thirty-three they are not. In eighteen states there is no law prohibiting the giving of contraceptive knowledge verbally. The federal law making it unmailable of course, covers all states. But in these thirty-three cities at least, clinics should be opened at once.

IN THESE CITIES UNDER PRESENT LAWS CLINICS ARE LEGAL

ALABAMA. Birmingham, Mobile.
 ARKANSAS. Forth Smith.
 DELAWARE. Wilmington.
 FLORIDA. Jacksonville.
 GEORGIA. Savannah.
 ILLINOIS. Chicago, Peoria, Rockford, Quincy, Aurora.
 KENTUCKY. Lexington, Louisville, Covington.
 LOUISIANA. New Orleans.
 MARYLAND. Baltimore.
 MICHIGAN. Detroit, Grand Rapids, Saginaw.
 MISSOURI. Springfield.
 NORTH CAROLINA. Raleigh.
 SOUTH CAROLINA. Columbia.
 TENNESSEE. Memphis, Nashville.
 VERMONT. Burlington, Rutland.
 VIRGINIA. Richmond, Roanoke, Lynchburg.
 WEST VIRGINIA. Wheeling.
 WISCONSIN. Superior, Green Bay, Racine.

CLINICS ARE ILLEGAL

CONNECTICUT. Hartford.
 MASSACHUSETTS. Fall River, New Bedford, Holyoke, Lowell, Lawrence.
 MINNESOTA. Duluth.
 NEW HAMPSHIRE. Manchester, Nashua.
 NEW JERSEY. Jersey City, Trenton, Camden, Elizabeth, Passaic, Perth Amboy.
 NEW YORK. Poughkeepsie, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Syracuse, Albany, Troy, Watertown, Utica, Binghamton.
 OHIO. Cleveland, Youngstown, Hamilton.
 PENNSYLVANIA. Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Norristown, Johnstown.

Are you ready to help start the demand for a birth control clinic in your city?

If so, write to the National Birth Control League, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

This page is contributed by

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE
 200 Fifth Ave., New York City

The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.
(Continued from December issue.)

ANOTHER ANALOGY WHICH I have found useful in attempting to make the kinetic theory of over-population clear is that of two railway trains, one, representing population, running behind the other, representing food. In the last article we saw that the natural unchecked rate of increase of population was about 40 per 1,000 per annum (birth-rate 50, death-rate 10). Let us think of this as an express train, running at a steady rate of forty miles per hour. If the line is clear, there is no danger in its running at this or any other speed until it gets close to the end of the line, when, of course, the brakes must be sharply applied, or it will be stopped by colliding with the buffer-stops. This is the picture which the opponents of the over-population doctrine ask us to accept. "Let the population run smoothly forward at an unchecked rate until the limit is reached," they say. But what if the line is not clear? Suppose that our express passenger train, running at forty miles an hour, has a slow goods train in front of it, which moves forward from station to station, as the food supply increases from harvest to harvest. Would any passenger in the express train care two straws about the distance to the end of the line? If the goods train is only going to move forward five or ten miles in each hour, and the passenger train is running only just behind it, there is going to be a collision, which will be worse the faster the passenger train and the slower the goods train. The shock of the collision and the loss of life thus depends entirely upon the speeds of the two trains, and not in the very least upon whether they are near the end of the line or not.

This is a very close analogy to the true doctrine of over-population. Our population, if running freely, would advance steadily at a rate of about 40 per 1,000 per annum. But the line is not clear. The present food supply of the world, whatever it ought to be, is only just sufficient to feed the surviving population (this will be shown later), and it advances from year to year, but probably by not much more than five parts per thousand, as is indicated by the actual increase of the world's population. This is as if our goods train moved forward five miles in each hour. It is perfectly evident that if the brake is not put on the population train, there will be a terrible collision and loss of life each year by means of famine, disease or war, even if it has only just started, and is thousands of years from the final limit.

THIS WAY OF LOOKING at the question shows the utter absurdity of the everlasting contention that the over-population doctrine is wrong because we are now better off with a larger population than we were formerly with a smaller one. It depends simply upon the speeds of the two trains, i. e., on the rate at which the food train can be pushed forward, and the extent to which the brakes can be put on the population train. Even if the goods train is only a few miles

from the terminus, it may be possible to speed it up; and if at the same time a sufficiently powerful brake is put on the population train, a collision may be avoided, even though they may have had constant collisions in the earlier part of the journey, when far from their limit.

Now, so far as this country (England) is concerned, at any rate, both these things have happened. The improvement in the means of transport during the last few decades has speeded up our own food train (even if it has slowed down those of other countries), and the information spread by the Knowlton trial and the Malthusian League has provided a new and vastly more efficient brake to the population train. With our present birth-rate of 24 per 1,000 and taking the death-rate from old age as, say, 10 per 1,000, this means that our population is only attempting to increase 14 per 1,000 per annum, or our population train has had its speed checked to fourteen miles per hour. As our food train seems to be now travelling about ten miles per hour, the collisions are now very much less serious, and we are obviously much better off, even though we may be nearer some possible limit than we were forty years ago, when our population train was trying to run at twenty-six miles an hour (birth-rate 36, assumed old age death-rate of 10)* and the modern brake of family limitation within marriage had not come into use.

But this does not in the least prove that it is not still running too fast, and that the brake does not need to be applied still further. On the contrary, while we still have a death-rate of 14 instead of 10, and infantile mortality of over 100 per 1,000

*In fact, however paradoxical it may seem, we are getting less and less over-populated as we get nearer the limit, just as the passengers in a modern train provided with good brakes are safer now, when running into the terminus, than were formerly in a train with weak brakes on the open track.

Books to be had at The Review Office	
Population and Birth Control	
A Symposium	\$3.00
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By Margaret Sanger.....	paper 25c., cloth .50
Limitation of Offspring, by Dr. Wm. J. Robinson...	1.50
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Small or Large Families	
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th instead of zero, as at Villers-le-Duc, and a large number of people whose dietaries, according to Rowntree, are deficient in protein up to forty per cent. of a proper physiological ration, we have every reason for contending that the stakes need still stronger application. And, especially, we have to replace the old barbarous brakes of celibacy, late marriage, prostitution, and venereal disease, which are still very too prevalent, by the modern humanitarian, hygienic brake of contraception.

All this explanation and analogy is very wearisome, but it is absolutely necessary for neo-Malthusians to expose to ordinary persons the absurd fallacies which demagogues and economic experts alike attempt to pass off as genuine.

U. S. A. needs a high quality population more than a larger quantity. She needs more of her children already born—to be reared into decent citizenship—not more to be born into destitution and poverty.

Civilize the Reproductive Instinct.

Adolphe Pinard, member of the Academy of Medicine of Paris, says:

Researches relating to physiological heredity and pathological heredity ought to be pursued without interruption, but it is necessary to make known as soon as possible to the masses of the people the individual conditions, fully understood, which alone permit a favorable and healthy procreation. In a word, it is necessary as soon as possible to organize a great movement in order to show to the greatest number of human beings the absolute necessity for a conscientious, i. e., an enlightened procreation. We must bravely approach the civilizing of the reproductive instinct, which alone has remained in a barbarous state amongst all the so-called civilized nations from the earliest times.

We are slaves to think that any former generation had a right to bind us, just as we are tyrants if we think we can bind the generations that are to follow.

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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. *Zadruhy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua 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 Berggren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm Va.
- ITALY (1913).—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.

BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Dr. L. A. Young, 5152 Haverford Ave.

CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.

DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.

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

HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.

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

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.

NEW YORK:

The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.

The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.

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

PATERSON, N. J.—William D. Walker, 1139 Madison Avenue.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.

PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.

ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.

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.

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

Havelock Ellis Number

Birth Control, Morality and Eugenics

By Havelock Ellis

A VICTORY, A NEW YEAR AND A NEW DAY

By Margaret Sanger

JESSIE ASHLEY---A Soul That Marches On

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

MARGARET SANGER
MARY KNOBLAUCH

MAUDE EDGREN
LILY WINNER

And in Recognition of a Vital Spirit that Still Animates this
Magazine, JESSIE ASHLEY.

ART EDITORS

CORNELIA BARNES

LOU ROGERS

VOL. III.



No. 2

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Editorial Comment

WITH THE LAST OUNCE of her strength, with energy that might have overcome the disease to which, on January 20th, she succumbed, Jessie Ashley, a brave soldier in the battle for human liberties, an unfailing champion of the freedom of woman, penned these editorials. The fearless, unconquerable spirit which breathes through them is the spirit that will bring ultimate victory to this cause.

JANUARY WILL HAVE been quite a lively month for the Birth Control movement. First comes one of the now familiar arrests of Margaret Sanger, not because she or anybody else has given out Birth Control information, but because somebody thought it obscene to write a clean, plainly expressed article showing that Birth Control is not abortion and that the latter (as at present practiced, at all events) is a grave danger to women. It would seem fair and wise that women should be informed of these things. But no. Margaret Sanger wrote an article called "Birth Control or Abortion?" the New York Women's Publishing Co. Inc. published it and Kitty Marion sold it. So Margaret Sanger and Kitty Marion were arrested. Let us hope the case will be dismissed. We would like to see that much intelligence shown in these days after the war when we are supposed to have learned so much. (The case has been dismissed).

Then next we have the uncoiling of the "little serpent" that sticks to legal methods. It raises its head, gives a little hiss and away glides toward the portals of the law-making body sitting at Albany. There are many other portals toward which it will glide, later, but just now it glides to Albany. Oh, quietly, you understand, selecting just the right path and just the right men to charm with its doctrine. In other words the

National Birth Control League will send a delegation to the State Capital with the deadly purpose of getting introduced a bill making it legal to give out Birth Control information. Such a bill was introduced two years ago, but did not get out of committee.

THIS TIME THE WOMEN will make a determined fight to accomplish better results. And then everyone will be satisfied. No more illegality, no more arrests, no more bitter resentment. The information will be legally available. Only then the real fight will begin. The fight to see that women may have the information for the asking; the fight to have the whole subject so studied that methods of contraception will be perfected. We fight to make the public see that plain, honest writing is not obscene, even if it deals with the physical facts of sex. The fight for education and sane thinking.

But the question is, can we hope that law makers will act until the public is already acting openly—as it now does secretly when it can? Do laws precede general sentiment or follow it? And does unexpressed general sentiment count? Whether laws come first or laws come last they only matter when the articulate people back of them uphold them.

So the real fight today is not in Washington, Albany, San Francisco or old Boston, but right in the heart of every community, right in the dreadful little tenement rooms, right in the mining districts, the ranches, the schools and colleges, where healthy young people go laughing into horrors, because their education fails to educate.

NATURAL IMPULSES MUST be made enlightened impulses and women living in eternal dread must be taught that they are being cheated of help that the world has at its command. The fact that a strong movement is afoot to change all our obnoxious and injurious laws upon this subject, should not cause a single believer in Birth Control to relax in the efforts that are being made to put Birth Control over anyway—to insist upon Birth Control now, even in face of statutes, magistrates, courts and jails. The rebel spirit is of great social value, it keeps the race from becoming craven. Anyone who believes in the doctrine of Birth Control can find plenty of work to do, plenty of use for spare-or ill spared-money. Every kind of activity is going on right now, in your midst, no matter where you live. So everyone can join the procession whether it be the procession to jail or the procession to visit lawmakers. Both processions count and you can choose the one you like best. All you have to do is to swear to yourself that contraceptive methods of Birth Control shall be made available to women and then pitch in to make them so.

We hope that before we go to press, news will be had of the success of the Albany trip, and that the decision in the case of Margaret Sanger and Kitty Marion will be known. We devotedly hope that in one case the ladies will be warmly received, in the other that they will be kindly dismissed. To be dismissed by the lawmakers would be sad indeed. To be dismissed by the law interpreters would be a triumph. But behind both or either we must rally. If a bill to change the law can be entertained by New York legislators, so can such

(Continued on page 16)

A Victory, A New Year and A New Day

By Margaret Sanger

THE YEAR 1919 is a year of victory. The work for Birth Control is bearing fruit beyond our hopes.

Something more than a mere personal escape from the toils of an outworn legal fiction was involved in the dismissal of the "obscenity" charges against Kitty Marion and myself by Magistrate Eilpern in New York City, January 18th. Our arrest on December 31st, marked the end of the old year—the end of a day that is gone. Our dismissal means it will no longer be so easy for a timorous adherent to wornout dogmas, masking himself safely behind an anonymous communication, to interfere with Birth Control propaganda.

This means a freer sweep for our efforts; it means a wider circulation for THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, more co-operation, new courage, new effectiveness. In itself, it is enough to bring about for the Birth Control movement a new day.

PART OF THE EVIDENCE submitted to show why we should not be held to trial in a higher court consisted of several series of pamphlets on sex matters and venereal disease, issued by the War Department, the Navy Department, the United States Public Health Service, which is a branch of the Treasury Department; the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and the American Social Hygiene Association. These pamphlets, distributed by the millions, were designed for soldiers, for young men, for parents, and for young women! And some of them discussed sex matters with far more frankness than did the article which was complained of. Many others looked as if they might have been in large part rewritten from the book, "What Every Girl Should Know," which covers exactly the same ground as the article which caused the arrest of Miss Marion and myself.

"The so-called obscenity statute is of no effect without a standard" Attorney, J. J. Goldstein, told the court, "What was called obscene yesterday may in the greater light of today be found to be clean and pure. The United States government's own publications may assuredly be accepted as a standard. Some of these pamphlets are a good deal plainer spoken than is Margaret Sanger's article."

Since it is not in conflict with the principle of the "obscenity" laws for the federal government to print and distribute millions of copies of pamphlets which discuss plainly the physiology of sex in men and women in connection with venereal disease, it can hardly be in conflict with these statutes to discuss the same matters in connection with Birth Control.

MISS MARION AND myself were arrested December 31st by Sergeant Mooney of the Thirty-first street police station, New York. He explained that he had received complaints, which he afterwards said were anonymous, against the sale of the magazine on Broadway by Miss Marion and other women, and against its display upon the newsstands. The basis of the formal complaint was the article in the December number entitled "Birth Control or Abortion?"

In that article it was urged that since women limit their families by abortion if by no other means, a free, unhindered spreading of the knowledge of scientific Birth Control would do away with the appalling number of abortions occurring annually in the United States. One authority says there are 1,000,000 each year and another puts the figure even higher.

We were arraigned before Magistrate Eilpern and were released in custody of our attorney. Arguments were heard at our next appearance in court and the case taken under advisement for a few days. At our third appearance, the magistrate announced that he needed more time to consider the case.

January 18th he dismissed us.

"I dismiss the charges upon a strict legal ground" said he "I am not passing upon the merits of Birth Control propaganda. The Appellate Division held in the Mindell case that Margaret Sanger's book, "What Every Girl Should Know" was not obscene, reversing the decision of the Court of Special Sessions, which had convicted. This is the same matter that is involved in the present article. On that ground alone, I dismiss these charges."

THE CASE WOULD seem to dispose of the "obscenity" statute so far as Birth Control propaganda in the state of New York is concerned. The issuance of the "venereal disease" pamphlets by the federal government—the same pamphlets are also being distributed by the New York state department of health—answers objections of masculine-minded puritans who still believe that women can be kept pure through ignorance. At last the state and the nation have come to a more enlightened standard.

Not only have they come to accept this standard, but, alarmed by the terrible results of ignorance to the individual and the state they are insisting upon the light.

They want the light through pamphlets, magazines, the public schools—through all the means of getting light upon sex matters.

In a pamphlet entitled "The Problem of Sex Education in Schools" issued by the United States Public Health Service, distributed by both that service and the Bureau of Venereal Disease of New York state health department, this statement is made:

"It (sex education) includes the whole process of reproduction and nurture of children, the meaning of marriage, prostitution, venereal diseases, illegitimacy and hygiene of sound recreation. These cannot be taught at any one time or place."

IN THE SAME pamphlet, bearing as it does the imprint of the United States government and of the State of New York, this indictment of the ban on sex knowledge is set forth:

"In planning to include sex education in the school curriculum it should be realized that sex in life is not isolated as an experience or as a group of facts. It winds through

many kinds of experiences at different ages and is a part of many kinds of facts. Few branches of knowledge or feeling do not touch sex problems. Few subjects can be taught properly with the sex aspects left out. *An examination of the curriculum shows that society has had an official censor deleting sex from all classroom work under the orders of a now out-worn prudery.* We find sex left out of all subjects no matter how much the omission weakens or even falsifies them. In nature study we begin with the baby animal and end with the death, giving no account of the renewal process; in anatomy while three bodily cavities are named, the organs in only two are fully enumerated; in contagious diseases venereal diseases are omitted; in the selections from literature the sex motives are suppressed; in history and civics their significance is ignored."

IF ANY WORD of rebuke to the suppressors of sex knowledge remained to be said, it was contained in "Facts for Young Women," a pamphlet issued by the New York State Department of Health, under the signature of Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, the commissioner. After describing some of the horrors that have resulted from ignorance of sexual functions, the writer says:

"Is it not time, with our knowledge of these facts, that something should be done to change this deplorable condition? —Is

it not time that women should look the sex problem squarely in the face, devoid of mystery and so-called 'moral issues.'" from a practical and common sense point of view? Is it not time that all girls and young women, the future mothers of the race, should know the truth about the reproductive organs and the diseases which may effect them, so as to preserve their health and that of their offspring?

It is the object of this booklet to teach young women some of the facts which they should know about these vital things."

The world moves and America moves with it. Six or seven years ago the post office department held up copies of "What Every Girl Should Know" as unmailable. Only after a considerable difficulty were the department authorities convinced that there was no violation of the federal laws in sending these books through the mails. Now there are court decisions upholding our contention as to the character of such books.

There are still federal laws against the mailing of contraceptive information. Many states have laws too against communicating this information. Reactionaries still use these statutes to prevent the enlightenment of women and the freeing of them from the burden of too frequent child bearing. But the time is coming—perhaps sooner than some of us can believe—when these mediæval legal monstrosities will follow others of their kind to the dustbin.

Jessie Ashley—A Soul That Marches On

AS THIS NUMBER OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW goes to the printer, one of the brave, animating spirits of the Birth Control movement passes on. Jessie Ashley, who has been acting as managing editor of this magazine and who has been one of the most vigorous factors in the National Birth Control League as well, died of pneumonia on the afternoon of January 20th, at her home, 102 East Fifty-second Street, New York. Ill but a few days, she put the last particle of her strength into the writing of the editorials which appear in this issue, and into an appeal to women to sell THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW upon the streets of every city, town and hamlet in the United States. When, on the day before her death, she recovered consciousness for a brief time, her first thought was of this magazine and a concern, not for her own condition, but lest her illness should interfere with the issuance of this number. Her last act of self-forgetting devotion to the cause more truly illuminates the life and character of Jessie Ashley than any word that may now be said.

PROPPED UP IN BED, stricken with a disease that sapped her physical energies but could not quench her indomitable spirit, she wrote, in the course of her editorials, a final exhortation:

"The fact that a strong movement is afoot to change all our obnoxious and injurious laws upon this subject should not cause a single believer in Birth Control to relax the efforts to put Birth Control over anyway—to insist upon Birth Control now—even in the face of statutes, magistrates, courts and jails. The rebel spirit is of great social value; it keeps the race from

becoming craven. Everyone can join the procession, whether it be the procession to jail or procession to visit the lawmakers."

THAT WAS HER final exhortation. Here is her final plea: *"Don't forget that we want volunteers to sell THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW in every city in the land. And to get it known in every little hamlet too.*

"Buffalo has come to the front and fifty copies have gone up there for sale on the streets. (Had not her illness prevented, her heart would have rejoiced at the knowledge that nearly 1,000 are to go to San Francisco, and that various quantities go to some half dozen other cities.)

"Do likewise in other cities and towns. Send in your names! It is really interesting to sell the magazine and makes one feel part of the great onward woman's movement.

"You in New York, don't forget we want volunteers. New York is many cities in one!

"Send your name to Elisabeth Colt or ——"

There the sentence seems to have broken off. There Jessie Ashley's work seems to have been finished.

HER LAST WORDS ARE passed on to the women of America as she has written them. Her co-workers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW have nothing to add. If you wish like her to have part in this movement, she has told you how. If you wish to participate in the building up of THE REVIEW in order to extend its power for the freedom of woman and for humanity, you can do no better than to sell it on the streets of the city in which you live. No stockholder or editor

receives money from the publication. It is a labor of love. Send your names to Mrs. Elisabeth Colt or to Kitty Marion, Room 2004, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Jessie Ashley was a rebel spirit, a ceaseless fighter for a better day and essentially a feminist. Born of the aristocracy, she revolted against her environment and became a true revolutionist. She came of Mayflower stock, was a sister of Clarence D. Ashley, who until his death was dean of the New York School of Law. Her father was president of the Wabash railway. Dean Ashley was himself something of a feminist, and it was he who organized the first woman's law class. Miss Ashley was his pupil and after her graduation and admission to the bar became one of the instructors of the class. She was the first woman lawyer in New York and was active in the practice until a year or two ago, when other interests prevented.

LAW, HOWEVER, WAS never her chief pursuit. Her nature was too vigorous, too vital, to find its chief expression in an office or in courtrooms. Her great activities in her youth were for reform; in her prime they were revolutionary. Beginning as a suffragist, her work attracted national reputation. It was continued until the time of the Lawrence strike, when she espoused the cause of Ettore and Giovanitti, the I. W. W. leaders then in jail. Powerful opposition in the suffrage ranks led to her severing connection with the movement and from that time on she was intimately connected with some branch revolutionary activity until the afternoon of January 20th, when the editorial pencil fell from fingers too weak to hold it longer.

As a Socialist she was one of that early, fearless group which did much to give Socialism its great foothold upon American soil. She was many times a nominee upon Socialist tickets and was a delegate to the national convention in Indianapolis in 1912.

HER CHIEF INTEREST after the Lawrence strike was in industrial unionism and she co-operated closely with the I. W. W., giving personal and professional service and financial aid without stint. Her courage and unselfishness were in evidence in many of the bitterest strikes. Many of the most important things she has done cannot be spoken of, for inspired with an unflinching modesty, she hid them from public view. It is said of her truly that she was always in the foreground when it took courage to be there; always in the background when there was credit to be gained.

She was especially active some six years ago in the Hotel Worker's strike. In the strikes of women's unions, she was always the first to proffer free professional services and provide the bail necessary to keep the girls out of jail. The money with which she might have lived in idle luxury went constantly into the battle for freedom of the workers, particularly the women workers.

LONG ACTIVE IN THE Birth Control movement, she was at once a leading spirit in the National Birth Control League and one of the most effective factors in that part of the work to which Margaret Sanger and her associates have devoted themselves. She was among those who count it a privilege to be persecuted for this cause and only by an unexpected turn of events did she fail to go to jail for distributing Birth Control pamphlets. She had been arrested, and, upon expressing her determination to carry the case to a higher court, the New York Court of Special Sessions, gave her the alternative of a fine or imprisonment.

Jessie Ashley had a peculiarly honest mind, tolerant as to the convictions of others, uncompromising as to her own. Above all, she was fearless and counted no cost in her work for whatever cause claimed her conspicuous talents.

The Cry for Deliverance

By Mothers of Handicapped Children

FROM THE LIPS of the mothers of handicapped children, from the bearers of the unfit, comes up the cry for Birth Control. The terrible necessity of these women is an unanswerable indictment to a blind order of things which still makes it a crime to send them by mail, and in many states to impart to them by any means whatsoever, that knowledge of their reproductive functions and of contraceptives which will make it possible for them to cease populating the world with children that are physically below normal and potential, when not actual, burdens to society.

Every student of the problems of racial betterment who desires to get beyond theory must sooner or later come to consider at firsthand the situation of these women and that of their children. The letters reproduced on this page are firsthand information as to actual conditions. They speak for themselves of the helplessness of their writers—a helplessness

which, as the letters prove, must continue while the knowledge of Birth Control methods are denied the masses.

What else has science to offer these women save contraceptives? And what can help them until they are permitted knowledge of Birth Control?

Did This Birth Help the Race?

"My dear Mrs. Sanger:—

"I was told you would give good healthful advice to women in regard to limitation of offspring. I have one small boy and my physician told me under the circumstances it would be better for me to have no more children but he did not tell me how to prevent it.

"My husband is extremely nervous and desired no children. Before my boy was born things were made very unpleasant for me and I was reminded in every way that I could have pre-

vented the state of affairs. Consequently I brought into the world a very nervous baby which cried on the least provocation; making my husband almost frantic. Many a night I have nursed my baby all night long, so as to have peace. I live in mortal terror of becoming pregnant again."

Can These Children Be Strong?

"Dear Mrs. Sanger:—

"I am writing to you in hope you may be able to send me some literature regarding Birth Control.

"I am twenty-five years old, have been married five years and have four children, the youngest two months. I am not very well, only weighing 96 lbs. having lost 30 lbs. since I began to bear children.

"My husband earns \$18.00 per week and I find that it takes careful planning to make this amount sufficient. I consider I have done my duty to the commonwealth and would be sincerely grateful if you would help me. I think Birth Control is a splendid reform and wish I could help. I am enclosing stamps and hope for a reply."

One of the Many

"Dear Madam:—

"I have seen your address in the paper *Prosvete*. My husband he got that paper and he read what you have done for the poor people. Please send me your advice if you can. I ask you with all my heart. I have had 7 babies already and I am only 24 years old. I am all broke and run down in

poor health and my husband he is in poor health. He can't work steady all the time.

"I would like to help myself if I could do so, so I will have no more children. I have too many now already, and in this town where I live there is a lot and lots of poor women just like me."

Eight in Thirteen Years

"Margaret Sanger:—

"I am writing to you to see if you can help me out. I have had 8 babies in the last 13 years, one is dead, so have 7 left. They are all very dear to me but do hope I don't have to have any more. Am a farmer's wife and am busy from morning till ten at night. Can you tell me something that will help me not have any more. A friend gave me your address. Am so in hopes I will hear from you soon. My baby is eighteen months old."

A Weakly Mother of Fifteen

"Dear Madame:—

"I take the liberty to write you. I have read all about you. I understand that you have the secret of how to control the birth rate. Now if you know that why would you not let me into the secret also. I am a mother of fifteen children, the oldest 23 and the youngest a baby of five months. I am a very weakly woman of 40 and stand in deadly fear of more children. I do not know of any way to prevent pregnancy.

"I sent and got one of your books called 'What Every Mother Should Know,' liked it real well. Now if you will send me that information you will have my everlasting gratitude."

Havelock Ellis—An Appreciation

IT IS WITH a sense of gratitude that the editors of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW* devote this issue of the magazine largely to a recognition of the work of Havelock Ellis. The labors of this genius, unique in history, to bring to women and to men alike, a better understanding of woman and her physical, mental and spiritual creative functions cannot be too gratefully acknowledged nor too frequently emphasized.

It is his privilege to be a pioneer in a great movement as yet little understood by the masses of humanity or even the majority of the intellectuals. For Havelock Ellis has shed the light of his genius upon many inter-related questions and ideas, some of which are just being understood and some of which must wait for further illumination in the day that is now at dawn.

In generations yet to come posterity will recognize Havelock Ellis as one who opened the spiritual portals of the Twentieth Century and revealed sex as a spiritual factor in the lives of men and women, particularly of women. He has helped woman to understand herself and the sex urge of her mate. He has shown the spiritual importance of the creative urge in itself

and has brought to woman an inspired knowledge of the use and expression of that impulse.

In this alone, if he had done nothing more, he has rendered incalculable aid in bringing about a better era for womankind. Helping to free woman's creative functions of the chains of ignorance, superstition and prudery, helping her to lift herself above the level of a subservient breeder of undesired and unfit children or the passive object of unenlightened physical appetites, he has done a heretofore unparalleled service to the world. For, as few understand so well as he, the social and spiritual values of woman's creative nature have heretofore been hideously wasted. When they are no longer wasted, when they become a positive, free, untrammelled force, the first great step will have been taken toward wiping out poverty, disease and the appalling sum of human wretchedness.

It is for these things that generations yet unborn will remember Havelock Ellis. It is this service which *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*, devoted to the fundamental movement for the freedom of woman is most happy to acknowledge, hoping by the acknowledgement to call some further attention to one of the most essentially fruitful careers of our times.

Birth Control in Relation to Morality and Eugenics

By Havelock Ellis

NONE WHO HAS studied the subject in this article will easily believe that a tendency so deeply rooted in nature as Birth Control can ever be in opposition to morality. It can only seem to be so when we confuse the eternal principles of morality, whatever they may be, with their temporary applications, which are always becoming modified in adaptation to changing circumstances.

We are often in danger of doing injustice to the morality of the past, and it is important, even in order to understand the morality of the present, that we should be able to put ourselves in the place of those for whom Birth Control was immoral. To speak of Birth Control as having been immoral in the past is, indeed, to under-estimate the case; it was not only immoral, it was unnatural, it was even irreligious, it was almost criminal. We must remember that throughout the Christian world the Divine Command "Increase and Multiply" has seemed to echo down the ages from the beginning of the world. It was the authoritative command of a tribal God who was, according to the scriptural narrative, addressing a world inhabited by eight people. From such a point of view a world's population of several thousand persons would have seemed inconceivably vast, though today by even the most austere advocate of birth limitation it would be allowed with a smile. But the old religious command has become a tradition which has survived amid conditions today unlike those under which it arose. In comparatively modern times it has been re-imposed from unexpected quarters, on the one hand by all the forces that are opposed to democracy and on the other by all the forces of would-be patriotic militarism, and both alike clamoring for plentiful and cheap men.

Even science, under primitive conditions, was opposed to Birth Control. Creation was regarded as a direct process in which man's will had no part, and knowledge of nature was still too imperfect for the recognition of the fact that the whole course of the world's natural history has been an erection of barriers against wholesale and indiscriminate reproduction. Thus it came about under the old dispensation, which is now forever passing away, to have as many children as possible and to have them as often as possible—provided certain prescriptions were fulfilled—seemed to be religious moral, natural, scientific and patriotic duty.

TODAY THE CONDITIONS have altogether altered, and even our own feelings have altered. We no longer feel with the ancient Hebrew, who has bequeathed his ideals though not his practices to Christendom, that to have as many wives and concubines and as large a family as possible is both natural and virtuous. We realize, moreover, that the Divine Commands, so far as we recognize any such commands, are not external to us, but are manifested in our deliberate reason and will. We know that to the primitive men who lacked foresight and lived mainly in the present, only that divine command could be recognizable which sanctified the impulse of

the moment, while to us, who live largely in the future, and have learnt foresight, the divine command involves restraint on the impulse of the moment. We no longer believe that we are divinely ordered to be reckless or that God commands us to have children whom, as we ourselves know, are fatally condemned to disease or premature death. Providence, which was once regarded as the attribute of God, we regard as the attribute of men; providence, prudence, self-restraint, these are to us the characteristics of moral men, and those persons who lack these characteristics are condemned by our social order to be reckoned among the dregs of mankind. It is a social order which in the sphere of procreation could not be reached or maintained except by the systematic control of offspring.

We may realize the difference between the morality of today and the morality of the past when we come to details. We may consider, for instance, the question of the chastity of women. According to the ideas of the old morality, which placed the whole question of procreation under the authority (after God) of men, women were in subjection to men, and had no right to freedom, no right to responsibility, no right to knowledge, for it was believed, if entrusted with any of these she would abuse them at once. That view prevails even today in some civilized countries and middle-class Italian peasants, for instance, will not allow their daughter to be conducted by a man even to Mass, for they believe that as soon as she is out of their sight, she will be unchaste. That is their morality. Our morality today, however, is inspired by different ideas, and aims at a different practice. We are by no means disposed to rate highly the morality of a girl who is only chaste so long as she is under her parent's eyes; for us, indeed, that is much more like immorality than morality.

We are today vigorously pursuing a totally different line of action. We wish women to be reasonably free, we wish them to be trained in the sense of responsibility for their own actions, we wish them to possess knowledge, more especially in that sphere of sex, once theoretically closed to them, which we now recognize as peculiarly their own domain. Nowadays, moreover, we are sufficiently well acquainted with human nature to know, not only that at best the 'chastity' merely due to compulsion or to ignorance, is a poor thing, but that at worst it is really the most degraded and injurious form of unchastity. For there are many ways of avoiding pregnancy beside the use of contraceptions, and such ways can often only be called vicious, destructive to purity, and harmful to health. Our ideal woman today is not she who is deprived of freedom and knowledge in the cloister, even though only the cloister of her home, but the woman who being instructed from early life in the facts of sexual physiology and sexual hygiene, is also trained in the exercise of freedom and self-responsibility, and able to be trusted to choose and to follow the path which seems to her right. That is the only kind of morality

which seems to us real and worth while. And, in any case, we have now grown wise enough to know that no degree of compulsion and no depth of ignorance will suffice to make a girl good if she doesn't want to be good. So that, even as a matter of policy, it is better to put her in a position to know what is good and to act in accordance with that knowledge.

The relation of Birth Control to morality is, however, by no means a question which concerns women alone. It equally concerns men. Here we have to recognize, not only that the exercise of control over procreation enables a man to form a union of faithful devotion to the woman of his choice at an earlier age than would otherwise be possible, but it further enables him, throughout the whole of married life, to continue such relationship under circumstances which might otherwise render them injurious or else undesirable to his wife. That the influence thus exerted by preventive methods would suffice to abolish prostitution it would be foolish to maintain, for prostitution has other grounds of support. But even within sphere of merely prostitutional relationships the use of contraceptives, and the precautions and cleanliness they involve have an influence of their own in diminishing the risks of venereal disease, and while the interests of those who engage in prostitution are by some persons regarded as negligible, we must always remember that venereal disease spreads far beyond the patrons of prostitution and is a perpetual menace to others who may become altogether innocent victims. So that any influence which tends to diminish venereal disease increases the well-being of the whole community.

A PART FROM THE relationship to morality—although the two are intimately combined,—we are thus led to the relationship of Birth Control to eugenics, or to the sound breeding of the race. Here we touch the highest ground, and are concerned with our best hopes for the future of the world. For there can be no doubt that Birth Control is not only a precious but an indispensable instrument in moulding the coming man to the measure of our developing ideals. Without it we are powerless in the face of the awful evils which flow from random and reckless reproduction. With it we possess a power so great that some persons have professed to see in it a menace to the propagation of the race, amusing themselves with the idea that if people possess the means to prevent the conception of children they will never have children at all. It is not necessary to discuss such a grotesque notion seriously. The desire for children is far too deeply implanted in mankind, and womankind alike, ever to be rooted out. If there are today many parents whose lives are rendered wretched by large families, and the miseries of excessive child-bearing, there are an equal number whose lives are wretched because they have no children at all, and who snatch eagerly at any straw which offers the smallest promise of relief to this craving. Certainly there are people who desire marriage, but—some for very sound and estimable reasons and others for reasons which may less well bear examination—do not desire any children at all. So far as these are concerned, contraceptive methods, far from being a social evil, are a social blessing.

Nothing is so certain as that it is an unmixed evil for a community to possess unwilling, undesirable, or incompetent

parents. Birth Control would be an unmixed blessing if it merely enabled us to exclude such persons from the ranks of parenthood. We desire no parents who are not both competent and willing parents. Only such parents are fit to father and to mother a future race worthy to rule the world.

It is sometimes said that the control of conception, since it is frequently carried out immediately on marriage will tend to delay parenthood until an unduly late age. Birth Control has, however, no necessary result of this kind, and might even act in the reverse direction. A chief cause of delay in marriage is the prospect of the burden and expense of an unrestricted flow of children into the family, and in Great Britain, since 1911, with the extension of the use of contraceptions, there has been a slight but regular increase not only in the general marriage rate but in proportion of early marriages, although the general mean age at marriage has increased. The ability to control the number of children not only enables marriage to take place at an early age but also makes it possible for the couple to have at least one child soon after marriage. The total number of children are thus spaced out, instead of following in rapid succession.

It is only of recent years that the eugenic importance of a considerable interval between births has been fully recognized, as regards not only the mother—this has long been realized—but also the children.

The very high mortality of large families has long been known and their association with degenerate conditions, and with criminality. Of recent years, however, evidence has been obtained that families in which the children are separated from each other by intervals of more than two years are both mentally and physically superior to those in which the interval is shorter. Thus Ewart found in an English manufacturing town that children born at an interval of less than two years after the birth of the previous child, remain notably defective, even at the age of six, both as regards intelligence and physical development. When compared with children born at a longer interval or with first-born children, they are on the average, 3 inches shorter and 3 pounds lighter than first-born children. Such observations need to be repeated in various countries, but if confirmed it is obvious that they represent a fact of the most vital significance.

THUS WHEN WE calmly survey, in however summary a manner, the great field of life affected by the establishment of voluntary human control over the production of the race, we can see no cause for anything but hope. It is satisfactory that it should be so, for there can be no doubt that we are here facing a great and permanent fact in civilized life. With every rise in civilization, indeed with all revolutionary progress whatever, there is what seems to be an automatic fall in the birth-rate. That fall is always normally accompanied by a fall in the death-rate, so that a low birth-rate frequently means a high-rate of natural increase, since most of the children born survive. Thus in the civilized world of today, notwithstanding the low birth-rate which prevails as compared with earlier times, the rate of increase in the population is still, as Leroy-Beaulieu points out, appalling—nearly half a million a year in Great Britain, over half a million in Austro-

Hungary, and three quarters of a million in Germany. When we examine this excess in detail we find among them a large proportion of undesired and undesirable children. There are two opposed alternative methods working to diminish this proportion: the method of preventing conception, with which we have here been concerned, and the method of preventing live birth by producing abortion. There can be no doubt about the enormous extension of this latter practice in all civilized countries, even although some of the estimates of its frequency in the United States, where it seems especially to flourish, may be extravagant. The burden of excessive children on the over-worked, under-fed mothers of the working classes becomes at last so intolerable that anything seems better than another child. "I'd rather swallow the druggist's shop and the man in it than have another kid," as a woman in Yorkshire said.

Now there has of late years arisen a movement, especially among the German women, for bringing abortion into honour and repute, so that it may be carried out openly and with the aid of the best physicians. This movement has been supported by lawyers and social reformers of high position. It may be admitted that women have an abstract right to abortion and that in exceptional cases that right should be exerted. Yet there can be very little doubt to most people that abortion is a wasteful, injurious, and almost degrading method of dealing with the birth-rate, a feeble apology for recklessness and improvidence. A society in which abortion flourishes cannot be regarded as a healthy society. Therefore, a community which takes upon itself to encourage abortion is incurring a heavy responsibility. I am referring now more especially to the United States, where this condition of things is most marked. For, there cannot be any doubt about it, just as all those who work for Birth Control are diminishing the frequency of abortion, so every attempt to discourage Birth Control promotes abortion. We have to approach the problem calmly, in the light of nature and reason. We have, each of us, to decide on

which side we shall range ourselves. For it is a vital social problem concerning which we cannot afford to be indifferent.

THERE IS HERE no desire to exaggerate the importance of Birth Control. It is not a royal road to the millennium, and as I have already pointed out, like all other measures which the course of progress forces us to adopt, it has its disadvantages. Yet at the present moment its real and vital significance is acutely brought home to us.

Flinders Petrie, discussing those great migrations due to the unrestricted expansion of barbarous races which have devastated Europe from the dawn of history remarks: "We deal lightly and coldly with the abstract facts, but they represent the most terrible tragedies of all humanity—the wreck of the whole system of civilization, protracted starvation, wholesale massacre. Can it be avoided? That is the question, before all others, to the statesman who looks beyond the present time." Since Petrie wrote, less than ten years ago, we have had occasion to realize that this vast expansion of which Petrie wrote, are not confined to the remote past, but are still at work and producing the same awful results, even at the very present hour.

The great and only legitimate apology which has been put forward for the aggressive attitude of Germany in the present war has been that it was the inevitable expansive outcome of the abnormally high birth-rate of Germany in recent times; as Dr. Dernburg, not long ago, put it: "The expansion of the German nation has been so extraordinary during the last twenty-five years that the conditions existing before the war had become insupportable." In other words, there was no outlet but a devastating war. So we are called upon to repeat, with fresh emphasis, Petrie's question: "Can it be avoided?" All humanity, all civilization, calls upon us to take up our stand on this vital question of Birth Control. In so doing we shall, each of us, be contributing, however humbly, to

"One far-off divine event,

To which the whole creation moves."

Havelock Ellis

His View of Women's Nature and Position

By F. W. Stella Browne

GENIUS—ESPECIALLY A trebly complex genius which combines the faculties of logical analysis and intuition with exquisite grace of expression—must ever be difficult to dissect. Yet I think it is evident to any careful student of Havelock Ellis' work, who is also unafraid of life, that his most characteristic quality is the power of seeing things as they are: instead of things as convention, tradition, economic stress, religion, law (to a large extent) and literature complacently assume them to be. This remarkable and unusual quality is most happily and completely expressed in his view of women, their nature and their position in relation to men, and to the social systems of the past, the present and the future.

This view may be summarized as a comprehension alike of women's individuality as human beings and of the destructive needs and nature of their sex. It is equally far removed from the imbecile and coarse contempt of church tradition and the equally imbecile and coarse contempt of the libertine who imagines that he "understands women" because he has frequently consorted with prostitutes, whom he therefore imagines he has the right to despise. At the same time, this view of our great helper, teacher and comrade, is sane and balanced and free from the somewhat sickly idealization of all a woman is and does, an idealization which is not unknown in some "advanced" circles in either England or America, and may be regarded as a degraded relic of the "chivalrous" tradition.

IN NO DIRECTION is Ellis' large sanity and fine-fibred humanity more exemplified than in his attitude towards Birth Control. He has always been a convinced and most effective champion of "intelligent voluntary motherhood." Alike for the child, the mother, and the community. He devotes the most reverent attention to the study of motherhood and the defense of motherhood's right to protection and consideration: but it is a motherhood in harmony with women's intelligence, gravely and gladly adventured, not imposed by alien brutality or carefully cultivated ignorance. There is an extraordinarily poignant and beautiful passage in his "Impression and Comments" on "the mother whose child has no father save God" which may well shame even the puritans into thought and humane action—such of them that is, as are capable of such processes.

Another most striking contribution to the defense of voluntary motherhood is the article on "The Objects of Marriage" written especially for the Birth Control campaign in America, and recently published also in England. *Here he maintains that birth control "by rendering easily possible a selection in parentage and the choice of the right time and circumstances for conception is again the chief key to the eugenic improvement of the race," as well as "effecting finally the complete liberation of the spiritual object of marriage."*

As a human being, compared and contrasted with man—never in a spirit of sex antagonism, but of earnest human fellowship—Havelock Ellis has studied woman in his volume of the Contemporary Science series, embodying the latest European researches, which appeared in its Sixth Edition before the outbreak of the war. It gives an idea of the immensity and complexity of the work in investigation, annotation and comparison which still needs doing before we can forcecast women's most congenial vocation and her probable place in the New Social Order.

He has been found fault with, as a scientific investigator, by some who have not his range and depth of erudition, for a somewhat uncritical attitude towards material of testimony. What this really means is, that his scale of values is not the scale indoctrinated into the academic mind. Ellis learns much from contact with nature and man, and from encyclopædic readings, and has never taken his views or his facts second-hand. He has observed women as citizens and workers and has received their information and comments on their life and work with sane and noble frankness, neither instructing them as to what they felt nor as to what they ought to feel. He has not only observed the rank and file of womankind: he has also been the friend and fellow worker in social and intellectual fields, of such gifted and distinguished women as his wife, the late Edith Ellis, of Olive Schreiner and Ellen Key. This has kept his standard of conduct and achievement for women high and true. He says in "The Task of Social Hygiene": "Responsibility is now demanded where before only tutelage was possible. A civilized society in which women are ignorant and irresponsible is an anachronism."

HAVELOCK ELLIS HAS spoken excellently of woman the worker and citizen, and woman the mother: and above all, of woman the lover and beloved. In **THE BIRTH CONTROL**

REVIEW was first published an exquisite little historical and psychological sketch called "The Love Rights of Women," in which the whole development of the patriarchal order of society and its reactions on the love nature of men and women respectively, are summarized with consummate learning and perfect sympathy. There is no doubt that Ellis' scientific training and long communing with nature in Australian forests and islands have greatly contributed to his unabashed, reverent and attentive attitude towards sex and all its mysterious processes, psychic and physical: and we know also, on good authority, that the great forerunner, James Hinton (himself also a doctor and a poet, and though with less grip on life and less humor than Ellis) influenced him in the same direction. For indeed, to this great high priest of humanity and worker for a beautiful and reasonable social order, women (and men) have revealed their feelings, their perplexities, their joy and grief, sure of his comprehension, his reverence and his sympathy. His knowledge of women's infinite sexual diversity is proved by the wonderful third volume of his "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" which contains an analysis of the special characteristics of the sexual impulse in women, which is unsurpassed in originality and veracity. Again and again, in studying this piece of work, or the chapters on "Marriage," "Prostitution," and "Sexual Morality" and the "Art of Love" in the final volume of the same series ("Sex and Society") one marvels at the profound and delicate knowledge of the most subtle interplay of attraction and repulsion, desire, modesty, affection and love.

These are indeed studies of and revelations in human nature and its glorious possibilities: how different from the dogmatic imbecilities of Acton and Windscheid, to name only two "gynecologists"! As examples of the justice and profound wisdom of his judgements I may cite the psychological portrait of Ninon de l'Euclous (in Vol. VI of the "Studies") and the analysis of the difference between the general tendency of many highly devoted intelligent women to mental, moral and social independence of men, and their frequent specifically sexual pleasure in submission to and suffering by the beloved man: for "women have the laws of their own nature; their development must be along their own lines and not along masculine lines."

And this "development along their own lines" Havelock Ellis has most brilliantly advocated and foretold; economic independence, free motherhood, birth control, freedom of sexual selection, candour and kindness between men and women even in the terrible emotional storms of a great love: love, as an art, and as a creative impulse, energising and beautifying all life.

How can one better describe him than in Margaret Sanger's words: "The greatest emancipator of womanhood!"?

Havelock Ellis—Biographical

TALL, A VERITABLE white giant, shy, democratic in manner, simple in thought and taste, the personality of Havelock Ellis is that of the pioneer. Pioneer he has been in all his more important pursuits. How much or how little the fact that both his parents came of adventurous, sea-faring families may have to do with the bent of one of the most significant

philosophical minds of the present day is an interesting subject for speculation.

Born in Croydon, Surrey, England, February 2, 1859, Henry Havelock Ellis spent much of his childhood at sea. He was educated in private schools and in St. Thomas' Hospital. The first profession of his youth was teaching and his pioneering tendency doubtless asserted itself when he became a teacher in the then undeveloped New South Wales. This occupied the years from 1875 to 1879.

Returning to England, he qualified as a medical man, but practiced for a short period only, having become absorbed in literary work and original scientific investigations. This step launched him upon the career which was to be so fruitful in its benefits to women and to the race.

In 1887 he began his work as editor of the Mermaid Series of Old Dramatists, which was finished in 1889. The following year saw the first of his important original works in print. This was "The New Spirit," which was followed in the same year by "The Criminal." "Man and Woman," a Study of Human Secondary Sexual Characters was issued in 1894.

THEN BEGAN THAT monumental series of studies in the Psychology of Sex, which was to be the philosopher's master work. "Sexual Inversion," which was to take its place as the second of the series, appeared in 1897. "Affirmations"

was brought out in the same year. "The Evolution of Modesty" which was to become the first volume of the series on sex psychology, was published in 1899. Then came "The Nineteenth Century; A Dialogue in Utopia" in 1900 and "A Study of British Genius" in 1904. In the three years beginning with 1903 were issued Volumes 3, 4, 5 and 6 of his great series under the titles, "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse," "Sexual Selection in Man," "Erotic Symbolism" and "Sex in Relation to Society." In the eight years beginning with 1908 came "The Soul of Spain," "The World of Dreams," "The Task of Social Hygiene" "Comments and Impressions," and "Essays in War-Time." All except the very latest of these works have run through many editions.

While this immense volume of work—the more immense when one considers the original scientific investigations necessary to its preparation—was being done, there was an almost constant flow of articles, short treatises and the like, many of which have been reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed widely. It is perhaps not too much to say that Havelock Ellis never made a book for the sake of making a book, but that every volume has been done with the purpose of putting its stamp upon the life of the times. Nor is it too much to say that in no single case has one of these books failed of that purpose.

Birth Control and Racial Betterment

By Margaret Sanger

BEFORE EUGENISTS AND others who are laboring for racial betterment can succeed, they must first clear the way for Birth Control. Like the advocates of Birth Control, the eugenists, for instance, are seeking to assist the race toward the elimination of the unfit. Both are seeking a single end but they lay emphasis upon different methods.

Eugenists emphasize the mating of healthy couples for the conscious purpose of producing healthy children, the sterilization of the unfit to prevent their populating the world with their kind and they may, perhaps, agree with us that contraception is a necessary measure among the masses of the workers, where wages do not keep pace with the growth of the family and its necessities in the way of food, clothing, housing, medical attention, education and the like.

We who advocate Birth Control, on the other hand, lay all our emphasis upon stopping not only the reproduction of the unfit but upon stopping all reproduction when there is not economic means of providing proper care for those who are born in health. The eugenist also believes that a woman should bear as many healthy children as possible as a duty to the state. We hold that the world is already over-populated. Eugenists imply or insist that a woman's first duty is to the state; we contend that her duty to herself is her first duty to the state.

WE MAINTAIN THAT A woman possessing an adequate knowledge of her reproductive functions is the best

judge of the time and conditions under which her child should be brought into the world. We further maintain that it is her right, regardless of all other considerations, to determine whether she shall bear children or not, and how many children she shall bear if she chooses to become a mother. To this end we insist that information in regard to scientific contraceptives be made open to all. We believe that if such information is placed within the reach of all, we will have made it possible to take the first, greatest step toward racial betterment and that this step, assisted in no small measure by the educational propaganda of eugenists and members of similar schools, will be taken.

One fundamental fact alone, however, indicates the necessity of Birth Control if eugenics is to accomplish its purpose. Unless contraceptives are used, a child is likely to be born within a year of the last one. Even when the mother is exceptionally robust this frequent child-bearing is a heavy drain upon her system and nine times in ten, it is a drain upon the offspring. The mother's system has not had time to replenish itself with those elements which have been so radically diminished in bringing the child to birth, and of course it has not had time to establish that reserve stock of these same elements which are necessary to the strength and well-being of the next child. The mother's health is more than likely to be wrecked and the later children are almost sure to fall short of that nervous and muscular health which might otherwise have been theirs.

Thus we hold that the fruits of the most perfect eugenic marriage are likely to be bad health in the mother and in the later children, if Birth Control is not utilized for the purpose of properly spacing the progeny.

THIS PRINCIPLE ASSERTS itself in all of the economic layers of society but its effects may be modified to a considerable extent by those women who have the means to provide adequate care of themselves during the ante-natal period and adequate care of the child after it is born. With the great masses of the people, however, such care is either exceedingly difficult or impossible. Among the majority of wage-workers, the frequent arrival of children means not only the wrecking of the mother's health and the physical handicapping of the child, but often the disheartening and demoralization of the father, the stunting of the children through bad living conditions and early toil, and in that generation or the next, the contributing of morons, feeble-minded, insane and various criminal types to the already tremendous social burden constituted by these unfit.

While I personally believe in the sterilization of the feeble-minded, the insane and the syphilitic, I have not been able to discover that these measures are more than superficial deterrents when applied to the constantly growing stream of the unfit. They are excellent means of meeting a certain phase of the situation, but I believe in regard to these, as in regard to other eugenic means, that they do not go to the bottom of the matter. Neither the mating of healthy couples nor the sterilization of certain recognized types of the unfit touches the great problem of unlimited reproduction of those whose housing, clothing, and food are all inadequate to physical and mental health. These measures do not touch those great masses, who through economic pressure populate the slums and there produce in their helplessness other helpless, diseased and incompetent masses, who overwhelm all that eugenics can do among those whose economic condition is better.

BIRTH CONTROL, ON THE other hand, not only opens the way to the eugenicist, but it preserves his work. Furthermore, it not only prepares the ground in a natural fashion for the development of a higher standard of motherhood and of family life, but enables the child to be better born, better cared for in infancy and better educated.

Birth Control of itself, by freeing the reproductive instinct from its present chains, will make a better race. A family subsisting upon a certain wage will naturally give better care to one or two children upon that wage than it would to four or six or eight or ten, and the two children are much less likely to have to go into child labor factories and sweat-shops than are the eight or ten. The situation is too plain for argument.

Concrete examples of the eugenic effects of Birth Control are the most convincing evidence. In Holland, where Birth Control is taught in clinics conducted by nurses specially trained for that purpose, military statistics show that the average stature of men has increased four inches in thirty years. Ninety per cent. of the men were fit for army service, while in the United States, less than 50 per cent. were.

The fighting qualities of the French poilu, his endurance, and his fitness have been the amazement of military authorities in the Great War. The present generation of Frenchmen, as everyone knows who remembers the horror with which "anti-race suicidists" greeted the French tendency to Birth Control, is the product largely of Birth Control methods.

Eugenics without Birth Control seems to us a house builded upon the sands. It is at the mercy of the rising stream of the unfit. It cannot stand against the furious winds of economic pressure which have buffeted into partial or total helplessness a tremendous proportion of the human race. Only upon a free, self-determining motherhood can rest any unshakable structure of racial betterment.

AND STILL IT MOVES!

By Genevieve Grandcourt

[Respectfully dedicated to all those who have the persecution
bee in their bonnets.]

WHEN GALILEO went abroad
And earnestly did say
That the world is round and turning
On its axis every day,
It made towns shake with laughter,
It made men reel with mirth,
To think we may be standing
On the underside of earth
It is so very funny
That no matter how we try,
We cannot help this crawling
On the ceiling like the fly!
But when the laugh grew louder
And hit the Holy Church,

It is certain it collided
In the process with a lurch.

Soon from counting-house and palace,
Soon from altar and the camp,
Rose the cry quite shrill and sudden—
"What a rascal. What a scamp!
He has ripped the Bible open
And has shot it full of holes.
He is threatening our assistance
To the saving of men's souls!
Get this Galileo; bind him!
Make him say it's no such thing,
Or the sharpest rack and thumb-screw

Shall comprise our answering.

“For, should men begin to question
 Things that *we think* are the truth,
 God Himself would be quite powerless
 In the Heavens in his ruth.
 Should God find that men discover
 Much we teach is out of joint,
 Should he learn that men are growing
 More and more to see the point,
 All this world would tumble over
 In a wide, terrific crash,
 He, Himself, would run to cover
 In the awful cosmic smash!”

No wonder Galileo was stamped by the yell:
 “Stop your teaching, or you’ll send us
 And our children straight to hell.
 Learning is all right for scholars
 If they safely spread it not
 But ’twould surely hurt the people
 —*If they got it!*—quite a lot.
 Here, we have you, bow your head.
 Say it isn’t true ‘You said,’
 Say you’re sorry, or you’ll burn,
 Say the earth upon its axis does not turn,
 Say in full what now behooves—
 And the answer was, ‘I say it,
 But the world—it moves, it moves.’”

Which Is the Better Way?

By Mary DeBrito

How Two Couples Settle the Size of Their Families.

The Circumstances:—

Each couple have three children. They live very economically. The husband’s small salary is used to the last cent. The cost of living is increasing daily and there is positively no chance to provide for another child except by depriving the present children of education and even of the bare necessities of life. Another child would mean a set-back which would involve accepting charity of the state.

or

The husband has contracted tuberculosis or some hereditarily communicable disease,

or

The health of the wife will not permit further childbirth.

The Decision:—

Both couples, knowing that their first duty is to the children they already have, to society, the country and to themselves, and realizing that more children would be a burden on the state, or would take the bread out of the mouths of their present family, decided not to have any more children.

Sanctioned by the church and the “purist”

Couple No. 1

Refrain from sexual relations for a long period, say for four years, in this way permitting the natural seed to pass away as in celibates, unfertilized.

Thus controlling birth by negative methods.

Termed murder by the church and lust by the “purist”

Couple No. 2

Live happily on as husband and wife, and use contraceptive methods for the same period, in this way preventing the fertilization of the seed.

Thus controlling birth by positive methods.

The Results at the End of Four Years

BOTH COUPLES HAVE USED THEIR OWN JUDGMENT AND VOLUNTARILY PREVENTED THE BIRTH OF TWO CHILDREN EACH.

Object: SAME IN BOTH CASES

Result: SAME IN BOTH CASES

Thus: since the intention and the accomplishment were exactly the same in both cases, the sole difference was the way in which the result was accomplished.

Therefore anyone who calls the achievement murder in one case must also agree that it is the same thing in the other case. **BOTH COUPLES ACCOMPLISHED THE SAME END. THEY SUCCESSFULLY PREVENTED THE BIRTH OF MORE CHILDREN OF THEIR OWN ACCORD.**

The matter of the ways and means of bringing about the result is purely a matter of taste. Any self styled “purist” who would limit cohabitation to the intentional reproduction of offspring, should just as consistently subscribe to the doctrine that since the purpose of eating is to maintain life, one should eat only what is sufficient to keep life in the body and that indulgence in dessert is sinful; or since clothes were primarily intended for covering and warmth, no one should wear lace for the pleasure of so doing.

Anyone who delights in the picture of a congenial couple, separated for years, looking at each other through the iron bars of celibacy, (which only too frequently drives weak men into the arms of other women) has a most distorted view of this beautiful relation.

Possession of Birth Control information never leads to excess of indulgence by intelligent and refined people any more than the knowledge that he will not be spanked, necessarily leads any good child to immediately become incorrigible.

This article is contributed by
THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE
 200 Fifth Ave., New York City

The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.
(Continued from January issue.)

WE HAVE NOW ARRIVED at an understanding of the real definition of over-population, which we may restate as follows:—

Over-population exists wherever the attempt of the population to increase by excess of births over a normal death-rate from old-age is greater than the accession to the food supply in the same time. This is equivalent to saying that over-population exists wherever the death-rate is higher than it would be if no under-nutrition existed.

The amount of intensity of the over-population of a community is thus measured by the excess of its death-rate over that which it would have if all its people were properly fed, without undue exertion on their part.

Now we come to the definite challenge. How do we know that this (England) or any other country is over-populated? What are our proofs for such a serious assertion? Can we actually show that the number of births in each year is in excess of the increase of food production.

BEFORE MARSHALLING THE evidence for our contention, we must first consider how we are to prove it. How do we prove any statement? Naturally, we are told, by simply observing whether it is true. If somebody says that this page is of certain dimensions, anyone can verify it by a foot rule. But the great bulk of the measurements and laws of Nature cannot be directly tested. How do we know that this earth is roughly a sphere of 8,000 miles diameter? Not even an astronomer can measure it directly. We cannot even see its shape, and like David Copperfield, at Yarmouth, we may wonder why it seems so flat. But when we have once got the idea we can test it in various ways. We see that as a ship goes further away its hull disappears over the curve of the earth, and we can calculate from that how much the curvature is. We also see that if the world is round, people standing on different parts of it will have different stars above their heads, and we can make further calculations from this. We see that the shadow of the earth on the moon during an eclipse is round, and so on. By these verifications of a mere assumption we have arrived at such certainty that we seem to know the form and dimensions of the earth as definitely as if we had been able to hold it in our hand and measure it.

So it is with practically all the great generalisations or laws of Nature: e. g., the Copernican system, the law of gravitation, the undulatory theory of light, the electron theory, the Darwinian theory of evolution, and last not least the Malthusian theory of over-population. Hardly a single one of these can be verified by direct observation; and, even when they can be, the direct verification is much less convincing and certain than the indirect methods. The law of gravitation asserts that every particle of matter attracts every other particle with a force proportional to the product of the masses, and inversely proportional to the square

of their masses. This law was propounded by Newton in 1685, and it has been used by astronomers and engineers for the most important calculations, but the forces between ordinary bodies are so small that it was not till 1798 that Cavendish was able to devise a balance sensitive enough to actually detect them. Even when the experiment was made it added nothing to our certainty of the truth of the law. Again, the wave

Financial Statement

(For THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW from March 1, 1918 to December 31, 1918).

Dec. 31, 1918	Dr.	Cr.
Unissued Capital Stock	\$ 8,090.00	
Capital Stock authorized		10,000.00
Goodwill	182.37	
Margaret Sanger, for printing and office expenses		143.87
Printing Birth Control Review, 10 issues	1,609.37	
Birth Control Review, postage	15.91	
Printing and Stationery	133.55	
Folding and mailing	114.29	
Office salaries	742.00	
Rent	150.03	
General Expense	282.23	
Furniture and Fixtures	61.50	
Advertising	116.77	
Cuts and Drawings	175.00	
Organization Expense	68.85	
Subscriptions and Office Sales		1,388.39
Street Sales		359.40
Donations		44.50
Miscellaneous Income		18.00
Subscribers to Capital Stock	13.00	
Subscription to Capital Stock		20.00
Cash	219.29	
	<u>\$11,974.16</u>	<u>\$11,974.16</u>

At the time the New York Women's Publishing Co. took over THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW from Mrs. Sanger, THE REVIEW owed \$182.37. The Publishing Co. assumed this debt and it appears in the Report as "Goodwill." The account credited to Mrs Sanger includes this amount and the furniture and fixtures, \$61.50 which were bought from Mrs. Sanger by the Publishing Co. One hundred dollars of this debt has already been paid by the Publishing Co. which reduces it to \$143.87 as shown in the Report.

The New York Women's Pub. Co., Inc.
FRANCES B. ACKERMANN,
Treasurer.

theory of light asserts that from every luminous body waves or ripples spread out in all directions. These ripples are so small and travel so fast that they never have been and never will be seen, yet we know that they travel at the rate of 186,000 miles in a second, and that the waves of yellow light from ordinary salt in a flame are only a fifty-thousandth of an inch apart and vibrate 500 billion times each second. However inconceivable these figures sound, they are known with much greater certainty and precision than the size of this page or the speed of a railway train can be measured, and no two persons who have studied the subject would have any disagreement concerning them.

HOW THEN ARE THESE laws and measurements established? They are arrived at by what may be termed the "scientific method" of demonstration, initiated by Aristotle and perfected by Bacon. This method consists of four processes:—

- (1). Observation. (2). Induction. (3). Deduction. (4). Verification.

The first step is to observe as many phenomena as possible which are apparently connected and controlled by some general law. The next is to collect them together and to imagine or induce some general explanation or law which will account for all of them. Thirdly, we take the opposite step of deducting or reasoning from this general law some new consequences which were not among the phenomena originally observed.

DO YOU WANT TO BE IN THE FIGHT FOR BIRTH CONTROL?

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And lastly we go back to observation and ascertain whether the deductions we have made from the law are verified. If so it cannot necessarily be claimed that the law is proved, but it is not disproved, and the probability of its truth is rendered greater, greater in number and the more crucial the verifications.

As an example of this process let us take the law of gravitation. Kepler had established the movements of the planets from observation, Galileo those of the pendulum and the laws

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of motion. Newton, by considering these phenomena and also those of falling bodies, conceived the idea that they could all be accounted for by an attraction between the sun and planets, or between earth and bodies near it. The laws of Kepler and Galileo enabled him to put this principle into mathematical shape and enunciate the law of gravitation. Next came the deduction and verification stages. Newton himself deduced the effect of the earth's gravitational pull on the moon and found it to agree with the moon's rotation. Later, an extremely crucial verification of it was given independently by Adams and by le Verrier, who found by certain very small irregularities or perturbations in the orbit of the planet Uranus that there must be some other planet attracting it. By calculation from the law of gravitation they were able to predict where this planet would be, and upon turning a telescope in

the direction calculated the planet Neptune was seen almost exactly in the predicted position. From that time to the present the law of gravitation has been regarded as established and its correctness has been more and more justified by every calculation made from it. The direct experimental verification of the law by Cavendish, though of the highest interest, was of very small importance in the list of verifications.

[To be Continued]

Editorial Comment

(Continued from page 2)

a bill be entertained in every other state where it is needed. So can it be entertained under the great old dome at Washington. If the case against Margaret Sanger and Kitty Marion is held for trial we must show our determination to stamp out such antique injustice and stupidity. If it is dismissed—then on with THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. Come support it!

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

Hard Facts—Legislators, Six-Hour Weeks and Birth Control—
A Parents' Problem or Woman's?—Birth Control and the Great
War—The Woman Spirit and the Better Day—The Editor's
Uneasy Chair—Book Reviews—Editorials—Verse—Cartoon

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

MARGARET SANGER
MARY KNOBLAUCH

MAUDE EDGREN
LILY WINNER

And in Recognition of a Vital Spirit that Still Animates this Magazine, JESSIE ASHLEY.

ART EDITORS

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LOU ROGERS

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1919

Editorial Comment

By Mary Knoblauch

OPEN COVENANTS, openly arrived at. That is today the cry of the people. Even the diplomats of the old regime, who don't like the idea at all, are wary of disclosing their objections lest the flickering flame of their uncertain life be snuffed out by too strong a breath of popular resentment. The people are everywhere shaking off the hypnotic sleep of ages dead and gone and are insisting, with an ever-growing positiveness of accent that, as they have to fight the battles and pay the costs, they should know the tune for which they and their children must pay the piper. This attitude of mind is not confined to the world of politics. Men and women have awakened to the fact that knowledge is power and sanity. They are tired of stumbling through life blindly. They are tired of the impotence of saying after every fresh disaster. "If I had only known."

Tradition, that desolate old creature who refuses all light from either the past or the present, and crouches, shuddering, before the future, has done no greater harm anywhere than in refusing knowledge upon the fundamental questions of sex to men and women. Woman has suffered the most, of course—although it is perhaps the children who bear the ultimate unmerited penalty—because in her case ignorance and innocence, which should be opposed to reach other, have been inextricably mixed up.

IN A MOST ILLUMINATING PAMPHLET on "What Young Men and Girls Should Know," published in 1916, Valentine Grandjean, of the Geneva council, speaks thus directly on this theme:

"We believe that we may address boys and girls at the same time, esteeming it to be useful and necessary that the two sexes should mutually understand each other and all that concerns them. We are enemies of all hypocritical prudery. We see no valid reason for concealing from young girls the truth about the other sex."

Unhappily we are still lagging behind. While other countries have conducted a vigorous campaign for sex instruction for the young, even some of our scientific—or so-called scientific—people still harp on the right time, right person and right place for such instructions. Of course, all these things should be "right," even if it is only a nose that is being discussed, but scientific facts should be scientifically explained in regard to each and all of the organs and no one of them should be de-based by a mawkish personal approach.

EVERY COUNTRY IS NOW ENGAGED also in combatting venereal disease, and that quite openly. This hopeful sign of the honesty of the times, has at last taken root here although it is only two years since it was considered "unpatriotic" to admit that in "our camps," for instance, "our boys" could possibly get in such predicaments. In another year or so, let us hope we shall see the necessity of discussing the proper limitation of families, just as they are doing all over Europe today, with no fear of the post-mortem influence of a Comstock.

In France, in England, books on the subject of how to limit families are freely circulated. Open meetings to discuss the subject as a means of race conservation are held. Members of Parliament, physicians, literary men, lend their energies to this movement, which, as Arnold Bennet says, concerns "millions and tens of millions of potential parents who need advice about birth regulation," and who suffer horribly, because they do not get it. In France in 1910, the thesis of Sebastien Faure was maintained in the hall of the "Societen Savantes" that you should not have children except when you wanted them. You should have the wisdom not to want them, except when you were in a condition to transmit to them a healthy and vigorous constitution and to assure to them in the triple domain, physical, intellectual and moral, the development to which they have a right and which you owe to them.

THIS MAY SEEM a strong dose for us today. Yet it is nine years ago that the stenographic report of this meeting was circulated throughout France in conjunction with a manual of contraconceptive methods. In the meantime our respected and respectable contemporary, *American Motherhood*, in a splendid article entitled "The Court of Domestic Affairs," says to its readers in answer to hundreds of letters asking for contraceptive information, "We cannot give information. There is a law which prevents it." We can only say to those who beg us for some help or information which would restore a woman to health, a mother to her children, and a wife to her husband—"keep on asking and demanding this information until the laws are so adusted that it may be given."

Open diplomacy, the truth about themselves, that is what we want for the man, the woman, the child and the race.

Hard Facts

THE FOLLOWING CASES from the records of nurses in the poorer districts of New York City speak for themselves

The first cases enumerated are from the records of a nurse who has worked chiefly among Italian families in the lower East Side. She sent them in answer to the question: "Why do you believe in Birth Control?" Her answer was—to avoid the awful waste of time, strength, life and money.

These cases were typical of the many which had come to her notice and induced her belief: "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.

"Two of the other children have rachitic deformities. Of the fifteen pregnancies, one resulted in a miscarriage.

"Nine children died during infancy, or under two years of age, 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 long after the milk had lost its value as nourishment. This one thing, is, I believe, the greatest wrong done to babies among the poorer classes. The women hope in this way to escape pregnancy—an erroneous method of birth control. This explains the reason for the great number of children who are afflicted with bow legs, knock-knees and the various deformities resulting from the lack of proper bone-making materials.

"I have another broken-down little woman who married at sixteen—and when twenty-six years old had been ten times pregnant. She has borne two sets of twins, twelve children in all. Of these only six lived and four have bow legs.

ANOTHER WOMAN HAS five living children out of eleven pregnancies. Of the living children, one child is mentally deficient, and not one of the five is sound physically. Three died during infancy, and three criminal abortions were performed. At the present time she is in a very unhealthy condition and barely escaped death after the last abortion.

"Another very sad case (and it is only one of many) is that of a woman who lost her life from an abortion leaving six little children. And so I could go on and on telling of various cases. Let us sum it up, not in the question, "Why have so many children?"—but, "Why have so many pregnancies?"

HERE ARE SOME of the tragedies I have met with in my ward visits," writes another nurse:

"In each case I think much suffering and sorrow could have been spared if the mothers had been taught birth control. The unborn child also has to be considered.

"In the case of Dora A. I not only think she should be taught birth control, but any man who claims he cannot make enough to pay more than \$6 rent in a basement, ought to be taken in hand and compelled to realize he cannot bring chil-

dren into the world and not provide for them. To all appearances the man is healthy and able-bodied.

"Mary S. is 26; has been married five years; has four living children. Mary looked very white and tired when the baby was born and as usual when visiting the maternity ward I asked Mary if she would like to go to the country for a rest and convalescent care. Her answer was, "I don't want the country. My husband has a business and makes a good living"; but I shall not forget in a long time her hunted look and her demand: "I want rest from having babies. I can't stand it much longer. I shall go mad. Think of four children—four, three, one and one-half and the new baby! If you know anything that can help me and other women like me, why don't you teach us?"

BERTHA L. IS 35. She is epileptic and has tuberculosis.

There are four children—twelve, nine, six and two—and she has had a number of miscarriages in between. Three weeks after the two-year old child was born, the mother, while preparing supper, fell on the lighted stove in an epileptic seizure and burned her arm very severely. During pregnancy and nursing period these epileptic seizures are more frequent. Of the four children there is not one well child. Two have congenital heart trouble, two are under observation for tuberculosis. The mother is a poor, sick wreck. Her one request is "Tell me how not to have children."

"Mollie K. was 34 years old. She was brought to the hospital three weeks after the birth of her twelfth child; only five of her children are living. I asked the nurse in charge what was the matter with Mollie. 'I do not know,' was the reply, 'except Mollie says she just can't get well since the baby was born. She says she is so tired.'

"Mollie and I had many little talks. Mollie told me she was so tired having babies that she did not believe she would get well again. Then everything was so dear and her man only made \$20 a week and it was work, work, work, and babies all the time. We tried to coax Mollie along and get her courage back again, with promises of a trip to the country. We told her we would send her to a nurse who would tell her how she could have a rest and no more babies. The heroic little soul made a brave fight for ten weeks. The doctors called her illness Septicemia—but ought to have added 'death due to exhaustion from having too many children.' Her five children are scattered among relatives."

DORA A. IS 39 YEARS OLD. She has four children, and lives in a basement. The rent is \$6. The man was asked why he lived in such a dark, dingy place where gas had to be burned all day. We tried to explain to him it would be better to move to lighter rooms and pay the landlord more and the gas company less. We offered to move the man and family to better quarters. His answer was, "What then? Who is going to keep up the rent?"

"Dora was white, anaemic, underfed and unable to furnish a single garment for the new arrival. The hospital had to furnish clothing for the infant and nourishment for the mother to gain strength during her convalescent period. The patient said, 'God knows this child was not wanted, but I could not help myself.' Upon her leaving the hospital I asked her what she was most in need of. She replied: 'Lessons in how to have no more babies, as we cannot feed the children we have and I get weaker all the time.'

"The man is illiterate and incompetent, his earning capacity being \$10 to \$12 per week.

BECKIE B. IS 28 and her seven children, aged nine, seven, five, four, three, one and one-half years and two months. The mother is anemic and suffers from rheumatism. She spends about six months in the year in the hospital. Her old mother takes care of the children the best she can. The husband is so erratic that he is unable to provide for the family. They are assisted some times by the charities, sometimes by the hospital. About four months ago the husband went violently insane and is at present in a sanatorium. While we were making the application to have the man committed, Beckie confessed that shortly after they were married 'he went crazy' and she had to put him away,—(Oh had he stayed away!). Not one child looks healthy and all at the present time are in children's homes. Beckie is living from one relative to another, unable to care for herself.

These children surely have been brought into the world under unfair chances of growing up with any care from father or mother.

ANOTHER CASE HAS BEEN reported by a worker in one of our hospitals, who believes in quality children.

A woman living in three dark rooms in the lower East Side, makes her living as janitress of the house. She has been married sixteen years and has had eight living, and two dead children in that time. The husband is an habitual drunkard and a gambler. The financial status of this family is nil. The oldest child is fifteen and helps to support the family, as she earns nine dollars a week. A younger boy of thirteen works after school and earns a little toward the support of the family. The other children are sick and so underfed that they cannot resist stealing food from push carts in the street.

If this woman has another baby she is not physically fit to produce a healthy one. Her children have no chance for an education and can only grow up, if they live, as demoralized, degraded men and women, unworthy citizens and menaces to the community. This mother is nothing but a human breeding machine, an unwilling one at that.

Is such a state of affairs beneficial to the state? When will our government see the necessity of allowing the practices of Birth Control for such women as this? Women who are better off can usually get the information. What justification is there for withholding it from such as these?

Legislators, Six-Hour Weeks and Birth Control

By *Mary Ware Dennett*, Executive Secretary of the National Birth Control League

THE LEGISLATORS OF New York seem to be par excellence the leisure class. They have achieved a six-hour week! In these days of battling for forty-eight and forty-four hour weeks, that is something of an achievement.

They convene Monday evening, usually with a two-hour session, and on the three succeeding mornings, with sessions from one and one-half hours to ten minutes in length. When out of session some few of them are in committee but the majority are fled—it is hard to know where.

For the ordinary citizen with a bill in hand which it is desired to have introduced, such a situation is a problem. The whole session is only ninety days—and with legislative week-ends lasting from Thursday noon till Monday evening, the time available for interviewing members and securing desirable sponsors for the bill is reduced to an appalling minimum.

However, like the public, the legislators are surely moving on toward an understanding of what the Birth Control movement really means. Out of the twenty-seven members interviewed in the last few days, only one declared himself positively opposed to the bill, and he decided after ten minutes discussion, that he might perhaps be open-minded after all.

IT SEEMS TO TAKE about three-quarters of an hour to answer all the objections the average legislator can think of, and leave him wondering what he can do next to live up to his preconceived notion that he was opposed. More often

than not, they end by cordially admitting that they really have no arguments against the bill—merely a vague aversion to the consideration of the subject as a matter of public or legislative responsibility.

They mostly ask the same questions and voice the same fears about removing the law which tries (so vainly) to suppress birth control information.

They say, "Yes, but if everybody knows how to avoid having children, there won't be any children!"

Then we carefully iron out their fears by showing them that prophecies as to how it *might* work out are not worth so much as testimony on how it *does* work out. We tell them of Holland and New Zealand, the two prize birth control countries of the world—how Holland has had a ratio of increase in population next to that of Germany and Russia—that New Zealand is a garden country for babies, that they make a fine art of motherhood there, with their wonderful chain of maternity hospitals, and that Holland and New Zealand have the lowest general and baby death rates in the world.

WITH THE RACE suicide bogey out of the way, they go on to their next fear, which is that there will be a terrifying drop in moral standards if contraceptive information is easily available.

Then again we reassure them by citing the other countries

which have no shocking repressive laws like ours, but which nevertheless do not show any records of general promiscuity and unbridled excess, or of sexual laxity among the young. We go further, and remind them that if it be true that the mass of our American young people would have so little moral anchorage that we should fear to trust them with knowledge, then something is awfully the matter with us of the older generations who have reared them, and that it is for us to hasten to develop a keener sense of responsibility for the education of *all* young people, as well as those of our families. And they all respond to this appeal. They would obviously feel ashamed not to.

Another idea they advance with confidence is that "practically everyone can now get the information who really wants it." And we reply, "Well if that be true, and the law is already so much of a dead letter as that, then why hesitate a moment to repeal it?" But we tell them, of course, that it is not true that everyone has the information who wants it, as is proven by the incessant stream of desperate, ill and unhappy people who clamor for it, also that much of the information which is now illegally and secretly circulated, especially that which is verbal, is inadequate, unscientific and even harmful, and that it is bound to be so till the medical schools include this subject in their curricula and until the doctors can give the information without evading the laws.

THEN THEY RESORT to the cynical conclusion that it wouldn't do much good to repeal the laws anyway, because the rich who oughtn't to use the information would do it even more than they do now, and the result would be still fewer children, while the "ignorant poor," who ought to use it, wouldn't, and the horde of "undesirables" would go on increasing just the same.

And again we present the instance of Holland where the rich average larger, and the poor, smaller families than any other country in Europe. And we gently remind them that the use of contraceptives can never be made compulsory, nor can anyone frame legislation which will open the eyes of the selfish rich to the joys and values of parenthood. These results can come from education, not from legislation. All that the laws can do is to give freedom of access to knowledge, but the wise use of knowledge, is a matter of mental, moral, and spiritual growth.

And they admit that too.

They look very serious and responsible by the time they arrive at saying, "Yes, but what methods do you propose to teach?" Some of them even assume that somehow or other we think the law itself can *establish good methods!* Whereupon we make it plain that the question of methods is the sphere of the medical scientists, that it is not for us laymen to presume to teach, and much less is it possible for the laws to determine methods. All the laws can do is to give freedom to the scientists to give to the world the knowledge that has been locked in their brains and only given out surreptitiously on occasion. And all we ask is the opportunity to help to make the knowledge of the scientists accessible to all who need it.

THEIR FINAL QUESTION is "who wants these laws changed, where is the demand?" We tell them that practically everyone wants it who understands it, and that brings up a most significant phase of the birth control movement, which has a unique psychology, in that the mass of people who want information and want the laws changed so they can get it, do not and will not shout their wishes from the housetops. The nature of the subject is one which largely inhibits an *articulate* demand. If one wants amusing evidence of that, witness the side-long way in which would-be purchasers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW on Broadway, slip up to Kitty Marion with the exact change in hand and with one motion only and all speed, make their purchase and flee, lest they be observed. But that the majority of the people want it, and are ready to say so, if they can do it without being conspicuous is remarkably well proven by the article elsewhere in this issue, entitled: "Do the People want it?"

WE NEVER FAIL to impress it on the legislative mind that in the last analysis the present laws are absolutely inconsistent with the principle of freedom to know, to think and to do, on which this country is supposed to be founded and that it is outrageous that the government should attempt to place any barriers between the people and knowledge; that the government may rightly discipline people whose abuse of knowledge infringes upon the rights of others, but there it must stop. It can not curb the freedom of citizens to know all there is to know.

And they admit that, too.

They are amusing in their demands upon us as to the proper way of winning the change of the laws. Some tell us, "You just show us enough demand for this thing and it will go through. If the people want it, let them speak up." Others say, "Now, if you would only see that this thing is *quietly* accomplished, with no noise, no public hullabaloo, no newspaper headlines, no publicity, etc., it would be a simple matter for us to put this bill right through as a matter of obvious public welfare."

However, on the whole, their attitude is most encouraging. At a guess, probably two-thirds of those already interviewed will vote in favor of our bill.

From this point on, practically everything depends upon the amount of work done by the believers in birth control in New York State. Now is the time to write to your Senator and Assemblymen. Remember that no legislative committee of the Birth Control League alone can repeal this law. So do your part and do it quickly.

Volunteer!

Volunteers are need to sell the Birth Control Review in both New York and other cities. A few women interested in the movement are selling the magazine on the streets daily in New York City. Anyone willing to help in this work should communicate with Elizabeth Colt, in care of The Birth Control Review, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A Parents' Problem or Woman's?

By Margaret Sanger.

This article by Margaret Sanger closes the discussion of this subject, which has been given space in several numbers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW.

MANY PEOPLE WHO believe in Birth Control as the means of voluntary motherhood say that the propaganda of the movement is directed too much to women and too little to men. They contend that the appeal should be to men quite as much as to women and that a strong effort should be made to arouse the masculine half of humanity to its responsibilities in relation to the evils growing out of the enslavement of the reproductive function.

It is true that the propaganda of the Birth Control movement in America has been addressed almost entirely to women. It has been couched in the terms of woman's experience. Its prime importance to her has been continuously and consistently stressed. The reason for this course is at once fundamental and practical.

The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom. A free race cannot be born of slave mothers. A woman enchained cannot choose but give a measure of bondage to her sons and daughters. No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.

IT DOES NOT GREATLY alter the case that some women call themselves free because they earn their own livings, while others profess freedom because they defy the conventions of sex relationship. She who earns her own living gains a sort of freedom that is not to be undervalued but in quality and in quantity it is of little account beside the untrammelled choice of mating or not mating, of being a mother or not being a mother. She gains food and clothing and shelter, at least, without submitting to the charity of her companion, but the earning of her own living does not give her the development of her inner sex urge, far deeper and more powerful in its outworkings than any of these mere externals. In order to have that development, she must still meet and the problem of motherhood.

With the so-called "free" woman, who chooses a mate in defiance of convention, freedom is largely a question of character and audacity. If she does attain to an unrestrained choice of a mate, she is still in a position to be enslaved through her reproductive powers. Indeed, the pressure of law and custom upon the woman not legally married is likely to make her more of a slave than the woman fortunate enough to marry the man of *her* choice.

LOOK AT IT FROM any standpoint you will, suggest any solution you will, conventional or unconventional, sanctioned by law or in defiance of law, woman is in the same position, fundamentally, until she is able to determine for

herself whether she will be a mother and to fix the number of her offspring. This unavoidable situation is alone enough to make Birth Control, first of all a woman's problem. On the very face of the matter, voluntary motherhood is chiefly the concern of the mother.

It is persistently urged, however, that since sex expression is the act of two, the responsibility of controlling the results should not be shifted to woman. Is it fair, we are asked, to give her the task of protecting herself when she is, perhaps, less rugged in physique than her mate, and has, at all events, the normal, periodic inconvenience of her sex?

We must examine this phase of the problem in two lights—that of the ideal and of the conditions working toward the ideal. In an ideal society, no doubt, Birth Control would become the concern of the man as well as the woman. The hard, inescapable fact which we encounter today is that man has not only refused any such responsibility but has individually and collectively sought to prevent woman from obtaining knowledge by which she could assume this responsibility for herself. She is still in the position of a dependent today because her mate has refused to consider her as an individual apart from his needs. She is still bound because she has in the past left the solution of the problem to him. Having left it to him, she finds that instead of rights, she has only such privileges as she has gained by petitioning, coaxing and cozening. Having left it to him, she is exploited, driven and enslaved to his desires.

WHILE IT IS TRUE that he suffers many evils as the consequence of this situation, she suffers vastly more. While it is true that he should be awakened to the cause of these evils, we know that they come home to her with crush-force every day. It is she who has the long burden of carrying, bearing and rearing the unwanted children. It is she who must watch beside the beds of pain where lie the babies who suffer because they have come into overcrowded homes. It is her heart that the sight of the deformed, the subnormal, the undernourished, the overworked child smites first and oftenest and hardest. It is her love life that dies first in the fear of undesired pregnancy; it is her self-expression that perishes first and most hopelessly because of it.

Conditions, rather than theories, facts, rather than dreams, govern the problem. They place it squarely upon the shoulders of woman. She has learned that whatever the moral responsibility of the man in this direction may be, he does not discharge it. She has learned that, loveable and considerate as the individual husband may be, she has nothing to expect from men in the mass, when they make laws and decree customs. She knows that regardless of what ought to be, the brutal, unavoidable fact is that she will never receive her freedom until she takes it for herself.

HAVING LEARNED THIS MUCH, she has yet something more to learn. Women are too much inclined to follow in footsteps of men, to try to think as men think, to try to solve the general problems of life as men solve them. If after attaining their freedom, women accept conditions in the spheres of government, industry, art, morals and religion as they find them, they will be but taking a leaf out of man's book. The woman is not needed to do man's work. She is not needed to think man's thoughts. She need not fear that the masculine spirit, almost universally dominant, will fail to take care of its own. Her mission is not to enhance the masculine spirit, but to express the feminine spirit; hers is not to preserve a man-made world but to create a human world by the infusion of the feminine element into all of its activities.

WOMAN MUST NOT ACCEPT; she must challenge. She must not be told how to use her freedom; she must find out for herself. She must not be awed by that which has been built up around her; she must reverence that within her which struggles for expression. Her eyes must be less upon what is—more clearly upon what should be. She must listen only with a frankly questioning attitude to the dogmatized, fossilized opinions of church, state and society. When she chooses her new, free course of action, it must be in the light of her own opinion—of her own intuition. Only so can she give play to the feminine spirit. Only thus can she free her mate from the bondage which he wrought for himself when he wrought hers. Only thus can she restore to him that of which he robbed himself in restricting her. Only thus can she remake the world.

The world is, indeed, hers to remake; it is hers to build and to recreate. Even as she has permitted the suppression of her own feminine element and the consequent impoverishment of industry, art, letters, sciences, morals, religions, and social intercourse, so it is hers to enrich all these.

Woman must have her freedom—the fundamental freedom of choosing whether or not she shall be a mother and how many children she will have. Regardless of what man's attitude may be, that problem is hers—and before it can be his, it is hers alone.

She goes through "the valley of the shadow of death" alone, each time a babe is born. As it is the right neither of man nor the state to coerce her into this ordeal, so it is her right to decide whether she will endure it. That right to decide imposes upon her the duty of clearing the way to knowledge by which she may make and carry out the decision.

Birth Control is a woman's problem. The quicker she accepts it as hers and hers alone, the quicker will society respect motherhood. The quicker, too, will the world be made a fit place for children to live.

THE PROCESSION OF MARTYRS

Mankind is slow to welcome knowledge when first brought to its notice and quick to prosecute and villify those individuals by whom the knowledge is brought. After a time, succeeding generations, are at a loss to find words adequate to express

their gratitude to former martyrs to science and freedom. Yet they themselves are prompt to make new martyrs of those who are preparing new knowledge or making new applications of knowledge of freedom.

The Procurer

Masking her purpose, as wise Madams do,
 Behind a smile that flattered and allured,
 She held the customer her wit procured
 And subtle, suave, she spread her wares to view.
 She had a daughter vouched a virgin true;
 He had a name, estate and wealth assured,
 And since he had the sporting life abjured,
 He wished to marry and his youth renew.

Cash on delivery, she made the sale,
 Pledging the maiden to a loveless bed;
 Nor did the Gods protest, the heavens fall.
 But when she deeked her in the wedding veil,
 I think Dolores must have bowed her head
 And Rahab wept upon the city wall.

Walter Adolphe Roberts

The End of An 80-Hour Day

A MAN WHO STAYED home with the children for half a day while his wife did her Christmas shopping submits the following statistics:

Opened door for children.....	108 times
Closed it after them	108 times
Tied children's shoes.....	16 times
Number of stories read to them.....	21
Stopped children playing piano.....	19 times
Smoke rings blown to amuse them.....	498
Arbitrated children's quarrel	77 times
Put doll carriage out.....	28 times
Brought doll carriage in.....	28 times
Mended kiddie car.....	5 times
Cautioned children about crossing street.....	66 times
Children crossed street.....	66 times
Peddlers rang door bell.....	7 times
Toy balloons bought for children.....	6 times
Average life of balloon.....	3 min.
Dried children's tears.....	14 times
Assisted children to blow noses.....	14 times
Telephone calls answered.....	8
Percentage of wrong phone numbers.....	100%
Crackers issued to children.....	37
Slices of bread and butter served.....	12
Drinks of water served.....	9
Refused to buy candy.....	87 times
Questions about Santa Claus dodged.....	1,051

The statistician is now advertising for two nurse girls and a governess.

Birth Control and the Great War

By Theodore Schroeder

This article was written for THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. Realizing its importance and desiring to give it the widest possible circulation, the editors waived their claims and assented to its publication in American Medicine. It appeared in the December issue of that publication.

I AM NOT GOING to claim that German birth control would have prevented the world war. However, it will appear that the encouragement of large families was one important factor in bringing on the war, and that all approach to overpopulation made it acceptable to the masses. What is more important, perhaps, is the dominant attitude of the German mind upon the problem of birth control and then to see the relation of that mental attitude to the problem of militarism and to the militarists' ambition to dominate the world. If once we acquire a clear comprehension of that type of mind in Germany, it may even help us to understand also a few of our own countrymen, with similar impulses.

Once having a thorough understanding of that attitude, we may also understand how a change therein (a reconditioning of the desires and mental processes) would produce such a revaluation of our "moral" values that perhaps we will be made to think that freedom for birth control and a permanent peace might best come together.

What I wish to do is to portray what I believe to be the dominant German state of mind, by exhibiting how it unavoidably linked and promoted both large families and war, as an expression or manifestation of a lust for power that is functioning at a low cultural level. Let me call this the feudal attitude of mind and try to describe its behavior. Perhaps if our people become definitely conscious of its characteristics and meaning we will be more conscious in an effort to outgrow it and in avoiding its influence in the future.

FOR THE FEUDAL LORD and under the feudal law, the serfs were considered a part of the real estate and transferred with it. In the thoughts and feelings of the feudal lord the serf was quite effectively dissociated from the rest of the human family. One can imagine the mental state which quite unavoidably reacts toward serfs as one does toward domestic animals. Both were valuable largely in proportion to their reproductive efficiency. Frederick the Great in 1741 expressed this attitude in these words: "I look upon men as a herd of deer in the zoological gardens of a great lord; their only duty is to procreate and fill the park."¹

This attitude is not a characteristic of the German feudal mind alone but of all feudal-minded persons. In France, Napoleon was one of these feudal-minded persons who needed "food for cannon." When the brilliant Madame de Stael asked him, "Who is the greatest woman?" Napoleon answered: "She

who has borne her husband the greatest number of children." In other words, the performance of other and distinctly human social service is not thought of as a function of woman any more than as a function of domestic animals. A career of service may supplement prolific motherhood, but by the feudal-minded ones cannot be accepted as a substitute for fecundity.*

The same attitude of mind found expression in England as late as 1794. Mr. Arthur Young was resisting the claim of democrats for the reform of the British Parliament and was opposing a proposed dominance of England by the House of Commons. It is a characteristic of all feudal-minded persons that they live in the past and look back for ancient precedents, rather than to intellectual evolutionary processes which produce new precedents. Thus Mr. Young justified his position by referring back to the time of Edward I and Edward II when he says none had representation in parliament but "land possessors holding by military tenure; all beneath were of no more account, in great national assemblies, than the cows, sheep and hogs of the kingdom."² We all see a few such feudal-minded persons even in our time and in our own country. Most of the readers can at once name a man in the United States who is conspicuous for his boistrous support of militarism and equally prominent in opposition to birth control. He is also eminent for the vehemence of his opposition to all power vested in himself. This hatred is only equalled by the facility with which his political tendencies induce subservience to other masterful men when it can be made the means of increasing the consciousness of power in himself. These are perfectly good manifestations of medieval cultural development, such as dominates in Germany more than in most modern nations.

SOMETIMES A PHYSICAL inferiority in youth, a defective organ, or an emotional conflict, prompts individuals to be over-strenuous in seeking compensation for their inferiority through phantasies of grandeur, or by some extraordinary exertion to impose themselves upon the world by other and relatively overdeveloped faculties. Sometimes this compensation is secured by becoming a mere common scold. Often it is by this means that some feeling of inferiority produces such intensity of compensatory desire, that we make *our* scheme of life a "moral" duty to be imposed upon others, if possible, as a means of reassuring ourselves that we are not inferiors. Our wish may acquire for us the importance of a divine command. Thus we may come to act as though we felt ourselves the agent of God for imposing His will, or rather *our* divine will upon the world. This summarizes, too, briefly and inadequately the psychology of the Kaiser and of his noisest competitors resid-

¹I bid. T. Roosevelt has also expressed this thought.

¹Bebel, "Woman under Socialism," p. 25, citing Kautsky's "*Ueber den Einflus red Volksvermehrung auf den Vortschritt der Gesellschaft*."

²John Cartwright, "The Commonwealth in Danger," p. XLVI, (1795), citing Young's Travels in the years 1787, 1788, 1789, p. 238, (Edition 1794?).

ing in these United States. It may explain for the genetic psychologists the importance which they respectively attach both to large families and to militarism. By these identifications of the self with the great human forces of reproduction and wholesale destruction, they protect themselves against some feelings of inadequacy, which are hidden from most persons not yet familiar with the psychogenetic approach to the understanding of humans.¹

In its more morbid condition, I found this mental state illustrated in an insane mulatto. To escape his feeling of inferiority, he desired personally to visit the battlefields of Europe, and he thought that, with a couple of revolvers, he could kill off all the men in Europe. He said that afterwards, as the sole surviving male, he would repopulate the earth. Here we see the fantastic extreme of that general mental attitude which would control the destiny of the world by using the "moral law" and penal code for controlling its death rate by war. So do such persons seek to approach or imitate omnipotence. Thus do our impulses behave when they are functioning near the evolutionary level of the savage, or near to those who have a morbid desire to play the role of omnipotence over life and death.

Now let us trace the operations of this feudal-mindedness among the Germans to its ultimate influence in producing the present world war.

THIS POLICY OF BLIND devotional obedience to the mating instinct was encouraged in Germany so long as it was carried on within the civil status of legalized marriage. Beyond that it is displeasing because, when progeny is the product of unconventional union, it denies to the feudal mind that consciousness of power to control which it craves and which is so pleasing to the governing classes of Germany. The feudal-minded person seldom thinks in terms of his own psychology. Hence his feelings against birth control are always justified in the name of his God, his morality or even pious submission to a supposed biologic necessity as a *sacred* means to national vigor and greatness, that being an object of reverence. All that means an increase in those feelings of exaltation upon which are built all morbid delusions of grandeur. In that state of relative undevelopment it seems impossible to think in terms of racial culture and service. So all must be viewed from the standpoint of national prowess. That is the farthest reach of their undeveloped feelings and imagination. "The interests of the state," declared Prof. A. Schlossman, "require an increased population, tax-payers, soldiers, workers—the more, the better for the state." From the viewpoint of the feelings and from the economic standpoint, the state is practically identical with the interest of the privileged classes, and such of their victims as have an emotional identification with them. Professor Schlossman expresses their typical attitude.

Emperor Wilhelm announced in 1909 that he was willing to be the god father to the eighth child in every German family. He was brutally frank as to his reasons. The newspapers publishing the imperial order announced at the time that "the Emperor hopes by this means to assist to bring about an increase of the German birthrate, which plays an important

part in the strengthening of German military power. Recent years have shown signs of a diminution in the percentage of births, a circumstance which not only the Emperor, but many eminent statesmen besides, regards as a grave national danger." We will now trace the results if this feudalistic attitude of mind upon the industrial situation.

It is an agreeable occupation of many of the fortunate classes, especially of Germany, to maintain this vicious circle; artificially accelerate reproduction; then comes industrial unrest, which in turn compels entry upon aggressive policies of colonization and conquest, in order to make room for the increased population and furnish enlarged opportunity for exploitation. Then accelerate once more the reproduction in order to make more efficient the necessary colonization and conquest. Once this policy is definitely entered upon, any decrease in the birthrate seems to portend possible loss of political and economic might for the privileged few. To practice or advocate birth control is, therefore, proclaimed both blasphemous and treasonable. It also means the loss of stimulus for the phantasies of grandeur with which the exploited classes compensate themselves for their misfortune. Acute overpopulation tends to produce revolution and democratization, unless relieved by colonial expansion and conquest. So the successful opposition to birth control stands as a bulwark of the privileged classes and military-minded everywhere. The disinherited can secure compensation through glorifying themselves by a childish pride in the size of their family or of their country, or even measure their own exaltation according to the economic, political or military grandeur of their exploiters. Again they retrieve themselves by a brutal exploitation of the still more backward ones or even their progeny. Thus always do slaves find compensation for their ill fortune by cultivating a consciousness of superiority relative to some one who in fact or fantasy is still more degraded. It is probably this desire for compensation that makes the slaves of German autocracy eager to enter upon wars of conquest.

So they accepted the argument that the workers must reproduce to provide soldiers for the defense of the fatherland and of colonial markets, while the fortunate classes must provide officers and leaders. This constant increase in population raises the tension at home and increases the need for further expansion. Thus the vicious circle is maintained largely because the German aristocracy willed it and because the exploited population at large is not yet sufficiently awake to appreciate the importance of consciously directed parenthood as a more intelligent mode of solving the problem of local overpopulation and of wars for territorial or commercial expansion.

INTELLIGENT OBSERVERS in close touch with social conditions in Germany had come to believe that, under existing economic conditions, the German Empire had probably reached about the limit of its density for a home population, if the sixty-five millions of inhabitants are to maintain themselves in accord with modern standards of living. Already a considerable portion of its population had been impelled to emigrate. Former emigration was much more formidable, prob-

¹See: Adler—The Neurotic Constitution.



Procession

ably because in the past it contained elements other than the economic inducement. It has steadily decreased during the past twenty years, also because American economic opportunities were lessening by the disappearance of government lands.

Before a public meeting in Berlin, a speaker is reported to have said that the trouble with Germany is a matter of too many lawyers, too many doctors, a plethora of engineers, sculptors, painters, singers and an ever-increasing horde of intellectuals of all sorts in university graduates for whose



de Luxe

talents the home land offers no opportunity of unfoldment. Poor trade, keen competition and a gradual rise in the standards of living combine to make overgrowth in numbers a serious menace.

In the industrial field, conditions were equally unsatisfac-

tory. Following a rapid growth in manufacture, mining and industry which opened numerous pathways for the people at home, emigration was curbed until a point of near-saturation was reached. However, during the following years, unemployment among the trade union members reached ten per cent.

and threatened to increase, in spite of general talk about "unprecedented prosperity." In 1913 the Social Democratic Congress found it necessary to suggest drastic measures for the relief of unemployment. These conditions were largely the effect of specially encouraged reproduction that was unnecessarily prolific and which, in its social relations, is of the kind that hinders, rather than accelerates, cultural evolution.

ONE OF THE FACTORS which contributed toward the aggravation of the economic situation in Germany and made the increase in population a serious problem is the dwindling of emigration overseas. The rapid commercial and industrial development of Germany for a time gave opportunity for employment at home to thousands who in former years would have been forced to migrate to other countries. But co-extensive with this commercial and industrial development went also the rapid spread of higher education, with the result that in a couple of decennials a whole army of well-trained professional men appeared who could no longer find employment at home. Every avenue in the Fatherland became over-full with promising young men of excellent preparation, and of good promise, compelled to remain idle unless an opening could be found for them elsewhere.

It is interesting to note in this connection the figures relating to German emigration. Between 1881-1890, it amounted to an average of 136,000, which fell to 87,000 in 1893. In 1894, emigration showed a further drop to 40,000. For the last few years, the average has been as follows: 1901-05, 29,308 annually. In 1906-10, 26,449; in 1911, 22,595; in 1912, 18,445; in 1913, 25,775.

The marked decrease in emigration seems paradoxical when contrasted with the growing problem of unemployment in Germany. At its meeting in September, 1913, the Social Democratic Party called upon the Empire and the States of the Confederation, as well as the local communes, to do something to lessen the demoralizing unemployment. Among other plans for relief, it was suggested that those out of work should be exempted from taxation so far as possible.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN the rapidly growing population of Germany and the policy of expansion of its Government are clearly recognized by many statesmen in Germany and elsewhere. G. Rumelin, one of Germany's astute politicians, spoke prophetically when he declared before the war that, "if Germany continues yearly to add 800,000 to 900,000 souls to her population, she must inevitably seek an overseas expansion of her territory, which England more especially cannot admit. And, in that case, in a not too distant future, Germany's increased population must lead to an *overflowing of our boundaries*."¹

Two foremost German national economists such as Prof. Stengel and Dr. G. A. Erdman, members of the Reichstag, have always maintained frankly that Germany's enormous growth of population—over 800,000 annually—is the reason for the country's colonial policy. But for this policy, a great part of German industry would be unstable and might collapse at any time, a calamity which would threaten with ruin the very foundations of the privileged classes of the Empire.

Because of the rapid increase in population, Germany was inevitably bound to maintain the policy of expansion. When Dr. Erdmann wrote: "Germany is faced with an all-compelling 'must'," he looked upon this growth in population as the very mainspring for the imperative which he invoked, and he added with keen insight: "Those who speak of the 'colonial adventures' of our Government merely show their narrowness of vision, for *the time might come when Germany would have to pour out rivers of blood for the possession of a strip of land claimed by another state*."¹

With the colonial policy must go a strong navy to support and maintain it. In 1900, a number of political economists of foremost rank collaborated in the production of a large work which was intended to awaken the conscience of Germany to a keen realization of the hopeless situation in which Germany would be placed without a strong navy to back up the strong colonial policy which it had followed since that memorable day, August 7, 1884, when Germany announced to the world that it had taken over Angra Pequena, in South West Africa, by an agreement with the Hamburg Commercial House which had previously owned it.

In the same year, the Reichstag, in the face of strenuous opposition on the part of Socialists and other radicals, voted the appropriations which meant the building of a large navy and the establishment upon a practical foundation of that new policy which the Kaiser had expressed in his famous remark, "Germany's future lies upon the water."¹

THE ARGUMENT for the maintenance of colonial expansion and for the naval policy which was to prove so disastrous to the world at large, as well as to Germany in 1914, were based largely on the needs of Germany's surplus of population. The needs of the new Germany, the Germany of the great Westphalian coal fields, of the teeming industries on the banks of the Ruhr, rendered world-famous by Krupp's iron works, the Germany of commercial Berlin and industrial Silesia, with a total yearly addition of 800,000 souls for whom there was no room in agriculture, all impelled toward colonial expansion and the prerequisite of a large army and navy. In order to make room for them in industry and commerce, the products of factories and mines which could not find a market in Germany had to be carried to new regions. This meant commercial houses and teeming business; but it also emphasized over again the need of colonies, "a place in the sun"; and this in turn pointed once again to the need of a powerful navy as a protection for trade and colonies, a matter of life and death to the Empire itself. And then again, all this meant the need for more babies to make more soldiers and sailors, and so on around the circle once more.

The workmen of Germany were appealed to on the basis of their apparent economic interests as a class; exports meant brisk trade, flourishing industry, employment and "the full dinner pail"; stop exports and factories will have to shut down; this will mean loss of wages, suffering, destitution, starvation. The feudal-minded ones can satisfy their lust for power only if there are more babies who will later be exploited

¹Quoted by Max Marcuse, *Sexual Problem*, 1911.

at home, and fight for a monopoly over the exploitation of the more backward peoples. Germany can maintain its place as a power of first rank only if it makes room for the yearly addition to its population; and, to the highest degree, only on the basis that emigrated Germans would remain Germans and not be absorbed by other nationalities. The vanity of being identified with a commercially and economically great nation must be satisfied at any cost.

As early as 1882, the *Deutscher-Kolonial-Verein* was founded, with branches in different towns in Germany, having for its purpose the maintenance of colonial aspirations along nationalistic lines. Briefly, German capital and German labor *ueber Alles!* Thus did German laborers find a delusional compensation for submitting to autocratic exploitation at home.

BERNHARDI, THE ORACLE of the new Germany, clearly recognized that the call for colonies is generated by Germany's rapid increase in population and made his appeals to the nation frankly on that basis: "Strong, healthy and flourishing nations show increasing figures of population," he states in his famous "Germany and the Next War." "They need, from a certain moment onward, a constant expansion of their boundaries; they must have new territory in order to make room for their surplus population. But, as nearly every part of the globe is inhabited as a rule, new territory can be obtained only at the expense of the occupants—that is to say, by conquest, which thus becomes a law of necessity."

This is one of the chief reasons why Bernhardt considers war "first and foremost a biologic necessity, a regulator in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with." Evidently he is blind to the fact that there are other more efficacious means for relieving the tension and distress due to overpopulation, namely, the voluntary, intelligent regulation of parenthood. But that could not satisfy anyone's adolescent lust for power, such as is always operating in feudal minds.

Bernhardt's remedy for overpopulation is expansion at the expense of weaker or less prepared races and he finds an analogy for this in the struggle for existence which takes place throughout nature. His intelligence and his primitive lust for power suggest to him no better way of meeting the issue than that provided by the jungle. "This struggle is regulated and controlled by biologic laws and by the interplay of opposing forces," declares Bernhardt. "In the vegetable and animal world, this process is worked out in unconscious tragedy." The feudal mind always thinks of the biologic struggle for existence as something which inevitably must be compelled to function on the level of the unconscious automatism of the domestic herd. That the exploited classes can find in cooperation and intelligent family limitation a substitute for the conflicts of violence is to the feudal mind an incomprehensible proposition. It is incomprehensible, because they are unwilling, emotionally unable, to accept the accelerated democratization which can thus be brought about. The intelligent action of a great crowd democratically trained would deprive our feudal-minded privileged persons of the chief foundation for their delusional feelings of superiority.

EVERYWHERE THE FEUDAL-MINDED ones act upon substantially the same impulse. Everywhere they impel and, to a large extent, though by indirection, they compel, prolific breeding among the less intelligent persons. These latter are also victims of the prevailing religious, political, economic and industrial systems and superstitions. The feudalistic ones proclaim fecundity as a religious duty to God, and a moral duty to the state. By psychologic tricks, a vanity of the unfortunate classes is encouraged so as to make even the fools believe, or at least feel that they, too, have a place in the sun. All this becomes efficient chiefly because it serves a childish pride; because it is a mask or a gloss for the lusts of the flesh, and a childish lust for power. In the unconscious, this impulse is dominant because it induces apotheosis for sensualism unrestrained. Shaw reminds us that similar trickery makes us glorify marriage when the real impulse is for a maximum of temptation with a maximum opportunity; and he might have added, with a minimum of risk.

By the uniform activities and lingering dominance of the feudal mind, we have remained in a state of development in which we compete, like the stockraiser, for an international and intercredal supremacy in and through breeding. First we must breed prolifically for God, Church, King and Country. Having thereby produced a condition of overcrowding, then for the sake of God, Church, King or Country, as well as for the crowded and submerged ones, there is an obvious necessity for expansion. Now for God, Church, King or Country, we prepare for the conquest and the subjugation of more primitive peoples. With these opportunities becoming exhausted, we must enter upon a further competition in reproduction, in order that we may be successful in the competition among expansionists and for domination of our highly evolved neighbors.

So ultimately comes a world war in which the feudal-minded of every nation are equally sure that they are fighting for civilization itself, which means too often their own feudal supremacy, the gratification of their own immature lust for power. They intellectualize it as a fight for national life, and, of course, it has also that aspect. The feudalists are perhaps right in a sense they do not comprehend. With overpopulation, the slow but eternal process toward a democratization of welfare at home would sooner or later destroy their privileges, unless the disprivileged have their attention to a "destiny in the sun," beyond the national boundary. The European peoples have sought release from the stress of overpopulation by a foreign quest to supply a compensating yet relatively small privilege for the disprivileged at home, rather than to find a remedy in the further democratization of welfare at home. With us Americans, this pressure has not yet been great enough to induce like action. As yet, we have had no very urgent need for territorial expansion. Our turn is coming, and is coming soon if only we will breed fast enough. But, without being aggressors in this sense, we are yet unavoidably drawn into the vortex of a world war inaugurated by the feudal-minded of other nations and unconsciously promoted to a small degree by our own feudal-minded ones by education for feudal-mindedness and for prolific breeding in our own people.

How long shall we continue this inter-national competition

among the feudal minded for ever enlarging privileges and exploitation? For ever more prolific breeding? For ever more expansion, made necessary by unintelligent fecundity, inevitably tending toward the next war? Will this war make it generally clear that there is a stage of evolution wherein intelligence can be utilized to secure better international adjustment and cooperation, so there will be everywhere limitation of dominance by the feudal-minded? Are we now preparing to repudiate their religious and moral sanctification of unnecessary and yet more prolific breeding, of still more extensive and intensive competition in exploitation, the efficiency whereof requires even more destructive wars? Are we ready to focalize our energies upon the service of culture and the democratization of welfare? The peace conference will answer.

THE COMING PEACE CONFERENCE may or may not be dominated by the feudal-minded ones. It may even include the unconscious feudalistic elements in the most democratic of countries. These feudal-minded ones in the peace conference will all have practiced reproductive limitations in their own families. If true to the feudal-minded type, they will also have discouraged birth control among the unfortunate victims of their exploitation. The feudalist peace commissioners will not wish to see their own feudal-mindedness as the fundamental factor in bringing on the present war. They will not wish to see that continuing and intensified competition in breeding and in exploitation must bring on another war, in spite of peace agreements. They will wish to ignore the fact that, in the face of our intense struggle for the physical necessities of existence, even peace agreements may again become a "mere scrap of paper." The next world war may possibly be one in which the disadvantaged of all nations will fight the feudal-minded of all nations. Something quite near to such an invitation has already come from Russia. Shall we hasten such a conflict by continuing to preach the sacredness of fecundity and of war? Or shall intelligent restraint of the feudalistic compulsion help us toward a more perfect and peaceful adjustment with the processes that make for the democratization of welfare, with and by intelligent family limitation as one means?

If the coming peace conference is not to be dominated by the feudal-minded ones, it might take cognizance of artificially encouraged overpopulation as a condition of the next war. It might provide for restraint upon the feudal-minded of every nation by having the International provide that no nation shall put any restraint upon the intelligence that makes for family limitation. It might also put international limitations on the fruits and means of exploitation, so as to minimize feudalistic temptations, and to eliminate all artificial and local encouragement of trade wars. These are but competitive methods in exploitation as a means to a satisfaction for the feudal-minded of all economic classes. If President Wilson "puts that over," then this will have been a war for democracy in the very biggest and best sense. It may be the beginning of an internationally guaranteed "free speech," one that shall really mean *free* speech. Democratization can go its way unhampered only at

the sacrifice of feudal-mindedness, and approaches to an absolute free speech are both the efficient means and final end of the process.

A Mother's Song

By Benjamin Ogden Wilkins

INTO THE heaven's brightest blue
I gaze, while bending over you,
Baby of mine. Those eyes, to me,
Are symbols of deepest mystery:
Sheltering havens from every storm,
Baby of mine, so sweet and warm.

In them I see such wondrous things;
Strengthened faith the vision brings,
Baby of mine. The world, all new,
Shines in your eyes: while, clear and true,
Sparkles the promise of love for me
Baby of mine, all this I see.

Do the People Want It?

HERE IS A SLICE of public sentiment out of the middle of New York State.

Dr. Hilda Noyes, an expert on eugenics and baby feeding, and, incidentally the mother of six splendid intentional children, went to a district in Oneida County, where she did not personally know the people, chose at random two streets at right angles to each other and visited fifty married women in succession.

She explained to them just how the New York law reads which prohibits Birth Control information. Most of them did not know that it is a part of the Obscenity Laws and is entitled "Indecent Articles" or that it is utterly sweeping in its provisions, so that even a mother can not legally inform a daughter on her marriage as to how to have her children come at intelligent intervals. They only knew in general that whatever one knew about this subject must be learned secretly.

She told them how it was proposed to change this law, and asked them if they preferred to let the law remain as it is and has been for over forty years, or to change it.

Forty-eight out of the fifty said "change it" and they gladly signed the blanks provided by the National Birth Control League asking the Legislature to repeal the law.

Do the people want it?

M. W. D.

Book Reviews

MATERNITY. G. Bell and Son, Ltd., London. 1916. Procurable here from all dealers.

At last the women have been consulted on this subject. It was not the doctors, nor the lawyers, nor the clergy who thought of taking this step. It was the Women's Co-operative Guild of England who, in 1916, sent out a set of questions to 600 members of the Guild with a letter asking that they bring out in their replies what they had found their difficulties to be and the consequences. These were the questions asked:

1. How many children have you had?
2. How soon after each other were they born?
3. Did any die under five years old, and if so at what ages and from what causes?
4. Were any still-born, and if so, how many?
5. Have you had any miscarriages, and if so, how many?

Three hundred eighty-six replies were received. A second letter was sent later, asking for particulars of wages, and the occupation of the husband. The wages are given in a footnote at the end of each letter. One hundred and sixty of the letters are given here, the rest were of the same nature.

The value of these human documents cannot be denied or overestimated. No one who thinks on social matters at all should fail to read this book and consider intently the problems presented.

The preface, by the Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P., states the case plainly. He says: "An unwise reticence has prevented the public mind from realizing that Maternity, among the poorer classes, presents a whole series of urgent social problems." And adds that it is the first time, so far as he knows, that the facts have been stated, "not by medical men, or social students, but by the sufferers themselves, in their own words." The time is past for a blind reliance on the survival of the fittest. "You partly remedy the evil, it is true, by destroying a large number of lives which have been made unfit to survive, but you leave as a clog on the community, numbers of others, not killed, but weakened. The conditions that kill also maim."

It would be impossible in a short review to do anything like justice to this volume. It must be read to be appreciated.

FAIR PLAY FOR THE WORKERS. By Percy Stickney Grant. Moffat, Yard & Co. 368 pp. Price, \$1.60.

This is an excellent and comprehensive compendium of varying economic theories and of statistics bearing on the social conditions that have made these various theories the living and vital forces of today.

"The Proletarian," he says, "is sneered at for the number of children who see the light of day in his family. In fact, the word proletarian in its original significance means a person who has nothing else to bequeath to the state except children (*proles* means offspring or progeny). On the other hand, in a time of war or economic emergency, the state turns to the working-class and to their children in almost an agony of

fear, to compare the nation's man and woman power with that of its enemies or competitors.

"The bearing of children should be treated with enough respect by a community whose life depends upon it to accord to parents at least honorable mention, and to bestow upon children the best physical, mental, and industrial equipment. At present the industrial army, which we have discovered must supply in time of war the military establishment in the field, is left to wallow."

It might be asked by the reader, why not "accord to parents the best physical, mental, and industrial equipment" and let the "honorable mention" take care of itself? One does also ask what the best equipment is for the worker and if it does not include all knowledge accessible to mankind, including knowledge to prevent the production of an unlimited "number of children who see the light of day."

The book is a fair presentation of the workers' case from the liberal point of view. The capitalists may well read it and take thought. It holds no threat against them, but presents a gentle warning they will do well to heed.

Books Received

Applied Eugenics. By Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill. Macmillan Co. 459 pp. Price \$2.10.

Birth. By Zona Gale. Macmillan Co. 402 pp. Price \$1.60.

The Business of Being a Woman. By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan Co. 242 pp. Price \$1.25.

Daily Ways to Health. By Emily M. Bishop. Heubsch Co. 310 pp. Price \$1.50.

Constitutional Fee Speech Defined and Defended. By Theodore Schroeder. Free Speech League, New York. 456 pp.

Knowledge a Young Husband Should Have. By Dr. A. A. Philip and H. R. Murray. David McKay, Philadelphia. 150 pp. Price 75c.

Knowledge a Young Wife Should Have. By Dr. A. A. Philip and H. R. Murray. David McKay, Philadelphia. 154 pp. Price 75c.

The Super Race. By Scott Nearing. Huebsch Co. 89 pp. Price 50c.

Women in Modern Society. By Earl Barnes. Huebsch Co. 257 pp. Price \$1.25.

Wonders of the Human Body. By George W. Carey, Los Angeles. 126 pp.

Footpath to the Scarlet Road. By Dr. Grace M. Norris, East Winfield, N. Y. 12 pp. Price 25 cents.

Law of Blasphemy. By Theodore Schroeder. Free Speech League, 59 East 59th Street, New York. 18 pp.

Social Hygiene (Quarterly). Published by America Social Hygiene Association, 105 W. 40th Street, New York. 136 pp. Price 75c.

It is an insult to the womanhood of the country to assert that fear of pregnancy keeps women moral.

If only we could inflict this law section 1142 as a punishment upon those who would inflict it upon others there would be the only reasonable proof of its justice.

THE EDITOR'S UNEASY CHAIR

THIS IS A NEW DEPARTMENT open to all but our most ardent admirers. Their communications if they make any, will, we promise them, be considered confidential.

Let the skeptics, on the other hand, have at us. We will do our best to convince them.

THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS from an unpublished manuscript by Sonia C. Lee are given as a basis for discussion by readers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. It is hoped that many opinions will be forthcoming on this subject.

"Is procreation the sole purpose of the sex impulse?"

"If woman bore two children every three years during the period of natural fertility, she would bear about fifteen children. But Nature has endowed man with power to create hundreds of children. Now, allowing one woman in three to remain unmarried or sterile, that would mean an average of eight or ten children per family, and in the course of a century the population would be increased sixty-four times. This is out of the question both as to the development of the means of subsistence and the rearing of quality children.

"Four children per family will provide for ample increase; and to restrict the sex impulse of either the man or woman to this number would be the practical enforcement of the restraints of celibacy. Unless Nature intended man to follow the freedom of animals, she must have intended that the sex-impulse should serve another purpose. Whatever Nature's intention may have been, it is surely one of the greatest modern discoveries, that the intelligent exercise of the sex-impulse may be made one, if not the most important of the means of spiritual progress. This means Birth Control. It is just as absurd to deny man's right to govern the sex-impulse as it is to deny his right to govern the Law of Gravitation, the breeding of domestic animals, or the improvement of plants by hybridization.

"Everywhere man has directed the forces of Nature for his benefit, but only in this matter has his right been questioned. The Dead Hand of a bigoted past still rests heavily upon him. Let us demand our freedom."

IN THE LAST NUMBER of *The New Statesman* (English) we note with interest a full page advertisement entitled "Babies of the Empire Society."

This advertisement calls on British men and women of all classes and climes to "First, lessen the lamentable wastage of child life; second, improve the standard of health and vitality of such children as survive."

This organization, it appears, has derived its inspiration from the wonderful achievements of the New Zealand Government where the infant death rate is only fifty per thousand.

The society has started its work in Great Britain by copying the methods of the New Zealand Government, and borrowing from it the services of Dr. Truby King, C. M. G., whose excep-

tional knowledge, energy and enthusiasm on behalf of mothers and children will now be applied to the betterment of conditions in Great Britain.

The society proposes to carry on its campaign by instruction to trained nurses recommended by the different hospital authorities, who will in turn hand on the information to others. It will also send out through the mails, pamphlets, books and charts on the most enlightened methods of mothercraft, simply and clearly expressed. By lectures and posters and other forms of propaganda it will endeavor to reach all potential parents.

It has been frequently pointed out in THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW that New Zealand has had birth control as an established custom for many years. Now Great Britain, in calling in the aid of New Zealand's experience, will probably end by seeing the necessity of giving this work of the Babies Empire Society governmental support.

How much longer are we in the United States to linger behind in stupid, wasteful ignorance of a matter so important to the community?

DID ANY OF THE READERS of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW miss Mr. Brisbane's editorial in the *Sunday American* of February 2? We hope not. The visions of a world peopled entirely by oysters or elephants or any one of the millions of species which reproduce and multiply, and which would inevitably any one of them, if undisturbed, overrun this poor little planet and the waters thereof, only to be themselves in the end utterly destroyed by overpopulation—is appalling to contemplate.

The cataclysms provided by kindly Nature for preventing the monotony of a peacable universe of oysters, or a stately world of elephants are cruel and remorseless.

The little are devoured by the big, and fire, famine, pestilence, lack of stamina resulting from overproduction, and man, are always on the job.

And man, who tries and in a measure succeeds in controlling this world of facts? How does he do it? Not by being stronger and bigger, but by taking thought and trying to find out the best way to turn the forces of nature to his own needs. He spans rivers, dams back floods, tunnels mountains, contrives to move about on the water, and fly in the air. He even takes measures to prevent disease. He regulates the reproduction of sheep, cows and even cats to improve their breed. When it comes to his own reproductive faculty, however, he too often proceeds like the oyster. He goes blindly, and famine, plague and war select his survivors for him. Occasionally a logical and unpredatory race like the Chinese drown their surplus girl babies in an attempt to solve the food question. This is not a very advanced idea. It begins too late to

avoid the difficulty. Isn't it odd that man should stop thinking when it comes to such an important question?

Happily today, that is not true everywhere. In Holland, man thinks on this question. He has thought about it for some time and begins to take it naturally. In New Zealand and other countries the same thing has happened with beneficent results.

The Woman Spirit and the Better Day

IN AMERICA, AS in the world, the floors are being swept and the house prepared for a new day. It is women who are doing the sweeping and sending the rubbish of a closing era to the trash-heap in order that there may be room for the new sound things that are coming.

Only a little more than a generation ago, Susan B. Anthony, in the unflagging courage of a sublime spirit, gentle but heroically strong, started almost alone that battle for suffrage which paved the way for a broadening of the lives of American womanhood and the assertion of the power of the feminine element in American life. Refined, cultured, personally retiring, her nature was such as to make publicity a crucifixion, and the abusive ridicule of an unawakened public martyrdom unspeakable. Yet, with uncompromising bravery, this woman put her hand, her head and her heart to the problem that was hers. The dynamic force that drove her forward in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles was a love for her sisters and for all human kind.

No less dynamic than love for human kind is unshakable hatred for those things which stand in the way of human progress. We do not all agree as to what these things are, but when a flaming soul, afire with rebellion against obstacles or iniquities flashes out alone in a struggle, the day is at hand when new forces shall arise to assist in bringing about the end. Carrie Nation, dead less than fifteen years and almost forgotten, was the embodiment of such hatred. Whatever we may think of the wisdom of ridding the country by prohibition of evils attendant upon the abuse of alcohol, we cannot forget that the majority of that public which looked calmly on while Carrie Nation was ridiculed, denounced and stoned, is today either enthusiastically hailing nation-wide prohibition or accepting it as a matter of course.

YES, CARRIE NATION and her hatchet—her sole weapon in effecting a revolution in the life of a country of 100,000,000 people,—are well nigh forgotten, but each blow of that hatchet had behind it a consecrated hatred that made out of a ludicrous kindling chopper a hammer upon the anvil of the gods.

These two characters, animated by the opposite poles of a high spiritual impulse, stand out as examples to the women of America. Woman is smashing and hating and loving and sweeping the world into a new, more human age. A hate like Carrie Nation's, levelled in irresistible consecration against poverty, ignorance and wretchedness, will brush them from America and the planet. A love like Susan B. Anthony's, de-

Here, there is a law against such practical forethought. Laws, however, are made to be changed, or interpreted—think of the lawyer! In other words, to quote Mr. Brisbane:

"Pity the man who doesn't think."

"Pity the man so poor that he has no vitality left for thinking when he has struggled against his hard fate."

"Use your brain! It is all you have worth while."

voted to the building of a new world will make just such a world.

It is the dawn of a creative America, an America creative in a deeper, sublimer sense. The woman spirit is the driving power behind this creation. Just as today we recognize, in the vital things that have come already to pass, the fruition of the creative impulse of women manifested in human service, so we will recognize in the vital, accomplished things of tomorrow, the outworking of women's love similarly dedicated to causes which seem all but hopeless today.

THE BROOMS ARE working and they are sweeping clean.

It is the glory of the work of the pioneers of movements now accomplished that it opened the way for more fundamental things. The causes to which women give over their souls today go far deeper than did those of Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Nation. A few women suffer from the effects of

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the abuse of alcohol; some women have time and the inclination to vote. But all women, rich, poor, intelligent, unintelligent, idealistic and unidealistic, are touched by the problem of Birth Control.

Birth Control, the doctrine of voluntary motherhood, of the right of each woman to determine whether she shall bear children, how many and when, is the new broom that sweeps cleaner than all that have gone before. It is, for every class and condition of woman the fundamental, first step, that must be taken before she can enjoy the first breath of freedom. It is the greatest, the most important of all the indispensable elements in the creation of a new world. And to this cause we call our sisters—call to them to come with a hate like that behind the miraculous hatchet of Carrie Nation, or with the unconquerable love that animated the Mother of Suffrage.

The Malthusian Doctrine Today

[Continued from the February number]

THIS MAY SEEM a very curious introduction to the study of the population question, but it is a very necessary one. Although the scientific method has done such immense service in the domain of physics and chemistry, hardly a single attempt has been made to apply it to sociology, and, with the exception of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, scarcely a sociologist has existed who has shown any sign of having understood the fundamentals of scientific proof, or of having such general knowledge of the accurate sciences as should qualify a person for attempting to establish any important generalization. The Malthusian doctrine stands practically alone in sociology as the only great generalization which has been established on scientific lines, and those who assail it ought to be expected to show some qualification for reasoning scientifically.

Let us now apply the scientific method to Malthus' doctrine of population. Starting first with observation, personal experience, combined with historical and general investigation, shows that poverty and insufficiency of the necessaries of life among a certain proportion of the people exists and always has existed in practically every country and for

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all but rare intervals. Further investigation shows that this is the case whatever the constitution of society may be, whether individualistic or communistic, autocratic or democratic, primitive or highly civilized, agricultural or industrial. There are also the obvious facts that a large family is a most frequent cause of poverty, and that, if marriage were nearly universal and no dearth of food existed, population would increase much more rapidly than it does and has done.

Collecting these observations together, Malthus (and to some extent others before him) came to the conclusion that this continual tendency for children to arrive faster than greater supplies of food could be raised to fill them was the great underlying factor in the apparently multifold causes of poverty. He was able to show, on the assumption of a constant average of reproductive fertility, that a completely fed community would increase according to a compound interest law or geometrical progression, and that the rate of increase from known facts would be so rapid as to make it highly improbable that food would long continue to be increased rapidly enough to cope with it. Hence he put forward the extremely simple and apparently vague or inexact law:—

Population has a constant (i. e. continual) tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence.

SO MUCH FOR THE induction: now come the tests of deduction and verification. The principal of these may be set forth as follows:—

(1.) Possible and Actual Increase of Population.—vestigations we have already made, both on the basis ordinary frequency of births in a family, and on that highest birth-rates actually observed, led us to the concl that in the absence of poverty and insufficiency the popula should increase at four per cent. compound interest, doub in each seventeen and a half years, or becoming fifty-greater in each country. Malthus only claimed that it sh double in twenty-five years, or become sixteen fold greate a century, and this rate has actually been maintained fo long period in the United States.

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the abuse of the actual rate of increase of population has as a result an extremely low in comparison with the above rates. In England as an example, the estimate of population in Domesday book for the year 1066 was 2,150,000. On the basis of the four per cent. compound increase this should have become fifty times as great, or over 100 millions by the year 1266. At the present time it would be represented by 540 trillions. Or, if we take the more moderate claim of Malthus, the population should have become 34,000 billions. In fact, when we turn to the actual records, however, the increase is ridiculously below this amount. For the whole period, from Domesday book till the present day, the population of England and Wales has only increased from two millions to twenty-seven millions, or eighteen and a half fold, which is at the average rate of a 1.41-fold increase in a century, or of only one-thirtieth per cent. in a year. And the great bulk of this

increase has been during the last century or so (showing the great saving of life effected by the anathematized capitalistic industrial system), so that the average increase during the middle ages must have been extremely low.

A Word from Holland

The Hague,
Dec. 12, 1918.

DEAR MRS. SANGER:—

I have the pleasure to send you with the same post from the International Defense Fund 40 dollars for the case of Kitty Marion with our best wishes for you and for her.

Yours,

DR. J. RUTGERS
for DR. V. C. DRYSDALE
DR. J. RUTGERS
G. HARDY, *Treas.*

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- 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, *Salus y Fuersa*.
- 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. *Zadruchy*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/c, Lisbon. Periodical, *Pas e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion brasilena de propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscova, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominiguez, Rua 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. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sexuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoades, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street.

- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Dr. L. A. Young, 5152 Haverford Ave.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK:
- The Committee of One Thousand*. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 West 97th Street, chairman.
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The
**BIRTH CONTROL
REVIEW**

Dedicated to Voluntary Motherhood

Owen R. Lovejoy, *on*
Birth Control and Child Labor

Margaret Sanger, *on*
Tragedy of the Accidental Child

Charles Zeublin, *on*
Race Recuperation

"J'Accuse," *on*
Charity or Contraceptives?

An East Side Nurse, *on*
Hard Facts

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The BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Editors:

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MARY KNOBLAUCH

MAUDE EDGREN
LILY WINNER

*And in Recognition of a Vital Spirit that Still Animates
this Magazine, JESSIE ASHLEY*

Art Editors:

CORNELIA BARNES

LOU ROGERS

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Editorial Comment

By Mary Knoblauch

WE VISIT WITH our disapprobation the man or woman who collects pets—cats, dogs, parrots and so on—only to neglect them and let them die of starvation. We not only do not approve of such a person, but we call him a lunatic or eccentric, according to his wealth or social position, and we judge him to be fit for an asylum or provide him with a guardian as the case may be. Even the law is very helpful in dealing with people who are careless about their cats and dogs. When it is a question of people who are careless about producing more children than they can look after properly, or endow with health, strength, education and a reasonable opportunity to pursue happiness, we act quite differently. The law and the Pharisees refuse to demobilize their prejudice, ignorance and false sentimentality. They say sententiously, "increase and multiply," forgetting that there were only eight people in the world when this advice was given. Natural causes, famine, disease and other ungentle and wasteful agents of destruction will look after the surplus.

Almost everywhere today, men and women insist on the right of self-determination in the choice of mate. Why is not the careful choosing of the child the next logical step in our halting progress toward rationalizing life? The child himself seems to be hopelessly precluded from choosing his parents. He has to take them as he finds them. He must certainly be quite often aghast at the situation in which he finds himself upon his arrival. Hurried hither without being consulted and, all too frequently without being wanted, it is small wonder that he so often behaves as inconsequentially as he does when he discovers the fix he is in.

THE FIRST RIGHT a child should have, and since he can't protest, we should insist upon it for him, is that of being wanted. The second right is that his parents should be educated up to not wanting him unless they are fairly sure they can provide for him decently, until he can look after himself. The only way that this can be done, is by educating the parents, fully, honestly, decently in a knowledge of themselves and their responsibilities, and by allowing them to be taught the means of regulating their families in accordance with their own health and economic resources. This latter information the law of the land refuses to let them have. The unthinking, who should not be the ones to carry on the race, produce children more rapidly than their health, strength and resources will permit. This is hard on them, worse for the children and harmful to the community. Their suffering, since they don't think, can, if one likes, be discarded; the child and the community remain to be considered. The readers of this Review are intelligent enough to tackle this problem by themselves. The parents who think, but don't know what to do, are next in order, and their suffering is enough to break one's heart.

A nurse in the lower East Side told of an Italian woman who came to the clinic with her little boy whose collarbone was broken. The woman had six children and another one coming. When asked how Johnnie come to be in this shattered condition, her grief was distracting. She said that she had some sewing to finish, for the rent had to be paid—the husband's wage was not enough for so many to live upon—she was thinking of the newcomer, and wondering how she could take care of him and whether they would all of them starve, or be dependent on charity. Johnnie was mischievous and irritating. She pushed him roughly aside and he fell and broke his collar bone. "Oh," she cried, overwhelmed by remorse, "not to have any more children, till we can care for those we have. One baby—lovely, two babies good; three babies, all right; four, can manage. Five—hate 'em all!"

DON'T JUDGE HER harshly, those of you who have nurses to look after your children when they are bothersome, and money enough to be comfortable and easy yourself. Consider her plight and resent the unjust laws which forbid a good wife and an excellent mother to so regulate her family, even as you very probably do yours, that it will be a blessing to her and a benefit to the community. Someone may here remark "let the husband and wife be self controlled." But it is not a race of celibates that makes the world go round. It is human beings, with desires and passions. It is the outcome of these natural instincts that must be dealt with—pending the entire transformation of mankind. And for the sake of the child, to say nothing of the race, it would seem only fair that he shouldn't have to come where he is not, and under the conditions, cannot be wanted.

When eugenics first began to be discussed, objections were heard to the effect that they would reduce humanity to the level of a barn-yard. Reduce is certainly not the word. No modern barn-yard is run on any such blind plan as is pursued by the human race. No barn-yard run so foolishly could even, for a few years, survive scientific competition. Let us elevate humanity to the same level. Holland, whose barn-yards have

(Continued on page 15)

Birth Control and Child Labor

By Owen R. Lovejoy,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

THE RIGHT OF CHILDREN to be well born, the right of children to be born only when they are desired and when conditions are such as to guarantee them a fair chance for growth and education, touches the child labor problem very closely. Considered in its broader sense the child labor problem is now the problem of the whole child and his needs. It can no longer be considered apart from the questions of education, recreation, dependency, delinquency and health. Investigations in various large cities within recent years indicate that about 30 per cent of working children (the total is roughly estimated at about 2,500,000) leave school from economic necessity. From 30 to 60 per cent more leave because they are dissatisfied with school—it fails to interest them; they want active, real wage-earning work to do. Thus the questions of education and recreation are perhaps of greatest importance to the people who are trying to drive child labor out of existence. We must learn the means for enlisting the co-operation of the child himself, through satisfaction of his needs in school, with our fight against his exploitation.

Consequently it would be too much to claim that freedom for birth control would at once do away with child labor. There are other influences as potent as poverty, the greed of employers and parents and overcrowding in the homes, but we can fairly say that with a knowledge on the part of parents in the poorer classes of the means by which their children may be limited to the number that could be reared and supported in decency, perhaps one-third of all the working children in this country could be saved from a life of exploitation and from an existence made well-nigh unbearable through lack of early opportunity and training. One-third—probably from eight to nine hundred thousand children—might be given a chance to escape an unsought existence, and the necessity of giving birth in turn to a new generation of child laborers. For this evil is self-reproductive, and even the best of laws must fail to break the vicious circle of child labor, poverty, and back to child labor.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS the occupations open to children have radically changed in the proportion of boys and girls engaged. Attention used to be centered upon factories, mills, canneries and mines, because in these the most unhealthy and strikingly evil conditions obtained. Since the passage of the federal child labor law establishing a 14-year minimum age for these industries and a 16-year standard for mines, our attention has been directed to the three main fields of agriculture, street-trades, and tenement home-work.

Agriculture, according to the 1910 census, occupies about three-fourths of all working children. These are working in the beet-fields of Colorado and Wisconsin, in New England tobacco fields, in the cotton fields of the South, and on thousands of home farms all through the country. In Hardin County, Kentucky, a man lives with his wife, one son and four

daughters on a small farm. He bought the property, paying 15 per cent bonus, which draws interest as well as the mortgage. Last summer they had six acres in tobacco, twelve in corn, and a small plot in vegetables. No help was hired, but instead, the 8, 12 and 17-year-old girls and the 10-year-old boy all worked in the tobacco field. Their father said by way of explanation, "That's the advantage of the tobacco crop—every child is a hand." In the same state a certain "cropper" lived on a few acres of land with his wife, four sons and three daughters. They were so poor the county was furnishing clothing and school books free to the children. The land was sublet from a tenant, who supplied him with team and implements, and guaranteed the payment of his bill at the local store. The oldest child, a girl of 14 years, was absent from school 34 days out of the 74 days in the first four months of the term; the 12, 11, and 8-year-old boys were absent 43, 41 and 33 days, respectively. All of these absences were due to farmwork, most of it tobacco culture, but about one-half of the absences of the youngest boy were caused by work about his home. It is in this way that the circle of poverty, ignorance and child labor continues unbroken from generation to generation. Large families, poverty, and lack of schooling go hand in hand in these rural counties.

KEPHART IN "Our Southern Highlanders," says "Mountain women marry young, many of them at 14, 15 and nearly all before they are 20. Large families are the rule; 7 to 10 children being considered normal and 15 is not an uncommon number; but the infant mortality is high."

The Children's Bureau, in a recent report, points out the immediate causes of this terrible waste of human effort: "One mother had done a washing the day before her second baby was born; she is a regular field hand and chopped cotton all day, five days a week, up to the day before confinement. Another, a mother of five children, continued her housework, field work, and chores up to the date of confinement, and the morning of the day the baby was born picked 45 pounds of cotton and cooked a big dinner for her family of seven." It is literally impossible for these women to do anything else. As a negro mother of six children said: "I went because I had it to do, but I wasn't able." She had continued field work until three days before confinement. And the children are the victims, as much as the women.

In street-trading, it would seem, the connection between necessity and child labor is less close. But even here, in the children who help tend street markets, or who gather up bits of coal and wood to eke out the family supply, and thereby lose their chance for proper schooling, we find the result of over-crowded homes. Then there are the "little mothers" who are hired out to care for the neighbor's baby before and after school.

Little Anna lives in the "back yard of Wall Street" and tends a neighbor's baby while that "lady" is at work. "It's easier than my last job, because then I had to take care of three babies and did not get so much money. I get up at 5:30 and go right to the lady, the babies are asleep when I get there, but they wake up at 7 and I dress them and mind them until the lady comes from cleaning. In the afternoon I take them out and bring them home before the man gets there."

Then there is Veronica who lives opposite the docks. Her father is a truckman, working fairly steadily and bringing his money home to the family. As there are six children, however, his wages do not meet all their needs and so the mother goes out and cleans office buildings for five hours a day. One of the children takes care of her little sister and brother while the mother is away; the older girl takes care of "Aunt Helen's babies" and earns \$1 a week; and little Veronica who is only 8 years old takes care of two children every morning and night for \$1.25 a week. She has been doing this for a year and a half and before that, "I minded my own baby."

TENEMENT HOMEWORK is again the logical product of too large families and the resulting necessity to make "every child a hand." The eight children of the Sullivan family range in ages from 13 years to 10 months. For several years their work has been carding buttons, and at this work they average 18½ hours a day including Sunday, earning but a miserable weekly income at that. One child of 12 years, who worked on buttons, has been desperately ill. Those who have worked this year are Elizabeth, aged 13, Jim aged 10, Peter aged 8 and Alec aged 7. It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the evils of this sort of work, the ill-ventilated rooms, the insanitary conditions, the danger to the consumer, and the inevitable harm to the children engaged in it. Teacher's records show either long lines of absentee marks for these, or else a record of backwardness, due to fatigue and ill-health. No amount of regulation can remedy matters. So long as women are allowed to take work from the factory, just so long will children continue to do sweat-shop work in the homes. And just as long as there is over-crowding, undesired children, and consequent poverty, the demand of mothers already over-worked will continue for even this lowest-paid grade of labor.

In accordance with the broader view of child labor prevention as one in a number of related fields of child welfare, the National Child Labor Committee has made three state surveys in the last two years, and is now engaged on a fourth. These surveys covered all the conditions relating to children—schools, agriculture, delinquency and probation, institutions, recreation, and so on. The striking fact shown in the reports was the need for correlated work in bringing all these fields to a common standard of effectiveness, both with regard to legislation and to enforcement of laws. In the study of North Carolina institutions, for instance, it was found that the "homes" were crowded with women of every grade of mental and physical defect, that there is slight segregation of young girls from older women in the so-called reformatories, that feeble-minded children are housed with normal children in

the orphanages, and normal children with feeble-minded and epileptic adults. The conservative estimate of one superintendent placed the number of feeble-minded in the state who are uncared for and in immediate need of treatment, at between 5,000 and 6,000. Further the law forbidding marriage between mental defectives placed no penalty upon the clergyman or official performing such a ceremony. At one of the county homes there were found two little girls, 13 and 11 years of age, wild as young animals, the offspring of Peter and Polly Swink. Peter is 75 years old, blind, and a permanent inmate of the home. Polly is younger, a strong mountain woman, who drifts in and out with her two little girls as the fancy strikes her. She is always gone during cotton-picking time but the superintendent has learned to expect her back when the first snow flies. While she is not obviously feeble-minded she is entirely irresponsible.

THE CASE OF Alice Brown is an example of the ineffective manner in which such cases are dealt. She was known throughout the county as a "very bad woman," and was in the habit of spending her winters at the county home with her constantly increasing family of young children. Her conduct becoming so flagrant that the judge feared he would have to take the children from her, he decided that rather than do this he would give her a week to leave the state.

In the matter of the care and segregation of abnormal individuals, however, public opinion is awakening. It is the care of normal, or potentially normal children, that demands greatest attention. The country is agreed that child labor in factories, mills, and mines is destructive to human and even to industrial efficiency. It is recognized as a liability. What we need to realize now is that labor which keeps children from the education and developing play that is their birth-right is harmful in almost equal degree. Further—that the state which keeps from women the knowledge which would enable them to give opportunity to a few children instead of the heritage of want and ignorance to a large family, is as guilty toward its citizens as the state that implicitly allows exploitation of its children in industry.

We stand—or like to think that we stand—as a nation for equal opportunity. Can we honestly say that we have fulfilled this ambitious boast when our schools are failing in the ultimate test of meeting children's needs—when our teachers form the lowest paid profession, so that in New York City in the last four years the number of children on part-time has increased from 85,000 to nearly a quarter million, due to the teacher shortage—when nearly three million children are working while other children are being fitted for high salaries and an easy life—when, finally, the law takes from the poor women the opportunity to limit her family in accordance with her power to provide for them: and equally from children, the chance for strong bodies, adequate care and nourishment and education? This fact lies back of the "economic pressure" to which one-third of the body of child laborers are attributed. If we are to get down to fundamental forces, birth control must be viewed frankly and sanely in its relation to child labor.

The Tragedy of the Accidental Child

By Margaret Sanger.

THE FIRST RIGHT of the child is to be wanted—to be desired with an intensity of love that gives it its title to being and joyful impulse to life. It should be wanted by both parents, but especially by the mother, who is to carry it, nourish it, and perhaps influence its life by her thoughts, her passions, her loves, her hates, her yearnings.

We have observed how strongly children inherit their mother's traits. Freud has told us of children so greatly influenced by their mothers as to be incapable of a mate love for anyone who does not resemble them. We are all familiar with the old wives' tales of children "marked" because of a mother's fright or other strong emotion, though we know little concerning the truth or falsity of this theory. Just as little do we know of the effect of fear, hate, yearning or disgust in the mother at the time of conception.

Until scientists give years of careful study to the problem there will be no accurate information concerning it. At most we can only speculate upon it now. But since the life of the mother in its other phases, seems to affect the child so vitally, is it not probable that strong emotion at the time of conception, emotion which lingers and preys upon the mind of the mother in the months following, leaves its impress deeply if not indelibly upon the life of the child? And is it not time that the scientists were making a direct and exhaustive study of a problem which may be fraught with so much of weal or woe for the race?

MY PERSONAL OPINION, founded upon observation as nurse and as a worker in the Birth Control movement, is that these emotions have a profound effect upon the child. I believe that the mother's fear of pregnancy has a most unhappy influence upon the life of her offspring. I believe that this fear and the unsuccessful practice of coitus-interruptus are responsible for the timidity, the fretfulness and feebleness of many infants.

Does it stand to reason that no child can be what it should be, physically, mentally or spiritually, if it is conceived and carried by a mother to whom the embraces of her husband are repugnant? Can a mother who begins the creation of the little life in disgust and in disgust brings it to birth, bequeath to her baby the strength, the mental vigor or the disposition to happiness that is its inherent right? Can a mother whose very being is trembling in terrified submission or quivering with hate at the time of conception and who for months thereafter experiences a measure of these same emotions, bring her child forth as well equipped for the life struggle as it would otherwise have been? We know something of the effect of worry upon the mother's milk. What may we not yet discover concerning the effect of worry or even stronger emotions upon her blood that for nine months flows through the very being of the child?

WHY THE GREAT NUMBERS of feeble-minded children? Why the hosts of infants born too feeble to withstand the

difficulties of the first year of existence? Why the weakling manhood and womanhood, too timid to make effective protest against the great social wrongs and tyrannies which crush them?

Science has answered these questions in part, but only in part. I do not believe that they will be conclusively answered until account is taken of the condition of the mind of the mother from the moment of the creative embrace until the child is born.

The tragedy of the unwanted child—of the accidental child—only begins with whatever evil prenatal effect the emotional condition of the mother may have upon it. The right to be wanted is its first right but only the first of many that are ignored. Usually it suffers a further handicap by being carried by a mother who is physically ill or overworked. Fear of pregnancy is frequently inspired in the mind of the mother by the burden of too many children, or by want or by both. When it arrives, the accidental child usually finds itself in the ranks of the millions of hungry and neglected infants. Often it is merely a candidate for an item in the infant mortality statistics. We have before us always the horrible spectacle of hundreds of thousands of children dying miserably before they have lived twelve months, of other hundreds of thousands dying just as miserably before they reach the age of five. Worse still, is the lot of those other millions who after the age of five take their places among the toilers in mills and factories.

WHAT HAVE WE to offer those who do not go to the places of toil? To the majority of them, dwelling places too cluttered and crowded to be called homes. Schools that are crowded, in which "half time" is the sop of the state to the needs of childhood. Streets, filthy and crowded, as their playgrounds. And for some of them, finally, crowded jails and crowded institutions for the feeble-minded. Crowded always, never breathing a free atmosphere and seldom a healthy one, from the beginning to the end of their monotonous lives, the hordes of unwanted children seldom have a chance to forget their unwanted state.

We hear a good deal of sentimentality about unfailing mother love. We are told that even these unwanted children have *that* to protect them in their hard lots. But how few of the poorer women have the time and the strength to let mother love develop and express itself? We make a mistake in assuming that mothers are always kind. We forget that under the stress of caring for many children, under the strain of helping to earn bread for hungry mouths and clothing for bodies clothed in rags, the strongest mother love may turn bitter and cruel.

IS ANYTHING MORE HORRIBLE, more hopeless than the cruelty of a mother worried and tired to distraction? Oh, yes, there is much of it! If you doubt, go for a little while to live among the families whose mothers are over-burdened

with children whose, bodies and brains are worn threadbare with toil inside and outside the home. Unfortunately it is not only the hardhearted father of the story book who is cruel to the children—there is an appalling amount of cruelty from the mothers too.

Which of us has not seen such cruelty, even in the streets? A case significant only because it is of frequent occurrence came to my attention a few months ago. A woman, evidently worn out by a day's work, was wheeling a child in a baby buggy in fourteenth street. Another child, about three years old, was trudging at her side, clinging heavily to her skirt. It had on badly shaped, cheap shoes, which probably hurt its feet. It cried monotonously as it walked. The mother, apparently in frantic haste to reach home and prepare supper, doubtless for a husband and several other children—suddenly felt the drag of the weary, crying child. She struck it, first across one side of its little face and then the other. The tiny thing, surprised by the sudden attack, fell face downward upon the sidewalk. The furious, nerve-wracked mother, picked it up by the chin and struck it again and again on the back until a passer-by interfered. To a threat of arrest she retorted: "Oh, you shut up. This is my kid and I'll lick it when I want to."

Do you hesitate to believe that this happens often? It is common—as common, almost, as unwanted children. Of course, the mother later on rocks the child to sleep, covers its bruised face with kisses and seeks to wipe out the memory of the blows in a flood of remorse. But the scars are there, in the mind of the child, if not upon its body. Our militarists and ecclesiastics who shout for more and more children, who speak of them as "blessings," shut their eyes tightly to this aspect of child life among the harrassed poor.

IN FRANCE, where a knowledge of contraceptives is available to a large proportion of the working-class mothers, another typical scene is often witnessed. The mother arranges with her employer to leave her work for a time in order to fetch her child from school through the dangerous crossings and see it safely past the groups of older and rougher boys. Her attitude is almost invariably one of tenderness. The difference lies in the number of children. This French mother is not so badly overburdened and her child is the more precious to her because she has only the one, or two.

The child's right to a different lot from that depicted here is no longer questioned by thinking people. Many men and women are now working to alleviate the burdens and sorrows of the army of unwanted infants. The material side of the child's life is bound to receive a certain amount of consideration now and in the future. Even the unwanted children are becoming fewer. And the medical profession, even the church, the imperialist, and the employer of "hands"—all those who are in need of cheap and ignorant humanity—will see to it that children have better shelter and get more of the food and clothing necessary to their existence. This they will do in the interest of their own institutions.

MATERIAL RIGHTS of the child, however, are far more easy to enumerate and to obtain—when children are scarce—than are others of its rights which, for want of a better name, we may call spiritual. The awakening of the parents to these rights of the child, some of which have been indicated in the present article, must follow quickly upon the heels of its material rights.

The eugenicist very correctly contends that the parents should be in good health, mentally and physically, when the child is conceived. They do well to insist that it is the first material right of the child to be "well born." But have they taken into consideration all of the factors?

From what deep spring of moral and spiritual weakness arises this huge stream of the cringing, the suppliant, the submissive? Whence come the natures of these millions of human beings who are but timorous pawns moved hither and thither upon the chess board of existence by a few powerful hands?

Who can say that it is not because we come into life with the feeling, conscious or subconscious, *that we are not wanted—that we are accidents?* Who can say that it is not because we have graven upon our natures, the fear, the disgust, the loathing, the shrinking of our mothers? Men and women who have lived through the past four years, in any country on the globe, know what it is to be pawns. Not all the power of the church, not all the teachings of Christianity, not all our education, our theories of right and wrong, availed the weak wills of the millions of "accidents," when a few tyrants plunged the civilized world into warfare.

WHEN WE PEOPLE the earth with men and women who are not "accidents," these human halocausts cannot occur. When we have men and women whose wills, whose moral and spiritual natures have not been marred by fear and hate from the moment of conception, war will be impossible.

When we insist that conception be surrounded by its normal atmosphere of triumphant love and happiness, and thus infuse into the new life the spark of love, with its impulse to live, to love in its turn, to be strong, we shall have a new sort of humanity. There will be no more "dumb, driven cattle" in the guise of men. When we can visualize out of the surging love and happiness of the creative act the strong, healthy, happy, mentally and spiritually vigorous child, we shall produce individuals with intellectual and spiritual gifts beyond those of any race that has yet appeared upon earth.

Our imaginations are as yet too weak, too uninformed, to portray to us the strength, the beauty and the wonder of a humanity yet to be brought into being—through children created in the flame of love.

Volunteer!

Volunteers are needed to sell the Birth Control Review in both New York and other cities. A few women interested in the movement are selling the magazine on the streets daily in New York City. Anyone willing to help in this work should communicate with Elizabeth Colt, in care of The Birth Control Review, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

"TALK"

By Max Ehrmann

(Mr. Goodsey and Mr. Pesh sitting in the library of ——— Club, New York City.)

MR. PESH—"All sins are biological." That's a great sentence. It should be craved in stone, and stand in the heart of every city.

MR. GOODSEY—It is wonderful. What does it mean?

MR. PESH—It means that sin always tends to wreck man's body. Man's body is a biological machine. And the greatest sin is to bring into the world a sickly child, or a child that one cannot provide for. That's the unpardonable sin.

MR. GOODSEY—How are you going to prevent people from doing it?

MR. PESH—It's against the law to tell. A great civilization can not come from poorly born children any more than a statue can be modeled of cinders.

MR. GOODSEY—People who talk about as uninteresting a thing as "a great civilization" usually have some hidden motive. What's yours?

MR. PESH—To help posterity.

MR. GOODSEY—You must be ill.

MR. PESH—Now listen to me. We are always trying to make our government more perfect. But no democracy can arise above its people. As well expect the Hudson River to rise above its water. Therefore, bringing a child into the world isn't an individual matter at all. It's the most social of all matters.

MR. GOODSEY—Why, then, all of this Rooseveltian condemnation of "willful sterility" of a few years ago?

MR. PESH—Rulers and political leaders are usually thinking of a big army. Capitalists, especially real estate owners, are thinking of the price of real estate. Not every woman should have a child any more than every man should have whiskers. Whiskers are merely amusing. For women to have five children usually means that they and their husbands have committed crime. It is better to have one child and that one under-nourished than to have two and both under-nourished.

MR. GOODSEY—I suppose many children are not born of desire.

MR. PESH—They are born with less care than mushrooms; and like mushrooms, are popularly regarded as fungi.

MR. GOODSEY—A child is a gift of God. I fear you have no religion.

MR. PESH—I have a good deal of religion. I even believe in baptism if it is done daily. As for a child being the gift of God—a healthy child that its parents can provide for is, indeed, a gift of God. Any other kind is a curse. It is an evil that goes down the ages, ever withering the stock of humanity.

MR. GOODSEY—Do you really think the race is growing weaker mentally and physically?

MR. PESH—We shall have to be very careful, else the pigs will overtake us. Under artificial selection, pigs are bred up.

Under no kind of selection whatever, we are carelessly and ignorantly bred down.

MR. GOODSEY—Have a cigar. But to interfere would limit inherent freedom.

MR. PESH—Give me a match. Thanks. There isn't any such thing as inherent freedom. The question is, what is the result of an action? A man might as well say, "I am going to have the smallpox if I want it."

MR. GOODSEY—What do you have to say about Robert Louis Stevenson? He never was well a day in his life and yet he accomplished a great deal.

MR. PESH—That argument from Stevenson is nearly dead from over-work. I believe in the eight-hour law for arguments. Stevenson was one in a million sick persons.

MR. GOODSEY—He had children, too—hadn't he?

MR. PESH—Yes; and they were beautiful and healthy, but they were children of his fancy, not his flesh. The whole question is one that concerns the well-being of posterity.

MR. GOODSEY—Oh hang posterity!

MR. PESH—I am not in favor of it. Our present method is severe enough. Suppose our ancestors who lived for an ideal had had your attitude, you and I would be sitting here on a stump, with rings in our noses, and a spear and a skin, trying to digest our neighbors.

MR. GOODSEY—You seem to regard this as a very great problem.

MR. PESH—It is. Therefore nobody is interested in it—nobody but the police.

MR. GOODSEY—The police are necessary to keep things stable.

MR. PESH—They do that—odor and all. Yet police are useful. They are healthy and have healthy children. They look well in parades, and they add picturesqueness to street crossings. Their aesthetic value is incalculable.

MR. GOODSEY—You are flippant. Their blue uniforms represent the majesty of the laws.

MR. PESH—The majesty of the blue laws, I presume you mean. Hand me a match. Thanks.

TO MY BABY OR YOURS

By Ralph Cheyney

My little baby, you are so old—
 Long centuries old, if truth were told!
 You are her ancestors and mine,
 Savage and ape in unbroken line.
 You are the Past, the Future, too.
 All life to come depends on you.
 Then, what a holy charge is ours
 To give you happy, healthy hours!

Hard Facts

A NURSE who works in the lower East Side has sent us reports of actual, typical cases with which she has had to deal in the course of her day's work. If, as Prof. Zueblin says, democracy wants quality in the mass, what chance have children born of exhausted mothers by unfit fathers into the conditions of life described here? What chance has the state to profit by the puny, sickly creatures born under these circumstances? In the campaign that has been waged against wastefulness, why was the greatest initial waste of all overlooked?

What can life mean to these mothers, except unbearable misery? What can it mean to these children except misery even more cruel than that suffered by their parents?

The report follows:

BELLA K.—27 years old; married when 15 years old; pregnant 11 times; 7 living children born; 3 died when a few days old; 1 child lived to be 1 month old; miscarriage 4 times; children living now, 3, 7 and 10 years; patient suffers constantly, due to chronic nephritis.

Has never had a normal pregnancy. Toxemia setting in with pregnancy. Has suffered with headaches, eye trouble and eclampsia seizures. The last time patient was pregnant and miscarried, she suffered terribly with her eyes. Examined by an eye specialist who told her if she became pregnant again she might become permanently blind.

Patient told me during the 11 times she was pregnant, she had been attended by 12 or 14 doctors, as each time her doctor had to call in someone for consultation, due to complications, and it usually ended up by her being sent to a hospital.

The only advice ever given to this woman was "be careful and don't get pregnant again or else you will die." Never was given any instruction even of how to safeguard herself.

Patient has two daughters and one son. Her great sorrow and anxiety is that her daughters, if they marry, may have to suffer the years of torture and misery that she has gone through. Hopes and trusts before they grow up that there will be a law to enable nurses to teach women how to escape much suffering from too many pregnancies—when they are not equal physically to going through with the pregnant period. Says she has never had much happiness, been ill most of her life and in want. Husband averages \$18 per week.

MARY C.—40 years old; 14 pregnancies; 8 living children; 2 still births; 2 lived to be 6 and 7 weeks; 2 miscarriages.

This mother told me she could not have any more children, as she was done out and so weak she could not work any more.

Husband average wage \$18 per week. Before last child was born she worked to within 48 hours before child came. Wanted to know was it any wonder (she had to work so hard) that the baby was born dead. One girl old enough to work earns \$10 to \$12 per week. Mother says it takes most of that to keep

her looking right to go to work and for car fare. In asking her what she would like us to do for her to enable her to have a little rest to gain strength, she replied: "I want to be taught how to avoid having any more children."

"The man is a good, steady man but our family is larger than we can care for. We will not be able to give the children the schooling they ought to have. We will have to take them out of school as soon as we possibly can. We must make them breadwinners as soon as we can, as I do not feel I can help out from time to time—working as I used to do as an office cleaner."

(Then they call us the weaker sex.—Nurse's note.)

CATHERINE M.—27 years old; had four children; two died in infancy and expected to be confined very shortly again. Home visit was made. The husband had been ill in the hospital for two months with typhoid fever. Man very reticent and when spoken to about being sent for convalescent care, replied he would go home first. When he did not return to hospital, the home visit was made.

Man was a barber's helper, average rate of wages \$12 to \$15 per week. Neat, clean, thrifty family.

The wife said she hoped that she would have a safe confinement, but she had trouble during the whole time she was pregnant and had been depressed mentally; offered to assist them; were two months behind in their rent; replied they had never taken charity. Told them this was really not charity—that I had had a donation given to me to commemorate the birth of a little grand-daughter from a woman who wished to make some other woman happy.

The family then gradually told me their story. The struggle they had. The funerals of the children had cost \$80 and it took them two years each time to pay the debt.

If they only had a chance and no more babies would come, the knew they would be able to get along. It seemed that all there was in the world was trouble and sorrow and more babies. Could I please not tell them how they could have a chance for a few years. Oldest child in this family, 6½ years.

JOSEPHINE L.—37 years; rent \$13, 3 rooms; 9 living children ranging from 14 to 1 year.

Grandmother also lives with family.

Husband laborer—\$2.50 to \$3 per day (no work on rainy days). This family first referred to me by the children's clinic doctor, because Mary, 9 years years of age, was so terribly under nourished. Mother questioned as to condition of other children and requested to bring them all to the clinic for examination. Found that six were all in the same underfed condition. During the winter the children were sent for convalescent care (two at a time) and given proper warm clothing. They were given four to five weeks' convalescent

care and it was amazing to see the improvement. Upon their return Josephine said she could not bear to see the children get skinny again and would like to go to work two or three days in the week, that the grandmother could mind the children.

Work was secured for her (though I think as long as I live, I will feel I committed a crime in doing so) and the family funds were increased by \$7.50 per week for two weeks.

Josephine complained of headaches and that her eyes hurt her. Sent to an eye specialist who reported her condition due to anaemia. Josephine was told she would have to give up going to work. Insisted upon going to work two days in the week. Said they "must have the extra money for food and you know I receive good food when I work." One morning a phone message came to me from Mrs. W. to say Josephine had not come to work and that she was like all the rest, did not keep her word.

Home visit made; asked why she had disappointed Mrs. W. Replied, "I had a fight with my neighbor who is my friend." Asked her what in the world that had to do with her going to work? "Well, you know she lends me her shawl and skirt. I have no clothes to go to work in. We have to buy everything on the installment plan and are in debt and cannot get anything more until we pay something."

Again an appeal was made for clothing for Josephine. She said she was ashamed to live,—it was "beg, beg, and hungry children." Her burden surely was a heavy one, and she was living in terror of having another baby.

"If ever I become pregnant again I am going to kill myself." she said. "But you are a nurse and you must teach me how to take care. You must help me. It is not right to have children more and more when you cannot feed or clothe them."

MARTHA M.—27 years old; four children, 6, 4, 2, infant 4 months.

Husband earns \$15. First child normal. Mother made good recovery.

Second child died in infancy. Mother suffered from puerperal mania and required sanitarium care for several weeks.

Third child normal infant, died when 7 months old. Mother very depressed but remained at home during convalescent period.

Fourth child normal, mother again suffering mental depression and again in sanitarium, but prognosis not as good as when the second and third children were born.

This woman's husband has appealed to the doctors to tell him how to avoid having any more children. He says he cannot rest day or night; is distracted when he sees his wife's condition. Children taken care of by strangers. He tells me the doctors give him evasive answers. He asks, "Has no one any heart? What is the use of all science and knowledge if we cannot save my wife from the terrible suffering she endures after the children are born? It is your duty to instruct both myself and my wife in birth control."

ESTHER R.—29 years old; 7 children. When this family was first brought to my notice, Rose, 9 years of age, had been ill with pneumonia. Made a poor recovery; was placed under observation for tuberculosis. Home visit made found three crippled children in family all suffering osteoinglitis; one child, hip; two with leg infected. All children anaemic. Rose died in an institution, at 12 years of age, where she had been placed two years before for pulmonary tuberculosis—the three children with bone tuberculosis are under institutional care.

Man, tiemaker, average rate at that time \$10 per week.

One bed in the home, 3 chairs and one table, stool.

Children slept on straw mattress on the floor.

After the family came under our care the eighth child was born, a poor, puny, sickly little mortal; lived three weeks.

The mother looked at the baby with disgust. "No good," she said, "me no want babies; me too poor—too much sick child."

This patient was a foreigner—had a friend write a letter for her and brought it to the doctor to "please give her medicine to please have no more babies."

FROM THE NEO-MALTHUSIAN, in which it was published by permission of the doctor who received it:

"Sir: Could you kindly send me word or help so I do not have any more babys as I am now the mother of 18 children and I havent the strength for more I should have had 17 alive only the 3 oldest sons have been killed in this war and my baby five months old I would not be against it only it keep me very poor and I have had legs in the veins hoping you will do what you can for me."

The doctor adds: "All the children came one at a birth: these 18 confinements in 26 years! Husband gives her 25/ per week (6 dollars). The poor woman still has 10 children not earning anything."

"WEAVE IN! WEAVE IN!"

By Walt Whitman

WEAVE IN, weave in, my hardy life!

Weave, weave a spirit strong and full for great campaigns to come;

Weave in red blood! weave sinews in, like ropes! the senses, sight, weave in!

Weave lasting sure! weave day and night the weft, the warp! incessant weave! tire not!

(We know not what the use o' Life! nor know the aim, the end—nor really ought we know;

But know the work, the need goes on and shall go on—the death enveloped march of peace as well as war goes on.)

For great campaigns of peace the same, the wiry threads we weave;

We know not why or what, yet weave, forever weave!"

Shall Women Have Families Like These—



MR. P—, the father of this family is in the hospital suffering from chronic illness. All the children are anæmic and the mother is in a very poor state. The children are under-fed and under-sized. The skin and bone frame of the boy is an example of what malnutrition does to children in the families of the poor. The little girl in the back of the picture is several years older than the girl in the foreground, but is under-developed because of the hardships and want she has endured. There was another child which succumbed at once to the Spanish influenza.

Or Shall We Let Them Control Births?



MR. and Mrs. S—, are 31 and 29 years old respectively. During sixteen years of their marriage ten children have been born. Seven, the baby three weeks old, are living. One child is tubercular and three others anæmic. The father is a longshoreman. For the past three weeks he has been battling beside his fellows for higher pay and better conditions. And as he fights he must be weakened by the knowledge that his family is in greater want than ever. The mother is a janitress and in return for caring for the house, the family receives free rent. Mrs. S— said that last winter she has shoveled one hundred and twenty tons of coal.

Race Recuperation

An abstract of a lecture by Charles Zueblin.

Through the kindness of one of our friends, we have secured Professor Zueblin's permission to print this abstract of his recent lecture on RACE RECUPERATION. Many of those who heard the lecture had their attention turned for the first time to the consideration of the subject to which THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW is dedicated.

THE GREEKS DEVELOPED the greatest culture ever known. They not only produced art, drama and philosophy unsurpassed in succeeding years, but they had a scientific knowledge of the world and the solar system which their successors did not know enough to value for fifteen hundred years.

Why did the modern world begin with the fourteenth century A. D. instead of the third century B. C.? The Greek democracy was a sham. It was a sham. It was founded upon slavery. The best people stood aloof from politics. The Greek states tried to maintain the balance of power which has been the destruction of Europe.

Aristocracy wastes the race. It wants quantity in the mob, quality in men, inequality in sex. The welfare of the masses has been sacrificed to the will of the few under militarism, ecclesiasticism, and industrialism. War takes toll of the most vigorous and adventurous. In its wake famine and fever destroy the feeblest. The Church sacrificed the fearless truth seekers and the conscientious objectors. Industrialism puts the premium on people who have the most children.

Democracy conserves the race. It wants quality in the mass, equality in sex. After millions of years of experimentation nature has produced creatures of such value that we cannot afford to have them born only to die. "Be fruitful and multiply" was the admonition delivered to four couples in an empty world, three of whom had no children; and the youngest was one hundred years old. It is no advice for a world filling up.

THE BIRTH RATE is not the rational barometer. The infant death rate is the national barometer. A high birth rate is always accompanied by a high death rate. A low birth rate prevails in countries like France, Great Britain, Holland, Australia and the United States; a higher birth rate in Russia, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and the Balkans. The reduction of the death rate means that the fathers are producers, supporting those who will be producers, not wasting their energies on those who will never mature to be producers.

The scientific and moral protection of mothers is the greatest guarantee of racial superiority. Women's work must under no circumstances lead to physical debility. Health certificates should be required for marriage in order to protect the fathers as well as the mothers and the children. *It is the mother who should choose the children. She must have the knowledge which will give to the race the greatest number of healthy and happy children. We shall go the way of the Greeks unless we entrust the choice of the coming children to mothers.*

The Progress of Children's Rights

Take heed to your progress; its feet are shod with the souls it slew with its own pollution.—JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

A COMPARISON OF CONDITIONS in England in the early part of the Nineteenth Century with some of those which the Child Labor act in the United States sought to remedy, shows that within the past hundred years society has awakened somewhat to the rights of the child.

That the awakening is still sentimental rather than real is startlingly evidenced by the fact that there are, according to the estimate of the National Child Labor Committee, nearly 3,000,000 child laborers in the United States.

Even the Child Labor Law, noted in one of the quotations which follow, was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court. And that would have affected only 150,000, according to the Labor Year Book for 1917-18.

In place of the law declared unconstitutional, congress, with an irony incomprehensible to anyone but a lawmaker, imposed a tax of 10 per cent. upon interstate commerce in products made by child labor. *In other words, it is exactly as much of a crime in the United States to work the lives out of*

children as it is to manufacture sulphur matches or oleomargarine, and the same sort of penalty is attached.

Still, the comparison between the first of the following quotations and the second shows that there is at least a superficial sentiment in favor of looking out for the child, and under agitation, it may deepen. The evil will not end, until the mothers of these workers attain a knowledge of Birth Control and refuse to bring more child slaves into the world.

Gibbon's *Industrial History of Great Britain* shows the condition of child labor in certain factory districts in the early part of the Nineteenth Century:

"Sometimes regular traffickers would take the place of the manufacturer, and transfer a number of children to a factory district, and there keep them, generally in some dark cellar, till they could hand them over to a mill owner in want of hands, who would come and examine their weight, strength, and bodily capacities, exactly as did the slave owners in the American markets. After that the children were simply at the mercy of their owners, nominally as apprentices, but in reality as mere slaves, who got no wages, and whom it was not worth while even to feed and clothe properly, because

they were so cheap and their places could be so easily supplied."

It was often arranged by the parish authorities, in order to get rid of imbeciles, that one idiot should be taken by the mill owner with every twenty sane children. The fate of these unhappy idiots was even worse than that of the others. The secret of their final end has never been disclosed, but we can form some idea of their awful sufferings from the hardships of the other victims of capitalist greed and cruelty. The hours of their labor were only limited by exhaustion, after many modes of torture had been unavailingly applied to force continued work. Children were often worked sixteen hours a day, by day and by night."

THE SECOND IS A brief resume from the *American Labor Book 1917-1918*, of the Federal Child Labor Law and its effect:

"The Federal Child Labor Law which took effect September 1, 1917 bars from interstate commerce (though not from sale within the State), the products of mines and quarries where children under 16 are employed, and the products of mills, factories, canneries and workshops where children under 14 are employed or children between 14 and 16 are employed for more than 8 hours a day or at night. As for the results of the law in round numbers about 150,000 children will be affected. In factories, mills and workshops there are over 27,000 children 10 to 14 years old who will be thrown out of work and may, if their state laws are strong enough to keep them from other occupations, now go to school with their more fortunate brothers. There are also some 17,000 children between 10 to 16 who will be taken out of our mines and quarries. Over 122,000 children between 10 and 16 work in factories in states where they may be employed 9, 10 or 11 hours a day, and over 29,000 work in states where they may be employed in factories at night. The most notable example of factory workers are, of course, the cotton mill children of the South, while the bay glass workers of West Virginia are probably our best known child night workers.

CONTINUING ON THE same theme the Year Book discusses the decline of the apprentice system which is traced to various causes and the results of the breaking up of that system are noted as follows:

"(1) The state no longer protects and supervises its youthful workers. . . . Compulsory education stops in nearly all states at the age of fourteen. Save for the regulation of labor of 14-16 year old children by a few states, the states in general cease to exercise control or supervision over the working and home life of the youth.

"(2) Children leave school early and go to work at jobs that are positively injurious to them. Studies by Professors L. L. Thorndike, G. D. Strayer and Dr. L. P. Ayres clearly indicate: (a) that over 50% of those who begin school before the age of 13 are eliminated between the ages of 13-16 inclusive; (b) that there are approximately 1,100,000 children between the ages of 13-15 inclusive who are not in school; (c) that only 40% of the children who enter school ever finish

the grammar grades, while approximately only 8% ever finish the high school.

"The chief reason for this exodus is poverty. The federal investigation into the conditions of women and child wage-earners together with Miss Atherton's private study of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., indicate that 45% of those who leave school between the ages of 14 and 16 come from families whose weekly income, exclusive of rent is less than \$2 per capita. Allowing 20% for rent this would mean a yearly income of \$650 for a family of five. When we remember that the studies of Straightoff, Kennedy and Chapin estimates that from \$800 to \$900 a year is necessary for an average city family, it seems safe to conclude that families below the \$650 line can hardly get along without the child's wages. Thus poverty is the direct cause of nearly one-half of the withdrawals and must be a powerful contributing factor in an additional large percentage. Thus the poor are compelled to sacrifice the future possibilities of their children to satisfy the pressing demands of present need.

(Is this fair to the children?—Editor's question.)

"When the modern child does reach work, he finds poorer opportunities than did his predecessors. Few employers will accept a child of less than 16 for a skilled position, and the 14-16 year old child almost invariably works at a "blind alley job" that affords no opportunity for advancement, gives no training and from which he is ousted when he demands an adult's wages."

THE MASSACHUSETTS Commission on Vocational Training discovered that 90% of the children from 14-16 were employed at unskilled or low skilled jobs possessing no educational value, and addition kept their jobs for only a short time, two months, on an average. These evils are not compensated for by the wage which the children receive, which in 1905 was on about \$3.40 a week.

Figs do not grow on thistles nor do such leaden thoughts as find room in the minds of these unfortunate children develop into golden opportunities.

The report of W. H. Swift on Child Welfare in North Carolina shows that although the marriage of the feeble-minded is forbidden by the state laws no penalty is imposed on the clergyman or the official who performs the marriage ceremony, even if he knows the conditions. The law makers must have been in a hurry when that law was passed.

The state education law is also somewhat primitive. It requires school attendance for only four months a year for children between the ages of eight and fourteen with "exception," in cases of poverty. This state also allows children to go to work at twelve years of age, and it frequently happens that the child leaves school each year at the end of four months to return the following year to the same grade.

Evidently the child hasn't much to expect from the law. Isn't it about time to permit the mother a knowledge of Birth Control and let her solve this problem by refusing to bring into the world unwanted babies, whose infant lives must be wrecked by toil?

Charity or Contraceptives?

By "PACCUSE"

THE REPORT of the Baltimore Vice Commission published in the *Survey* of May, 1916, showed that two well known institutions in Baltimore for the reception of newborn infants exhibited these conditions: (1) That "privacy," in these institutions was granted according to the ability to pay. If you were poor and wished to seem respectable, ward privacy was all you could get. If you had more to spend on your eleventh hour respectability, you could get a private room and the superintendent promised that "no one in the world would know that you have been there." If this situation were not so tragic it would be ridiculous.

If the child was to be left in the institution it was to be separated from its mother at once and placed in a "nursery." The name, in view of later developments, seems a sarcasm. This would cost \$125 or \$200, if so much could be extracted, and it was to be paid in advance. The mother, in this case, was required to sign a document relinquishing the child entirely. The child "must never be asked for, heard from nor claimed under any circumstances." If the mother should wish to claim it she must pay board for it at the rate of \$20 a month.

A special study of the babies who were placed in one institution when less than a month old showed that in fifteen years, beginning in 1900, not a single one not removed from the institution before the sixth month lived. In the other institutions the mortality rate was reduced to 97.5. What became of the less than 3 per cent. of unfortunate survivors, the investigators either did not know, or hadn't the heart to say.

Over thirty clergymen of various denominations, some of whom were social workers as well, were interviewed and only two of them seemed to think it at all reprehensible to aid in the separating of mother and child. Respectability is indeed a tyrant and greatly to be feared by the child who is impracticable enough to have "illegitimate" parents. Probably all of these gentlemen would have been greatly shocked at the mention of Birth Control, or of the comparatively humane device of disposing of those babies at birth by knocking them on the head as is done with superfluous kittens.

THE FOLLOWING translation from Mme. Cappy's book which appeared last year shows what may happen in France to a legitimate child whose parents are forced by circumstances to appeal to public charity. "We all know," she says, "the lamentable existence of charity children, confided to the care of rough and avaricious farmers. Talented artists and men of feeling have often depicted the desolating histories of the little shepherds and farm servants; the resignation of these feeble creatures doomed to humiliation and hard work; the revolt of some of them—often of the best among them—the punishments of the houses of correction. We also know of the calvary of mothers, who driven by the misery, prejudice, irony of their surroundings have entrusted their little ones to the public aid and have grown old with remorse and an-

guish in their hearts. I will give, as an example, the history of a woman who came to see me at the beginning of the war.

"Her son was a year old when her husband fell ill; she made only thirty cents a day. Her neighbors kept helping her with public aid. One day at the end of her strength she took her baby there. Later, having become a widow, and earning a little more, she wished to get him back. She addressed herself to the authorities. They demanded that she reimburse them for the expenses of the administration. She did not have the sum required. She never got it. As the years passed, the debt increased. Her son was somewhere on a farm—never would they tell her where. Never would they let her see him. From month to month, to relieve themselves of her too insistent petitions, they sent her a card with the words: 'Number X is doing well.' That was all for twenty years. The war came. Number X was a soldier. He had to fight. I remember the tragedy of her voice as she said to me:

"Is he wounded? Is he a prisoner? If they would only tell me where he was, I would send him a dollar or a package. I would write to him. How he must suffer, the poor child, who does not know me, who curses me perhaps. The others have mothers who write to them. . . ."

And I can hear her still softly sobbing, "He will die and I shall never see him?"

Such are the conditions which prevail in some cases in Baltimore and in France. Perhaps they are different in New York. We all know that when a New York City official tried to find out a few years ago, he started something that was very upsetting. We are not in a position to do anything more than recommend these matters to the attention of our readers.

"There Will Come A Day"

By Angela Morgan

I SAW two children, once, their mother in prison, I think—
 God! Shall I put it in ink?
 My shuddering flesh faints when I think of those children,
 Think of their dirt, their red-eyed, horrible plight;
 Even now as I write,
 With the shield of the years between,
 I am sick at what I have seen.
 O men, O women, you shrink!
 You raise offended hands to your horrified eyes—
 Would you cure the sore by disguise?
 Would you hide the festering wound with tinsel and lace?
 Well, cover your face,
 Smile and smother your soul as you may,
 There will come a day!

—from "Forward March."

THE EDITOR'S UNEASY CHAIR

IN REGARD TO THE DISCUSSION in these columns, as to whether or not procreation is the sole purpose of the sex instinct, opinion seems to be decidedly on the negative side. For example: Dr. William J. Robinson in the February number of *The Critic and Guide*, after remarking that while he knows he would be in much better standing with a certain class of idealists if he could persuade himself to the opposite belief, proceeds to mention a few of the obstacles which make that belief contrary to reason and common sense.

FIRST: It would limit men and women to twelve relations in a lifetime, at the most. To a student of actual facts this seems quite preposterous. The sex instinct begins, perhaps ten years before, in our civilization, marriage is permitted. The instinct works all the year around and does not cease when its aim is accomplished. It exists in men and women who are sterile. Dr. Robinson concludes that the results of the instinct are secondary, incidental, and often undesirable consequences of the union of the sexes. Its primary purpose is higher, nobler, more socializing and more contributing to the sum total of human happiness.

Havelock Ellis, in his pamphlet, "The Objects of Marriage," arrives at the same conclusion through somewhat different reasoning. He says that even if the primary end of the sex instinct is to rear children, the secondary function which has been developing through the ages has become the inspiring stimulus of all those psychic energies which are counted most precious in civilization. He compares the evolution of this secondary function to that of the functional products of the human race. The hand was developed from the animal forelimb to grasp material things, but it can now play the violin and paint. It has taken God—or nature,—millions of years to evolve man, and to raise the human species above that helpless bondage to reproduction which marks the lower animals. Some people have not yet realized this. He mentions the isolated position of the Anglican Bishop of Southwark, before the National Birth Rate Commission held in London three years ago. This bishop maintained that procreation was the sole legitimate end of marriage, and that the relation of men and women except for that end, is degrading. The Commission was formed of representative men and women of various beliefs, Protestants, Catholics and so on. Not one identified himself with the opinion of this "materially" minded Bishop, while several decisively opposed it as contrary to the best beliefs of ancient and modern times and as representing a low rather than a high moral standard.

SOME ONE HAS sent us this clipping from an evening paper, and asked us what we had to say about it:

Former Jersey School Teacher Sued by Husband

Chicago, — David A. Maladien, today asked annulment of his marriage to Ethel A. Butler Maladien, former Jersey City school teacher, alleging she refused to be a mother. They were married Jan. 21.

Frankly, on the information contained in this paragraph, we don't know what to say about it. Perhaps the lady's reasons were excellent. Perhaps she thought she would not make a good mother; perhaps she thought Mr. Maladien would not make a good father. Perhaps she thought nine days too short time in which to accomplish so important a matter, or perhaps it wasn't the real reason at all, but only what the man decided to say. One thing we do think without any "perhaps," and that is, if she knew enough to teach school and he, enough to be married at all, they should have talked the matter under contention, over before they got the license.

CAN ANYONE ANSWER satisfactorily Mr. Henry Adams' question as to "Why Woman Is Unknown in America"? (p. 384 of "The Education"). "Once," he says, "woman had been supreme; in France she is still deemed potent, not merely as a sentiment, but as a force." Evidently he thinks "America was ashamed of her, and she was ashamed of herself, otherwise they would not have strewn fig leaves so profusely all over her. When she was a true force, she was ignorant of fig leaves, but the monthly magazine-made American female had not a feature that would have been recognized by Adam. Mr. Adams thinks that all previous ages and even the Puritans knew that neither Diana of the Ephesians nor any of the Oriental goddesses was worshipped for her beauty. She was goddess because of her force. Who or what is responsible for our present benighted condition?"

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 2)

always done well, being scientifically managed, has devoted herself for the last thirty-five years to improving, along the same lines, her Hollanders. She furnished information on parenthood. She established clinics giving contraceptive information to the poor who needed it. New Zealand did the same. A great movement is on foot in Great Britain to copy the methods of New Zealand. Other countries are in the van of progress.

How much longer are we going to allow dead laws, passed by dead men, who perhaps would know better now, to make expiatory sacrifices of future generations upon the altar of their ignorance?

Book Reviews

APPLIED EUGENICS. By Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson. Macmillan Co. 450 pp. Price \$2.10.

The subject of eugenics has been given too little attention by the mass of people, who imagine eugenicists wish to breed human beings for perfect physical characteristics alone. To such we recommend "Applied Eugenics," by Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson, for an interesting and readable account of the real aims and value of the science of eugenics.

About a third of the book is devoted to the proof that heredity, rather than environment, is mainly responsible for character. The origin and growth of the eugenics movement is told, and the methods advocated by eugenicists for improving the quality of the human race.

The chapter on the eugenic aspects of certain reforms outlines the relation of these reforms to eugenics, but unfortunately the trend of the argument in each case seems to be that, eugenically, reform is not advisable. A tax on land values, it is stated, is not likely to be eugenic; mothers' pensions are probably slightly dysgenic rather than eugenic; motherhood endowment is not eugenic; old age pensions paid by the state would be dysgenic in a number of ways; there are dysgenic features in trade unionism; and a minimum wage is unquestionably dysgenic. It seems inconceivable that our present makeshifts are less harmful to the race than practically all the reforms suggested or attempted to date would be.

Readers of this Review will find the book interesting for its assent to the cause of Birth Control, though the authors themselves seem inclined to place more reliance on restrictive eugenics—sterilization of the feeble-minded, and life-long segregation of the unfit—than on Birth Control.

"There is no justification," the book states, "for hoping to influence the race for good through the action of any kind of external influences; and there is not much danger of influencing it for ill through these external influences. The situation must be faced squarely then: if the race is to be improved, it must be by the use of the material already in existence; by endeavor to change the birth and death rates so as to alter the relative proportions of the amounts of good and bad germ-plasm in the race."

And again: "It is at once evident that a decline rather than an increase, in the birth-rate of some sections of the population, is wanted. There are some strata at the bottom that are a source of weakness rather than of strength to the race, and a source of unhappiness to themselves and those around them. These should be reduced in number."

Having written that the race can only be improved by a change in the birth and death rates; and that a decline is desired in the birth rate of some sections of the population, it is difficult to understand why the authors are not stronger in their support of Birth Control, since it is by this means alone that the birth rate can be appreciably reduced in large sections of the population. It would obviously be impossible to segregate whole sections of the population as unfit.

WOMEN: Anonymous. Alfred A. Knopf. 150 pp. \$1.25.

A mid-Victorian conception of 20th Century conditions. The anonymous author, be he man or woman or a little of neither, cannot accept the changes that have come about in the status of women. He admits their ever-increasing activities, and ascribes them all to feminine vanity. Woman, not content with her laurels as the mere sex creature which she is, has sought new trophies in man's own world. So far, owing to man's great good nature she has been able to have things both ways. These Elysian days will soon be over. The men will come back from the war truculent and full of their rights. They will no longer be chivalrous toward women dabbling in industry.

Confronted with real competition, the woman will fail. Without man's moral support she always collapses. She lacks physical stability. There won't be men enough under the monogamic system to go around so she won't be able to ply her usual trade of matrimony.

Thus ambushed in every direction, even the author admits that her position is not reassuring. She will be crabbed, but only for a hundred years or more. Then she will readjust herself and the good old times will come once more. Taught by failure, she will again be content to look at things through men's eyes and to exist solely for his comfort and entertainment. This is sure to be her end, for, and this is the final triumph of the author's analysis, she is only receptive, she can never create and therefore she can only attain through man to anything but mysteries. Either the author has no sense of humor or anything else, or he is making fun of us all. The question is—is it worth while wading through so many exploded fallacies to be, in the end, confronted by such a riddle?

Two Reviews by Harold Hersey

KNOWLEDGE A YOUNG WIFE SHOULD HAVE and **KNOWLEDGE A YOUNG HUSBAND SHOULD HAVE.** By Dr. A. A. Philip and H. R. Murray. Sex Knowledge Series. David McKay, Philadelphia. Price, 75c.

It is about time these old gentlemen of ye honored profession should stop writing tiresome, dull, valueless treatises, on sex, marriage and love. In these two books we meet the typical "old maid" authors, with their panaceas for all ills. In one book they go into detail advising the prospective bridegroom to confer with the sweetheart's parents—for mercy's sake, if children were raised properly, we would not have to fear any sane discussion with our lady loves.

In the other book the writer speaks of "The curse of the corset"—"Economy in rent"—etc. In both volumes the authors dodge birth control, putting up a lot of fake ideas to cover their fears of coming straight out in defence of this urgent necessity in modern society.

We are all weary of caouffage by doctors—authors. About ninety per cent of the profession believe and practice what they dare not preach. Such tommyrot. We certainly cannot recommend these two books by a pair of doddering puritans . . . two silly volumes by two silly moralists.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Profits of Religion. By Upton Sinclair. Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California. 315 pp. Price, \$1, cloth; 50c, paper.

Labor Movement in Japan. By Sen Katayama. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 147 pp. Price, \$1.

Creative Impulse in Industry. By Helen Marot. E. P. Dutton Co. 147 pp. Price, \$1.50.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

14th Annual Report of National Child Labor Committee. By Owen R. Lovejoy. National Child Labor Committee, 105 West 22nd Street, New York. 18 pp. Price, 5 cents.

The Child Labor Bulletin, Feb., 1919. National Child Labor Committee, New York. 296 pp. Price, 50c.

Child Labor in Warring Countries. By Anna Rochester. National Child Labor Committee, New York. 11 pp. Price, 5c.

Children in Agriculture. By Ruth McIntyre. National Child Labor Committee. 15 pp.

High Cost of Child Labor. National Child Labor Committee. 21 pp. Price, 5c.

The Journal of Delinquency. By Dr. Henry H. Goddard. Training School, Vineland, N. J. 34 pp.

Mentality of the Arriving Immigrant. B. E. H. Mullan. Bul. 90, United States Public Health Service. 131 pp.

Mental Examination of the Immigrant. By E. H. Mullan. Bul. 398, United States Public Health Service. 16 pp.

National Children's Policy. By Raymond C. Fuller. National Child Labor Committee. 8 pp. Price, 5c.

Self-Determination for India. By India Home Rule League, 1400 Broadway. 15 pp. Price, 10c.

“Not Fit to Print”

THE ABOVE IS THE MOTTO of the New York Times, and below is a letter sent to the Times in response to its yearly two-page presentation of the stories of “The Hundred Neediest Cases,”—those of the suffering poor who need immediate financial help.

The letter explains itself. But the Times editors evidently considered anything on birth control unfit to print, judging by the fact that a short time previously the Times refused to take an advertisement of the *Arbitrator* magazine, which contained a debate on birth control presenting arguments both pro and con.

To the Editor of the Times, New York City.

Sir: I hope the Hundred Neediest Cases will be aided. They certainly need it. I hope moreover that a good deal more will be subscribed this year than last year, when the average relief provided was \$135 per family. That will not go far when the cost of living has increased 67 per cent. I will gladly contribute \$25 toward the fund, if you will publish this letter of comment on the hundred cases.

In 41 of those cases, the suffering would have been greatly lessened and in some, avoided altogether if the parents had been intelligent enough to postpone the births of some of their children till they had more money and better health. In other words they were in dire need of the beneficent, scientific, contraceptive knowledge which our present benighted laws declare criminal.

In 18 of these cases, one and sometimes both of the parents, had tuberculosis for a long time preceding the birth of the younger children. It is well known that tubercular people, by an odd cruelty of nature, are more prolific than normal people. It is also well known that a tubercular woman with a baby coming menaces her own life and that of her baby. In case after case it is recorded that one, sometimes all of the children are predisposed to tuberculosis.

There are many cases where children have been born after insanity became evident in the father, many others where poor little babies had drunkards for fathers.

In all of these had the woman known how to protect herself from further motherhood, she might have stood a chance for health, a fair earning capacity, and opportunity for her existing children.

On behalf of thousands of parents who have definitely demanded that laws forbidding this knowledge be repealed, and whose names and addresses can be produced, and on behalf of the numberless thousands of inarticulate sufferers from lack of this information, I most earnestly ask the New York Times and its readers to supplement the appeal for the neediest hundred cases, by a vigorous demand that the New York law be changed forthwith, at this very next session of the Legislature which convenes the first week in January.

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The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By Charles Drysdale, Sc. B.

(Continued from March Issue)

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? It can only be explained in three ways. Either the birth-rate must have been remarkably low during the bulk of the time, or there must have been a tremendous emigration, or there must have been a very high death-rate. The first two explanations are obviously untenable. Although we have no records during the middle ages there can be no reasonable doubt that the marriage rate was higher than in recent times,* and emigration was certainly a very small factor. Evidently the slow increase was due to an exceedingly high death-rate which could only be caused by serious dearths of food. It cannot be explained by saying that it was due to want of medical knowledge or of sanitation, as, if so, how are we to explain the very rapid increase of population in United States, where certainly no better arrangements existed in the early days? No, the slow growth of the English population, except for very serious and prolonged wars, can only be explained on the ground of almost chronic insufficiency of food, and the same applies to every one of the older civilizations.

The foregoing is an example of the *reductio ad absurdum* method of proof so familiar to students of Euclid. Having stated our law that population is continually pressing against the means of subsistence, we have proceeded to find out how fast population would have increased if no such lack of subsistence existed. That rate of increase was manifestly so

absurd, in comparison with the actual or even conceivable rate of continual increase, as to show that the hypothesis of adequate subsistence was absurd.—Q. E. D.

THE LAW OF CORRESPONDENCE of Birth and Death rates, the next deduction from the principle of Malthus, is the most momentous of all from the humanitarian standpoint. If population constantly presses against the means of subsistence, the increase of population is kept back to the increase of subsistence, just as the speed of a train must be kept back to that of a train in front of it on the same track.

Now, in each country over a considerable period there is a fairly constant rate at which its food supply can be increased, either by improvements of its methods of agriculture, by the bringing of new land into cultivation, by improvements of means of transport, or by the development of its manufactures, which can be exchanged for the food of other countries.

In long-settled countries, confined chiefly to the advance of agriculture, like France, India and China, this increase must be comparatively slow. In those having large tracts of new land, like Canada and Australasia, it may be very high, as it formerly was in the United States. The same is true of countries which, although long settled, have only recently escaped from severe feudal restrictions, as in Russia and the Balkan States. In the last category are countries which have already developed their agriculture fairly fully, but have natural resources and aptitude for manufacturing, as, for example, Great Britain, Germany and the United States at the present day;

Of course, this proof does not necessarily apply to civilized countries at the present time of considerably restricted families, but it most certainly does to Eastern nations and to the world as a whole.

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and in these the increase will, as a rule, be at an intermediate rate. That is to say, that each country has a more or less definite speed of its food train (to use the analogy previously adopted) fixed by the energy and capability of its inhabitants and by its natural resources.

What conclusion do we draw from this? Simply that as the population train cannot pass the food train, it can only advance at the same rate; and therefore any attempt to advance more rapidly will only cause collisions and loss of life. Or, in terms of population, all excess of the birth-rate over a certain minimum required to keep pace with the food supply will only cause an increase of the death-rate, without accelerating the increase of population.

In other words, a high birth-rate implies a high death rate, a low birth rate a low death rate; and a rise or fall of the former should produce an approximately equal rise or fall

of the latter. This may be called the law of correspondence of birth and death rates.

(Continued in May Issue)

MANUSCRIPT, NOTES, Etc.

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The Federation of Neo-Malthusian Leagues
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CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Dutgers, 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*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, 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 Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janerio.
- 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. Secretary, Dr. Luigi Berta, Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street
- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Dr. L. A. Young, 5152 Haverford Avenue.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*The Citizen's Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*Birth Control League of Ohio*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, 10601 Ashbury Avenue, secretary.
- DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 W. 97th Street, chairman.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- 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 Letter to the Women of America

The war is over. You, the women who were beginning to take an interest in Birth Control and its meaning in our social development, were thrown by the war into a multitude of new duties. You were unable, while the conflict lasted, to give thought, time or money to any movement, no matter how worthy, no matter how pregnant with good to women or to society as a whole.

But the war is over; you are back in your homes, with time to rest and reflect. You have given two years of energy and devotion to the cause of "the boys over there." Now will you not give the same measure of time, energy, money and devotion to "the women over here"?

Governments have acknowledged universally the tremendous part you have played in winning the war. There have been a multitude of official communications, proclamations, resolutions and memorials attesting that victory could not have come without you.

Yet, you who have aided in winning the war, have been but a very small percentage of the women of the world. Only those who were unmarried were able to help. Or these married women who were not over-burdened with too many children. No woman could help who was tied to the domestic machine.

You were able to give your services because you were free—free through a knowledge of Birth Control. Had you been mothers of eight, nine or ten children, you could not have gone from place to place, "doing your bit," no matter how much you desired to do so.

You owe your freedom directly or indirectly to the Birth Control movement and the knowledge which it spreads.

No amount of money could have freed you from the worries, trials and sickness, of children and of yourselves, which a knowledge of Birth Control has spared you. You were indeed fortunate, for you are free from these chains.

By nature, and according to the laws of the state and the nation, you should have borne at least one child for every two years of your married life. Count up and see how many children you would have had, had not the idea and the knowledge of Birth Control been available to you.

Reflect upon the fact that there are millions of overburdened mothers in America to whom this knowledge is a sealed book—to whom freedom such as yours is, therefore denied.

In gratitude for this knowledge, will you not come to the aid of the women from whom it is withheld? Will you not, for every child that you would have had, had you not known how to limit your family, purchase one \$10. share of stock in *The Birth Control Review*?

For every bond you purchase, I promise to free ten women from the bondage of ignorance.

You have purchased Liberty Bonds for the men "over there." Why not "Liberty Bonds" **now** for the women "over here?"

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

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Why Not Birth Control Clinics in America? *By Margaret Sanger*

“The question then is whether we are to have intelligent Birth Control . . . or unintelligent, dangerous Birth Control . . . ?” says the Editor of American Medicine. **Read the article on page 12.**

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

MARGARET SANGER
Editor

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY
MOTHERHOOD

MARY KNOBLAUCH
Managing Editor

VOL. III

NEW YORK, MAY, 1919

No. 5

Editorial Comment

By Mary Knoblauch

STANDING BY THE bedside of a woman dying in child-birth, Martin Luther is supposed to have said:—"If a woman grows weary and at last dies from child bearing, it matters not. Let her then die from child bearing. She is here to do it."

These brave words may have been a consolation to the sorrowing father and husband, called upon to contemplate the result of his casual act—but were they wise or aptly spoken from any other standpoint?

Would anyone, for example, engage a chauffeur who said of his machine, "It's no matter if it breaks down, burns out, loses its parts, goes into the junk heap; that is what it is for." No! Certainly not. Machines cost money. The people who pay for them know that to give satisfaction they must be well treated. They must be oiled, greased and watered. They must have gasoline. They must be kept clean and in repair. Otherwise neither pleasure nor profit can be had from them. The merest Ford contrives to concentrate upon itself more care and attention than often falls to the lot of the reproductive machine called woman.

THEY—MACHINES—REQUIRE rest. They can't be run all the time to the limit of their capacity and give either good service or long service. They also require individual attention. No one expects a Buick to run like a Rolls-Royce, nor a truck to keep pace with a racer. It is considered sheer stupidity when a man does not know what his engine can do, and tries to make twenty horse power do the work of eighty. There are expert machinists to give instruction in the physical make-up and capacity of different cars. The law, please note, does not frown upon the giving of this necessary knowledge. The citizen has a right to be as happy, as safe, as satisfied as expert advice can make him when it is merely an automobile that is concerned. It is only women's bodies that must be used to death for want of information and the whole race that must suffer from this lack of foresight.

The State has found it wise to license chauffeurs. No one is allowed to drive on the highways who has not proved to the satisfaction of competent judges that he knows at least how to start and stop his engine. The more natural method of learning to drive by experience was found incompatible with the safety of the public. It is a crime to overload ferryboats

and elevators or to operate them when you don't know how. Machinery won't stand for much nonsense. It refuses to be strained beyond its limit. Hence it is treated with respect. Yet it is a far greater menace to the safety of the public to overstrain woman with child bearing, even if it be true that she has, as Martin Luther suggested, no other function than the reproduction of the race. To do that properly, she must at least be accorded the same measure of consideration that is shown to other machines.

Holland and New Zealand have seen the wisdom of giving her at least that much attention. Their physicians give expert advice on the limitations of the family, as they give it on club feet or squint eyes. The result has been fewer but sounder children, a great lowering of mortality, and a net increase in the population. Parents there, like chauffeurs here, have been taught how to go about their business.

MOREOVER, AND IN this respect woman differs from other machines, the smallest part of her work is done with the delivery of her child to the world. It is just as important for the welfare of the race that the mother should have the strength, the time, and the knowledge to bring up her children properly after they are here, as it is for her to bear them and die doing it.

If it is too much to expect that women should be regarded as human beings with the right of self-determination in the matter of child bearing, let public opinion at least realize that she can't perform her duty as the race-producing machine, if she is forced to continue childbearing when she is mentally, physically, or economically unfitted for the task. Let the laws be so altered that the doctors in the clinics may give advice, when it is needful to women of the poorer classes. If our doctors don't know what advice to give, let them go to the Dutch and find out.

Queen Victoria, in a letter to King Albert of Belgium, written in 1841, says:—"I think, dearest Uncle, that you cannot really wish me to be the 'mamma d'une nombreuse famille,' for I think you will see the great inconvenience a large family would be to us all, and particularly to the country, independent of the hardship and inconvenience to myself. Men never think, at least seldom think, what a hard task it is for us women to go through this very often." These were the words of a queen and a domesticated, conservative queen at that. She is not supposed to have had radical ideas to upset her equilibrium. She did not have to wash and bake and brew for her children, she could count with certainty on having all possible care and attention for herself, and yet she considered the task

of having children a hard one, and realized that men seldom thought about that side of it, or thought about it as Luther did, with a sense of secure detachment.

THE DAY HAS come, however, when they must think about it. The legislators must see that the day for blind domineering is done. Fear and ignorance never were the obedient weapons slave drivers hoped they would be. Slave labor was neither intelligent nor economical. The slavery our laws impose on mothers will, in the future of voluntary motherhood, seem just as absurd. The day will come here, as it has come and is coming in other lands, when physicians will give contraceptive information for the benefit of the race, as they now prescribe glasses to preserve the eyesight. Woman, the breeding machine, will get at least as much care as the automobile.

Judge Advocate on Birth Control

MAJOR J. C. RUPENTHAL, a judge advocate of the United States Army, formerly judge of one of the most important judicial districts in Kansas, gives his views on Birth Control in a recent letter to the Birth Control Review:

"I have some firm convictions on the subject of Birth Control. I am unable to agree with the extent or extremes of sentiment often found in the columns of the Birth Control Review. But I do think that people should consider the subject in calmness and not reject the whole matter out of prejudice or superstition, etc. Everyone ought to start in with positive convictions that the insane, the imbecile, the idiotic, the syphilitic, and perhaps other forms of physical defects that are incurable and transmissible, should not be reproduced. Nor should any woman bear children to a point that is dangerous to the well being, largely regarded, of either mother or child; but how far to go must be a controverted matter permanently.

"I hope some time to be able to follow your suggestion of summarizing all cases decided by courts, touching these laws whose summary has been made by me. My experience as judge in hundreds of divorce cases sustains your view that the matters touched by Birth Control lead to much marital unhappiness and to divorce."

N. B. C. L. Begins Fifth Year

IN VIEW OF the world events that occupied the public mind so engrossingly during the whole of its life-time, the National Birth Control League feels that it may well be justified in its conviction that "the first four years are the hardest."

Organized in the spring of 1915, it has carried on all its difficult initial organization and promotion work against the heavy odds presented by the war; and therefore at the beginning of its fifth year, with the war over and with a substantial membership and a sound foundation of public opinion to stand on, it looks forward to a future of comparative easy going.

At the annual meeting held April 14th at the home of Mrs. Minturn Pinchot, a new Executive Committee was elected as follows:

Miss Anita Ashley, Miss Elinor Byrns, Mrs. Lucian Cary, Mrs. Walter Chambers, Mrs. Mabel Potter Daggett, Dr. A. L. Goldwater, Miss Alice Riggs Hunt, Mrs. Maxwell Hyde, Maxwell Hyde, Mrs. Louise Kneeland, Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Mrs. Lillian R. Sire, Miss Kathleen Taylor, Mrs. John H. Williams.

Mrs. Maxwell Hyde was re-elected chairman, and Mrs. Minturn Pinchot was made treasurer.

TWO CHANGES IN the constitution were made. One adds to the "objects" of the League the clause "to promote the distribution of all the best contraceptive information, as soon as legally permitted, through clinics, dispensaries and all other effective agencies." Another creates an associate non-dues paying membership of persons who accept in writing the aims and principles of the League.

Plans were made for vigorous prosecution of the work in Congress and the State Legislature and the general propaganda through literature and meetings.

A new executive secretary, Mrs. Frances Maude Bjorkman, has been engaged. Some new and pertinent literature is promised for an early date.

Too Bad

By Helen Hoyt.

Too bad the stork, when he comes,
Will not stay
And sew the dresses,
And give the baths and bottles.
Only a moment it takes him to set down his load;
Then he is off to the sky again
With never a look back for us!

The BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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The Origin and Working of the Comstock Laws

By James F. Morton Jr.

THE FULL HISTORY of the censorship in sex matters remains to be written. Much material has been collected for the purpose; but the task will be one of great magnitude. It is certain that among the ancients there is little trace of the thought or feeling that the vital things of life require a special reticence in language or a veiled form of expression. What they had to utter on these themes was plainly expressed, with no strange fancy that a special virtue known as modesty required the use of innuendo, metaphor or euphemism to call up to the mind an idea naturally expressible in plain words. In view of the special activity of the churchly minded in seeking a religious sanction for the extreme prudery which has become a conventional virtue, it is interesting to note that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures are second to none of the writings of antiquity in the use of plain and explicit language with reference to sex organs, functions and acts. The advocates of verbal inspiration are therefore placed in the peculiar position of being required by the most elementary rules of logic to abandon their premise unconditionally, or to admit a divine example for the use of expressions which are today held to be under the ban.

It is not in the splendid classical civilizations and their literatures, any more than in the sacred books of the Christian and other Oriental religions, that a warrant is to be found for reading "obscenity" into the straightforward discussion of natural things. In fact, so persuaded are our censors themselves that the use of a foreign, especially a classical tongue purges references to sex matters of their assumed uncleanness that it is possible under even our present exaggerated censorship to print and circulate almost anything in the Latin language; so that not only medical works but books of all sorts for general circulation pass freely, although containing casual reference and quotations of the most baldly pornographic character, *provided* that the otherwise offending words or sentences are printed in Latin only.

The psychology which admits of this puerile subterfuge need hardly be characterized, being so far beneath contempt as to admit of no adequate term of reproach. Like the shameless hypocrisy of the censorship in other respects, such as the suppression of sober sex discussion and the impunity of the publications revelling in erotic *double entendre*, the prosecution of sellers of cheap editions of Boccaccio and like writers and the free course permitted to the publishers of *editions de luxe*, the "unwritten law" license given to medical periodicals above those of the laity, the liberty granted to certain classes of purchasing books which must not be sold to the public at large, this insane superstition that a word or idea is indecent in English and proper in Latin cannot be reconciled with the supposition of common intelligence or common honesty on the part of those who have usurped the right to dictate the speech and writing of the citizens of this country. Even a Comstock or a Sumner would hardly maintain with a grave face that the

wealthy, the members of certain professions or those able to read Latin are so much more pureminded than any of their fellow-citizens that contamination of their sweet souls is impossible; and no other hypothesis is tenable save that of cowardly or corrupt favoritism in the enforcement of the law. As speedily becomes the case with all censorships, the honest and just administration of the Comstock laws has never been even attempted by their author or by his successor.

UNTIL LONG PAST the Elizabethan period, the Anglo-Saxon world had not become afflicted with the scourge of prudery. The plain-spokenness of Shakespeare and still more that of Beaumont and Fletcher are familiar to all. The robust minds of that brilliant age saw no cause for blushing when a spade was called a spade. Throughout the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, although certain traces of affected reticence had begun to appear, creating a prurient mental nastiness which renders the dramas of Wycherly and Etherege consciously perverse, the process had not gone much farther than in other lands. In the Nineteenth century, however, apparently without rhyme or reason (although the historic causes may be determined when occasion permits a closer analysis), both England and America began to diverge with great rapidity from the rest of the world, until today the curious prudery notable in the typical Anglo-Saxon mind is the cause of amused and contemptuous surprise to the natives of other civilized lands, who have not yet developed so unwholesome an aversion to the normal view of sex. It has been our misfortune that British insularity and American vanity have concurred to develop in the English-speaking world a preposterous Phariseism of the "holier than thou" order, which has made it impossible for us "to see ourselves as others see us." The hint that our thin-skinned prudery could be anything but a token of superiority is taken as a kind of treason or at least a proof of unpardonable coarseness. Until a certain day in August, 1914, it was permissible to point to the French as an awful example of a people that had become decadent and rotten through failure to adopt Anglo-Saxon notions of modesty. That sort of statement has not been much in evidence for some time past, and is not likely to be renewed in the near future. History has a way of giving the lie to our little national racial conceits.

WHAT IS CALLED OBSCENITY, was not a crime under the common law of England. Space forbids the detailed proof of this statement; but any who doubt will find all question removed by consulting Theodore Schroeder's admirable work, "Obscene Literature and Constitutional Law," pages 33 to 41. It is not until 1868 that we find in England an unmistakable denial of the right to discuss sex matters with the freedom applied to other subjects. In the well-known case of Regina v. Hicklin, the court held a pamphlet attacking the Roman Catholic Confessional to be obscene in reveal-

ing some of the objectionable questions put by priests to their female penitents. This is what is called a "leading case," since the words of this court, although the product of loose and absurd reasoning, have ever since been blindly followed in both England and America, in spite of the fact that the United States had at that time been a separate nation for over ninety years, and our judges were in no way bound to adopt the vagaries of the British courts.

The test of obscenity gravely put forward was "whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscene is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall." In other words, sane and well-balanced human beings are not to be permitted to read anything that might have an injurious effect on the minds of the feeble-minded and degenerate! The monstrosity of the proposition is self-evident; and it is hard to retain any respect for English and American courts which have for fifty years parrot-mouthed it as if it were inspired gospel. The sight of jewelry in a window may deprave the sense of honesty of a poor weakling; and the sight of the American flag may incite in an *abnormally minded* alien enemy or social revolutionist the impulse to murder. Therefore the jeweler and the patriot should be imprisoned for the crime of a possible tendency to "deprave or corrupt" some hypothetical person of a weak or already depraved nature. The absurdity and infamy of the dictum become no less when applied in the single realm of sex, instead of being extended to all parallel cases. It should be borne in mind that this British judicial atrocity was perpetrated just five years before the so-called Comstock laws were enacted; and that our statutory legislation has since been systematically interpreted in the light of this more than dubious case settled under the vague idea of a general duty to protect the fragile "public morals."

IN THIS COUNTRY, the open display and sale of pornographic literature has been under the ban from an early period, under the general idea of preserving the public eye from gross scandal; but obscenity-hunting as a fine art and favorite pastime began among us with the rise from obscurity of the somewhat unsavory character known as Anthony Comstock.

The early life of the notorious American censor contains nothing of special note. It has been charged that during one period he was addicted to somewhat abnormal and reprehensible sex practices; but the evidence is not clear. In any case, when approaching the age of thirty, about the year 1872, he suddenly acquired publicity by his vehement and extreme denunciations of the alleged corruption of the youth of America by a flood of obscene literature. His impetuous propaganda won him a large following; and in 1873, he besieged Congress with the demand that laws be immediately passed to curb the monstrous and growing evil. In the course of his energetic lobbying, he exhibited to the horrified gaze of the congressmen a number of samples of pornographic matter, claiming that the schools and colleges were being deluged with them. No hint was given at this time of any ulterior purpose; and the later wild extravagances of the censor in his systematic attacks on literature, art, science and serious reform propaganda

were kept carefully secreted from the attention of the lawmakers. The whole plea was based on the sale of pornographic literature to the young, and the use of the mails to spread this "moral filth" among the school children. Naturally, nobody wished to appear as a defender of pornography; and no legislator even dreamed that anything further was involved. In the rush of the closing days of the congressional session, the exact text of the apparently laudable measure received no careful scrutiny. As a matter of fact, the bill was passed in the last hours of the session with practically no discussion, being hurriedly jammed through together with some two hundred and sixty other acts. As later changes have been made, the text of the original act may be of interest:

"Sec. 3893. No obscene, lewd or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, print or other publication of an indecent character, or any article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion, nor any article or thing intended or adopted for any indecent or immoral use or nature, nor any written or printed card, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly, where or how, or of whom, or by what means either of the things before mentioned may be obtained or made, nor any letter upon the envelope of which, or postal card upon which indecent or scurrilous epithets may be written or printed, shall be carried in the mail; and any person who shall knowingly deposit, or cause to be deposited, for mailing or delivery, any of the herein before-mentioned articles or things, or any notice or paper containing any advertisement relating to the aforesaid articles or things; and any person who, in pursuance of any plan or scheme for disposing of any of the herein-before-mentioned articles or things, shall take or cause to be taken from the mail any such letter or package, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, for every offense, be fined not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five thousand dollars, or imprisoned at hard labor not less than one year, nor more than ten years, or both."

THIS WAS MERELY the entering wedge. It is bad enough, with its vague epithets, depriving any person accused of mailing "obscene literature" of anything like due process of law, since the whim of a peculiarly narrow-minded judge or ignorant jury might condemn any man or woman to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor and a fine of five thousand dollars for a harmless reference to sex, which no normal human being would dream of finding obscene. Nor is this mere fancy, as many actual cases of vindictive and unscrupulous persecution can bear witness. Moses Harman, for example, one of the most sincere and high-minded social reformers in our history, suffered a long term of imprisonment for publishing in his paper, *Lucifer*, an indignant protest against the brutal assault by a bestial ruffian upon his sick wife. Nevertheless, even this blanket provision did not suffice to enable the censor to vent his spleen upon those whom he desired to injure; and, subsequent amendments, bringing the law into its present form, were successively procured by him. The addition of the word "filthy" to the adjectives in the original act was made to cover matter which dealt with sex in such a way that even the Comstock type of mind could not bring it under the definition of obscenity in the cases *Reg. v. Hicklin*. Another amendment subjected private correspondence, hitherto always held sacred, to the insolent invasion of an unprincipled censorship. Numerous verbal changes were made, with the general intention of stopping up every loophole, and of giving to a prejudiced judge or jury so many possible catchwords on which

to convict that it should be rendered unsafe for any person so much as to mention the subject of sex for fear of falling into one of the traps set for honest reformers rather than for specialists in pornography.

In fact, the wording of the law is so vague and comprehensive that its literal enforcement would be utterly impossible. As stated above, the censors have never ventured to carry it out to the letter, without fear or favor. Physicians, lawyers, Latin scholars and to some extent scholars of other foreign tongues, and above all the wealthy, have been systematically granted immunity from the strict construction applied in the case of American citizens in general, as equality before the law is no part of the program of the censorship. In reality, the rules applied in the case of those not protected by favoritism would bar the Bible and Shakespeare from the mails under heavy penalties, would wipe out many of our popular magazines and would cause the suspension of most medical periodicals. The provisions regarding prevention of conception (evidently understood by the legislators who passed it, as by the ignorant today, as merely synonymous with abortion) would make it a crime to preach chastity or delayed marriage, or to advocate the sterilization of the criminal or unfit. *Nay, there is in the files of the National Birth Control League a letter sent to me by Anthony Comstock himself, in which he specifically violates his own law, by giving me definite information of a certain "article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception," and which has been very frequently used for that purpose. Men have gone to jail for no more than the great censor himself wrote to me.*

THE ACTUAL ENFORCEMENT of the law has been marked by a long trail of persecution, falling largely on the highest type of men and women. While the claim of Comstock and of his successor, Mr. Sumner, that vast quantities of pornographic literature has been suppressed, need not be disputed, any possible good in this direction has been offset beyond all comparison by the mischief of creating a reign of terror with reference to all wholesome and candid discussion of sex, out of which light and guidance might come. The emasculation of our literature has been fraught with pernicious consequences in the lowering of our national virility of mind. Art has suffered; and the mischief done to public health and normal living by enforced ignorance is beyond all computation. If the censorship really wished what it originally pretended, to protect the immature minds of the young from the unwholesome suggestions of pornography as thrust upon them for commercial purposes, the end could be achieved without an autocratic dictation to mature men and women without the persecution of sincere educators and reformers. I have myself offered a reasonable compromise law (in *Case and Comment, June, 1916*), to the following effect: Repeal the present law altogether, since the vagueness of its provisions furnishes no criterion of guilt or innocence. Confine the prohibitory clause to the display in public places, or the mailing, exhibiting, giving, loaning or selling to children below a certain age of any pornographic product; and let pornography be specifically defined as any art or other product exhibiting persons or animals performing an act of sexual conjugation or of

sexual satisfaction in any other form, or suggesting such an act or inviting to or preparing for it or in a state of sexual excitement, or calling attention by pointing, gesture, pose, attitude, or otherwise of the spectator or of other persons or animals represented, to the sexual organs, whether exposed or indicated under clothing, more than to any other part of the body or to the body as a whole; also any writing or print, pamphlet, book, etc., describing the pleasures of sexual excitement or of its gratification by any means whatever, normal or abnormal, or describing any specific instances of any form of sexual gratification or inviting to the performance of such acts or recommending them. Proper exceptions can be framed to remove all danger of the inclusion of medical writings or physiological textbooks or magazine articles in the scope of the prohibition; and the advertising and sale of means of abortion, except for the preservation of life or health, may be included. The foregoing is not offered as verbally perfect, but as indicating the direction and the limits of legitimate restrictive legislation.

The federal government is, of course, concerned only with the mailability of the articles mentioned, as the question of display, sale, gift or loan belong to state provisions. I have not referred above to state laws. Suffice it to say that they have followed the line of the federal statutes, containing the same vagueness and offering scope to the same abuses. The New York and several of the other statutes were framed by Comstock himself, and enacted shortly after the passage of the federal law in 1873; and these have been copied by other states. It may also be added that additional federal laws, later secured by Comstock's influence, forbid the use of express companies or of any other common carriers to transport such articles as are barred from the mails. This was done in the face of a decision of the United States Supreme Court (*U. S. v. Jackson, 96 U. S. 727*), which expressly declared that Congress could not lawfully commit so gross an invasion of personal liberty.

THE REPEAL OF THE clauses prohibiting the giving of Birth Control information is the special immediate issue. This legislation is anomalous in every way. With the exception of a freak law in Connecticut, no statute book in this country (and probably none in the world) contains anything so preposterous as a prohibition of Birth Control. Yet the federal and state laws make it a crime to furnish the means of doing an absolutely lawful act, or to give information concerning the same! It is a piece of legislative insanity probably without a parallel. In getting rid of it, we shall be rendering a vast service, not merely to the host of unwilling mothers, not merely to our country and to the human race, but to the decency and dignity of our lawbooks themselves. While concentrating on this great work, however, let none of us forget that the entire body of the Comstock law is an infamous travesty on law and justice. Its unconditional repeal would be in immeasurable improvement on the present state of things; but if we are afflicted with the timid fear that a little salacious reading will ruin our youth, in spite of all the counter influences of the home and the school, I have shown above an

(Continued on page 18)

And Now ?

By Virginia C. Young

AS WE SIT DOWN to count the cost of the World War, surely the grimmest fact of all the grimness, the outstanding horror of all horrors, is the wholesale destruction of large numbers of the young and the fit. For each nation has given of its best—those boys who were to have been the fathers of that newer and better race which each generation always hopes is to arise for the building of the better and fairer next.

Nor has the signing of the armistice brought, nor does the signing of the final peace treaty seem to promise a surcease from the pain and loss. The Horses of the Apocalypse still ride on! And in our morning papers we read of eminent scientists dying of starvation in Petrograd, and scores of students and highly trained army officers executed in Moscow. While at last, in ill-concealed terror we plan to close the gates of our own nation to the "Red Peril," which is the peril of the badly born.

There are these who would speak of Birth Control to a world so sorely in need of men and women to "carry on." And we can understand the protest of these bewildered questioners. But the war has taught us many things. It has taught us to think for ourselves, as never before; and one of the things that we are beginning to see, gropingly at first and then more and more clearly, is that what the world needs is "not more of us, but a better brand of us."

MR. GALSWORTHY HAS recently made an eloquent, if unconscious plea for birth control in an article in the Atlantic Monthly. He argues that war is only possible in a world where there is a preponderance of human beings who love ugly things more than beautiful things. To whom a green hill-side in early spring is only a convenient place for gun-emplacements and barbed wire entanglements. And we might add, to whom a cathedral is only a bulky mass of material which interferes with the range of cannon; and not the product of human love and worship and sacrifice and the spirit of beauty which is the spirit of God!

But whence are to come these "lovers of beauty," the parents of the yet-unborn, who shall wisely, intelligently, yes and prayerfully, enter upon this vital business of producing offspring of the highest and finest type? Where but from the ranks of the boys and girls of today?

Yes, all of us must realize, men as well as women (for women have always striven, even if inarticulately, for the privilege of voluntary motherhood)—I say, all of us must realize that we cannot and dare not go on in the stupid, blundering old way. The time is here when we must see and confess to the rank hypocrisy of carefully limiting our own refined and exclusive family-stock while refusing to hold out the hand of intelligent sympathy to those others whose power to people the earth fills us with dismay. What some of us know,

all of us must know, in order that the day may come when no child shall be born into a society unready or unfit to welcome, to feed, to train and to properly provide for it. There is a task for Reconstructionists!

In this stirring appeal for a better race Miss Young refers to the "badly born" against whom we are thinking of closing our portals. It is interesting, in this connection, to note the efforts made by the present Russian Government towards righting past errors in regard to children. In the *Dream of the Soviet Government*, published in a recent number of the *The Nation*, we read "children born out of wedlock are on equality with those born in wedlock with regard to the rights and duties of parents towards children, and likewise of children toward parents." And further: "In case the father of a child born out of wedlock does not make such a declaration, the mother of the child, or the guardian or the child itself has the right to prove fatherhood by legal means."

Would it not be well if the more generally recognized governments would take some such step in regard to the "badly born" within their own portals?

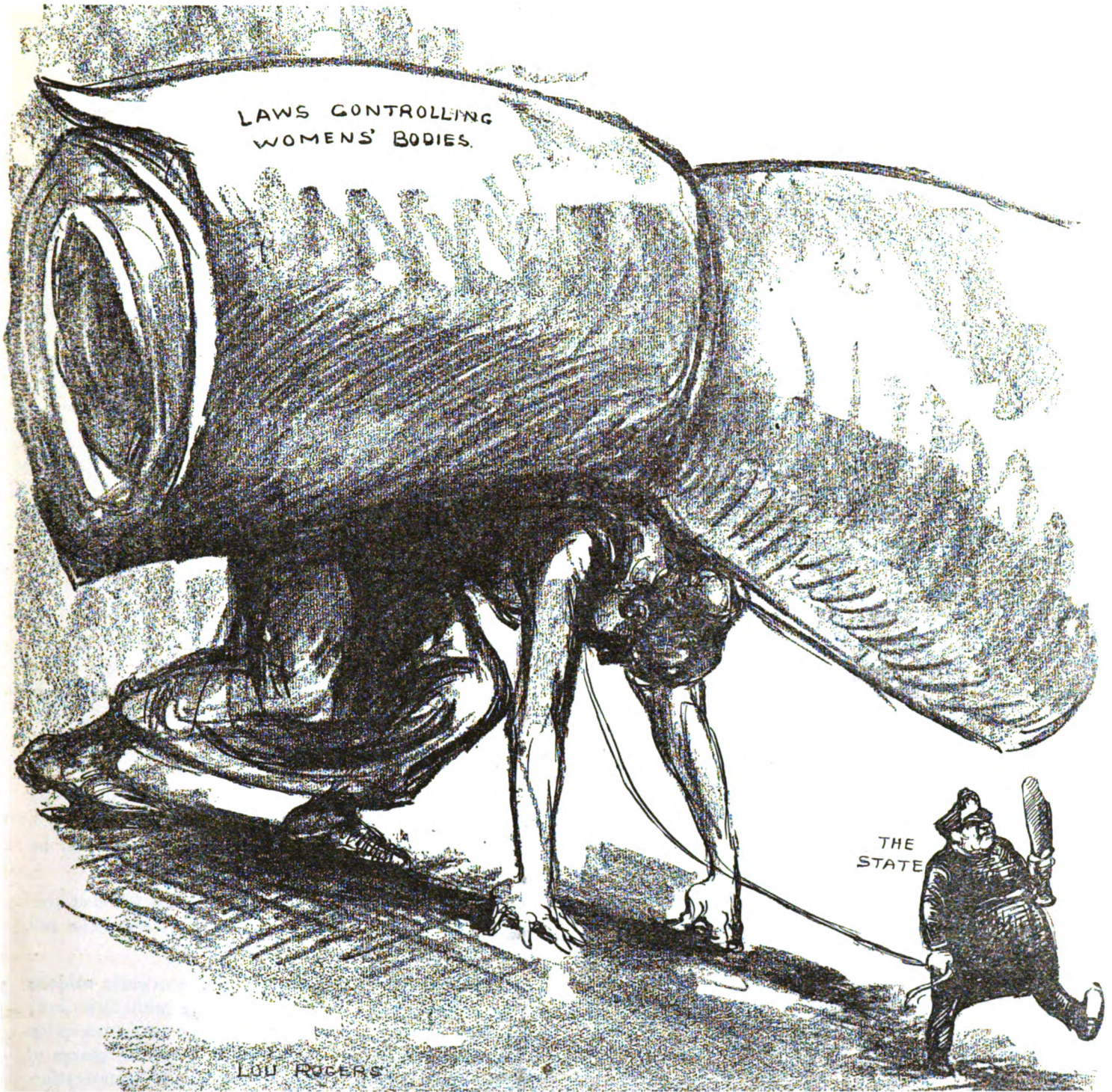
Also may we not hope that the wholesale slaughter of the intellectuals in Petrograd mentioned by Miss Young, may turn out to be as greatly exaggerated as the oft repeated story of the murder of the Grandmother of the Revolution?—
Editor's Note

Women to Discuss Birth Control

THE WOMAN'S INTERNATIONAL League of New York State is arousing women to their opportunities and responsibilities at home. The League is announcing a series of Women's Freedom Conferences for Tuesday evenings in May, where informal discussion at supper will be followed by more formal, but general discussions, on problems which affect women. The subject of Birth Control will form a prominent part of these discussions, as it did in the recent Women's Freedom Congress, held under the auspices of the League.

Over-population—unrestrained breeding—is one of the factors working for war, and this subject must form a part of any program which aims to make wars impossible.

The Woman's International League is grasping the real and fundamental issues working for permanent peace and the freedom of women. It is a branch of the Woman's Peace Party which is, in turn, a section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. Twelve delegates from the United States are now on their way to Berne to attend the first convention of the International Committee since 1915. Jane Addams is chairman of the Committee. Jean-



HER LEGAL STATUS

ette Rankin sailed with her three weeks ago. It is expected that many of the most brilliant feminists of Europe will attend the conference. Among them will be Dr. Aletta Jacobs, who opened the first Birth Control clinic in Holland in 1881 and whose work has the sanction of the Dutch Government.

The weekly conferences of the women in New York City will emphasize the economic situation of the wife, a subject which

financially independent women are likely to ignore nowadays. Women's position in international affairs, in political and industrial organizations will be the subject of other evenings, and every effort will be made to reach wives and mothers on whom the burden of child bearing and social responsibility rests, and upon whose full emancipation rests the future of civilization.

Why Not Birth Control Clinics in America?

Margaret Sanger

"Why not Birth Control Clinics in America?" is the question asked of the medical profession by Margaret Sanger through the columns of the March number of American Medicine, New York, issued April 1. Mrs. Sanger's article with the editorial comment upon it, are reprinted by the courtesy of the editors of the medical publication, who believe that in publishing it they were fulfilling an obligation to their readers.

THE ABSURD CRUELTY of permitting thousands of women each year to go thru abortions to prevent the aggravation of diseases, for which they are under treatment, assuredly cannot be much longer ignored by the medical profession. Responsibility for the inestimable damage done by the practice of permitting patients suffering from certain ailments to become pregnant, because of their ignorance of contraceptives, when the physician knows that if pregnancy goes to its full term it will hasten the disease and lead to the patient's death, must in all fairness be laid at his door.

What these diseases are and what dangers are involved in pregnancy are known to every practitioner of standing. Specialists have not been negligent in pointing out the situation. Eager to enhance or protect their reputations in the profession, they continually call out to each other: "Don't let the patient bear a child—don't let pregnancy continue."

The warning has been sounded most often, perhaps, in the cases of tubercular women. "In view of the fact that the tubercular process becomes exacerbated either during pregnancy or after childbirth, most authorities recommend that abortion be induced as a matter of routine in all tubercular women," says Dr. J. Whitridge Williams, obstetrician-in-chief to the Johns Hopkins Hospital, in his treatise on "Obstetrics." Dr. Thomas Watts Eden, obstetrician and gynecologist to Charing Cross Hospital and member of the staffs of other notable British hospitals, extends but does not complete the list in a paragraph on page 652 of his Practical Obstetrics. "Certain of the conditions enumerated form absolute indications for the induction to abortions," he says. "These are nephritis, uncompensated valvular lesions of the heart, advanced tuberculosis, insanity, irremediable malignant tumors, hydatidiform mole, uncontrollable uterine hemorrhage, and acute hydramnios."

WE KNOW THAT abortion, when performed by skilled hands, under right conditions, brings almost no danger to the life of the patient, and we also know that particular diseases can be more easily combated after such an abortion than during a pregnancy allowed to come to full term. But why not adopt the easier, safer, less repulsive course and prevent conception altogether? Why put these thousands of women who each year undergo such abortions to the pain they entail and in whatever danger attends them?

Why continue to send home women to whom pregnancy is a grave danger with the futile advice: "Now don't get this

way again!" They are sent back to husbands who have generations of passion and passion's claim to outlet. They are sent back without being given information as to how to prevent the dangerous pregnancy and are expected, presumably, to depend for their safety upon the husband's continence. Back comes the patient again in a few months to be aborted and told not to do it again.

Does any physician believe that the picture is overdrawn? I have known of many such cases. A recent one that came under my observation was that of a woman who suffered from a disease of the kidneys. Five times she was taken to a maternity hospital in an ambulance after falling in offices or in the street. One of the foremost gynecologists of America sent her out three times without giving her information as to the contraceptive means which would have prevented a repetition of this experience.

Why does this situation exist? One does not question the intent or the high purposes of these physicians, or that they are working for the improvement of the race. But here is a situation that is absurd—hideously absurd. What is the matter?

SEVERAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTE to this state of affairs.

First, the subject of contraception has been kept in the dark, even in medical colleges and hospitals. Abortion has been openly discussed as a necessity under certain conditions, but the subject of contraception, as any physician will admit, has only recently been brought to the front.

It has been permitted to lie latent; it has escaped specialized attention in the laboratories and the research departments. Thus there has been no professional stamp of approval by great bodies of experimenters.

The result is that the average physician has felt that contraceptive methods are not yet established as certainties and has, for that reason, refused to direct their use.

Specialists are so busy with their own particular subjects and general practitioners are so taken up with their daily routine that they cannot give to the problem of contraception the attention it must have. Consultation rooms in charge of reputable physicians who have specialized in contraception, assisted by registered nurses—in a word, clinics designed for this specialty—would meet this crying need. Such clinics should deal with each woman individually, taking into account her particular disease, her temperament, her mentality and her condition, both physical and economic. Its sole function should be to prevent pregnancy. In the accomplishment of this, a higher standard of hygiene is attained. The result would be not only the removal of a burden from the physician who sends her to the clinic, but an improvement in the woman's general condition that would reflect itself in a number of ways to the benefit of her family.

ALL THIS FOR the diseased woman. But every argument that can be made for preventive medicine can be made for Birth Control clinics for the use of woman who has not yet lost her health. Sound and vigorous at the time of her marriage, she could remain so if given advice as to by what means she could space her children and limit their number. When she is not given such information, she is plunged blindly into married life and a few years is likely to find her with a large family, herself diseased, damaged, an unfit breeder of the unfit, and still ignorant. What are the fruits of this woeful ignorance in which women have been kept? First, a tremendous infant mortality—hundreds of thousands of them dying annually of diseases which flourish in poverty and neglect. Next, the rapid increase of the feeble-minded, of criminal types and of the pathetic victims of toil in the child labor factories. Another result is the familiar overcrowding of tenements, the forcing of the children into the street, the ensuing prostitution, alcoholism and almost universal physical and moral unfitness.

These abhorrent conditions point to a blunder upon the part of those to whom we entrust the care of the health of the individual, the family and the race. The medical profession, neglecting the principle involved in preventive medicine, has permitted these conditions to come about. If they were unavoidable, we would have to bear with them, but they are not unavoidable, as shown by facts and figures from other countries where contraceptive information is available.

In Holland, for instance, where the information concerning contraceptives has been accessible to the people, thru clinics and pamphlets since 1881, the general death rate and the infant mortality rate have fallen until they are the lowest in Europe. Amsterdam and The Hague have the lowest infant mortality rates of any cities in the world.

IT IS GOOD to know that the first of the Birth Control clinics of Holland followed shortly after a thoro and enthusiastic discussion of the subject at an international medical congress in Amsterdam in 1878. The first Birth Control clinic in the world was opened in 1881 by Dr. Aletta Jacobs in Amsterdam. So great were the results obtained that there has been a gradual increase in the number of clinics, until to-day there are fifty-two in operation in that country of some 6,000,000 people. Physicians have found that nurses trained for this work by specialists are highly competent to take care of it and it is the almost invariable rule that Birth Control clinics are conducted by such nurses. Dr. J. Rutgers of The Hague, secretary of the Neo-Malthusian League, is the specialist who trains and instructs the nurses. The general results of the work are best judged by tables, appended to this article, taken from The Annual Summary of Marriages, Births and Deaths in England, Wales etc., for 1912*

In conclusion, I am going to make a statement which may at first seem exaggerated, but which is nevertheless carefully considered. The effort toward racial progress that is being made to-day by the medical profession, by social workers, by the various charitable and philanthropic organizations and by state institutions for the physically and mentally unfit is practically wasted. All these forces are in a very emphatic sense marking time. They will continue to mark time until the medical profession recognizes the fact that the ever-increasing tide of the unfit is overwhelming all these agencies are doing for society. They will continue to mark time until they get at the source of these destructive conditions and apply a fundamental remedy. That remedy is Birth Control.

*Amsterdam (Malthusian [Birth Control] League started 1881; Dr. Aletta Jacobs gave advice to poor women, 1885.)

	1881-85	1906-10	1912
Birth Rate.....	37.1	24.7	23.3 per 1,000 of population
Death Rate.....	25.1	13.1	11.2 per 1,000 of population
Infantile Mortality:			
Deaths in first year.....	203	90	64 per thousand living births

The Hague (now headquarters of the Neo-Malthusian [Birth Control] League)

	1881-85	1906-10	1912
Birth Rate.....	38.7	27.5	23.6 per 1,000 of population
Death Rate.....	23.3	13.2	10.9 per 1,000 of population
Infantile Mortality:			
Deaths in first year.....	214	99	66 per thousand living births

Rotterdam.

	1881-85	1906-10	1912
Birth Rate.....	37.4	32.0	29.0 per 1,000 of population
Death Rate.....	24.2	13.4	11.3 per 1,000 of population
Infantile Mortality:			
Deaths in first year.....	209	105	79 per thousand living births

Fertility and Illegitimacy Rates:

	1880-2	1890-2	1900-2
Legitimate fertility.....	306.4	296.5	252.7
Illegitimate fertility.....	16.1	16.3	11.3

} Legitimate birth per 1,000 married women aged 15 to 45
 } Illegitimate birth per 1,000 unmarried women, aged 15 to 45

The Hague.

	1880-2	1890-2	1900-2
Legitimate fertility	346.5	303.9	255.0
Illegitimate fertility	13.4	13.6	7.7

Rotterdam.

	1880-2	1890-2	1900-2
Legitimate fertility	331.4	312.0	299.0
Illegitimate fertility	17.4	16.5	13.1

Intelligent or Unintelligent Birth Control?

An Editorial from American Medicine.

Whether we shall have intelligent or unintelligent Birth Control is the question raised by American Medicine in its March issue. Under the title "Birth Control and Birth Prevention," the editors commented at length upon Margaret Sanger's article in the same issue, which we have reprinted elsewhere. In this comment, they emphasized the question which Margaret Sanger has often put to physicians, legislators, judges and social reformers. It is very significant of progress when a conservative, authoritative medical journal of the rank of American Medicine calls attention to the fact that family limitation of one kind or another is very generally practiced, and the sole question now to be solved is whether this family limitation shall be scientific and safe or unscientific and unsafe, as well as inadequate. It is also interesting to note the retort of the editor to Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, who declares himself opposed to Birth Control.

DR. HILDA NOYES, an authority on eugenics and the care of babies, is an advocate of Birth Control. Needless to say, she is thoroughly well informed about the methods of contraception. In view of this, the critic of Birth Control (even the friendly critic perhaps) would be freely disposed to judge that Dr. Noyes, informed as she is and aware of the grave responsibility of motherhood, might be the mother of one child, possibly of two children at most. The fact is that she is the mother of six splendid children. This interesting instance of the philosophy of Birth Control and its effect on the family is here mentioned not in approval of the doctrines of Birth Control, but in disapproval of a misunderstanding of the movement which is almost universal. It has always been the policy of *American Medicine* (as it is the policy of every just critic) to examine both sides of the shield before committing itself to a final judgment, and we have adhered to this policy in the faith that the majority of the profession are of our own mind, which is, we trust, not an unduly prejudiced one. In printing Mrs. Sanger's article in this issue, *American Medicine* feels that it is fulfilling its obligation to its readers; and in recording its own impressions here it is fulfilling its obligations to itself.

In two important respects the Birth Control movement is very much misunderstood. In the popular mind it has come to signify but one thing, birth prevention—an incomplete and erroneous impression. It also is charged with advocating the small family, distinctly an undiscerning judgment. The emphasis of the philosophy of Birth Control is clearly indicated in its name; it is toward *control*. Prevention is but one of the methods of control found expedient in some cases, but it is by no means the only solution recommended. There are two ways of avoiding a train wreck when there is a dangerous obstacle on the track; one is to stop the train, the other to

clear the track; and of the two the latter is distinctly the method to be preferred. The advocates of Birth Control lean toward this method, and their efforts to clear the family track of economic, social and health obstacles are too often not sufficiently recognized. Hence the popular misapprehension that they encourage small families. The truth is that they encourage small families where large ones would seem detrimental to society, but they advocate with just as great insistence large families where small ones are an injustice to society. They frown upon the ignorant poor whose numerous children, brought into the world often under the most unfavorable circumstances, are a burden to themselves, a menace to the health of the not infrequently unwilling mother, and an obstacle to social progress. But they frown with equal disapproval on the well-to-do, cultured parents who can offer their children all the advantages of the best care and education and who nevertheless selfishly withhold these benefits from society. More children from the fit, less from the unfit—that is the chief issue in Birth Control. The emphasis is on "control" rather than on "prevention." Seen from this point of view, the movement certainly assumes a different aspect, its intention is not hostile to the family but rather favorable to it, so that, if there is anything to criticize in the issue, it is not the motive but the program alone which is open to attack.

IN ONE RESPECT certainly the advocates of Birth Control have a clear advantage over its opponents—the advantage that President Wilson and the friends of the League of Nations have over its opponents. Despite their voluble and heated protests, Senators Lodge, Borah, and others have been very slow to suggest a substitute for the League which will be acceptable to a war-weary world. The opponents of Birth Control, tho they have been emphatic enough in their criticism (some of it, it may be admitted, quite just and convincing) have nevertheless failed to come forward with a program of their own. That a program is necessary, that some form of decision or legislation is advisable, it would be rash to deny. Take, at random, a case reported by a nurse in 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. Two of the other children have rachitic deformities. Of the fifteen pregnancies, one resulted in a miscarriage. Nine children died during infancy, death being due to ignorance and neglect. All who lived thru the first year were more or less enfeebled by being kept at the breast long after the milk had lost its value as nourishment. This one thing is, I believe, the greatest wrong

done to babies among the poorer classes. The women hope in this way to escape pregnancy—an erroneous method of Birth Control. This explains the reason for the great number of children who are afflicted with bow legs, knock-knees, and the various deformities resulting from the lack of proper bone-making materials.”

This Odyssey of motherhood among the ignorant poor is as typical and disheartening a picture as one can imagine. Pathetic in the extreme is the dumb, ignorant effort at prevention which was perhaps the direct cause of the death in infancy of nine of the children and the deformity of the surviving ones. And this case is by no means exceptional. Any frank practitioner familiar with family history in the poorer quarters will readily admit that it is rather the rule, and will be able to cite instances that are even more distressing. Who can deny that such a situation is dangerous in the extreme to both society and the family? Society and the family are the concern of both sides of the dispute. In her article, Mrs. Sanger frankly owns that she does not “question the intent nor the high purposes of these physicians (who oppose Birth Control), or that they are working for the improvement of the race.” Knowing Mrs. Sanger’s sincerity, one may unhesitatingly return the compliment and credit her with the highest motives. In this respect, both sides are beyond impeachment in the genuineness of their interests in the good of the race. However, the strength of Mrs. Sanger’s case lies in the fact that she has a definite program, while the weakness of her opponents lies in the fact that they have none. They still approach the problem as tho it were a question whether or not we should have Birth Control. The fact is that, in nine families out of ten at least, we *have* Birth Control—ignorant, unenlightened, dangerous Birth Control. The case quoted and the innumerable instances that come immediately to the mind of every practitioner are evidence of this. *The question then, is whether we are to have intelligent Birth Control, directed toward the improvement of the family and the uplift of society; or unintelligent, dangerous Birth Control as at present practiced, endangering, often breaking, the health of the mother, imposing a burden on the family and on society of which both should be relieved, and cluttering the highway of progress with cripples, imbeciles and mendicants who are the by-product of a stolid attitude of laissez faire or let well enough alone.*

TO BRAND BIRTH Control, as so many of its opponents do, as *the philosophy of the licentious*, is to ignore its value as a scientific contribution to the study of race improvement. It must be frankly admitted that the knowledge of Birth Control, placed in the hands of the public, is a dangerous weapon; but all the tools of civilization are edged tools. Many excellent men, of high standing in their profession are bitterly opposed to Birth Control; but it is regrettable that they have preferred, up to the present, to state their objections in emotional rather than in scientific terms. They have submitted no program. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, an opponent of Birth Control, asserted recently that every educated well-to-do family should be obliged by law to contribute a minimum

of four children. That is the nearest approach to a definite program he saw fit to venture upon, but there is little in it that the most ardent advocate of control would object to. Are the opponents of Birth Control content to have it said of them that their strength lies merely in the fact that they have the approval of precedent and age-old sentiment on their side?

There is an amusing appeal to Dr. Wiley’s suggestion which tempts comment. Opposed to control tho he is, he reveals himself inadvertently and innocently as an advocate of that philosophy. A well-to-do and educated couple, left to the natural course of nature, would contribute a dozen or more children to the well-being of society. To limit themselves, to four offspring implies the employment of the very Birth Control methods to which Dr. Wiley is so warmly opposed.

It has been observed in Holland, for instance, that a general knowledge of scientific methods of Birth Control has resulted in somewhat larger families for the well-to-do, and smaller families for those with smaller incomes. There has also been a very rapid decrease in the amount of dire poverty. Nevertheless, Margaret Sanger has not advocated larger families for the rich. Rather, she has emphasized the necessity of leaving the decision as to the number of children and the time of their arrival to the mother, whether she be rich or poor.

Mrs Sanger made her position in this matter plain in an article entitled “Birth Control and Racial Betterment” in the February issue of *The Birth Control Review*. In that article she said: “We hold that the world is already over-populated. Eugenists imply or insist that a woman’s first duty is to the State; we contend that her duty to herself is her first duty to the State. We maintain that a woman possessing an adequate knowledge of her reproductive functions is the best judge of time and conditions under which her child should be brought into the world. We maintain that it is her right, regardless of all other considerations, to determine whether she shall bear children or not, and how many children she shall bear if she chooses to become a mother.”—Editors of *The Birth Control Review*.

SUNDAY WHITE.

By Helen Hoyt.

When we see the little girls going by of a Sunday
In their daintiness of starched clean dresses,
We forget—and they too have forgotten—
The bent backs of the mothers
Washing them white.

THE THING YOU ARE.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman Stetson

And still the wailing babies come and go,
And homes are waste, and husbands’ hearts fly far,
There is no hope until you dare to know
The thing you are!

Endowment of Motherhood

By Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery

While this article by Dr. Vickery, one of the foremost English authorities upon the social and medical problems of women, employs English conditions as a basis of discussion, it applies with equal force to conditions in America. Mother endowments have been discussed in Congress and exist or are being urged in many states.—THE EDITOR.

THE POSITION OF THE mother in the family is admittedly unsatisfactory from many points of view. In what way can we bring about a change for the better? This is one of the questions which is pressing for some solution, and as this is an era of conferences, it is proposed to hold a conference on the question of endowment of motherhood and of the family.

From one point of view the endowment of the mother and of the family as a state measure would *not* be a step in the right direction, except, indeed, it be adapted as a temporary measure for a strictly limited period; or for the alleviation of special cases of distress during this period of reconstruction, to which many of us are hopefully looking forward.

The chief source of our present difficulty is the attitude that past governments have adopted with regard to the so-called woman's sphere.

On the assumption of women's so-called natural disabilities, our legislators have thought fit to pile up and super-add other disabilities legal and social—which are purely artificial, and the education and training of women and girls has been framed and conducted with a view to the maintenance of these quite unnecessary inventions.

Instead of steadily pursuing the idea of training boys and girls alike toward self-dependence, and self-government in order to prepare them for their future responsibilities and duties as to marriage, parenthood and citizenship on terms of equal opportunity and equal efficiency as comrades, parents and citizens, they have started from a theory of masculine predominance and mastery on the one hand, and dependence, subjection, obedience and self-sacrifice on the other. The world was to be open to man, in his choice of career, in the creation of ideals and ambitions, but not so for the women.

THERE WAS A SEMBLANCE of excuse for some interference with the liberty and freedom of the girl while methods of Birth Control with regard to the size of the family and the frequency of births were unknown, and while almost nothing but submission to natural decrees was possible, conjugal union having been entered upon, but, even so, if men had also accepted for themselves, limitation in freedom in marriage similar to those which they imposed upon women, many of our present evils would never have reached that scale of magnitude which make our problems so complex today.

This lack of limitation and restraint on the masculine side made him a danger to all unguarded women; it also made him the progenitor of unlimited and unwanted offspring who were

left to grow up either as pariahs in his own country, or to become the creators of half-caste races elsewhere.

It should be recognized, today, that maternity need no longer be regarded as a disability, or as an inevitable consequence of marital life; and this is of great importance when we consider the question of early marriages and also the case of the unfit. Birth Control has become not only a possibility, but is now regarded as an essential part of a really practicable scheme of life. A new freedom has come to woman, a freedom that many had hardly dared to hope for. Birth Control as regards number of children, selection of time and place, of environment generally, places motherhood on a much higher plane. The power of choice to have many, to have few, if circumstances dictate to have none at all—these things are possible; so that the function of maternity ceases to be an abiding danger and disability but, on the contrary, becomes a power, an asset, a privilege to be enjoyed when it means an added happiness in the home. Whether the power of maternity comes to be regarded as a privilege, a blessing, and ceases to be regarded chiefly as a misfortune will depend upon the character and attainments of the woman, and the position she will claim as a citizen.

BUT EVEN IF THESE SO-CALLED disabilities of women should continue to be regarded in the light of a handicap—surely there is all the more need for the removal of all obstacles, legal, social or otherwise which have been super-added to these so-called natural disabilities. It would seem to be reasonable that these obstacles should first be removed and the effects of freedom be realized before any hurried or ill-conceived legislation of the character of the endowment of motherhood, or of the family, should be introduced.

First, let us clear the road of all artificial limitations and obstacles which prejudice and tradition have twined about the path of women, before we proceed to enmesh ourselves and our successors in the coils and intricacies of new and untried schemes, which may prove the source of innumerable evils in the future.

Second, let us change the outlook which we impress upon the youthful mind. We must train our boys and girls to regard each other as equal citizens and co-partners in the future state.

Education must be directed toward the development of all their powers; the fostering of any special talent, while not forgetting the wisdom of an all round intelligent outlook on life, and the cultivation of the capacity for readaptation, whenever social or natural cataclysms become the cause of unheavals and necessitate social or political re-adjustments. Therefore the road to learning, to the attainment of skill in professional or industrial activity must be as freely open to girls and women as to men. Rewards and emoluments, position and

career must be as freely within the scope of vision of the girl as of the boy. Equal pay for equal efficiency.

No more must be heard the excuse for inequality of reward that the girl can live upon less. Rather let us ask if there exists any reasonable or just ground for suggesting that she should, and the honest reply must be that there is no such ground.

It is true that the boy after meeting the expense of feeding, clothing and shelter should save for marriage and parentage; so also the girl after paying for food, clothing and shelter should save for marriage and maternity.

Motherhood makes great demands upon the feminine physique; and the racial physique will deteriorate if that claim be evaded. This is an indisputable fact which our military experts have been obliged to admit from the experiences both of the Boer War and of the recent War.

THERE IS STILL ANOTHER reason why the girl's wage should be in every way as adequate as the boys. The girl must save not only for marriage and maternity but also that she may be free to choose, to discriminate in the selection of a partner for life, as the father of her children, and as a preparation for illness or old age. She should be in a position to make terms.

English parents would do well to copy the French custom in aiding their children of marriageable age in the choice of a partner, and of assisting both sons and daughters in the establishment of a new household upon equal and self-respecting terms. Equal division of the property among all the children of either parent should be the rule with us as with them. Thus would primogeniture and entail be swept away, and wealth would become more equally distributed among the people.

Also English parents would do well to save for their children in moderation. Life is full of vicissitudes. The married daughter needs some security for herself and her infant children and the married son needs some starting-point for energy and enterprise.

The adult daughter should consult with her prospective partner, as to their mutual claims. The wife who agrees to retire from industrial or professional employment in marriage, will only do so on the recognition by her husband of her claim to be considered an equal participator in all his acquisitions and emoluments. This is essential to her self-respect and personal dignity. Otherwise she becomes a dependent and subsides into a position of subjection. The principle of community of property prevails chiefly among the working classes and poorer population in France. It would place the wives of similar classes in England in a much better relative position if a similar custom were adapted here. No doubt most of the thrift and prudence of the French people may justly be traced to the more favorable position of the wife in the house, which is largely due to the recognition of financial equality.

The Endowment of Motherhood and of the Family would scarcely tend to check that recklessness in reproduction which is the great fault and misfortune of our poorer classes. The poor working mother, besides being a slave to her husband, becomes a second time enslaved by her family.

ON ACCOUNT OF ALMOST criminal deprivation of the knowledge of the methods of Birth Control, the working mother probably commences—maternity too early, and often in a state of unfitness from previous poverty and underfeeding. She enjoys no period of rest and recuperation between the birth of one child and the next. Therefore with each successive pregnancy her physique becomes lower, and later children suffer proportionately.

Thus do we as a nation, while theoretically desiring an A-1 population, practically favor the production of a C-3 population.

It is the province of women to safeguard the interests of the coming generation. In order to do this the wife and mother must have her rightful position in the conjugal firm clearly recognized. She must be able to act as her conscience dictates in these vital matters of social health. It has been the source of disaster in many homes that when the more or less erratic masculine has forgotten the necessity for self-control and self-restraint that the wife has not been able, on account of her dependent position, to stand on the defensive and recall a recalcitrant husband to a sense of his duty to her and to the children for whose future they are jointly responsible. Many a man might have been restrained at the outset of an irrational crisis, many a home might have been saved by the timely assertion of the wife of her right to preserve her personal independence and safeguard the welfare of her children at a critical moment.

It may be urged that such considerations would justify the Endowment of Motherhood, and as a temporary measure for special cases something in its favor might be urged; but the wider effects and the more permanent aspects of a position of independence such as I have attempted to describe, would be immeasurably more effective and valuable than the fictitious independence gained by the substitution of one kind of mastery over another kind.

Women are likely to develop many interests outside the home. The affairs of the municipality, the nation, the entire globe will come within their purview, and the independence they seek must be something far wider than the escape from the subjection of the family and the home.

MANUSCRIPT, NOTES, Etc.

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THE EDITOR'S UNEASY CHAIR

WE CALL THE ATTENTION of our readers to the symposium on Birth Control, in the March issue of the *Medical Review of Reviews*.

The symposium was conducted by Mary Ware Dennett and Frederic H. Robinson. A set of four questions was sent to a representative list of physicians whose opinions on the subject of Birth Control were not already known. Forty-seven were received.

These were the questions:

Do you believe or do you unequivocally not believe in Birth Control?
Do you believe the present laws just or do you think they ought to be repealed?

Is Birth Control an economic issue or an ethical one exclusively?

Would the giving of contraceptive information lead to an increase in immorality by permitting sexual intercourse without fear of consequences, or would it tend to decrease immorality by enabling young men to marry without the immediate fear of having to support a family?

The editors of the symposium expressed astonishment that twelve out of the forty-seven physicians replied that they had not given the subject sufficient thought to warrant the expression of an opinion. We, on the contrary are surprised and agreeably impressed by the fact that they considered an absence of thought and study of the matter sufficient warrant for not giving an unfavorable opinion.

Two of the most unequivocally unfavorable replies were from Dr. Howard Kelly of John Hopkins University and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley. Dr. Kelly has decided that Birth Control would lead to great nastiness, and is filled with disgust and horror at the thought of it. His is a state of mind, if not of reason.

DR. WILEY WRITES in a perfect ecstasy. He says: "The way to be childless is to be virtuous." Does he mean that all children are just lapses from virtue? Evidently not, for he goes on to say that every educated and well-to-do family should be required by law to have at least four children, and that all young men and women who refuse to marry, unless no one asks them or there be medical or surgical reasons, should be penalized. He seems here to leave loopholes for certain forms of Birth Control whether he knows it or not, and he ends up wildly with the Mormon cry: . . . "Children, still children, and then more children. Every one of them is a fortune, even to the father on day wages, and the mother who does her own washing." Evidently he regards men and women as kitchen utensils in the State service, and he has nothing to say about the welfare of the children thus brusquely compounded by law. He would pay more attention to the ingredients and ultimate disposition of a sausage.

DR. BASS OF New Orleans, on the other hand, is just as unequivocally in favor. He does not believe in any law which tends to ignorance of facts or the suppression of information. He believes that the present suppression of information leads to an unnecessary large percentage of undesirable

births, and a comparative reduction in the desirable. He believes further that a widespread knowledge of Birth Control would tend to decrease immorality.

Dr. Leo Loeb is also favorable. Dr. Clevenger of Chicago believes in quality children and not the present bestial, reckless propagation without regard to fitness and preparedness. What ever tends to promote multiple births favors a reversion to lower forms of evolution—approximating the fish stage.

Dr. Goldwater takes a firm stand. He says the questions are an insult to the intelligence of every humanitarian, educator and physician. He deals mercilessly with the hypocrisy of some physicians in the matter. He believes in Birth Control and is not afraid to say so.

Everyone interested in the subject of Birth Control owes a debt of gratitude to the editors of this symposium, and to the *Medical Review of Reviews* for publishing it.

DEAR EDITOR:—Your magazine asks the question: "Is procreation the sole purpose of the sex impulse?" I do not think that it is.

Idealism, emotion, puts life and energy into our science and art, our inventions and law. Remove this and we have but a skeleton of life, soon to decay. The sex-impulse is the means, the mechanism, by which we come in contact with and are related to, not only each other, physically, mentally, spiritually, but to the animate and inanimate world. We advance only in proportion as this power within us is developed and rightly used. It is the center, the motive-power of all idealism, all emotion.

Creative desire is strong—desire to create a picture, a statue, a book, a business, an engine, a bridge, a child. We have considerably muddled matters by utterly alienating through ignorance or prudery all thought of the relationship of sex to these creative efforts, with the exception of physical reproduction alone—a fact in nature evident even to the casual observation of a barbarian or a child.

Sex-power is universal, deep-rooted and with one purpose only—that we might have life and that we might have it more abundantly. It is not indicative of great intellect on our part to gauge "abundance" merely by our animal fecundity. When this prolific breeding leads to idiocy, want and crime we are worse than stupid.

Sex manifests itself through all nature, plants, animals and man, not only crudely but in color, song, grace, motion, light and action. Each advance along these lines is hailed with delight. It becomes the treasure, the incentive of the ages. We can spare not one iota. We strive for further advancement and as we strive we develop our own creative and appreciative powers.

But on the animal plane alone, Nature calls a halt. Unmercifully, yet with a wide mercy, she relentlessly slays her sur-

(Continued on page 19)

Cheer Voluntary Motherhood

CCHEERS AND PROLONGED applause greeted a demand for sex knowledge and voluntary motherhood when Agnes Smedley delivered six fifteen minute addresses before the curtain of the Mt. Morris Theatre, New York, March 29th and 30th. The Scarlet Trail, a photo drama which deals in a frank, high minded manner with the problem of social diseases and its attendant evil of quack medicines, was being shown. Between 10,000 and 12,000 people heard the addresses.

An even more enthusiastic reception was given Miss Smedley's plea for sex education and Birth Control when she addressed large audiences in the Alhambra Theatre, Brooklyn, April 17th and 18th.

Miss Smedley told how the United States Government and various State Governments had broken the bonds of a morbid prudery in their campaigns against venereal disease during the war. Millions of pamphlets which discussed sex matters in plain language were used in these campaigns. She also voiced the demand of modern women for education in matters of sex and the privilege of determining how many children they shall have and when they shall have them. Excerpts from the addresses follow:

"False modesty, prudery, and hypocrisy, are being thrust aside to-day and we are coming to know that sex problems must be met frankly and sanely. We must tear away the curtain of morbid sex mystery behind which has developed diseases which threaten us and our children. When we refuse to tell our children the truth about sex they gain their information in the alleys and on the streets. This false and dangerous method can bring no good to society or to civilization. . . .

"We women in particular should respond to the new ideas at large in the world. This is not merely my own idea. It is the belief of such authorities as Dr. Herman Biggs, our State Commissioner of Health, who recently said:

"Is it not time that women should look the sex problem squarely in the face, devoid of mystery and so-called 'moral issues,' from a practical and common sense point of view? Is it not time that girls and young women, the future mothers of the race, should know the truth about the reproductive organs and the diseases which may affect them, so as to preserve their health and that of their offspring?"

"If we, as women, are to meet the problems of society, we must demand every bit of knowledge which is available to the human mind. We are entitled to, and must demand, the information which will enable us to bring into the world only healthy children, only children free from physical and mental handicaps; and, furthermore, only the number of children which we can bear, rear and educate decently. The ideas often expressed that knowledge of these matters will lead to immorality are insults to womankind everywhere and are so untrue that we need not consider them. It is only half truths, only untrue 'information,' which is dangerous.

Book Reviews

BIRTH. By Zona Gale. Macmillans. 402 pp. Price \$1.60.

There is a profound significance in Zona Gale's story of small town life, "Birth," in the light of her assertion that neighborliness is a role requiring pains, that, to take one's place as a member of a town is delicate business.

In this story of two generations you perceive how Barbara's son pays the penalty of her casual marriage, and of her ignorance and abhorrence of motherhood. It will always be so as long as motherhood, which, by being voluntary might be fine and beautiful, belongs "to the limbo of things whispered about, commiserated upon, avoided, and associated with the risqué."

WOMEN IN MODERN SOCIETY. By Earle Barnes. Huebsch. Price \$1.25.

A highly interesting book. It goes far to prove that "men and women alike will achieve greatest happiness, not by minimizing sex differences, but by frankly recognizing and using them."

During this transitional period the energies of men and women must be set free, to work out a new society where the complimentary values of both sexes will be used to their utmost.

Ben Huebsch is to be congratulated not only for being one of the few intelligent publishers of his time, but for doing something to carry on the splendid effort of Annie Besant and Ellen Key.

This is a book that the thinking mind cannot ignore. It is not great nor brilliant, but it is brief, well written and a storehouse of ideas.

THE SUPER RACE. By Scott Nearing. B. W. Huebsch, publishers. 89 pp. Price 50c.

This little volume, although published some time ago, discusses a subject which is ever new—that of racial betterment. There are, says the author, three means at hand by which racial betterment may be accomplished:

(1) Eugenics, the science of race culture; (2) social adjustment, the science of molding institutions, and (3) education, the science of individual development.

These topics are discussed at length. Dr. Nearing calls attention to the fact that the Greeks eliminated the unfit by infanticide, but that such methods should be unnecessary today. The first step toward the ideal goal he considers the preventing of the procreation of defectives. While eugenics, or selective mating is necessary to the attainment of this ideal, he no doubt admits that the ideal couple would consider quality more essential than quantity, and would regulate the number of offspring accordingly.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Love in Danger, (three plays). By Mrs. Havelock Ellis. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 88 pp. Price 90 cents.

The Psychology of Marriage. By Walter M. Gallichan. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 300 pp. Price \$1.50.

Child welfare in Alabama. By Edward N. Clopper. Nat. Child Labor Committee. 315 pp. Price \$1.00.

Child Welfare in North Carolina. By W. H. Swift. Nat. Child Labor Committee. 315 pp. Price \$1.00.

Child Welfare in Oklahoma. By Edward N. Clopper. Nat. Child Labor Committee. 285 pp. Price \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

Moans From the Military Machine and Crucifixions in the 20th Century. By American Industrial Co., 811 Rees St., Chicago. 8 pp.

Unemployment, Its Cause and Cure. By John L. Brown, Sebastopol, Cal. 21 pp. Price 5 cents.

Who Are the Conscientious Objectors. By Committee of 100 Friends of Conscientious Objectors, 302 Grand St., Brooklyn. 36 pp. Price 10 cents.

India's Freedom in American Courts. By Friends of Freedom for India, 7 East 15th Street. 12 pp. Price 10 cents.

The Voluntary Parenthood League

SHALL PARENTHOOD BE voluntary instead of accidental? was the subject of the first public meeting of the newly organized Voluntary Parenthood League, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on April 10th.

Mrs. Robert Bruere presided and the speakers were Professor Charles Zueblin, Dr. George M. Parker and Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett.

Mrs. Bruere's introduction included the story of the experience of herself and her husband in caring for some of the children of the Lawrence strikers in the strike preceding the present one. Inquiry as to the family of a twelve-year-old lad who lived with them several weeks revealed these facts: He was the oldest of seven, was *fairly* bright, but small for his age. The next child was stupid. The next one frail from birth, the next an obvious defective, and so on down the line. It was a family which would have over-taxed the ill-conditioned parents even if it had numbered only two children.

Dr. Parker, a specialist in nervous diseases, did a very real service to the Birth Control movement by his scholarly psychological analysis of the taboo which has so long inhibited people from frankly standing for their belief in Birth Control, by acknowledging the dual function of the sex relation.

Professor Zueblin gave the major part of his address on Race Recuperation, which is one of the most significant of his several lectures on sociological questions. Excerpts from it were given in the April issue of the Birth Control Review. He proved conclusively that the human race must be more intelligently reproduced if it is to hope for social efficiency, the betterment of types, or the safeguarding of child life.

His picture of the whole ocean filled to overflowing with squirming eels in two years, if their prodigious, wasteful breeding were not antidoted by an almost equally prodigious death rate, was unforgettable as a hint to humans what *not* to do.

MRS. DENNETT ANNOUNCED the objects and plans of the new organization, which have been formulated as follows:

OBJECTS.

1. To render available for the people's need, the best scientific knowledge as to how parenthood may be voluntary instead of accidental; and as a first step toward that end, the removal of the words "prevention of conception" from the Federal obscenity laws which now besmirch and degrade the question of intelligent parenthood by including it with penalized indecencies.

2. The education of parents, so that the birth of children may occur with due regard to health, heredity, income, choice, environment and the well-being of the community.

PROGRAM.

a. A careful thorough canvass of Congress during the special session, probably to be called in May, for the purpose of making it clear to Congressmen that the proposed bill is a necessary public health measure, by which process the best sponsor for the bill will be discovered.

b. The introduction of the bill in the December session followed by a fine hearing before the Judiciary Committee, with the best possible speakers and proper publicity.

c. The rapid publication of effective literature on all phases of the subject, including leaflets, pamphlets and books, which will present not only the direct question of Birth Control but the allied questions of eugenics, child welfare, public health, and sex education.

d. Judicious newspaper publicity and advertising.

e. The securing of endorsements from physicians and all the various welfare organizations.

f. A promotion trip over the country, particularly in the 65 cities which have a baby death rate of over 100 per 1000.

ORGANIZATION.

The simplest form consisting of a secretary, treasurer and director, with a large National Council; the League to be supported by voluntary contributions.

The National Council is now being formed, and already includes such significant names as Professor Charles Zueblin, Dr. Edward Sanderson, Mrs. Emmet L. Holt, Mrs. Eugene Stone, Mrs. Charles Knoblauch, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Professor Warner Fite, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Dr. and Mrs. William J. Robinson, Dr. Lydia Allen De Vilbiss, Dr. Hilda H. Noyes, Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow, Mrs. Robert Bruere, Hon. W. O. Saunders, Mrs. Harry Montague, Dr. A. L. Goldwater, Mrs. Caroline O'Day, Mrs. Henry G. Leach, Mr. B. W. Huebsch, Mr. and Mrs. J. Leslie Tompkins, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Sutro, Mr. James F. Morton, Mrs. W. H. Greene, Mrs. Marion Nicholl Rawson.

Origin of the Comstock Laws

(Continued from page 7)

easy way to furnish the protection thought to be necessary, without continuing the disastrous rule of a demoralizing and autocratic censorship.

WOMAN: HER SEX and LOVE LIFE

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By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

THIS is one of Dr. Robinson's most important and most useful books. It is not devoted to abstruse discussions or doubtful theories: it is full of *practical* information of vital importance to every woman and through her to every man, to every wife and through her to every husband.

The simple practical points contained in its pages would render millions of homes happier abodes than they are now; they would prevent the disruption of many a family; they show how to hold the love of a man, how to preserve sexual attraction, how to remain young beyond the usually allotted age. This book destroys many injurious errors and superstitions and teaches truths that have never been presented in any other book before. In short, this book not only imparts interesting facts; it gives practical points which will make thousands of women and thousands of men happier, healthier, and more satisfied with life. Certain chapters or even paragraphs are alone worth the price of the book.

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The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By Charles Drysdale, Sc. B.

(Continued from April number)

BEFORE GOING INTO the national aspect of this question, let us simply consider the homely example of a laborer's family. If we have a young couple setting out on married life in London on a pound a week, as so many thousands of couples do, this means, on the prices existing just before the war, that they could adequately nourish themselves and one child by very good management. If the husband is a good, average man, he may expect his wages to rise by five shillings a week every four or five years, and for each such sum they could support one more child. But if the children arrive more rapidly than this, as they almost invariably do, they simply cannot be properly nourished; and, unless other help is forthcoming, they or the mother become ill from under-nutrition, and deaths occur, nominally due to certain diseases, but which have their origin in under-feeding. Unless the birth-rate in the laboring classes as a whole, therefore, is exceedingly low, there will be deaths from pressure of surplus children on the family food supply; and the greater the number of births, the greater will be the deaths, as is perfectly well recognized by all who know anything of such families.

Of course, the relation between the birth and death-rates is not the same for all families. In some cases the man is very competent, and rapidly rises to a better position, or the woman is a very good manager, or, again, they may receive outside help; and in such cases we find large families of healthy surviving children, just as we find some nations of rapid increase. But this does not affect the fact that, as an average for parents of average capability, a high birth rate most certainly causes a high death rate, and that the coming of each fresh child into the family tends to cause either its own death or that of some other member of the family.

Now, in the case of nations, the great bulk of their populations are always made up of the poor or wage-earning families we have been considering, and it is therefore obvious that, as a whole, the same rule should prevail, i. e., that all births over a certain minimum should cause a similar number of premature deaths. The minimum will certainly be different in different countries with different opportunities, as it is in different families, but the broad principle should remain, that countries of high birth rates should, as a whole, have high death-rates; that those of low birth rates should have low death rates; and that changes in their birth rates should produce similar changes in their death rates, except in so far as any rapid and fundamental change takes place in their productive powers, owing to the introduction of a new industrial regime, an escape from tyrannical restrictions, etc.

IN ANY CASE, HOWEVER, the correspondence between the birth and death rates is sufficient to show that pressure of population is a very important one among the many factors which control their increase. The correlation co-efficient between the birth and death rates, concerning which more will be said later, works out at the high value of .8 for those twenty-eight countries.

(To be continued in the June number)

The Editor's Uneasy Chair

(Continued from page 16)

plus. Man, using no spiritual or scientific propagative control, would, long ago, through overpopulation, have made the world a horror, had his numbers not been decimated by overwhelming, oft-recurring pestilence and war. He exhausts himself and his resources and curtails his larger creative power in behalf of an unwanted, disastrous physical increase.

Those who believe in procreative uses only are confronted by two measures. They must accept it checked or unchecked. Hitherto, it has been unchecked, with its long train of disillusionment, misery, death, degeneracy and crime. In the new order of a checked fecundity we find what? A high-minded chastity, continence, temperance, or safe Birth Control methods, abortions or celibacy. All of these methods have been used. From the standpoint of effectiveness, health, happiness, morality and our present degree of enlightenment and self-control, I believe that sane, scientific methods of Birth Control are the only real solution.

LULU MACCLURE CLARKE.

St. Louis Mo.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Beacon received a letter dated April 5, requesting various books (Fielding Hall, etc.). As it was not signed and bore no address, it will be necessary for our customer to write us again.

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).**—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- HOLLAND (1885).**—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Dutgers, 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*.
- PORTUGAL.**—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).**—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscoso, 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).**—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.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.**—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANGOR, ME.**—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street
- BOSTON, MASS.**—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.**—Dr. L. A. Young, 5152 Haverford Avenue.
- CHICAGO, ILL.**—*The Citizen's Committee on Family Limitation*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.**—*Birth Control League of Ohio*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, 10601 Ashbury Avenue, secretary.
- DETROIT, MICH.**—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.
- ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.**—Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Saunders.
- HARRISBURG, PA.**—George A. Herring, 2436 Reel Street.
- LOS ANGELES, CAL.**—Dr. T. Percival Gerson.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.**—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.**—H. G. Shockley, 428 Delaronde Street.
- NEW YORK:**
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 W. 97th Street, chairman.
International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, President, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.**—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Mrs. Clarence Renshaw, 117 Linden Ave., Edgewood, secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.**—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. H. C. Dekker, 652 Elliott Avenue, president. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.**—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.**—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- 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.

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, 1919, State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared MARY KNOBLAUCH, 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 (and if a daily paper, the circulation), 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, N. Y.

Editor—MARGARET H. SANGER, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—MARY KNOBLAUCH, Wyo. Apts., 55th Street & 7th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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2. That the owners are: N. Y. Women's Publishing Co., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Jessie Ashley (Estate of), 102 E. 52nd St., New York, N. Y. Juliet Rublee, 1957 Biltmore Street, Washington,

D. C. Mrs. Mary Knoblauch, 55th Street & 7th Avenue, New York, N. Y. Mrs. Frances B. Ackerman, Lawrence Park, Bronxville, N. Y.

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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 case where the stockholders or security holders 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.

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MARY KNOBLAUCH, Man. Ed.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of March, 1917

[SEAL]

ABRAHAM NETHER, Notary Public

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June

1919

Western Women
Demand Information

By *Margaret Sanger*

Babies and Imperialism
in Japan

By *Agnes Smedley*

Dedicated to Voluntary Motherhood

Bondage

THERE are probably a million women in this land who conceive children in hate of husbands they abhor, bring them forth in bitterness of spirit to be reared in an atmosphere of discord . . . yet the purists and pietists "view with alarm" the vast increase in the number of divorces; are weeping because women will not suffer in silence a bondage that is bestial.

—BRANN, the Iconoclast

French Junkers Demand
Brood Animals

By "*J' Accuse*"

Birth Control the Crying
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"Wake Up", Advises
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MARGARET SANGER
Editor

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VOL. III

NEW YORK, JULY, 1919

No. 7.

Vanderlip's Speech—A Warning Note

An Editorial by Margaret Sanger

THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT in America has heretofore centered its interest upon two points. The first of these is woman's freedom. The other is relief for the economically oppressed workers through limitation of offspring.

This has been the movement's development in most countries, except England. There it has been very definitely based upon the principle that failure to control the birth rate consciously and sufficiently has a constant tendency to permit the population to increase beyond the food supply. This is the first of what may be called the two principal tenets of the English movement. The second is that over-population is the first and most fruitful source of ignorance, pauperism, disease and crime. Around these two principal points the advocates of Birth Control in England have waged their battle.

ENGLISH STATESMEN and economists, however, are keenly conscious that Britain is over-populated. It is a matter which is discussed constantly by press, politician and publicist. America is a newly developed country. The overcrowding of population has not yet made itself so greatly felt. For this reason, perhaps, the advocates of Birth Control have had less direct interest in this phase of the matter than have the advocates of the same doctrine in the tightly packed United Kingdom.

It required the World War to awaken us to this phase of the general problem. Conditions revealed by this struggle and its aftermath make it impossible for American believers in Birth Control to leave out of consideration, hereafter, the relation between population and its means of subsistence.

Of all those who have written and spoken upon problems arising out of the war, none has called our attention so plainly and emphatically to the food question as Frank A. Vanderlip, until recently head of the City National Bank of New York, one of the most powerful financial institutions in the country. In an address delivered May 26, which stirred the press of the country into a hysterical discussion that has not yet run its course, Mr. Vanderlip directed attention to some of the most significant facts in the European situation. In all the babble of discussion that has followed, no newspaper has yet commented upon the fundamentals pointed out by the financier. None of the editorial writers was able to discover that the

vital points in the address were those which dealt with the European food situation, as it arises out of over-population.

HERE ARE SOME OF THE facts which Mr. Vanderlip brought out:

"Europe has increased its population since the Napoleonic wars from 175,000,000 to 440,000,000. Now just think of those figures—175,000,000 to 440,000,000! Now Europe did not become any more productive. She probably does not raise a very great amount more food than she did a hundred years ago. How has she fed those people? . . ."

"The British government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England and nearer to the source of the food supply. It is that fact that we must grasp; that these industries must be kept going in these highly industrialized European countries if the people are to live. Take England—the most thickly populated country in the world—700 to the square mile. They have built up that whole island into an industrial community that can live only by selling abroad a great part of the product of the factories, and with the proceeds of that export buying more raw material and the foods for the population"

"English industry has made a red ink overdraft on the future by underpaying labor so that it did not receive enough to live efficiently and you know that in the mill towns of England there grew up a secondary race of underfed, uneducated, undeveloped people. Well, England has got to pay the overdraft now. She found that a third of her men of military age were unfit for military service. One of Mr. Lloyd George's most famous utterances was that 'You could not make an A-1 nation out of a C-3 population.' They all see it and that differential (low wages), which England has had in international trade is gone. That is not all of it.

"England must maintain her markets if she is to maintain her population. Remember, she is an industrial community just like an industrial village. She has this vast population that her fields will not sustain. She must bring in raw material, pass it through her factories, sell it abroad, and have margin enough to get more raw material for the food she needs, and she is facing the demoralized markets of Europe."

MR. VANDERLIP SPEAKS, of course, as a financier. But whether one is a financier, a reformer or a revolutionist, the facts that he points out are the facts that must be faced. No matter what our theories or our faiths, these facts stand, they grow increasingly ominous, and the necessity that they be dealt with grows more insistent.

What do these facts mean to America—to the people of America? They mean, first of all, that upon America will be made increasing demands for food for Europe. We have already been supplying England, France and a great part of Italy. Plans are already under way to "feed Germany" if a peace satisfactory to those in power, politically and commercially, is made.

COLORED MOTHERS ARE no more able to help themselves than are white women under similar circumstances. The obligation to aid them to make their lives decent and livable lies therefore, directly with the white women of the country, and in particular with the southern women because their opportunity is greater. So far, the white woman of the South has too often given her colored neighbor the help that affords merely temporary relief. It has been but the generous impulse of the moment toward a particular colored woman who has earned the consideration by faithful service, rather than the intelligent will to work to give colored women as a whole the self-respect and cleanliness of mind and body which is their right. This can be done by teaching them Birth Control, but Birth Control can only help the colored woman, if to that knowledge is added the encouragement to a better mode of living which a clean and adequate home can give.

Elizabeth W. Colt

THERE WAS NOTHING half-hearted about Mrs. Colt. When she believed in a cause, her devotion never wavered, nor did her zeal falter when faced by the most exacting tasks. When she was a friend, she was a friend, indeed. Helpful when help was needed, she had also a capacity for enjoyment not always to be found in the purposeful. Her death is a great blow to her many friends and to the varied interests for which she worked. The Birth Control movement has lost one of its ablest and staunchest supporters, and the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW a most valued member of its Board of Directors.

Women Doctors to Hold Conference

THE "MEDICAL RECORD" of August, announces that a six weeks international conference will be held in New York City, beginning September 15th, at which social problems affecting women throughout the world will be discussed. The conference will be under the auspices of the Social Morality Committee, War Work Council, of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association. The conference will be divided into three sections: health; the psychological aspects of the sex question; and legislative measures as they reflect the present status of sex morality. Already a number of prominent women physicians from all parts of the world have accepted invitations to be present.

No more Frauleins

GERMAN WOMEN ARE conducting a campaign to abolish the title of fraulein, as applied to adult unmarried women, according to Dr. Edith Swift Hale of Boston, who, in company with Dr. Katharine Bement Davis of New York, has returned from a trip abroad to study social hygienic conditions. The August "Social Hygiene Bulletin" reports the results of their study.

The German women believe that every adult woman should

receive the title of "Frau" or "Mrs." in order that there may be no discrimination between married and unmarried women, any more than there is between married and unmarried men, all of whom bear the title "Herr" or "Mr."

They believe that by procuring for all adult women a uniform title, they will protect illegitimate motherhood and the illegitimate child.

Dr. Davis and Dr. Hale invited a number of women physicians abroad to attend a conference which the Y. M. C. A. will hold in New York next month to discuss social hygiene.

Eugenic Group Discusses B. C.

VOLUNTARY PARENTHOOD AS a Factor in Eugenics, furnished the subject of discussion at a special meeting of the Eugenics Education Society of Chicago, which met at the Brownleigh Club in that city on July 27th. Prof. James Field and Dr. Harold Moyer addressed the meeting. Dr. Anna A. Blount, president of the society, writes:

"Prof. Field spoke of the plans and hopes for activity in Chicago, and as all those there were pretty out-and-out birth controllers, the discussion took the trend of following out the practical and sentimental difficulties in the way of the practice. Prof. Field feels that contraceptives are probably not ideal or final, but at present are the only practical solution of the problem. Those too stupid to limit their families came in for consideration, and Dr. Harold Moyer was convinced that for such, sterilization was the best means of birth control.

"We are all in favor of birth control, but the difficulties of technique, as well as other difficulties, make room for years of labor on the subject yet."

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They That Sit in Darkness*

A ONE-ACT PLAY OF NEGRO LIFE

By Mary Burrill

(Written for the Birth Control Review)

CHARACTERS

Malinda Jasper, the mother. Lindy, Miles, Aloysius, Mary Ellen, Jimmie, John Henry, a week-old infant, her children. Elizabeth Shaw, a visiting nurse.

The action passes in a small country town in the South in our own day.

Scene: It is late afternoon of a day in September. The room which does a three-fold duty as kitchen, dining room, and living room for the Jasper family is dingy and disorderly. Great black patches as though from smoke are on the low ceilings and the walls. To the right is a door leading into a bedroom. In the opposite wall another door leads into a somewhat larger room that serves as bedroom for six Jasper children. In the rear wall a door opens into a large yard. A window is placed to the left of the door while against the wall to the right there stands an old, battered cow-hide trunk. The furniture which is poor and dilapidated, consists of a table in the center of the room, a cupboard containing a few broken cups and plates, a rocker, and two or three plain chairs with broken backs and uncertain legs. Against the wall to the left there is a kitchen stove on which sit a tea-kettle and a wash-boiler. Near the window placed upon stools are two large laundry tubs. Through open window and door one gets a glimpse of snowy garments waving and glistening in the sun. Malinda Jasper, a frail, tired-looking woman of thirty-eight, and Lindy, her seventeen year-old daughter, are bending over the tubs swirling their hands in the water to make sure that their task is completed. From the yard come the constant cries of children at play.

MRS. JASPER: (*Straightening up painfully from the tubs.*) Lor', Lindy, how my side do hurt! But thank goodnis, dis job's done! (*She sinks exhausted into the rocker.*) Run git me one them tablits de doctor lef' fo' dis pain!

--(*Lindy hurries into the adjoining room and returns with the medicine.*)

MRS. JASPER: (*Shaking her head mournfully.*) Dis ole pain goin' be takin' me 'way f'om heah one o' dese days!

LINDY: (*Looking at her in concern.*) See, Ma, I tole yuh not to be doin' all this wuk! Whut's Miss 'Liz'beth goin' er say when she comes heah this evenin' an' fine out you done all this wuk after she tole yuh pertic'lar yestiddy that she wuz'n goin' let yuh out'n bed 'fo' three weeks—an' here 't'ain't been a week sence baby wuz bawn!

MRS. JASPER: Ah ain't keerin' 'bout whut Mis' 'Liz'beth

say! Easy nuf, Lindy, fo' dese nurses to give dey advice—dey ain't got no seben chillern to clothe an' feed—but when dis washin' git back Ah kin nevah ketch up!

LINDY: (*Reprovingly.*) But I could 'a done it all mys'f.

MRS. JASPER: An' been all day an' night doin' it—an' miss gittin' you'se'f off in de mawnin' tuh Tuskegee—no indeedy!

LINDY: (*Hesitatingly.*) P'rhaps I oughtn' be goin' erway an' leavin' yuh wid all dis washin' to do ever' week, an' de chillern to look after—an' the baby an' all. Daddy he gits home so late he cain't be no help.

MRS. JASPER: (*Wearily.*) Nebber you mind, Lindy, Ah'm going be gittin' aw-right bime-by. Ah ain't a-goin' be stan'in' in de way yo' gittin' dis edicashun. Yo' chance don' come, Lindy, an' Ah wants ter see yuh tek it! Yuh been a good chile, Lindy, an' Ah wants ter see yuh git mo'e out'n life dan Ah gits. Dem three yeah at Tuskegee warn't seem long.

LINDY: (*Her face brightening up.*) Yassum, an' ef Mister Huff, the sup'inten'ent meks me county teacher lak he sez he'll do when I git back, I kin do lots mo'e fo' you an' the chillern! (*The cry of a week-old infant comes from the adjoining room.*)

MRS. JASPER: Dar now! Ah'm mighty glad he didn' wake up 'tel we git dis washin' done! Ah reckon he's hongry. Ain't Miles come back wid de milk yet? He's been gawn mos' 'en hour—see ef he's took dat guitar wid 'im.

LINDY: (*Going to the door and looking out.*) I doan see it nowheres so I reckon he's got it.

MRS. JASPER. Den Gawd knows when we'll see 'im! Lak es not he's some'airs settin' by de road thumpin' dem strings—dat boy 'ud play ef me or you wuz dyin'! Ah doan know whut's goin' come o' 'im—he's just so lazy en shif'lis!

LINDY: Doan yuh go werrin' 'bout Miles, Ma. He'll be aw-right ef he kin only learn music an' do whut he likes. (*The cry of the infant becomes insistent.*) No, Ma, you set still—I'll git his bottle an' 'tend to him. (*She goes into the bedroom.*)

(*The shrieks of the children in the yard grow louder. A shrill cry of anger and pain rises above the other voices, and Mary Ellen, age six, appears crying at the door.*)

MARY ELLEN: (*Holding her head.*) Ma! Ma! Mek Aloysius b'have hisse'f! He hit me on de haid wid all his might!

MRS. JASPER: (*Rushing to the door.*) Aloysius! Yuh Aloysius! It warn't do yuh no good ef Ah 'ave to come out'n

*Copyright applied for.

dere to yuh! John Henry, git down f'om dat tree, 'fo yuh have dem clo'es in de durt! Yo' chillern 'nuf to werry me to death!

(As Lindy returns with the baby's empty bottle, Miles enters the rear door. He is a good-natured but shiftless looking boy of sixteen. A milk pail is swinging on his arm, leaving his hands free to strum a guitar.)

LINDY: Have yuh brought the milk, Miles? An' the bread?

MILES: (Setting down the milk pail.) Nup! Mister Jackson say yuh cain't have no milk, an' no nothin' 'tel de bill's paid.

MRS. JASPER: Den Gawd knows we'll starve, 'cause Ah see'd yo' daddy give de doctor ebery cent o' his wages las' week. An' dey warn't be no mo'e money comin' in 'tel Ah kin git dis wash out to de Redmon's.

LINDY: Well, baby's gawn back to sleep now, and p'rhaps Miss 'Liz'beth will bring some milk fo' de baby when she come in lak she did yestiddy—but they ain't nothing heah fo' de other chillern.

(The shrieks of the children at play in the yard grow louder.)

ALOYSIUS: (Calling from without.) Ma! Ma! John Henry done pull' down de clo'es line!

MRS. JASPER: (Rushing again to the door.) Come in heah! Ever' single one o' yuh! Miles, run fix 'em up an' see ef any o' 'em got in de durt!

(The Jasper children, four in number, a crest-falleen, pathetic looking little group—heads unkempt, ragged, under-sized, under-fed, file in terrified.)

JOHN HENRY: (Terror-stricken.) It warn't me, Ma, it was Aloysius!

MRS. JASPER: Heish yo' mouf! March yo'se'f ever' one o' yuh an' go to baid!

MARY ELLEN: (Timidly.) We's ain't had no suppah.

MRS. JASPER: An' whut's mo'e, yuh ain't goin' git no suppah 'tel yuh larns to b'have yo'se'f!

ALOYSIUS: (In a grumbling tone.) Cain't fool me—Ah heerd Lindy say dey ain't no suppah fo' us!

(Calling to the children as they disappear in the room to the left.)

MRS. JASPER: Ef Ah heahs one soun' Ah'm comin' in dere an' slap yuh into de middle o' nex' week! (As she sinks again exhausted into the rocker.) Them chillern's goan ter be de death o' me yit!

MILES: (Appearing at the door.) De clo'es ain't dirty. I fo'git to tell yuh—I stopp't by Sam Jones an' he say he'll be 'round fo' Lindy's trunk 'bout sun-down.

MRS. JASPER: Ah reckons yu'd bettah git yo' clo'es an' pack up 'cause it warn't be long fo' sun-down.

LINDY: (Dragging the old trunk to the center of the room.) I ain't a-goin' less'n you git bettah, Ma. Yuh look right sick to me!

(As Lindy is speaking Miss Elizabeth Shaw in the regulation dress of a visiting nurse, and carry a small black bag, appears

at the rear door.)

MISS SHAW: (Looking in consternation at Mrs. Jasper.) Malinda Jasper! What are you doing out of bed! You don't mean to say that you have washed all those clothes that I see in the yard?

MRS. JASPER: Yassum, me an' Lindy done 'em.

MISS SHAW: (Provoked.) And you look completely exhausted! Come you must get right to bed!

MRS. JASPER: (Leaning her head wearily against the back of the rocker.) Lemme res' myse'f jes a minute—Ah'll be goin' 'long to-rectly.

MISS SHAW: It's a wonder in your condition that you didn't die standing right at those tubs! I don't mean to scare you but—

MRS. JASPER: (With extreme weariness.) Lor', Mis' 'Liz'beth, it ain't dyin' Ah'm skeer't o', its livin'—wid all dese chillern to look out fo'. We ain't no Elijahs, Mis' 'Lis'beth, dey ain't no ravens flyin' 'roun' heah drappin' us food. All we gits, we has to git by wukin' hard! But thanks be to Gawd a light's dawnin'! My Lindy's gittin' off to Tuskegee to school tomorrer, Mis' 'Liz'beth!

MISS SHAW: (Surprised.) I didn't know that Lindy was thinking about going away to school.

MRS. JASPER: Thinkin' 'bout it! Lindy ain't been thinkin' an' dreamin' 'bout nothin' else sence Booker Washin'ton talked to de farmers down youder at Shady Grove some ten yeah ergo. Did yo' know Booker Washin'ton, Mis' 'Liz'beth?

MISS SHAW: I saw him once a long time ago in my home town in Massachusetts. He was a great man.

MRS. JASPER: Dat he wuz! Ah kin see him now—him an' Lindy, jes a teeny slip o' gal—after de speakin' wuz ovah down dere at Shady Grove, a-standin' under de magnolias wid de sun a-pou'in' through de trees on 'em—an' he wid his hand on my li'l Linly's haid lak he wuz givin' huh a blessin', an' a-sayin': "When yuh gits big, li'l gal, yuh mus' come to Tuskegee an' larn, so's yuh kin come back heah an' he'p dese po' folks!" He's daid an' in his grave but Lindy ain't nevah fo'git dem words.

MISS SHAW: Just think of it! And ten years ago! How glad I am that her dream is coming true. Won't it cost you quite a bit?

MRS. JASPER: Lor', Lindy 'ud nevah git dere ef we had to sen' huh! Some dem rich folks up yonder in yo' part de world is sen'in' huh.

LINDY: (Entering with her arms laden with things for her trunk.) Good evenin', Mis' 'Liz'beth.

MISS SHAW: Well, Lindy, I've just heard of your good fortune. How splendid it is! But what will the baby do without you! How is he this afternoon?

LINDY: He's right smart, Mis' 'Liz'beth. I been rubbing his leg lack you showed me. Do yuh think it'll evah grow ez long ez the other'n?

MISS SHAW: I fear, Lindy, those little withered limbs seldom do; but with care it will grow much stronger. I have

brought him some milk—there in my bag. Be careful to modify it exactly as I showed you, and give what is left to the other children.

LINDY: (*Preparing to fix the milk.*) Yes Mis' 'Liz'beth.

MISS SHAW: (*Nodding at Lindy.*) What will you do, Malinda, when she goes? You will have to stop working so hard. Just see how exhausted you are from this heavy work!

MRS. JASPER: Lor', Mis' 'Liz'beth, Ah'll be awright to-reckly. Ah did de same thing after my li'l Tom was bawn, an' when Aloysius wuz bawn Ah git up de nex' day—de wuk had to be done.

MISS SHAW: (*Very gravely.*) But you must not think that you are as strong now as you were then. I heard the doctor tell you very definitely that this baby had left your heart weaker than ever, and that you must give up this laundry work.

MRS. JASPER: (*Pleadingly.*) 'Deed, Mis' 'Liz'beth, we needs dis money whut wid all dese chillern, an' de sicknis' an' fune'ul 'spenses of li'l Tom an' Selena—dem's de chillern whut come 'tween John Henry an' dis las' baby. At'er dem bills wuz paid heah come Pinkie's trouble.

MISS SHAW: Pinkie?

MRS. JASPER: (*Sadly.*) Yuh nevah seed Pinkie 'cause she lef' 'fo' yuh come heah. She come 'tween Miles an' Aloysius—she warn't right in de haid—she wuked ovah tuh Bu'nett's place—Ah aint nevah been much on my gals wukin' round dese white men but Pinkie mus' go; an' fus thing we know Bu'nett got huh in trouble.

MISS SHAW: Poor, poor girl! What did you do to the Burnett man?

MRS. JASPER. (*With deep feeling.*) Lor', Mis' 'Liz'beth, cullud folks cain't do nothin' to white folks down heah! Huh Dad went on sumpin awful wid huh ever' day, an' one mawnin' we woked up and Pinkie an' huh baby wuz gawn! We ain't nevah heerd f'om huh tuh dis day—(*she closes her eyes as if to shut out the memory of Pinkie's sorrow.*) Me an' Jim 'as allus put ouah tru's in de Lawd, an' we wants tuh raise up dese chillern to be good, honess' men an' women but we has tuh wuk so hard to give 'em de li'l de gits dat we ain't got no time tuh look at'er dey sperrits. When Jim go out to wuk—chillern's sleepin'; when he comes in late at night—chillern's sleepin'. When Ah git through scrubbin' at dem tubs all Ah kin-do is set in dis cheer an' nod—Ah doan wants tuh see no chillern! Ef it warn't fo' Lindy—huh got a mighty nice way wid 'em—Gawd he'p 'em!

MISS SHAW: Well, Malinda, you have certainly your share of trouble!

MRS. JASPER: (*Shaking her head wearily.*) Ah wonder whut sin we done that Gawd punish me an' Jim lak dis!

MISS SHAW: (*Gently.*) God is not punishing you, Malinda, you are punishing yourselves by having children every year. Take this last baby—you knew that with your weak heart that you should never have had it and yet—

MRS. JASPER: But whut kin Ah do—de chillern come!

MISS SHAW: You must be careful!

MRS. JASPER: *Be keerful!* Dat's all you nu'ses say! You an' de one whut come when Tom wuz bawn, an' Selena! Ah been keerful all Ah knows how but whut's it got me—ten chillern, eight livin' an' two daid! You got'a be tellin' me sumpin' better'n dat, Mis' Liz'beth!

MISS SHAW: (*Fervently.*) I wish to God it were lawful for me to do so! My heart goes out to you poor people that sit in darkness, having, year after year, children that you are physically too weak to bring into the world—children that you are unable not only to educate but even to clothe and feed. Malinda, when I took my oath as nurse, I swore to abide by the laws of the State, and the law forbids my telling you what you have a right to know!

MRS. JASPER: (*With the tears trickling from her closed eyes.*) Ah ain't blamin' you, Mis' 'Liz'beth, but—

MISS SHAW: Come, come, Malinda, you must not give away like this. You are worn out—come, you must get to bed.

LINDY: (*Entering with more things for her trunk.*) I'm glad yuh gittin' huh to bed, Mis' 'Liz'beth, I been tryin' to all day.

MRS. JASPER: (*As she walks unsteadily toward her room.*) Lindy, honey, git yo' trunk pack't. Thank Gawd yo' chance done come! Give dat (*Nodding toward the partially filled bottle of milk.*) to de chillern. Mis' 'Liz'beth say dey kin have it.

LINDY: All right, Ma. Mis' 'Liz'beth, ef you needs me jes call.

(*Malinda and the nurse enter the bedroom. Lindy is left packing her trunk. Miles can be heard from without strumming upon his guitar.*)

MARY ELLEN: (*Poking her head out of the door to the children's room.*) Lindy, Lindy, whut wuz dat Ma say we all kin have?

LINDY: Some milk—it ain't much.

(*The children. bound into the room. Mary Ellen, first at the table, seizes the bottle and lifts it to her lips.*)

ALOYSIUS: (*Snatching the bottle from Mary Ellen.*) Yuh got 'a be las', 'cause Mis' 'Liz'beth say we mus'n' nebber eat or drink at'er yuh! Did'n' she, Lindy?

LINDY: (*As Mary Ellen begins to cry.*) Ef yo' all git to fussin' I ain't goan to bring yuh nothin' when I comes back!

MARY ELLEN: (*As the children crowd about Lindy.*) Whut yuh goan 'a bring us, Lindy?

LINDY: (*As she puts her things carefully into her trunk.*) When I comes back I'm goan to bring yuh all some pretty readin' books, an' some clo'es so I kin tek yuh to school ever' day where yuh kin learn to read 'em!

JOHN HENRY: (*Clapping his hands.*) Is we all goin', Lindy? Miles too?

LINDY: Yes indeedy! An' whut's mo'e I'm goan 'a git Miles a fine new guitar an' let him learn music. An' some day ever' body'll be playin' an' singin' his songs!

ALOYSIUS: (*Glowing with excitement.*) Some day he might have his own band! Might'n' he, Lindy? Lak dat big

white one whut come fru heah f'om 'Lanta! Ole Miles'll come struttin' down de road.

(Aloysius seizes the broom, and in spite of the handicap of bow legs, gives a superb imitation of a drum-major leading his band.)

LINDY: *(Watching Aloysius' antics.)* An' I'm goin' tuh have Aloysius' li'l legs straightened. *(As the children roll in merriment.)* 'Sh! 'sh! Mus'n' mek no noise 'cause Ma ain't well! An' in de evenin' we'll have a real set-down-to-de table suppah—Dad he won't have to wuk so hard so he kin git home early—an' after suppah we all kin set 'round de fiah lak dey do ovah to Lawyer Hope's an' tell stories an' play games—

(The children, radiant as though these dreams were all realities, huddle closer about Lindy who, packing done, now sits enthroned upon her battered trunk.)

LINDY. 'Sh—sh! Wuz that Mis' 'Liz'beth callin'? *(They listen intently but can hear nothing save the sweet, plaintive notes of an old Spiritual that Miles is playing upon his guitar.)* Then we'll git some fine Sunday clo'es, an' a hoss an' wagon, an' when Sunday come we'll all climb in an' ride to Shady Grove to Meetin'—an' we'll set under de trees in de shade an' learn 'bout li'l Joseph an' his many-cullud coat; an' li'l Samu'l whut de Lawd called while he wuz sleepin'; an' de li'l baby whut wuz bawn in de stable an' wuz lots poor'n me an' you. An' on Sunday evenin' we'll—

MISS SHAW: *(Appearing at the bedroom door and speaking hurriedly.)* Send the children to bed quickly, Lindy, I need you.

(The children run into their room.)

ALOYSIUS: *(Wistfully, at the door.)* Ef we's good, Lindy, let us git up when Sam Jones come an' see de trunk go?

LINDY: *(Quickly.)* Mebbe—hurry up!

MISS SHAW: *(Very seriously.)* Lindy, your mother's condition has grown suddenly very, very serious. The exertion of today is beginning to tell on her heart. Bring me some boiling water immediately for my hypodermic. *(Calling from the rear door.)* Miles, Miles! Run to the Hope's as fast as you can and ask them to telephone for the doctor—your mother is very ill. Tell him the nurse says it is urgent!

(Miss Elizabeth hurries into the bedroom, followed soon after by Lindy with the water. In a few minutes the sobbing of Lindy can be heard, and the nurse re-enters the kitchen. She leans against the frame of the rear door as though exhausted and stares out into the yard at the clothes fluttering like white spirits in the gathering dusk. Then sighing deeply, she puts on her bonnet and cape and turns to go.)

MILES: *(Rushing in breathlessly, with his guitar under his arm.)* De Hopes ain't—

MISS SHAW: *(Placing her hand tenderly on his shoulder.)* Never mind, now, Miles, your mother is dead.

MILES: *(His guitar crashing to the floor.)* Dead!

MISS SHAW: Yes, and you must help Lindy all you can. I would not leave but I have a case up the road that I must

see tonight. I'll be back tomorrow. *(As Miles walks with bowed head toward his mother's room.)* Come, Miles, you had better bring in the clothes before it gets dark.

(As Miles follows her out Lindy enters the kitchen. The light has gone from her face for she knows that the path now stretching before her and the other children will be darker even than the way that they have already known.)

MILES: *(Awkwardly, as he struggles in with the hamper piled high with the snowy clothes.)* Anything mo' Ah kin do, Lindy?

LINDY: *(As she sits on the edge of her trunk and stares in a dazed, hopeless way at the floor.)* I reckon yu'd bettah walk up de road a piece to meet Dad an' hurry him erlong. An' stop in de Redmon's an' tell 'em dey cain't have de wash tomorrer 'cause—*(Gulping back her tears,)* 'cause Ma's dead; but I'll git 'em out myself jes ez soon ez I kin. An', Miles, leave word fo' Sam Jones 'at he need'n' come fo' de trunk.

(THE END.)

Is Birth Control Immoral?

WE WONDER IF the gentlemen quoted below are of the number who consider birth control immoral.

The first quotation is from "A Social History of the American Family," by Arthur W. Calhoun, Ph. D., Vol. III, and is the protest of a Mississippi physician quite correctly described as reactionary, against a constitutional proposal that the blacks be placed on the same level as the whites in respect to legal marriage.

"Every nigger wench to the equality of mah own daughters? The monstrous thing! . . . The negro women have always stood between ouah daughters and the superabundant sexual energy of ouah hot-blooded youth. And by Gad, sir, youah so-called constitution . . . etc."

THE SECOND QUOTATION is from a correspondent of the London Herald who expresses his horror at the attitude taken by the Herald that the morality of intercourse "in the case of blacks and whites is on exactly the same plane as that of white races with black." He proceeds,—*"To allow negroes to add their strain to that of a pure white race is to permit the debasement of the white. To permit the white, the more intellectual race, to add its strain to the black, is to enrich the black race. It is true that this addition is, in the majority of cases, achieved without the sanction of marriage, but it is better to achieve it so than not at all, unless morality is an end, not a means. It is the duty of the rulers of every intellectual race to prevent its debasement by admixture with inferior strains. It is the duty of every ruler to encourage the admixture of the blood of the higher human types with inferior stock."*

This delightful thinker does not state how the milk is to be added to the pudding without the pudding being added to the milk. It might be interesting to know, as the Herald says, how he would demonstrate his proposition.

Women and Children of the South

An interview with Chandler Owen, editor of the "Messenger"

Mr. Chandler Owen, joint editor with A. Philip Randolph, of the brilliant and forceful Negro monthly, "The Messenger," was census-taker in 1910, in the Tide Water Section near Norfolk, Virginia. A university man, a brilliant writer and powerful speaker, as well as an economist of note, he speaks with authority on the subject of his own people—the Negro race.

—Editor.

I WAS CENSUS-TAKER in 1910, in the Tide Water Section near Norfolk, Virginia. There were 3,800 people in my district. The average number of living children in each family was exactly 6-7/10. The average number of children born to a family was 8-4/7, although it was not at all uncommon to run across a family in which there had been from ten to eighteen children, most of whom were dead.

The house in which this family of six or eight children lived, with the father and mother, was usually a three-room shack, two rooms down stairs, and an attic in which there were three or four beds,—one bed in each corner. A stationary ladder leads into the attic through a little hole in the ceiling.

The infant mortality in the South—and in the North also—is very high. For the Negroes, the average rate is 32.5 per cent.; for the white people, 16 per cent. This is due to bad living conditions, insanitation and uncleanliness—all products of poverty.

As to the prevalence of venereal diseases, I do not know whether it is more or less prevalent among the Negroes than among the white people. I would expect it to be slightly higher because of the conditions which are the cause of infant mortality. No statistics have been taken on the subject by races.

A large number of children among the Negroes, as among the poor everywhere makes for bad living conditions and cheap labor. There is, for instance, a greater number of Negro women than any other set or race engaged in productive industry in the United States. In 1910, of all females 10 years of age and over engaged in gainful occupation, 1/4 or 24-8/10 were Negroes. One-half of all Negro boys and 1/3 of all Negro girls from 10 to 15 years of age, are at work. Only 1,620,000, or less than half of children of school-going age, are in school today. In 1910, 40-7/10 per cent. of all Negro females over 10 years of age were engaged in gainful occupations. This does not include those who are housewives, who do useful, and very hard labor.

Birth Control, by limiting the number of children born to Negro mothers, would afford opportunities for education and more time and money for a general improvement in conditions; many children who die in the South today because of the weakened conditions of the mother, would not be born at

all. Birth Control would materially affect housing conditions. There would be more money for better houses, for food, clothing and education. When people have more money and fewer children, they read, go to theatres, take small vacations, travel a little, and—of great importance—they engage in athletics. The lack of exercise expressed through athletics often gives rise to ennui. But when they are tied down by children, they stop a hard day's work, go home, and the chief pleasure they have is reproduction gratification. This is a very important factor, and gives rise to the large number of children which we see among the poor. The sex relation is their amusement and enjoyment. The end of life is not education, not a broad or virtuous life, but the gratification of desire.

THE NEGRO GIRLS in the South marry early, and this is another factor in over-production. Many girls of 16, 18 and 20 years of age are mothers. There are two reasons for these early marriages: there are few amusements—little recreation; there are little dances once a month or so, in some room or barn. There are occasional candy pullings, peanut-poppings, wood-chopping and rail-splitting parties. The girls also marry early to relieve families of the burden of caring for them. The parents make special efforts to "marry a girl off." And among the girls, the fear of becoming an "old maid" is a serious problem. The "old maid" fear is a capitalistic institution, having its roots in the desire to be "respectable," to leave legitimate children who can inherit property. It has been fostered with girls, marriage being the sole aim of their existence. They have been expected to marry in order to produce more children.

Under such a system, on the military field, a surplus of men is needed for soldiers; on the industrial field, laborers are wanted; on the religious field, congregations are wanted. On the military field, they want a surplus for killing, but on the religious field, it is necessary to have not only large numbers, but large numbers in poverty and ignorance.

During slave days, Negro women often had as many as 20 to 25 children, or more. Professor Ulrich Phillips, of the University of Michigan, discusses this in his book on "American Negro Slavery." You will find from his book that Negro women were urged and forced to have children, and men were kept about the place for this purpose. More slaves were needed for the masters. Even today, Negro girls have a large number of children—forced by their masters in peonage camps of the South. In these camps the Negro women are forced to have intercourse with the white overseers. This is evidence given before a Federal Attorney General by Judge McDaniel, contained on p. 228-30 of Wm. A. Sinclair's book on "The Aftermath of Slavery."

(Continued on page 20.)

The Closing Door

By Angelina W. Grimké

(Written for the Birth Control Review)

I WAS FIFTEEN AT the time, diffident and old far beyond my years from much knocking about from pillar to post, a yellow, scrawny, unbeautiful girl, when the big heart of Agnes Milton took pity upon me, loved me and brought me home to live with her in her tiny, sun-filled flat. We were only distantly related, very distantly, in fact, on my dead father's side. You can see, then, there was no binding blood-tie between us, that she was under absolutely no obligation to do what she did. I have wondered time and again how many women would have opened their hearts and their homes, as Agnes Milton did, to a forlorn, unattractive, homeless girl-woman. That one fine, free, generous act of hers alone shows the wonder-quality of her soul.

Just one little word to explain me. After my father had taken one last cup too many and they had carried him, for the last time, out of the house into which he had been carried so often, my mother, being compelled to work again, returned to the rich family with whom she had been a maid before her marriage. She regarded me as seriously, I suppose, as she did anything in this world; but as it was impossible to have me with her. I was passed along from one of her relatives to another. When one tired of me, on I went to the next. Well, I can say this for each and all of them, they certainly believed in teaching me how to work! Judging by the number of homes in which I lived until I was fifteen, my mother was rich indeed in one possession—an abundance of relatives.

And then came Agnes Milton.

HAVE YOU EVER, I wonder, known a happy person? I mean a really happy one? He is as rare as a white blackbird in this sombre-faced world of ours. I have know two and only two. They were Agnes Milton and her husband Jim. And their happiness did not last. Jim was a brown, good-natured giant with a slow, most attractive smile and gleaming teeth. He spoke always in a deep sad drawl, and you would have thought him the most unhappy person imaginable until you glimpsed his black eyes fairly twinkling under their half-closed lids. He made money—what is called “easy money”—by playing ragtime for dances. He was one of a troupe that are called “social entertainers.” As far as Jim was concerned, it would have slipped away in just as easy a manner, if it hadn't been for Agnes. For she, in spite of all her seeming carefree joyousness was a thrifty soul. As long as Jim could have good food and plenty of it, now and then the theatre, a concert or a dance, and his gold-tipped cigarettes, he didn't care what became of his money.

“Oh, Ag!”

If I close my eyes I can hear his slow sad voice as clearly

as though these ten long years had not passed by. I can hear the click of the patent lock as he closed the flat door. I can hear the bang of his hat as he hung it on the rack. I can get the whiff of his cigarette.

“Oh, Ag!”

“That you, Jim?” I can see Agnes' happy eyes and hear her eager, soft voice.

And then after a pause, that sad voice:

“No, Ag!”

I can hear her delighted little chuckle. She very seldom laughed outright.

“Where are you, anyway?” It was the plaintive voice again.

“Here!”

AND THEN HE'D make believe he couldn't find her and go hunting her all over that tiny flat, searching for her in every room he knew she was not. And he'd stumble over things in pretended excitement and haste and grunt and swear all in that inimitable slow way of his. And she'd stand there, her eyes shining and every once in a while giving that dear little chuckle of hers.

Finally he'd appear in the door panting and disheveled and would look at her in pretended intense surprise for a second, and then he'd say in an aggrieved voice:

“'S not fair, Agnes! 'S not fair!”

She wouldn't say a word, just stand there smiling at him. After a little, slowly, he'd begin to smile too.

That smile of theirs was one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen and each meeting it was the same. Their joy and love seemed to gush up and bubble over through their lips and eyes.

Presently he'd say:

“Catch!”

She'd hold up her little white apron by the corners and he'd put his hand in his pocket and bring out sometimes a big, sometimes a little, wad of greenbacks and toss it to her and she'd catch it, too, I can tell you. And her eyes would beam and dance at him over it. Oh! she didn't love the money for itself but him for trusting her with it.

For fear you may not understand I must tell you no more generous soul ever lived than Agnes Milton. Look at what she did for me. And she was always giving a nickel or a dime to some child, flowers or fruit to a sick woman, money to tide over a friend. No beggar was ever turned away empty, from her flat. But she managed, somehow, to increase her

little hoard in the bank against that possible rainy day.

WELL, TO RETURN. At this juncture, Jim would say oh! so sadly his eyes fairly twinkling:

"Please, m'a'm, do I get paid today too?"

And then she'd screw up her mouth and twist her head to the side and look at him and say in a most judicial manner:

"Well, now, I really can't say as to that. It strikes me you'll have to find that out for yourself."

Oh! they didn't mind me. He would reach her, it seemed, in one stride and would pick her up bodily, apron, money and all. After a space, she'd disentangle herself and say sternly, shaking the while her little forefinger before his delighted eyes:

"Jim Milton, you've overdrawn your wages again."

And then he'd look oh! so contrite and so upset and so shocked at being caught in such a gigantic piece of attempted fraud.

"No?" he'd say. If you only could have heard the mournful drawl of him.

"No? Now, is that so? I'm really at heart an honest, hard-working man. I'll have to pay it back."

He did. I can vouch for it.

Sometimes after this, he'd swing her up onto his shoulder and they'd go dashing and prancing and shrieking and laughing all over the little flat. Once after I had seen scared faces appearing at various windows, at times like these, I used to rush around and shut the windows down tight. Two happy children, that's what they were then—younger even than I.

There was just the merest suspicion of a cloud over their happiness, these days; they had been married five years and had no children.

IT WAS THE mother heart of Agnes that had yearned over me, had pity upon me, loved me and brought me to live in the only home I have ever known. I have cared for people. I care for Jim; but Agnes Milton is the only person I have ever really loved. I love her still. And before it was too late, I used to pray that in some way I might change places with her and go into that darkness where though, still living, one forgets sun and moon and stars and flowers and winds—and love itself, and existence means dark, foul-smelling cages, hollow clanging doors, hollow monotonous days. But a month ago when Jim and I went to see her, she had changed—she had receded even from us. She seemed—how can I express it?—blank, empty, a grey automaton, a mere shell. No soul looked out at us through her vacant eyes.

We did not utter a word during our long journey homeward. Jim had unlocked the door before I spoke.

"Jim," I said, "they may still have the poor husk of her cooped up there but her soul, thank God, at least for that, is free at last!"

And Jim, I cannot tell of his face, said never a word but turned away and went heavily down the stairs. And I, I went into Agnes Milton's flat and closed the door. You would never have dreamed it was the same place. For a long time

I stood amid all the brightness and mockery of her sun-drenched rooms. And I prayed. Night and day I have prayed since, the same prayer—that God, if he knows any pity at all may soon, soon release the poor spent body of hers.

I wish I might show you Agnes Milton of those far off happy days. She wasn't tall and she wasn't short; she wasn't stout and she wasn't thin. Her back was straight and her head high. She was rather graceful, I thought. In coloring she was Spanish or Italian. Her hair was not very long but it was soft and silky and black. Her features were not too sharp, her eyes clear and dark, a warm leaf brown in fact. Her mouth was really beautiful. This doesn't give her I find. It was the shining beauty and gayety of her soul that lighted up her whole body and somehow made her her. And she was generally smiling or chuckling. Her eyes almost closed when she did so and there were the most delightful crinkles all about them. Under her left eye there was a small scar, a reminder of some childhood escapade, that became, when she smiled, the most adorable of dimples.

ONE DAY, I remember, we were standing at the window in the bright sunlight. Some excitement in the street below had drawn us. I turned to her—the reason has gone from me now—and called out suddenly:

"Agnes Milton!"

"Heavens! What is it?"

"Why, you're wrinkling!"

"Wrinkling! Where?" And she began inspecting the smooth freshness of her housedress.

"No, your face," I exclaimed. "Honest! Stand still there in that light. Now! Just look at them all around your eyes." She chuckled.

"How you ever expect me to see them I don't know, without a glass or anything!"

And her face crinkled up into a smile.

"There! That's it!—That's how you get them."

"How?"

"Smiling too much."

"Oh, no! Lucy, child, that's impossible."

"How do you mean impossible? You didn't get them that way? Just wait till I get a glass."

"No, don't," and she stopped me with a detaining hand. "I'm not doubting you. What I mean is—it's absolutely impossible to smile too much."

I felt my eyes stretching with surprise.

"You mean," I said, "you don't mind being wrinkled? You, a woman?"

She shook her head at me many times, smiling and chuckling softly the while.

NOT THE VERY littlest, tiniest bit—not this much," and she showed me just the barest tip of her pink tongue between her white teeth. She smiled, then, and there was the dimple.

"And you only twenty-five?" I exclaimed.

She didn't answer for a moment and when she did she spoke quietly:

"Lucy, child, we've all got to wrinkle sometime, somehow, if we live long enough. I'd much rather know mine were smile ones than frown ones." She waited a second and then looked at me with her beautiful clear eyes and added, "Wouldn't you?"

For reply I leaned forward and kissed them. I loved them from that time on.

* * *

Here is another memory of her—perhaps the loveliest of them all and yet, as you will see, tingled with the first sadness. It came near the end of our happy days. It was a May dusk. I had been sewing all the afternoon and was as close to the window as I could get to catch the last of the failing light. I was trying to thread a needle—had been trying for several minutes, in fact, and was just in the very act of succeeding when two soft hands were clapped over my eyes.

"Oh, Agnes!" I said none too pleasantly. It was provoking. "There! You've made me lose my needle."

"Bother your old needle, cross patch!" she said close to my ear. She still held her hands over my eyes.

I waited a moment or so.

"Well," I said, "what's the idea?"

"PLEASE DON'T BE cross," came the soft voice still close to my ear.

"I'm not."

At that she chuckled.

"Well!" I said.

"I'm trying to tell you something. Sh! not so loud."

"Well, go ahead then; and why must I sh!"

"Because you must."

I waited.

"Well!", I said a third time, but in a whisper to humor her. We were alone in the flat, there was no reason I could see for this tremendous secrecy.

"I'm waiting for you to be sweet to me."

"I am. But why I should have to lose my needle and my temper and be blinded and sweet just to hear something—is beyond me."

"Because I don't wish you to see me while I say it."

Her soft lips were kissing my ear.

"Well, I'm very sweet now. What is it?"

There was another little pause and during it her fingers over my eyes trembled a little. She was breathing quicker too.

"Agnes Milton, what is it?"

"Wait, I'm just trying to think *how* to tell you. Are you sure you're very sweet?"

"Sure."

I loved the feel of her hands and sat very still.

"Lucy!"

"Yes."

"What do you think would be the loveliest, loveliest thing for you to know was—was—there—close—just under your heart?"

BUT I WAITED for no more. I took her hands from my eyes and turned to look at her. The beauty of her face made me catch my breath.

At last I said:

"You mean—" I didn't need to finish.

"Yes! Yes! And I'm so happy, happy, happy! And so is Jim."

"Agnes, Oh my dear, and so am I!" And I kissed her two dear eyes. "But why mustn't I whoop? I've simply got to," I added.

"No! No! No! Oh, sh!" And for the very first time I saw fear in her eyes.

"Agnes," I said, "what is it?"

"I'm—I'm just a little afraid, I believe."

"Afraid!" I had cried out in surprise.

"Sh! Lucy!—Yes."

"But of what?" I spoke in a half whisper too. "You mean you're afraid you may die?"

"Oh, no, not that."

"What, then?"

"Lucy," her answer came slowly a little abstractedly, "there's—such—a thing—as being—*too* happy,—*too* happy."

"Nonsense," I answered.

BUT SHE ONLY shook her head at me slowly many times and her great wistful eyes came to mine and seemed to cling to them. It made my heart fairly ache and I turned my head away so that she couldn't see her fears were affecting me. And then quite suddenly I felt a disagreeable little chill run up and down my back.

"Lucy," she said after a little.

"Yes," I was looking out of the window and not at her.

Do you remember Kipling's "Without Benefit of Clergy?"

I did and I said so. Agnes had Kipling bound in ten beautiful volumes. She loved him. At first that had been enough for me, and then I had come to love him for himself. I had read all of those ten volumes through from cover to cover, poetry and all.

"You haven't forgotten Ameera, then?"

"No."

"Poor Ameera!" She was thoughtful a moment and then went on: "She knew what it was to be too happy. Do you remember what she said once to Holden?"

Again I felt that queer little shiver.

"She said many things, as I remember, Agnes. Which?"

"This was after Tota's death."

"Well!"

"They were on the roof—she and Holden—under the night."

Her eyes suddenly widened and darkened and then she went on:

SHE TURNED TO Holden and said: "We must make no protestations of delight but go softly underneath the stars, lest God find us out." She paused. "Do you remember?"

"Yes," I answered; but I couldn't look at her.

"Well," she spoke slowly and quietly, "I have a feeling here, Lucy," and she placed her left hand against her heart, "here, that Jim and you and I must go softly—very softly—underneath the stars."

Again I felt that unpleasant chill up and down my back.

She stood just where she was for a little space, her hand still against her heart and her eyes wide, dark and unseeing, fixed straight ahead of her. Then suddenly and without a sound she turned and went towards the door and opened it.

I started to follow her; but she put up her hand.

"No, Lucy, please—I wish to be alone—for a little."

And with that she went and shut the door very slowly, quite noiselessly behind her. The closing was so slow, so silent, that I could not tell just when it shut. I found myself trembling violently. A sudden and inexplicable terror filled me as that door closed behind her.

We were to become accustomed to it, Jim and I, as much as it was possible to do so, in those terrible days that were to follow. We were to become used to entering a room in search of Agnes, only to find it empty and the door opposite closing, closing, almost imperceptibly, noiselessly—and, yes, at last irrevocably—between us. And each time it happened the terror was as fresh upon me as at the very first.

THE DAYS THAT immediately followed I cannot say were really unhappy ones. More to humor Agnes at first than anything else "we went softly." But as time passed even we became infected. Literally and figuratively we began to go "softly under the stars." We came to feel that each of us moved ever with a finger to his lips. There came to be also a sort of expectancy upon us, a listening, a waiting. Even the neighbors noticed the difference. Jim still played his rag-time and sang, but softly; we laughed and joked, but quietly. We got so we even washed the dishes and pots and pans quietly. Sometimes Jim and I forgot, but as certainly as we did there was Agnes in the door, dark-eyed, a little pale and her, "Oh, Jim!—Oh, Lucy! Sh!"

I haven't spoken of this before because it wasn't necessary. Agnes had a brother called Bob. He was her favorite of all her brothers and sisters. He was younger than she, five years, I think, a handsome, harum-scarum, happy-go-lucky, restless, reckless daredevil, but sweet-tempered and good hearted and lovable withal. I don't believe he knew what fear was. His home was in Mississippi, a small town there. It was the family home, in fact. Agnes had lived there herself until she was seventeen or eighteen. He had visited us two or three times and you can imagine the pandemonium that reigned at such times, for he had come during our happy days. Well, he was very fond of Agnes and, as irresponsible as he seemed, one thing he never failed to do and that was to write her a letter every single week. Each Tuesday morning, just like clock-work, the very first mail there was his letter. Other mornings

Agnes was not so particular; but Tuesday mornings she always went herself to the mailbox in the hall.

IT WAS A Tuesday morning about four months, maybe, after my first experience with the closing door. The bell rang three times, the postman's signal when he had left a letter, Agnes came to her feet, her eyes sparkling:

"My letter from Bob," she said and made for the door.

She came back slowly, I noticed, and her face was a little pale and worried. She had an opened and an unopened letter in her hand.

"Well, what does Bob say?" I asked.

"This—this isn't from Bob," she said slowly. "It's only a bill."

"Well, go ahead and open his letter," I said.

"There—there wasn't any, Lucy."

"What!" I exclaimed. I was surprised.

"No. I don't know what it means."

"It will come probably in the second mail," I said. "It has sometimes."

"Yes," she said, I thought rather listlessly.

It didn't come in the second mail nor in the third.

"Agnes," I said. "There's some good explanation. It's not like Bob to fail you."

"No."

"He's busy or got a girl maybe."

She was a little jealous of him and I hoped this last would rouse her, but it didn't.

"Yes, maybe that's it," she said without any life.

"Well, I hope you're not going to let this interfere with your walk," I said.

"I had thought—" she began, but I cut her off.

"You promised Jim you'd go out every single day," I reminded her.

"All right, Agnes Milton's conscience," she said smiling a little. "I'll go, then."

SHE HADN'T BEEN gone fifteen minutes when the electric bell began shrilling continuously throughout the flat.

Somehow I knew it meant trouble. My mind immediately flew to Agnes. It took me a second or so to get myself together and then I went to the tube.

"Well," I called. My voice sounded strange and high.

A boy's voice answered:

"Lady here named Mrs. James Milton?"

"Yes." I managed to say.

"Telegram fo' you'se."

It wasn't Agnes, after all. I drew a deep breath. Nothing else seemed to matter for a minute.

"Say!" the voice called up from below. "Wot's de mattah wid you'se up dere?"

"Bring it up." I said at last. "Third floor, front."

I opened the door and waited.

The boy was taking his time and whistling as he came.

"Here!" I called out as he reached our floor.

It was inside his cap and he had to take it off to give it to me.

I saw him eyeing me rather curiously.

"You Mrs. Milton?" he asked?

"No, but this is her flat. I'll sign for it. She's out. Where do I sign? There? Have you a pencil?"

With the door shut behind me again, I began to think out what I had better do. Jim was not to be home until late that night. Within five minutes I had decided. I tore open the yellow envelope and read the message.

It ran: "Bob died suddenly. Under no circumstances come. Father."

THE REST OF that day was a nightmare to me. I concealed the telegram in my waist. Agnes came home finally and was so alarmed at my appearance, I pleaded a frightful sick headache and went to bed. When Jim came home late that night Agnes was asleep. I caught him in the hall and gave him the telegram. She had to be told, we decided, because a letter from Mississippi might come at any time. He broke it to her the next morning. We were all hard hit, but Agnes from that time on was a changed woman.

Day after day dragged by and the letter of explanation did not come. It was strange, to say the least.

The Sunday afternoon following, we were all sitting, after dinner, in the little parlor. None of us had been saying much.

Suddenly Agnes said:

"Jim!"

"Yes!"

"Wasn't it strange that father never said how or when Bob died?"

"Would have made the telegram too long and expensive, perhaps," Jim replied.

WE WERE ALL thinking, in the pause that followed, the same thing, I dare say. Agnes' father was not poor and it did seem he might have done that much.

"And why, do you suppose I was not to come under any circumstances? And why don't they write?"

Just then the bell rang and there was no chance for a reply.

Jim got up in his leisurely way and went to the tube.

Agnes and I both listened—a little tensely, I remember.

"Yes!" we heard Jim say, and then with spaces in between:

"Joe?—Joe who?—I think you must have made a mistake. No, I can't say that I do know anyone called Joe. What? Milton? Yes, that's my name! What? Oh! Brooks. Joe Brooks?—"

But Agnes waited for no more. She rushed by me into the hall.

"Jim! Jim! It's my brother Joe."

(To be continued in October issue)

Reconstruction is more difficult and dangerous than construction or destruction.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A Voice from the South

Mr. Isaac Fisher, University Editor at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, writes a letter to the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW which should be read by every white man and woman seriously interested in joining hands with the Negro people for their mutual development and understandings

YOUR LETTER WAS sent to Tuskegee and was, therefore, delayed in reaching me. Although our own library at Fisk is not large and, of course, I do not have free access to the main branch of the Carnegie Public Library here, I am trying to get some matter for you on the subject of the Negro woman for it is very, very close to my heart.

"As you say, there is very little published on the problems of the colored woman. The major part of that which has been published has sought to write her down to eternal infamy. More than twenty years ago, when I was a young man at Tuskegee, one of my classmates, a beautiful colored girl, got permission one day to speak to me in the library; and she brought to me one of series of articles being written from the South to a northern periodical by a white woman about colored women. The injustice of the aspersions, the bitterness of it all, made the rest of our day very dark, for we were nothing but children; and we sat there—both of us—and cried bitterly; for we were not too young to know that the same periodical which gave this woman such freedom to indict all colored women would hedge if a colored woman from the South wrote as a rejoinder the whole bitter truth—the part which the first woman was so careful to withhold.

THROUGH THE YEARS that have gone, I have never forgotten the incident; and now that I have a wife and a daughter of just the age of the girl who brought me the paper, I make it my business whenever I can, to say a word for the only woman in America who, in a great number of American states, stands beyond the pale of the protection of law in the very things in which she needs it most. I have not the time to search for the matter you want, but if you are planning to say a word of good for a group of women who deserve unlimited credit for having gone forward in character almost entirely without society's aid—in spite of society's attitude toward them—I have ample time.

"If there is anything else I can do, command me. Despite all that has been said, I have been privileged to know, to work with, to appreciate, to sympathize and love some of the finest women in the world. They have not all had the white women's chance; but many of them had seen the "Star" and were journeying through heart-breaks toward its light. I owe them much and will do whatever I can to make their path a little easier. God bless you and all like you who honor your own race by deeds of justice to another race."

Mr. Fisher enclosed two books, written by southern women whose kindness, he says "had cured the heartache inflicted by the first woman."

Birth Control Speaker Convicted

IT WASN'T SO long ago that policemen were acting as dramatic and art critics, suppressing George Bernard Shaw's plays and deciding that Rodin's statues in the Metropolitan Museum should wear mother-hubbards. Now, these same policemen come forward as critics of Birth Control lectures, and arrest speakers on the ground that "it ain't refined" to discuss birth control on the public streets.

George Swasey, speaker for the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, and Kitty Marion who has been selling the magazine on Broadway and at public meetings for two and a half years, were arrested Saturday, August 9th, while Mr. Swasey was addressing an audience on the East Side.

The charge against Mr. Swasey was "disorderly conduct." Miss Marion was arrested for selling the magazine. Twenty witnesses from the audience—total strangers—followed them to the police station, and offered to give testimony in their behalf when the case came to trial. Jacob Pooplin and Harry B. Denner, also total strangers, furnished bail of \$50 each.

Mr. Swasey and Miss Marion were brought to trial on the 15th. The two policemen making the charges, performed miracles in memory feats. Sergeant Patrick Hickey repeated Swasey's entire speech from memory, talking steadily and rapidly for five or ten minutes! The second policeman went through the same performance. His notes on the case, he said, had been typewritten by a "friend" whose name, address or business he didn't know! The originals had been destroyed! The testimony revealed a policeman's vocabulary—not the vocabulary of speakers for the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW.

THE PROSECUTION WAS a grim farce. No charge at all was pressed against Kitty Marion, and the Judge reluctantly dismissed her. But despite the blatant falsity of the policemen's testimony, and the testimony of six witnesses against them, George Swasey was convicted, and sentenced to serve 10 days in jail or to pay a \$50 fine.

The Judge gave as a reason for the conviction the fact that children were in the audience, that Swasey was discussing a subject—birth control—which was open to debate, and had used the word "prostitute."

An appeal was immediately taken.

ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON, a group of women, composed of Dr. Mary Halton, a physician at Gouveneur Hospital, Ellen Kennan and Gertrude Nafe, teachers, and Agnes Smedley, carried the matter to the public by an open-air mass meeting at Second Avenue and 10th Street, near where the arrests had been made. With them were a large number of women to sell the magazine. For two hours, an immense audience listened to the reasons why birth control information should be given to women, poor women in particular. On the same evening, another protest meeting was held, where

Dr. Halton spoke for two hours. Other meetings have been scheduled at different parts of the city, and are being held daily.

The fight is going to be waged. We need workers. We need men and women to help sell the magazine at meetings, to speak, to get subscriptions. The REVIEW, therefore, appeals to its readers for assistance. Renew your subscriptions, pass on the magazine to your friends, send money for the appeal of this case, come in or write and offer your services.

Patriarchate Abolished

ON THE 28th of March, the first of a series of meetings was held in Copenhagen in support of the bill for altering the marriage laws. A speech was made by the well known oculist, Fru Estrid Hein, who is the only woman member of the Commission on Family Rights. She again emphasized that it has been the wish of the commission to equalize the position of both husband and wife in a legal as well as in an economic sense. Especially with reference to their rights as guardians of their children. The father's veto, in case of dispute, which is the most devastating injustice in the law now in force will be done away with.

Magister Harold Nielsen characterizes the law as—certain Bolshevik proposals apart—the most revolutionary in Europe. It does away with the patriarchate. Mar's only function will be to propagate and pay.

—*International Suffrage News, June 1919.*

A Word from Dr. Dubois

Mrs. Charles E. Knoblauch,
Birth Control Review,
104 Fifth Avenue, New York.

My Dear Madam:

I believe very firmly in birth control, but I regret to say that I have been absent so long from my desk that I am unable to promise any article in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. DuBois.

July 15.

Save us, World Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this thy truce
To make Humanity divine!

—W. E. B. DuBois.

Book Reviews

THE NEW DAY FOR THE COLORED WOMAN WORKER. Mrs. Gertrude E. McDougald, 823 East 166th Street, New York City. 39pp.

As indicated by its title, "A New Day for the Colored Women Workers," the recent survey of New York City's industries made in the summer of 1918, heralds the arrival of a new and considerably large group of trade workers.

The story of the report dates back three years when a small group of women in the Manhattan Trade School Board in New York City, cast about for measures to solve the difficult problem of placing the increasing number of colored graduates in the skilled trades for which they had been trained. This effort disclosed the extent and partly the character of the causes of the difficulties.

To the already active co-operation of the New York Urban League, the Women's Trade Union League and the Consumer's League added their influence. The investigation was made possible by their securing an appropriation from the Y. W. C. A.

Miss Nelle Swartz, now chief of the Women's Division of the State Labor Department, directed the study and acted as chairman of the Committee on Colored Women in Industry.

Briefly stated, some of the significant facts described are: That the colored women found in the trades, possessed a higher average of general education than a similar group of white girls in the same occupations. That she possessed little trade training and practically no industrial experience. That few colored women had entered industry as scabs or strike breakers, but largely as replacements, because of war conditions. That comparatively few are recognized in Labor Unions, and work for low wages and many times under poor conditions. That, though generally accredited with lack of speed and some degree of unreliability, the colored woman proved a satisfactory worker in those trades where wages and conditions were good.

Beside making available for the first time accurate information and facts, the survey reveals clearly the problems surrounding the industrial employment of colored women in New York City.

Through its recommendations, the Committee holds a light over the pathways leading toward their gradual solution. Summed up, emphasis is placed upon the need for developing this new labor supply, both by general and trade training, and through education for group action and collective bargaining. The plea made is strong for keener appreciation of the contribution it is possible for the colored group to make to American life, once the barriers of prejudice and doubt are swept from the average American's mind.

That five organizations of national scope should jointly supervise this work of investigation, indicates the growing tendency of thinking Americans to include in its mental programme the colored citizen. But, of even greater moment is the immediate contributive action which followed its publication. The work on the survey ended November 1st. The United States government was awaiting its conclusion to begin at once to meet the needs disclosed.

The most immediate of those needs became urgent with the signing of the Armistice, for the question uppermost in the minds of all interested was, "Will the door of opportunity for colored workers stand ajar now that the war is over?" The obvious thing to do was to assist these new workers and the United States Employment Service proved the most appropriate agency to handle the work. Centered in the Bureau in Harlem where 90% of the applicants are colored, a systematic work of canvassing employers was begun. It was of necessity largely a work of interpretation and advertisement to employers of the colored labor supply and the bureau.

In many instances those who had employed colored women during the war were willing to keep them. The reasons implied or given for this varied from the irresistible temptation to exploit ignorant labor, to an encouragingly true American recognition of their right to an American chance.

Six months after the signing of the Armistice found the daily orders at the Bureau for skilled women, increased from an average of less than one a day to three or four daily. The fact that equal pay is offered in most instances augurs well for the permanent employment of colored women in the trades, for the American habit of mind of boycotting this group of workers is gradually experiencing a change.

As the work progressed, the absolute newness of the whole situation, the naive unreadiness of the workers for the expanded opportunities, necessitated a campaign of information. It was found that by many women, the highly specialized nature of skilled work was not understood. Women who had been cleaners of threads from rough uniforms believed themselves competent post-war finishers on silk dresses at high war wages.

Besides enlightenment on the trades themselves, lectures and addresses in churches and evening schools, showed the difference between the attitude of mind and action of one who serves and one who produces,—the citizen who waits for improvements in conditions, and he who is a force in creating improvements. The talks further told of the duties and responsibilities which come with each new privilege and of the progressive legislation which affects the colored worker more than any other because he is at the bottom of the economic ladder, and demands his active interest. Churches devoted only to emotional religion eagerly opened their doors to this new form of uplift.

Thus throughout the winter of 1918-1919, steady effort was successfully sustained to meet the most immediate needs. At the same time an earnest effort was begun to reach back to the source, and touch the most fundamental recommendation of the committee—that of emphasizing more education, trade and general.

Through the leadership of Mrs. Albert Erdman of the New York Urban League and the efforts of Miss Doerschule of the Y. W. C. A. with the co-operation of Mrs. Tupper principal of Public School 119, a notable conference on pre-vocational and vocational training for the colored child in March 1919, resulted in the disclosures that no pre-vocational work at all was available for the colored child; that it suffers in common with but to a larger degree than the white child, from the limited available trade training, and that the only vocational advice that has touched him comes incidentally in connection with the before mentioned work of the Manhattan Trade School.

The work of showing the trade world to the school child through vocational guidance, will soon be commenced in Public School 199, where it will link up with the pre-vocational classes just begun.

Thus the six months elapsing since the completion of the survey have seen action upon all of the recommendations of the Committee on Industry except one,—that dealing with Labor Unions. A specific effort should be made to explain this large Union principle, its benefits, etc., to this large group of workers, at a place convenient to the women.

Pressed by more immediate business, the various union officials are slow to admit and slower to act upon the fact that there is a great danger in not educating these latest recruits. The more aggressive colored workers seek out the unions in self-defense, but they never constituted an exploited menace. Those who must be sought are the colored workers who prove stones about the other's necks.

When once the unions of New York City are thoroughly aroused to their opportunities, and have begun definite organized work, New York City may feel its colored workers have been given an impetus in their approach to their goal of fullest possible service in the individual field as it exists today.

GERTRUDE E. McDOUGALD.

THE HEART OF A WOMAN AND OTHER POEMS. By Georgia Douglas Johnson. Cornhill Company, Boston. 62 pp. Price \$1.25.

The "Heart of a Woman," a book of lyric verse by Georgia Douglas Johnson, is the subjective life of an awakened woman. It is in the title poem that the poet's muse gives us the best example of its haunting power.

"The heart of a woman goes forth with the dawn,
"As a lone bird, soft winging, so restlessly on,
"Afar o'er life's turrets and vales does it roam
"In the wake of those echoes the heart calls home."

"The heart of a woman falls back with the night,
"And enters some alien cage in its plight,
"And tries to forget it has dreamed of the stars
"While it breaks, breaks, breaks on the sheltering bars."

Each one of the lyrics is an emotional experience plaintively sung, spontaneously sung as though the very outlet of song brought relief to the singer.

"My song is but my longing heart
"Pulsated with its beat."

Above all the poems are musical. There is a lilt to the verse that carries one along resistlessly through its cadences, minor cadences with its intermingling of roses and rain, its refreshing tears and unanswered longing. These minors are not depressing, however. The sorrowing which touches all of the lyrics is the sadness of longing for the unattainable, the intangible joy of the dreamer who never realizes yet whose very dreams bring a melancholy happiness. It is that kind of sadness which is akin to joy and the ache of intense beauty:

"The wild pulsing beauty throbs like a sweet pain
"O soul of me, drink, ere night falleth again."

Whether the singer wistfully complains that there are none to joy when she rejoices or grieve, when she sorrows or laments, that night has overtaken her rapture, bringing slumber and tears, the tears are refreshing. The theme which weaves itself through the lyrics is renunciation which exalts, death which sets free, love which finds its fullest expression in unfulfillment, "unbonded by the clasp of hand, without a vow—"

The music is not all sad. There are swinging measures which joy in their own rhythm as in the following stanza:

"Oh my fancy teems with a world of dreams,—
"They revolve in a glittering fire,
"How they twirl and go with the tunes that flow
"On the breath of my soul strung lyre."

Sometimes the singer is in a thoughtful mood as in Elevation.

"There are highways in the soul,
"Heights like pyramids that rise
"Far beyond earth-veiled eyes,
"Sweeping through the barless skies
"O'er the line where daylight dies—
"There are highways in the soul."

Nevertheless as we regretfully close this book of short verses it is the music of the measures that lingers in our hearts, that lyric quality which sings itself when words are forgot. The wistful minor strain remains to the end in the closing poem.

"I'm folding up my little dreams
"Within my heart tonight,
"And praying I may soon forget
"The torture of their sight."

"For time's deft fingers scroll my brow
"With fell relentless art—
"I'm folding up my little dreams
"Tonight within my heart."

LILLIAN B. WITTEN.

YOUR NEGRO NEIGHBOR. By Benjamin Brawley. The Macmillan Company, New York. 100 pages. 60 cents.

It is going too far perhaps to say that if the "leading citizens" of Washington and Chicago had devoted an hour or two of the early summer to the reading of Mr. Brawley's "Your Negro Neighbor" the recent race riots in those cities would not have happened. It is safe to say, however, that even at this late date a careful reading of this interesting little book will help to explain both of those seasons of blood and make their recurrence improbable, maybe impossible—that is, if its meaning is sensed and its suggestions are followed.

To the people in other cities and towns in these United States and even in the rural parts thereof: Are you concerned about your Negro neighbor—near or far? Do you know the conditions under which he lives and labors—social, political, economic? Are you mindful of the part which he has played in the building of this nation? Are you aware of the fact that in times of peace and in times of war the Negro has endeavored to uphold the nation's honor and helped to build up the nation's ideals? Do you realize the importance and value of the Negro as an industrial asset? Do you know or do you care that 3,200 Negro men and women have been lynched in the boundaries of the United States during the past thirty-five years? Have you informed yourself as to the struggle which the Negro makes in order that his children may be educated and that he himself may catch some fragments of culture and refinement?

All persons concerned with these questions and interested in the twelve million Negroes of the United States of America will do well to give Mr. Brawley's "Your Negro Neighbor" a careful reading. Surely all will agree with the author when he says: "The democracy does not mean that any one race or anyone class shall be on top or at the bottom, but that all shall advance together to the height of human attainment. Only thus can we finally be secure. Only thus can our country be the country of our dreams."

If one-half the energy now spent in holding the Negro down were expended in helping the Negro up our common advancement towards the "height of human attainment" would be much more rapid and equally more certain. The author expresses the aspirations of his race when he says "Give us time. Give us time. Within the next fifty years we shall astound you."

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE BILL.

CREATIVE IMPULSE IN INDUSTRY. By Helen Marot. E. P. Dutton & Co. 146 pp. Price \$1.50.

By our greed as exemplified in modern business, we have, like Frankenstein, created a monster that will destroy us. We do not work to live, but live to work; and Helen Marot, in her book, states the problem frankly as a search for a method which will "awaken a universal impulse for work."

Under present conditions, the motive of industry—and the defect of it, the book states, is that it is not creative, but exploitive. A system of wealth production which cultivated creative effort would yield more in general terms of life than our present system. It is undeniably true that creative work is the most satisfying and enriching experience in life, but it is doubtful how far it would be possible to gain that experience through modern industry, even by free association of the workers "with a single creative purpose and endeavor."

The last chapter of the book is devoted to an outline of educational experiments to prove the value of the creative impulse in industry. Nevertheless, however successful such an experiment educationally, there would be no effective way of enforcing the system on modern industry as long as it is in the power of business to exploit the workers and reap large rewards.

BLANCHE SCHRACK.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Social Work. By Richard C. Cabot. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 188 pp. Price 50 cents.

Twenty-five Years in the Black Belt. By Wm. J. Edwards. The Cornhill Co., Boston. 143 pp. Price \$1.50.

Out of the House of Bondage. By Kelly Miller. The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1914. 242 pp. Price \$1.50.

Souls of Black Folk. By W. E. Burghardt DuBois. A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago. Eleventh Edition, 1918. 165 pp. Price \$1.25.

An Appeal to Conscience. By Kelly Miller. MacMillan, New York, 1914. 108 pp. Price 60 cents.

Race Relations. (Lectures at Fish University), Nashville, Tennessee. 150 pp.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

The Louise Oliverau Case. Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West., Seattle, Wash. 64 pp. Price 25 cents.

A Lynching Uncovered. Pub. by Nat. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People. 11 pp.

Making Europe Safe For French Imperialism. Frank F. Anderson, 336 East La Veta St., Orange, Cal.

Maternity and Infant Care in a Rural County in Kansas. By Elizabeth Moore. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C. 50 pp.

A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker. Obtainable by writing to Y. W. C. A., the Russell Sage Foundation, or the N. Y. Urban League, New York City.

Norwegian Laws Concerning Illegitimate Children. By Leifur Magnusson. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C. 37 pp.

Prenatal Care. By Mrs. Max West. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C. 41 pp.

Rural Children In Selected Countries of N. C. By F. S. Bradley and Margaretta A. Williamson. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C. 117 pp.

Standard Statistics of Prostitution. Pub. by American Social Hygiene Assn, 105 West 40th St., New York City. 18 pp.

Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States. Pub. by Nat. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Ave., New York. 105 pp. Price 50 cents.

Trade Unionism and the Class War. By Guy A. Aldred. Bakunin Press, 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, W. 12, London. 8 pp. Price 5 cents.

The Exposure of Southern Womanhood Through Lynching. By Mrs. Trawick. Fisk News, Fisk University, Nashville Tenn. 34 pp.

Southern Women and Racial Adjustment. By Mrs. Hammond. Fisk News, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Eugenics and Child Culture

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE by G. Hardy, the great French Neo-Malthusian, has been translated from the little monthly journal the *Neo-Malthusian*. It gives us an idea of what clear-thinking and far-visioned Frenchmen thinks on the population problem and on birth control.

"Some months ago the Academy of Medicine consecrated several sessions to the examination of the population problem. Although the avowed aim of our medical solons was the discovery of methods destined, at whatever cost, to increase the number of Frenchmen, they were obliged incidentally to touch upon the question of eugenics and child culture.

"The frenzy of the Academy for repopulation was somewhat restrained by the remark of Professor Pinard. He recalled to their minds that the mere quantity of men without quality was of little value, and that it was necessary to assure the rearing of children before calling them into the world. If conception does not take place under conditions best suited for procreation, if gestation and the rearing of the child are not conducted under the most favorable sanitary and economic circumstances, to increase and multiply can be only harmful to the individual, the race and the species.

"It has been noted a thousand times that man, who strives so far as domestic animals are concerned, for the reproduction only of the best specimens, who exercises, so far as horses, cows, etc., are concerned, artificial and scientific selection, has so far neglected almost entirely to take any action tending toward the improvement and perfection of his own species.

THE PROBLEM HAS not even been examined. It is on the wrong side really that selection is shown in human society.

"The good and the healthy are destroyed. The evil and the diseased are preserved and nursed along with pious care. The unions contracted by chance, produce children blindly and leave them to be brought up, no matter how. Wars, industrial struggles and charity suppress the best or permit them to wither away, while they cultivate the inferior.

"The organization of Public Charity is also the organization of public degeneracy. The principle of numbers, to be opposed to numbers, for mutual destruction, is wholly inoperative if one has in mind anything but exclusively war-like ends; and even in this case it is very far from having the effect which some have been pleased to give it. But that is not the question.

"The question is: Do we wish to constitute a robust, intelligent, beautiful and happy race?

"If so, man who has hitherto been a mere wild animal from the sexual point of view must become, as a reproducer of his kind, a domestic animal. The multiplication of our species

must, like all other enterprizes, be submitted to examination and to reason; it must be subordinated to considerations of a physiological, moral and aesthetic nature, in order to transmit to succeeding generations only such characteristics as will render them less miserable and unfortunate than ours has been. Starting on the basis of eugenics, there are, it would seem, some special precautions to be taken, in order that humanity may in as many ways as possible, perfect itself.

FIRST OF ALL, the hordes of degenerates, diseased, idiotic, feeble-minded, alcoholic, and vicious criminals must be wiped out. Their sterilization commends itself the more, in that it will not occasion them the least discomfort. Very simple operations like vasectomy insure the painless suppression of any possible descendants of those physically or mentally unfit.

"The reproduction of the sickly, and of those tainted with transmissible disease (syphilis, tuberculosis, etc.) must also be prevented. The most of these do not have or desire a numerous progeny, and persuasion will do as well or better, in their case, than constraint.

"These two measures constitute what may be called repressive eugenics. They favor positive eugenics because thus only the healthy are privileged to found a family.

"The fruits of healthy unions must not, however, be allowed to waste away. . . . It is necessary to conform to the principles of child culture to keep them in a healthy state. There must be repose, sunshine, good nourishment, large, clean dwelling places for pregnant women, nursing mothers and young children. To insure the fullest perfection of the future citizen his development up to the period of adolescence must be safeguarded by a scientific pedagogy and a careful man-culture.

EUGENICS, CHILD CULTURE and man culture must supplement and complete one another.

"To attain these ends and to dry up definitely the sources of degeneration and suffering, it is absolutely necessary to give to the proletariat the knowledge necessary to avoid having too numerous a family. It is indispensable that each family should be at liberty to have only as many children as it wants and is capable of feeding conveniently, rearing decently, and to whom it can give as prolonged and careful an education as possible.

"Without doubt, the widespread prudery and general hypocrisy, which is even more profound in regard to these questions than to any others, will tax these ideas with immorality.

"Nevertheless, no measures will more surely and more speedily benefit the whole human race than those we have set forth here. No others will contribute more rapidly to progress, emancipation and happiness."

The Malthusian Doctrine Today

By C. V. Drysdale, D. Sc.

The consequences of this doctrine for sociology are tremendous, and I have never yet read or heard anyone who appeared fully to appreciate them, with the possible exceptions of Huxley and Herbert Spencer. Briefly, they are (a) that man is an animal differing only in degree but not in kind from the lower animals; (b) that he has been developed by a continuous process of evolution through the struggle for existence due to excess of reproduction over subsistence, and must therefore be held to be still subject to it unless a break in the process can be shown; (c) that he has developed through a process of individual competition and voluntary association, which should therefore be maintained unless very good reason can be given for changing it; (d) that his physical characteristics and instincts are a part of this development and are not to be regarded as of a lower nature; (e) that over-population is the cause both of individual and of international struggle; and (f) that his mental and moral ideas have been similarly developed in accordance with his environment, and have nothing whatever to do with any absolute or theological code, which in fact only indicates some antiquated stage in moral evolution.

FOR THE MOMENT our concern is with the bearing of the Darwinian doctrine on the population question, and it is truly lamentable to see how little even those who have made themselves the protagonists of the evolutionary doctrine for pure iconoclasm appreciate its infinitely greater sociological importance.* We have seen that Darwin and Russell Wallace avowedly drew their inspiration for the evolutionary doctrine from Malthus, and that biologists all agree both in tracing the descent of man from the lower animals and in attributing the process to the selective action of the struggle for existence due to over-population (i.e. excess of reproduction over available subsistence). This doctrine, like that of gravitation or of the wave theory of light, is absolutely fundamental; and, as Darwin claims, no biological phenomenon can be understood without it. But if it is realised that man is an animal evolved by this very process of excessive reproduction, it is obvious that he must have been subject to this law at every stage of his development, and must still be so unless a clear proof of his having surmounted it is forthcoming. It is the fashion for many "rationalist" writers, who have become obsessed with Socialistic fallacies, to pretend that man is an exception to the Malthusian-Darwinian law because his intelligence gives him a greater control over the productivity of Nature. This is puerile nonsense. Man's intelligence has been developed by the struggle for existence, and to such an extent as to enable him to increase in numbers more continuously and faster than any other type. But there is not a particle of evidence for the assumption that his productive powers in the mass have at any time exceeded or even sufficed for his needs.

*"The Evolution of Man." (The Rationalist Press Association.)
(To be continued)

Woman: Her Sex and Love Life FOR MEN AND WOMEN

By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M. D.

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The simple, practical points contained in its pages would render millions of homes happier abodes than they are now; they would prevent the disruption of many a family; they show how to hold the love of a man, how to preserve sexual attraction, how to remain young beyond the usually allotted age. The book destroys many injurious errors and superstitions and teaches truths that have never been presented in any other book before. In short, this book not only imparts interesting facts; it gives practical points which will make thousands of women and thousands of men happier, healthier, and more satisfied with life. Certain chapters or even paragraphs are alone worth the price of the book.

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GALE'S MAGAZINE

P. O. Box 518

Mexico City, D. F., Mexico

Women and Children of the South

(Continued from page 9)

THE NEGROES IN cities today are beginning to learn a great deal about Birth Control. In Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Washington and Baltimore, it is difficult to find the more intelligent Negro women who have any children at all. Those who are most able to care for children have the fewest; those who are least able, have the greatest number. This is true of all races.

Another very important thing we should remember is that population is inversely proportional to intelligence. Those having most intelligence have fewest children. The average family of Harvard and Yale graduates is 1½. The average family of Legislators is about two; yet they are the men who make laws prohibiting birth control.

MARRIAGE

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PAPER

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

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- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Dutgers, 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*.
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- BOHEMIA-AUSTRIA (1901).—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical *Zadruhy*.
- 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 Janerio.
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- 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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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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OCTOBER

Dedicated to Voluntary Motherhood

ROBERT INGERSOLL

On Birth Control

ARE DEFECTIVES NECESSARY?

A Survey by *Ellen A. Kennan*

GEO. BERNARD SHAW

On Birth Control

(Resume of An Article in *Physical Culture*).

Editorials—News Notes

FOREWORD

This Magazine does not publish contraceptive information.

It is illegal, in this country, to give such information.

The object of this Review is to show why this law is obsolete, pernicious, and injurious to the individual, the community and the race.

The law must be changed.

Read the Birth Control Review and you will understand why.

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

MARY KNOBLAUCH
Acting Editor

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY
MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER
Editor

VOL. III

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1919

No. 11

Editorial Comment

THERE WERE TWELVE cogent reasons upon which women based their demand for the vote. Those reasons were all altruistic. The women felt it to be a duty to take their share of responsibility in the world of affairs. Woman's special knowledge would benefit the state. No legislation relating to certain aspects of life peculiarly hers, which did not take into account this first-hand knowledge, could be as comprehensive as it ought to be, nor as well adapted to the betterment of society as it could be. Women had to obey the laws, therefore they should have a voice in making them. The benefits sought were for all women and for all mankind.

Almost the same reasons apply to the question of repealing the laws which make the giving of contraceptive information a crime. We have enumerated those reasons under twelve heads, and we earnestly urge all the faithful and splendid workers for suffrage to turn their liberated and enfranchised energies to working for the repeal of these laws, laws which inflict untold suffering, not only on women but through them, on the whole race.

I. Because: As mothers of the future generations we must show our interest in the coming race by doing everything in our power to ensure to each child that is born, a welcome and the fundamental right to health and the possibility of happiness.

II. Because: The laws regulating the knowledge of procreation and proper sex hygiene have hitherto been enacted by men and are therefore based solely on a one-sided view of the question.

III. Because: Now that women have the vote it is only a matter of course that the laws which affect them directly should be readjusted to their needs in accordance with the advancement of science.

IV. Because: Laws relating to children and the future of the race are of a peculiar and fundamental interest to women. As suffragists, we always claimed that women's knowledge based on experiences which she alone could have would be of practical benefit in a proper adjustment of human affairs. The subject of Birth Control is a test of that claim.

V. Because: Laws affecting the home are voted on in every session of the legislature. There can be no question of the importance of birth control as a factor in the organization of the home.

VI. Because: No legislation dealing with the subject of the home can have weight unless it is based on the reason and experience of women.

VII. Because: Women must insist upon a full, free and open discussion of birth control. To submit to restraints upon such discussion is to debase her reason to passion—her own and other people's—her intelligence to blind prejudice and convention, her creative force to the methods of wasteful nature, methods long since obsolete in the breeding of all other domestic animals.

VIII. Because: The knowledge of birth control would increase the sense of responsibility of parents. They would realize the importance of what they were doing, knowing that, in the eyes of the community and of posterity, they, and not blind chance would be held responsible for the consequences of their acts.

IV. Because: Public-spirited mothers make public-spirited children. No one should forget, least of all the suffragists with their new claims, aims, and opportunities, that the human race entire passes through the body of the mothers.

X. Because: Many millions of women are wage earners. It is only fair to these women and to all women, that they should have the knowledge of how to regulate their families so as to insure not only their own health and well being, but also, and even more important, the health of the children born to them.

XI. Because: The objections to the free dissemination of contraceptive knowledge are based on prejudice and the worn-out formulæ of fear and compulsion as a means of reforming humanity. They have not reformed it for thousands of years, and they never will.

XII. Because: To sum up all reasons in one:
It is for the common good of all.

In anti-suffrage days, we used to hear that there was no such thing as solidarity among women. Now that we have the vote, we can refute that statement. We will not accept the ills of life in a humble spirit, but will regard them as a challenge to our ingenuity. As women, we have worked for freedom and won it, we will work now for the emancipation of the human race from thralldom of deaf passion and blind instinct. As women, we owe this duty to humanity. As voters we refuse to tolerate this particular form of the nationalization of women which means the degeneration of the race.

Margaret Sanger's Tour

MARGARET SANGER WILL tour the state of New York during the month of November, speaking on the new features of the Birth Control Movement, and on the Birth Control legislation, soon to be introduced at Albany.

Is your town going to hear her?

If she has not yet been advertised for your city, get your club to ask her to speak.

To know something of Birth Control is every woman's right. To be informed concerning the activities of this young and vital movement is important to every woman. This subject awakens your social conscience. It throws a light upon dark problems heretofore too perplexing to attempt to solve.

Woman's need for Birth Control is imperative. The nation's need for Birth Control is pressing.

TWO AMERICAN MOTHERS die unnecessarily every hour of every day.

15,000 mothers die in childbirth every year.

300,000 babies die each year from causes that are avoidable.

One baby dies every two minutes from poverty and neglect.

This human waste is preventable. Mothers and children can be saved if we will deal with the causes and not with symptoms.

Get Margaret Sanger to tell you what you can do for the women of America who are suffering from overburdened and enforced maternity.

They are calling out to you for relief.

Stopping at the Real Remedy

SIR ARTHUR NEUSHOME, of London, has for years devoted his energies to lessening infant mortality in the British Isles. He recently addressed the Economics and Industry section of the National Conference of Social Work at Atlantic City. His address was devoted to extending the scope of the care of citizens, through other sources than insurance companies. However, when questioned by Mr. Sidney Teller, of Pittsburgh, as to his stand on Birth Control, he declined to discuss the subject.

Sir Arthur Neushome wished to confine himself to his subject. But we cannot again fail to remind social workers that to ignore the principle of Birth Control is to ignore one of the most fundamental principles governing human welfare and happiness. They may whitewash the sepulchers, but they do not solve the problem. All their philanthropy, all their charity is as stated by Ellen Key in her *Century of the Child*, but a "savory fumigation burning at the mouth of a sewer. This incense-offering makes the air more endurable for passers-by, but it does not hinder the infection in the sewer from spreading."—A. S.

It is a short-sighted policy, that of keeping an institution unmodified and so end by destroying it. All institutions, so the past seems to teach, must change if they are to survive under changed conditions.

NEW HAS COME too late to be included in this issue of a crowded meeting of Birth Control at the Labor Temple, by Professor Durant, and of the impending appeal before the United States Supreme Court of Mrs. Sanger's case.

INTEREST IN BIRTH CONTROL is keenly alive in Bridgeport as demonstrated by the packed hall where Margaret Sanger addressed a meeting under the auspices of the Philosophical Society of that city, Wednesday, October 15th. The audience greeted the speaker with enthusiasm and throughout the evening showed a strong sympathetic understanding of the subject.

WE REGRET HAVING no room in this issue for a report of the conference held by the Women's International Congress of Physicians. In addition, we were excluded from the conference, so we beg our readers to excuse our seeming negligence of what may have been an important occasion.

"The reason why so many persons fail to realize their ambitions is that they labor under the delusion that wishing for a thing constitutes ambition."

An Ideal does not depend upon an institution, but an institution upon an Ideal.

Law cannot alter human nature, moral and intellectual training alone can do that.

If a man could be reformed by compulsion all would be saved.

The BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Editors:

MARGARET SANGER MARY KNOBLAUCH
 MAUDE EDGREN LILY WINNER BLANCHE SCHRACK
*And in Recognition of a Vital Spirit that Still Animates
 this Magazine, JESSIE ASHLEY*

Art Editors:

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The Problem of Birth Control and Tuberculosis After the World War

By *S. Adolphus Knopf, M. D.*

ON June 9th of this year, before the American Academy of Medicine, I delivered an address entitled "The Tuberculosis Problem After the World War," in which I gave some statistics of the fearful prevalence of tuberculosis in Europe at this time (Medical Record, July 26, 1919). What France and Belgium have suffered from this disease is too well known to need repetition here, but still more terrible are the reports which came to me from Italy, Greece, and Servia by no less an Authority than Col. Homer Folks, former Charity Commissioner of the city of New York, who had just returned from an extended visit to Italy, Greece, and Servia, where on behalf of the Red Cross he had investigated the general, economic, and sanitary conditions of these stricken countries. An additional report has come to me from Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton, that brave woman who without compensation served as a medical officer during the past years to the civilian and military population of stricken Servia. To judge from these reports the tuberculosis situation is exceedingly grave in all these countries. Col. Folks reports an increase of tuberculosis mortality of 17 per cent throughout Italy from 1914 to 1916, and a further increase in the cities of 12 per cent in 1917. In Greece matters seem to be even worse. In Athens before 1914 there was a death rate of 1 in 6 from tuberculosis; now, owing to war conditions, this has undoubtedly considerably increased, although exact statistics are not available.

In Servia, which held the enemy forces at bay for fourteen months, the people have perhaps suffered from tuberculosis as much as any country of the Allied or Central powers. Col. Folks estimates that the Servian population is now 25 per cent less than it was at the outbreak of the war. The mortality from tuberculosis in old Servia, i.e., the northern part, including the city of Belgrade, was already high before the war—324 per 100,000 in 1911. In Belgrade in 1912 it was 720 per 100,000 in 1911. In Belgrade in 1912 it was 720 per 100,000; in 1917, according to an Austrian report, it had risen to 1,483 per 100,000.

Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton, who had recently returned for a brief visit from Servia, described the tuberculosis situation to me personally as simply appalling. Men, women, and children were dying by the thousands from this disease. Out of 14,000 Servian prisoners who were returned to their home country after the armistice, 6,000 had contracted tuberculosis, and in the new Czecho-Slovak republic conditions seem to be fully as bad.

THE question must now be asked, should tuberculosis people not yet cured, and many of whom are too far advanced to ever become cured, procreate children? Should they not rather be taught birth control and not people the world with additional invalids, burdens to themselves and the community?

In my address I stated that birth control, particularly in countries where there are still thousands of people with little food, poor shelter, and insufficient clothing, would be absolutely essential in order to combat this world plague. I do not stand alone with this view. All students of the tuberculosis problem, and the social problems in general that confront us in the war-stricken countries, are of the same opinion. In a remarkable letter which I reproduced in my address before the American Academy of Medicine from the Journal of the American Medical Association of April 1919, Dr. C. K. Millard, Health Officer of Leicester, England, writes as follows:

"The question of the birth rate is intimately bound up with that of birth control. It is unfortunate that scientific study of the subject has been hitherto neglected. Owing to the supposed moral stigma many had tabooed it, and it is only quite recently that unbiased discussion had become possible. The subject is of special interest and importance at the present day through conditions arising out of the war. In many parts of Europe the social conditions of the people, with starvation staring them in the face, without proper clothing or shelter, with civilization itself broken down, are deplorable in the extreme. It appears eminently desirable that rigid birth control should be practiced in those countries, and probably in others also, if acute maternal suffering and terrible infant mortality are to be avoided. The best things for the people of those countries to do is temporarily to stop having children, so far as it can be avoided, until happier and more prosperous times arrive. It seems to be taken for granted in most countries that rapid increase in population is needed in the national interest, and that a stationary population would be disastrous. No doubt this sentiment is really based on militarist considerations, and in the past, when such considerations were vital, it might have been wise to encourage it. But now, with the international situation fundamentally altered, and with the League of Nations (whose special function it would be to safeguard the nations with small population), it is time to reconsider our attitude. International competition in birth rates is to be avoided, just as was competition in armaments. There are certain countries which are already "saturated" as regards population, in the sense that any further increase would not tend to increase the happiness or prosperity of the inhabitants. Wherever that point has arrived, or is nearly at hand, birth control must be regarded as the proper remedy, and as greatly preferable, in most cases, to emigration. The case of England is complicated by the fact that she is the mother country of an empire. Many people would agree that the population of the British Isles is large enough, but they want to see her great colonies filled up with an all British population. No doubt this is very patriotic, from the stand-

point of conditions before the war; but from the point of view of the League of Nations they ought to regard their colonies as the natural outlet for the surplus population of all European countries. It is so necessary for the peace of Europe that such an outlet should exist that they need not be in any hurry to see those territories filled up.

If birth control were in itself immoral, it would still be immoral when the population had reached such a volume that a reduced rate of increase became absolutely necessary. A high infantile death rate was the almost invariable accompaniment of a high birth rate. Thousands of children were fated to live only a few weeks or a few months. This involved a vast waste of human effort. In the East the waste of women's bodies and of infant life was even more appalling. Both in India and in China, out of every thousand children born often more than 500 died. It would be futile to deal with the German peril by means of what might be called a cradle competition. In such a contest we must inevitably be beaten, because Germany started the race with a much larger volume of population. England at the present moment is overpopulated. Doubtless considerable improvement would be effected if our industries could be established in garden cities. But if this process were carried to the point of giving all our overcrowded millions a quasirural surrounding, there would be no real country left. Our island is too small to afford possibilities for a full life to all the millions now crowded on it.

TO THE STRONG statements on the advisability of birth control made on the one hand by so distinguished an authority as Dr. Millard, and on the other by the political economist, Mr. Cox, I may finally add the opinion of an eminent English divine, the Right Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, "The cry of many social reformers was for a greatly increased birth rate, but what a nation needed most was not an unlimited number of citizens, but a sufficient number of the best quality. Morally, as well as eugenically, it was right for people in certain circumstances to use harmless means to control the birth rate.

"The most unsatisfactory feature in regard to this matter was that child-bearing was prolific, generally speaking, only in the very classes in which the children very often did not get a fair opportunity of life, while in the sections of the population where there were good prospects of ensuring a healthy upbringing control was carefully exercised.

"It was contended, by objectors to birth control, that the object of marriage being the production of children, preventive measures were necessarily wrong. The great Roman Catholic Church, with its magnificent decisiveness of no compromise except one, and the Anglican Bishops, had so far taken the same line. The Jewish Church was also emphatic on the matter, but the Nonconformist Churches had not spoken formally. The reply to the argument used might be that the procreation of children was not the only object of matrimony, and there was surely a dishonoring of that very object to have children born when not wished for by both parents.

"Had not the sexual association of married people a spiri-

tual meaning which must be placed first in all definitions of it? It was surely the culminating expression of the love of the two who had become one flesh. It brought with it the creation of a child which was the combination of the two natures, but it need not be an imperfect union if on occasion, for high and pure motives, there was a sacrifice of this particular result of married love."

TO ANY UNBIASED mind it must be evident that our very experience, before, during, and after this world war, answers all objections to judicious birth control in its medical, social, economic, moral, and even spiritual aspects. What this world needs now—after the fearful catastrophe which was started by a nation in which unlimited procreation among rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated, the well and the sick, was not only encouraged but officially rewarded—is not a greater but a better population. The empire which sought world dominion and the enslavement of other nations had the highest birth rate and the most rapid growth of population, and yet, it was France, which had by its birth control produced not as many but better soldiers, which withstood the most terrific onslaughts of the enemy's hordes. The generals of the German army sacrificed their soldiers *en masse* in close columns; it would seem that these military leaders felt that the empire had produced such great masses of men that they did not need to be so sparing and economical with human life.

The world needs now and for all the future the very best kind of men and women, not servile masses blindly obeying war-drunk monarchs and militaristic rulers, not a mass of weaklings, bound to succumb before reaching manhood or womanhood, unable to serve or to produce. We need children, but only such as are welcome to the home which physically, mentally, and morally sound parents have provided. The parents being economically situated so as to be able to give enough food, enough clothing, enough playtime to their children and live in comfort and enjoy life themselves. The state will then be able to provide enough educational facilities for children, and child labor will be done away with. Parents and children of the present generation should receive a training and education that with the help of a wise government and enlightened statement should be instrumental in creating a future race of true men and women, physically, mentally, and morally sound, spiritually high minded, images of their creator.

May our own and the statesmen of Europe see their way clear to thus bring at least this part of the millennium a little nearer.

Give us this day our daily bread, we pray.
And give us, likewise, Lord, our daily thought
That our poor souls may strengthen as they ought
And starve not on the husks of yesterday.

PHILLIPS BROOKS.

Woman in Hindu Society

By Surendra Karr

THE ORIGIN OF society will perhaps never be determined. But we have a society composed of three beings—man, woman and child. The student of social science must recognize this fact, and his comparative study of various forms of societies must be based upon it.

India is not an isolated or accidental phenomena in world affairs. If we, with scientific precision, peep through the social scheme of India, we will find that India's problems are, if not identical with, very similar, to those of other countries.

The advent of the Aryans upon the soil of India was actuated by the same economic impulse that impels animals to move from place to place. The Aryans came into collision with the original inhabitants on the banks of the Indus in the same manner as did the Puritan fathers with the red Indians on the shores of America. The reason was the will to power, the will to live. The lack of knowledge to provide for the increasing size of the family within the space of an ever-decreasing area, urged the Aryan adventurers to migrate towards the vast, extending stretch of land about them. That was the beginning of their colonization.

COLONIZATION FOR WHAT? For food for their children, for greater economic opportunities. In order to obtain these, they were forced to fight mighty battles. Soon after their settlement, slowly and gradually the various problems presented themselves to the savants of social reconstruction. One of the most serious problems was the birth and rearing of the child. The child was the result of the sexual impulse—the mightiest creative force. The social savants of India frankly recognized that all activities are the result of the sex-impulse. Appreciation of art, literature and beauty are possible only when there is the strong force of sex. Instead of condemning and crushing this impulse, the Hindus, unlike the Jesuits of Medieval Europe, realized it and came out frankly and acknowledged it.

Sex life became a problem, for the Aryans found that unrestricted display of sexuality lead to degeneracy and degradation. They, therefore, began to study both physiological and psychological factors, and at once started to apply their scientific investigations to practical life. Their standards of life and marriage became formulated. *Putrarthē Kriyate Bharya*—(one of the principal objects of marriage is the child) became their formula. The Hindus made an effort to ennoble and glorify marriage and child birth, and with this effort begins one of the strongest social customs of India.

In a society, composed of human beings, whose thinking and imaginative faculties were so highly developed, and where there were varied inerests, one form of marriage could not fulfill the requirements of social needs. In Hindu society, therefore, we find eight forms of marriages, three of which,—the Gandarvya, Svayambara and the Prajapatya, are the most generally followed.

THE GANDARVYA MARRIAGE is that which takes place between man and woman at the time of their physical and mental maturity. A vow is taken without any religious or civil witness. The best example of such a marriage is that of Arjuna, a hero of the great Epic, the *Mahabharata*, and Chitrangada, a Manipuri maid. (Chitra, by Tagore, is the dramatization of this tale.) Here we have the conception of free love of the highest order, which culminates in practical life. The children of such marriages are legitimate and are cared for and treated as such.

Svayambara is the marriage form which gives absolute freedom on the part of the maid to choose her mate. This was a common practice in Hindu society, as shown by historical marriage, such as that of Prithviraj and Sanjucta, of the eleventh century. Sanjucta, as did Juliet, took as her husband a man who belonged to a rival family. Here the choice of the woman is supreme. It was the woman who decided whom she would have as the father of her child. Strindberg, in his drama "The Father" depicts a dilemma wherein the mother or father dictates the destiny of the child. In this connection it is interesting to note that among the Nayars of the Malabar Coast in India, a matriarchial form of society exists, while most present day societies are patriarchal. The mother, among the Nayars, is not only the head of the family, but the children take her surname.

The ceremony of the Svayambara marriage is performed by the offering of flower garlands before a large gathering of guests. The girl places the garland upon the man whom she chooses as her husband. It can easily be assumed that the man and woman bind themselves in love long before the public festival.

The Hindus considered the woman as the guardian of society. They still consider her so, and it is absurd to say that the Hindus place woman upon a low status in their national life. The idea of motherhood is to them great and noble, and in no other place in the world has there been a conception of the Motherhood of God. The Hindu woman has always inherited, owned and controlled her own property and has had rights of guardianship over her children.

PRAJAPATYA, WHICH IS the common form of marriage at present, is mostly the choice of the parents. The parents decide between whom their children are to be married. Blood, attainments, education and other qualifications, are carefully investigated. The most serious defect in such marriage is the absence of choice on the part of the future husband and wife. The young couple must abide by the decision of the guardians or parents. But on the other hand, since the principal object of marriage is considered to be the child, every effort is made to see that the product of the marriage is sound. Youth, in its frivolity, is said to often fail to discern what is right for the welfare of the race. Thus, in the

Prajapatya marriage, both bride and bridegroom are carefully selected. Their physical, as well as their moral qualities, are analyzed. The eugenists may find that this form corresponds to some extent with their theories.

Now, the question suggests itself, do the Hindus then, believe in unrestricted breeding? To counteract this evil, the institution of marriage was originated, and various restrictions were imposed upon indiscriminate child-birth. In accordance with them, there is not supposed to be more than twelve acts of sexual intimacy in twelve months. The Hindu husband and wife cannot have sexual relations at any or all times. These relations are supposed to be regulated by the influence of sun, moon and zodiac, and the various seasons.

It is evident that the Hindus certainly have to resort to certain methods of restrictions. They must resort to artificial control, or they must use self-control. Self-control is the basis of Hindu society; this self-control does not mean annihilation, but conscious direction; it is not the difficult process supposed.

WHILE OCCIDENTAL COUNTRIES were trying to bring nature into service, the Hindus were going beyond the reach of nature—to the cultivation and development of Self. Self-control was one of the means to an end. Along with this was the realization that the energy that creates a child is the same as that which creates a book—the directing of the flow of energy from one form to the other. Upon this philosophical speculation the entire fabric of Hindu society rests.

On the basis of self-control, the Hindu widow holds a unique position in Hindu society. The love which one woman feels for her husband, the widow extends to all members of the family and to society. The physical cravings for sexual satisfaction are turned into service. The problem of the widow must be realized and met by society, but discernment and constructive effort, not denunciation, must be the basis of action. The ideals of the widow in India are not very dissimilar to those of the idealistic unmarried woman of this country. It may be that in the former case they take their accidental condition as a fact. Our voices must be raised, not against widowhood, but against the *forced condition*, be it widowhood, divorce, or motherhood.

The conception of immortality is evident only when we can thoroughly understand the meaning of Putra—the child. Putra is he who saves the parents from Punnam, or Panda, the spoiler. That is, Putra, is the immortal self of the parents. It is the culmination of completion of two individual selves. *Who, then, desires to see the deformed and degenerate self of one's own?* To bring a perfect child on earth is the goal. The ideal self, as personified in the child of Shakuntala and Dushyanta, in the drama "Shakuntala," made a happy union of the lovers possible.

The Hindu conception of relationship between man and woman can be found in the relationship between Durga and Shiva—the goddess and god, idealized today. Durga is the symbol of energy, the source of power. She is the consort of Shiva, the meditative and contemplative god. Shiva is the eternal spirit, the soul of things, while Durga "is the force that

stands behind the evolution of the universe, working out the infinite changes through which the Absolute is progressively realizing Himself in the Cosmic process." Durga is the personification of the Cosmic forces—active female energy. She is the Creator and Mother of all finite and separate things. In the Mahanarvana Tantra, Shiva (the husband of Durga,) says to her:

"Thou art the only Para Prakriti (material nature) of the supreme soul, Brahman, and from thee as its Mother has sprung the whole universe. O gracious one! Whatever there is in this world, of things that have been, and one without motion, from intelligence to atom, owes its origin to and is dependent upon thee. Thou art the origin of all manifestations."

IT IS THUS seen that Spencerian conception of "Infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed," and the philosophy of Nietzsche differ little from the Hindu conception of Shakti (energy). The only difference is that the Hindus put scientific speculation into artistic imagination, and give form and shape. In accordance with the Hindu conception, it is the "Shakti"—the female energy—which is the foundation of society.

Now, the question is whether the Hindus practice all these things in their practical life. Every society falls short of its ideals, and without ideals created by the imaginative faculties, the individuals would have remained brutes.

The ideal condition of our society gives us the desire to attack present day problems effectively and efficiently. The Hindus are facing problems, as any other nationality does. Birth and death are creating havoc in their national life, and naturally, these phenomena are kept before the people. Poverty is one of the main reasons for this. It is found that among the poorer classes, the birth rate is very high. Little scientific attention is given to the breeding of human beings, while animals get every possible care. Most of the children are accidents—by-products of the sexual impulse as in practically every other country. There is another reason—a psychological reason—for this high birth rate. When people work long hours, with no opportunity for recreation, with no education to occupy the mind or to divert to intellectual pursuits, the few leisure hours are spent in other directions. Sexual restraint is unloosed, and the result is anything but idealistic. Herein lies the danger. As poverty tends to help breed more children, so does poverty take away more children; the people remain depressed, deformed, degenerated.

India can no longer live in the past. The complicated conditions of the world have brought before us complex problems. These must be solved in accordance with modern conditions. If India or any other country is to be saved from social degeneracy, modern methods that have stood the test of scientific experimentation and application, have to be adopted and used. This applies not alone to natural resources of the earth, to education, to state service; it applies to the individual human being who will find it possible, through scientific methods, to produce a higher and better type of child instead of an unlimited number of the inferior type.

Income and Infant Mortality

THIS IS THE title of a pamphlet by Miss Julia Lathrop, recently reprinted from the American Journal of Public Health. Miss Lathrop is, as everyone knows, the Chief of the Children's Bureau in Washington.

The first subject mentioned in the law creating the Children's Bureau was that of Infant Mortality. It was the first subject of field study when the law went into operation in 1912. The basis of the studies attempted were not medical, but economic. The co-existence of infant mortality and certain economic facts was the basis of the tables presented.

Data was secured as to the earnings of the fathers of 23,780 babies, including the still-born. 26.9 of these fathers earned less than \$550.00 during the year following the baby's birth! only one in eight, or 11.9 earned as much as \$1,250 a year.

In all of the cities studied the lowest income groups were, in general, the highest in infant mortality. On authority has stated that if all children were well born and well cared for the subject of infant mortality would be negligible. This statement is emphasized by the fact that in the birth registration area of the United States more than 46 per cent. of infant deaths occur during the first month of life,—pointing to bad pre-natal conditions.

MISS LATHROP POINTS out here that the figures of the Bureau and the results of other investigations clearly indicate that the exhausting toil and poor living of the mother are, in a great measure, responsible for infant mortality.

Income is important for what it buys. A comparison of rents paid in Manchester, New Hampshire shows that in 175 homes of live born babies where the rental paid was less than \$7.50 a month, the infant mortality rate was 211.4, or more than double that of the census figures of the registration area in 1915.

The largest number of babies were born in homes rented for \$7.50-12.49 a month. The death rate for this group was 172.1.

There were 300 babies in the next class where the monthly rentals were \$12.50-\$17.49. The infant mortality for this class was 156.7. Only 62 babies belonged to homes paying a rental of \$17.50 a month and over, and only 6 deaths occurred in this class.

Another crucial test of the adequacy of income is to be found in the employment of the mothers. Of course a woman may be so over-run with work in looking after her family if the income is small and the family numerous, that the results are as disastrous to her health and that of her offspring as if she were obliged to be a wage earner. Statistics showing this aspect of the case are not available. The figures do show, however, that the infant mortality is higher among the babies of wage earning mothers; being 188. for them as against 117.6 for the babies of non-wage earning mothers.

In Manchester, N. H. there is a great demand for women workers. The infant mortality rate there was 122. for babies

of women not gainfully employed outside the home as against 312.9 for the babies of the women who worked out.

THAT THE WOMEN do not go out to work unless driven by necessity, is shown by the fact that 65.7 of the mothers whose husbands earned less than \$550.00 a year were gainfully employed during the year following the baby's birth and only 9.5 of the mothers whose husbands earned \$1,250.00 a year and more were so employed.

These figures show impressively the connection between income and infant mortality.

Poverty and ignorance may go together or at least it is clear that poverty takes away the defenses by which the effects of ignorance may be evaded. Sir Arthur Neusholme, medical officer of the English local government board gives, in this connection, a spirited defense of the working class mother. He says:

"Maternal ignorance is sometimes regarded as a chief factor in the causation of excessive child mortality. It is a comfortable doctrine for the well-to-do person to adopt: and it goes far to relieve his conscience in the contemplation of excessive suffering and mortality among the poor. There is little reason to believe that the average ignorance in matters of health of the working class mother is much greater than that of mothers in other classes of society. . . . But the ignorance of the working class mother is dangerous because it is associated with relative social helplessness. To remedy this, what is needed is that the environment of the infant of the poor should be levelled up toward that of the infant of the well-to-do, and that medical advice and nursing should be available for the poor as promptly as it is for persons of higher social status."

MISS LATHROP CONCLUDES by pointing out that among the essentials of a lowered infant mortality rate are:

First. Medical and nursing care at the service of all mothers and infants in this country.

Second. Adequate teaching in the normal hygiene of maternity and infancy made available for all girls and women. (Why shouldn't the fathers be taught something too?—*Ed. Query.*)

Third. Community responsibility for decent housing and sanitation.

And finally and fundamentally a general recognition throughout the country that a decent income, self-respectingly earned by the father is the beginning of wisdom, and the only fair division of labor between the father and the mother of young children and the strongest safe-guard against a high infant mortality rate.

In presenting this summary of Miss Lathrop's report to the readers of the Birth Control Review we would like to suggest on our own account that the only way in which a solution of the problems of wages, rent, babies, etc., can be permanently effected would seem to be some system of family limitation as it is understood today in Holland and New Zealand.

M. K.

The Tragedy of the Defective Child

By Ellen A. Kennan

(Continuation of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW Investigation)

DEFFECTIVE CHILDREN BY their very numbers have forced the public school to recognize them as a distinct problem that must be provided for. In the past such children were allowed to go on year after year in the grade in which they failed of promotion, a cumbersome weight on the class. It was not an infrequent thing to find a sixteen-year-old defective in a class with normal ten-year-olds. Nowadays in some of our schools the children actually deficient in intelligence are segregated and organized into separate ungraded classes. Under the old system the defective children, sensitive as all children are, suffered the tortures of the damned, both in class and out of class, in school and on the playground. In school they sat, uneasy and embarrassed, fearful that their turn would come, anxious lest they should make some ridiculous blunder that would bring them into disgrace. Under the new system, the torture of the class-hour at least has been done away with. During this period at any rate their stupidity, their dullness, is not made conspicuous by the contrast with normal children. Their groups, too, are smaller and their teacher, specially trained for the work, realizes that it is of supreme importance that these children should be put at their ease, given confidence in themselves, and that they should not be made constantly conscious of their lack.

BUT THE TRAGEDY of their hours outside school still continues—the hours on the playground and on the street are likely to be hours of keen suffering, and this, too, in spite of the fact that the teachers take every precaution possible against such a condition. The other boys know they are in the ungraded classes, they know why they are there and, cruel and merciless as most youngsters are, they visit on the poor unfortunates all their most refined forms of torture: They nickname them “stupid,” “dopey,” “crazy”—if the victim shows resistance they punch him and hit him. So the special class organized for the defective is really an oasis in a desert—here at any rate there is understanding and encouragement, there is freedom from jeers and contemptuous glances.

AND NOT ONLY on the playground is life a burden, but it is very likely to be just as intolerable at home. His brothers and sisters learn the words “dopey,” “crazy” at school and do not forget them when they reach home, they are convenient clubs to use when the defective child offends. Again and again has even the mother of such a child made me wince by pointing to him as he stood beside us, saying: “He’s cranky, he’s thick-headed and stupid, he can’t learn nothing, he ain’t like the other children.” She, poor woman, is always overworked, always anxious and worried, she has no time to devote to her normal children, much less to the stupid one of the family—the very sight of him comes to annoy her, she resents his stu-

pidity, she unconsciously blames him for his condition. So the child grows up, always on the defensive, always expecting abuse and blame, bereft of all confidence in himself, of all self-respect. He becomes sulky and defiant—sooner or later he is sent to a reformatory, then to jail. It is he who recruits the ranks of our so-called criminal classes. I have talked this summer with almost a hundred mothers that have defective children in their families. Mrs. D is one of these mothers.

Mrs. D. was born in Austria, she is a Catholic. She has seven children. Their ages run 12, 11, 9, 7, 4, 2, 2 months. The oldest, Vincent, an illegitimate child by a different father, was left in Austria with his grandmother, when she came to America twelve years ago. Joey, Charley and Mike, 11, 9, and 7, have been placed, all of them, in the class for defectives. Mrs. D did not know what classes her boys were in. She has too many other things much more pressing to think about. She was very uncertain about her children’s ages, her own and her husband’s. It was plain that she was too busy cooking, washing, tending baby, and making her husband’s wage of thirty dollars stretch over the necessities for a family of eight to think about the boys’ school. School simply meant a place that took three of her family out of her way for a great part of the day. She was dirty, the house was dirty, the children were dirty. How could it be otherwise? When I spoke of the size of her family she said: “I don’t want them all, but what you going to do?” I asked how her husband felt about it. Her reply was: “My man, he gets up at two o’clock in the morning to go to work and he don’t get home till four in the afternoon. He don’t care for me, he’s always too tired to pay any attention to me.” Joey is already sulky and defiant, the others are following in his foot-steps. Their mother can still bear several children, children foredoomed to failure. To whose interest or advantage is it that she do it? To whose interest or advantage is it that multitudes of other women should repeat Mrs. D’s experience?

MRS. K IS ANOTHER very hard-working and very ignorant woman. She has been married eight years and has had six children. Four children are living. The two that have reached school age are in the classes for defectives. The morning I talked with her, she was washing, barefooted, skirt tucked up, the house permeated with steaming suds. The baby, six weeks old, was lying on the bed. She washed and tended baby while I talked. She had married at twenty-five and was now thirty-three. Her husband is a day-laborer earning from twenty to twenty-five dollars a week. She gets the three, stuffy, little, ill-aired rooms rent free in return for her services as janitor. During the whole period of her first pregnancy, Mrs. K. was in domestic service, washing, scrubbing and cooking for a family of eight. She kept at her work till the pains of child-birth were on her.

Twins were born. One was puny and sick from birth and died when eight months old. The other, Peter, grew up very slow and backward in everything—he did not begin to talk till he was five years old. He had to go into the class for defectives at school. Billy, the next child, six years old, has also been assigned to the class for defective children. While Mrs. K was pregnant with Mary, her third child, Mr. K was out of work, so Mrs. K took in washing. Mary died at 14 months. Mrs. K has always had to get up the third day after her babies were born to scrub and cook. She had to get up and go to work the next day after the last little one was born. She drudges from morning till night, she goes out only to do her marketing. She has no pleasures. She seemed utterly weighed down under the burden of her responsibilities. She said rather pathetically: "Life was better before I was married." Mrs. K is just thirty-three years old. Is she to go on filling the world with defective babies? It is you and I who must answer this question. We cannot shift the responsibility.

AND IT IS NOT only the "ignorant foreigner" who is filling America with defective children. Mr. and Mrs. E are native born Americans, they were born here in New York City. Twelve years ago they were married and during these twelve years Mrs. E has been eight times pregnant—four children have been born and there have been four miscarriages. Three children are living. The oldest child, Johnny, weak and anaemic, has had to go into the class for defective children, he is eleven years old. The second oldest child, Mary, nine years of age, has a very bad case of St. Vitus' Dance. She has not got beyond the second grade in school. The baby, seven months old, seems strong and well. Mrs. E has always worked too hard and has always been sick. For years she has taken care of two large apartment houses in addition to the care of her own house and babies. No one ever told her she should not have babies in her physical condition. No one ever offered to teach her how not to. She wants fine children and is very proud of her one well child. There should be a clinic where women such as Mrs. E could be instructed in these very vital matters. Were there such a clinic Mrs. E would probably have found her way to it after her first miscarriage, surely after the second—she had two miscarriages before her first baby was born. There she would have been told that she was too sick and overworked to have strong babies. She would have been taught how to protect herself and how to build up her body. Her own strength would have been conserved, and the race would fare better without such babies. But let any one try to get the law withholding knowledge off our statute books and that person is promptly thrown in jail on a charge of obscenity.

THE J'S ARE ANOTHER family of native born Americans, Both Mr. and Mrs. J were born here in New York, and certainly the boastful manner in which Mr. J spoke of his failure to learn anything at school and to get beyond the first few grades, was in marked contrast with anything that I heard from any foreigner. It would take a native born American to say with pride as he did of his oldest child Billy: "Bill's just like his Dad, I never could learn nothin' at school and I ain't none the worse off for it either." He also volunteered this bit

of information: "I gotta temper and when I lose it I just light in and lick the stuffings out'a Billy." Both father and mother seemed to think it quite a "cute stunt" for little nine-year-old Billy to go off every morning after breakfast and not return again till night. When I asked if he ate nothing all day his mother replied: "Oh sometimes he comes back about noon and calls up from the street for me to throw him something to eat out of the window." The little girl, eight years old, next younger than Billy, cannot get beyond the first grade, the other two children are below school age. Mrs. J is just 29, she has borne four children in seven years. With every baby she has had very hard labor. When the last baby came, the Doctor told her she would die if she had another, but he gave her no information on preventing conception. Am I blaming the Doctor? No! It is we who permit this abominable law to remain on the statute books who are forcing poor Mrs. J, a hunchback, to risk her life bringing into the world defective children.

MR. AND MRS. G also are native born Americans. Mrs. G has been pregnant eight times in twelve years. She has had one miscarriage and has given birth to seven children. She is now thirty eight. Four of the children have died—rheumatism of the heart runs in the family, one of the boys died with it, another has it. One child was born in bad condition; at birth he looked old and withered up, and was undernourished. The Doctor said, "a marasmus baby." Robert, 15, has been placed in the class for defectives. Mrs. G is an intelligent woman and is fully alive to the situation, she knows that all of her babies are born deficient in health. Neither she nor her husband wants more babies—they are neither well, they are nervous and overworked. They have tried in so far as they knew to keep from having babies, but they know only very imperfect methods—the five-year-old suffering from rheumatism of the heart was an "accident." Poor Mrs. G is desperate—she is still young enough to have babies—she loves her husband. The Doctor denies her information that he could give, if he were not forbidden by the law. Are you who read this doing anything to aid the Birth Control movement? If you are not, you certainly are partly responsible for Mrs. G's sick, defective children.

MR. U HAS HAD 11 children, 10 are living, two are in the classes for defectives, the oldest, if alive, would be twenty-one, the youngest is two. Mrs. U is forty, she is no longer well; she had a hard operation for gall stones about a year ago. The family came here from Denmark seven years ago. Life was easy in Denmark, because the children got two good meals a day at school, and also medical attention of every sort. Their recreation hours were spent under the supervision of skilled teachers, in the parks; clothing was furnished by the school when needed. But life here in America had been very different. Mr. U is an operator in a coat shop and earns \$35 to \$40 a week. The two oldest children, 17 and 16, work, but earn only from \$10 to \$12 a week. After her last baby came, Mrs. U asked a doctor what she could do. His reply was: "Oh, you can't have more than two or three more at your age anyway, so why worry about it?" Perhaps he sincerely believed her suffering a negligible factor—but did he think ahead at all of the children? Of the race?

The Penal Code of Bâle and Abortion

Translated from *L'Humanité*, Paris, 5th of September.

SINCE THE RECENT revision of the penal code at Bale, a very lively discussion has arisen upon the subject of a proposition which is of interest to us, not only as Socialists, but as women. This is the text of the proposition made by Nelti; members of the Grand Council and adopted at the first reading on the 22d of May by a vote of 55 to 30:

"Abortion is not punishable if it takes place—in the case of a legitimate pregnancy—with the mutual consent of the husband and wife and—in the case of an unmarried woman—with the consent of the person pregnant—on condition that the embryo is not more than three months old and that the operation be performed by a licensed physician."

Controversies of considerable violence took place after the vote, in Bale and in other Swiss towns.

While Councillor Nelti was speaking at a Socialist meeting where the working women supported the proposition and spoke of their sufferings in very persuasive terms—as may be seen even by the accounts of their opponents—the feminist societies of the bourgeoisie organized opposition gatherings and protested by means of a petition to the Grand Council.

As a result of this agitation, the Grand Council reconsidered its first decision, and on the 4th of July, Nelti's proposition was rejected, on the second reading, by a vote of 61 to 54. The arguments presented in the course of the debates deserve to be studied. One of them, in particular presented by the feminine bourgeoisie is certainly not without weight. The possibility, they said, of interrupting a pregnancy with impunity, suppressed the only obstacle which restrained certain husbands in their unreasonable demands. There is no doubt, they said, that it is quite often the husband who wishes to escape new charges and responsibilities, and who also wishes, let it be said quite frankly, to preserve for himself the possibilities of enjoyment which pregnancy somewhat interrupts who urges, and ends by obtaining, the consent of the woman for the suppression of the young life she might bear. The decision of the Grand Council of Bale added thus a new premium to the egoism of man, already much favored by the present marriage laws.

THE THESIS OF Councillor Nelti is also, however, strongly supported. The "proletariat" are still in our age, extremely prolific and their misery is at one and the same time, the cause and the consequences of their irrational procreation.

Furthermore, the comfortable class, more instructed, less instinctive, escape the consequences which the mass of workers do not know how to avoid although an increasing family, even if it was not desired, would not in their case bring with it the misery that it does in the needy classes.

The proposition of Nelti tends therefore to re-establish in this respect an equilibrium broken for the benefit of the easy

class. For this reason his proposition should not be ignored in Socialist circles.

It seems that no one on either side of the question has thought of considering the matter from the point of view of the sovereign liberty of the woman; although there will never be true feminine independence until their liberty shall be recognized, and on the other hand, maternity will only attain its full splendor on the day in which it becomes by custom, education and law absolutely free and voluntary. Our present society disregards two aspects of the right of women to give or withhold life. There are women who would gladly be mothers but who must renounce that joy because of prejudices as foolish as they are unjust, forbid their being so outside the bonds of marriage. The state itself gives, in this respect the example of a ferocious intolerance. Last year a public school teacher was dismissed, when she asked for a leave of absence, honestly avowing an illegitimate pregnancy. Other women are in such a precarious condition economically that, in a state of society entirely indifferent to the needs of mother and child, they are interdicted from bringing forth children doomed in advance to misery and privation.

WHILE DISREGARDING IN the most pitiless manner the rights of women to maternity, our present régime wishes on the other hand to force procreation upon her even against her will. And our senators adopted measures, several months ago, against abortion, measures of a singular brutality.

The solution is not in repression but in liberty. Let us give to the women who desire to be mothers the material and moral possibilities for becoming so, and above all let us make society better.

We will not, to be sure, find the prolific instincts of ancient times—it would be Utopian to pretend so, and undesirable as well—but the reasoned and generous desire to transmit life will be born and developed.

In the midst of nature, so beautiful under the blue vault, tender or profound of the sky, and the changing shadow of the forest, or before the majesty splendid or sombre of the mountains or the infinite expanse of the sea, surrounded, too, by all the accumulated beauty of the ages, the work of generations of artists and poets, the human being, less enslaved than he is today to material things will know that existence is good. And, from the pride and the sweetness of life will be born the desire to perpetuate life.

ANNETTE CHARREAU.

In submitting the following translation to our readers, we cannot help thinking that the solution of the problems stated would have been simplified, if rational conception or birth control had been the theme instead of abortion.—*Ed. note.*

Cost of Child Raising

The following letter from the LONDON DAILY HERALD on the COST OF CHILD RAISING may be of interest to those readers of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW who are called upon to discuss the Merits of Natural Instincts versus Common Sense.

DEAR READER—Are you a parent? I merely ask because I am going to write to you about child welfare, and you might feel the least thing out of it if you had no children of your own. But really it does not matter, for many childless men (some of the most highly placed, in fact), and more childless women are working for the childhood of the nation, or for some particular child needing food or clothing or love or sympathy, or any of the other things that human children live on.

“Some mothers there are who think that they alone know about the care of these little, warm, pink, two-footed animals; but that is quite a pleasant delusion, as may be seen at once when the claim is made by the mother of ten who has “buried eight of them and therefore ought to know.”

“To Madame Rabbit it does all come by Nature, and her mothercraft is blameless although she takes no pride in it; but we cannot quite agree with her idea of eating her babies to save them from danger—it seems a little drastic. The Human mother has learned the pride but lost the instinct, or if the instinctive mothercraft is there at all it is overruled by the grandmotherly tradition, or by the ever-ready advice of kind neighbors and friends.

“So, kind reader, it does not matter what claim you may make to be a child-welfarer, since any claim will be admitted, unless indeed you base it upon high Imperial grounds.

FOR THERE ARE still those who would breed a numerous race of heroes to go forth from their little sea-girt bit of the world, making contest against other and lesser breeds with tooth and claw, or with the modern equivalent of Maxim-gun and submarine. For such Imperial stock-breeders, the State nursery leads on to the Cadet school, and this in turn to the training ground, and if they had the needful imagination they would arrange for State baby incubators and brooders.

“For them numbers alone count, and parenthood is an accident, just means to an end. But all other helpers in the great Child-welfare movement are thinking of the child for its own sake, not even as the young of the human species, but each as a centre and object of personal concern.

“And never fear that with this in mind the race can die out! Consider the elephant and the great water-fowl, with their small families and long-continued parental care, which, when let alone to work out their destiny without interference, increase until they cover the ground. And with this consoling thought let me conclude today.

A FATHER OF THREE.”

An Obstacle

I was climbing up a mountain path
With many things to do,
Important business of my own,
And other people's too,
When I ran against a precipice
That quite cut off the view.

My work was such as could not wait,
My path quite clearly showed.
My strength and time were limited,
I carried quite a load;
And there that hulking precipice
Sat all across the road.

So I spoke to him politely,
For he was huge and high,
And begged that he would move a bit
And let me travel by.
He smiled but as for moving!—
He didn't even try.

And then I reasoned quietly
With that Colossal mule:
My time was short—no other path—
The mountain winds were cool.
I argued like a Solomon;
He sat there like a fool.

Then I flew into a passion,
I danced and howled and swore.
I pelted and belabored him
Till I was stiff and sore;
He got as mad as I did—
But he sat there as before.

And then I begged him on my knees;
I might be kneeling still—
If so, I hoped to move that mass
Of obdurate ill-will—
As well invite the monument
To vacate Bunker Hill.

So I sat before him helpless,
In an ecstasy of woe—
The mountain mists were rising fast,
The sun was sinking slow—
When a sudden inspiration came,
As sudden winds do blow.

I took my hat, I took my stick,
My load I settled fair;
I approached that awful incubus
With an absent-minded air—
And I walked directly through him,
As if he wasn't there!

CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON GILMAN,
“*In This Our World.*”

A Life Story

(Reprinted from the London Daily Herald of May 1st, 1919)

"The Generations going to waste, like the Rapids." H. G. WELLS

ONCE, PERHAPS, AS a little girl, she had dreamed of a home, a man and children; perhaps at school she had found some vague grip on beauty. But she, herself, as a child, had been kicked and cuffed and enslaved. She, when her little ones came to her, thought, quite unconsciously:

'Now, it's my turn! These kids are mine, and no one can say me nay! They've gotter learn what's what as I learnt it.'

Remembering her own down-at-heel, hungry, out-at-elbow childhood, she could conceive nothing better for them. She had herded with a swarm of others in a tiny cottage during her childhood. When her man went to France she thought nothing wrong of taking in another war life with her five children, to pay her a few shillings and share the four-roomed hovel.

She never felt very well. She slept with the three children in a box-like room. It was never aired; even such air as came in from the unswept streets was foul and fetid. The few bed-clothes were seldom washed; they seemed dirty the moment they were put on the bed, so what use to wash them? In a house with ten people it is difficult to get enough privacy for a bath. They fed on the coarsest food; the very poor, who buy in small quantities, get the worst: "seconds" bread and groceries; vegetables rejected in the market by the better class buyers; "pieces" of meat that have lain exposed in open windows, with dust and flies covering them, bargain-hunting women's hands pawing them. And so she never felt very well, and sometimes, when she drew her separation allowance, or her wages—for she worked on a brickfield—she "had a glass, just to put a bit o' go into her."

ON AN ILL-FED, ill-rested body alcohol takes swift and easy grip. One glass exhilarates gives a sporadic sense of well-being. Another glass brings warmth and friendliness, a sense of satisfaction and good fellowship. These things ought to have been her birthright, but she did not know that. A decent house, honest food, a well-ordered life would have given them to her without the reactive depression of alcohol. But she did not know—how could she? People talked of temperance; but these people were the "wowsers," the people she distrusted, the "good" people who, fed and clothed, and clean and comfortable, never had her temptations.

So she drifted into daily drinking, a weak-willed, weak-souled, weak-bodied woman creature, easy prey for the first half-drunken, acquisitive male. She missed her man, now a prisoner in Germany for indefinite months—she missed his physical presence more than his companionship; and so, before he had been gone a year, there was another child in the four-roomed cottage, and another soldier in France who had "left a little thing behind him."

Her home was hopeless. She needed some great, big, wise hand to make her clean and keep her clean for awhile until

she had learnt to love beauty and cleanness. But she could not see such a hand—did not know that it existed; and so she sunk further and further from it.

THE CHILDREN, PASSIVE, accepting everything, sometimes wondered dumbly why things were so harsh, so starved, so weary, as they cowered in the homeless house or ran about the streets. The Madonna-spirit in Doris, the little ten year old, mothered the new baby. Sometimes the mother flung a few coppers to the children to buy food; sometimes she cuffed them when they begged for it; sometimes, in tipsy sentimentality, she brought home for them fish and chips in a paper, which was devoured almost before it was out of her hand. Doris it was who washed the children whenever they were washed; and soon "mother" took to staying out all day at her work and rolling into the house in the early morning. Next she ceased work altogether to lie in bed all day, in a half stupor, wakening at night like a bird of prey.

And the children just whimpered with hunger and dirt and weariness to be cuffed into silence whenever she noticed them.

They are in Dr. Barnado's Homes now, and the mother has vanished—gone, shadow-like, into a land of shadows. But the waste of it all! She has been thrown away. Someone ought to have started her better, started her mother better, started her grandmother better. Someone ought to have given her beauty and cleanness and order before her birth—who in England shall dare to throw the first stone at her? Preachers and teachers never touched her, because she discredited them as creatures of different flesh and blood. So she is derelict, wasted! Please God we shall stem this wastage soon! Please God we have taken the children—or, perhaps *their* children—in time! Please God we are going to take all England's children—all the world's children—in time!

"If the soul is left in darkness, sins will be committed. The guilty one is not he who commits the sin, but he who causes the darkness."—M. L. E.

Do You Blame Her?

THE LAST LEGISLATURE of Kansas made the following appropriations:

For the health of hogs.....	\$25,000
For the health of bees.....	8,000
For the health of babies	7,500

And Dr. Lydia De Vilbiss who, for four years, has diminished infant mortality in Kansas, has resigned.

—Pictorial Review.

HARD FACTS

(Case Records of an East Side Nurse)

Jennie K., 40 Years Old
Married 18 Years

NINE living children;
3 miscarriages;
4 children suffering from congenital heart trouble;
2 very anæmic and underfed.
The last baby arrived in a hurry at midnight—unable to get a doctor immediately.
The small girl of twelve said to her mother if the doctor can't come, why not ask the nurse next door to come and help you. So I was appealed to. (At that time I was living in the district I was working.) When the wee mite came into the world and the mother had been attended to, I told her she had a dear little baby girl.
Her answer was a groan: "Oh God! another mouth to feed."
During the days of convalescence the mother confessed she had done everything she could think of to bring on a miscarriage.

Mary L., 18 Years Old
1 Infant, 9 Months Old

THIS YOUNG MOTHER appealed to me to please direct her to the doctor to see if she were pregnant again.
Her baby was a bottle baby and she had been in constant dread of becoming pregnant and feared she was now.
This patient was taken to the pre-natal clinic and her fears found to be true. The doctor reported she was 2-3 months pregnant.
She appealed frantically to the doctor to give her something to help her.
"I am not able to have another baby right away—my little boy has been such a delicate little fellow and the summer so hot and trying."
We reasoned with her—told her we would get someone to help her with the baby. She replied: "I don't need that kind of help—my mother will help me, but I am not strong enough for another baby just now."
Some weeks later I saw Mary again while making some home visits. She looked very thin and white—confessed she had induced an abortion and been very ill.
I talked with her and explained to her that each time she did such a thing she took her life in her hands and that she would induce abortion once too often.
She said she was willing to have more children but not right away.
"What is the use of all your talk and the doctors if you cannot give me any information?"
I never remember to have seen such desperation and despair—as the day I took this little mother to the clinic and the doctor confirmed her fears.
(It does seem to me that such unhappiness and ill health could be avoided if these mothers could be properly instructed.

In fact, I think they have a right to demand such information.)

Esther M., 34 Years Old

9 Living Children, 2 Miscarriages, 14, 13, 11, 9½,
Miscarriage, 7½, 6½, 5, 3½, Miscarriage, 1 Year

THIS patient was first brought to my notice on account of her puny baby—was referred to me as feeding case. I found that she was buying loose milk at the grocery store—as she was unable to pay 15 cents for bottle milk, which was the price at that time.

I referred her to the milk station. She was given an order for milk. When the time expired, she was refused milk, as the order had run out. She was given a second order. I explained to patient that she had received order from a milk fund I had at my disposal.

The mother then opened her heart and told of the struggle she had to get along.

Her husband averaged \$30.00 weekly wage. Her rent was \$12.00 a month.

She said that when her family was small she thought she had even then trouble enough, but year after year her family increased and living expenses went higher—until now she had to beg for help for the baby.

She had never before accepted charity and was ashamed to think she had to do so now.

She thought it might be just as well of the baby did die, if they were all going to be a set of paupers—

"My husband works steadily but we don't seem to get on—we always owe someone and never seem to catch up. I am so tired of life, I do not care how I look any more.

"I have four girls and I hope not one of them marries if they must suffer and slave as I have done. I am still a young woman (though I do not look so) and I fear I may have more children.

"Have always thanked God when I had a miscarriage.

"Would gladly shoulder my burden if I were sure no more babies were to come. Tom will soon be 16 years, and I hope able to go to work and help some.

"If you could only give me some hope and advice—if only my burden became no heavier I would gladly struggle on—it is this everlasting fear of becoming pregnant that makes life a nightmare.

Do you think the time will ever come when a woman will have the right to say: 'Have mercy! I can bear no more?'

It is our work to see that the time *does* come.—*Ed. note.*

The education of the reproductive instinct is something yet to be accomplished.—**PROFESSOR PINARD.**

We wish that those who procreate should be conscious of their responsibility.—**PROFESSOR PINARD.**

Commemoration Ode

James Russell Lowell

“MANY LOVED TRUTH, and lavished life’s best oil
 Amid the dust of books to find her,
 Content at last, for guerdon of their toil,
 With the last mantle she hath left behind her.
 Many in said faith sought for her,
 Many with crossed hands sighed for her;
 But these, our brothers, fought for her
 At life’s dear peril wrought for her
 So loved her that they died for her,
 Tasting the raptured fleetness
 Tasting the raptured fleetness of her divine completeness;
 Their higher instinct knew
 Those love her best who to themselves are true,
 And all repaying eyes, look proud on them in death.
 They saw her plumed and mailed,
 Where all may hope to find,
 Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
 But beautiful, with danger’s sweetness round her,
 Where faith made whole with deed
 Breathes its awakening breath
 Into the lifeless creed.
 They followed her and found her
 With sweet, stern face unveiled,
 And what they dare to dream of, dare to do;

English Opinion

ON THE SAME DAY that *L’Humanité* reaches us the opinions of two persons from the British Isles are given in London papers.

“Birth control,” reads one of them, written by Dr. Killick Millard, Medical Officer of Health for Leicester, “is preferable to emigration when a nation becomes overcrowded. I decline to see that a man should be accused of failing in his duty if he declined to have children merely for the sake of emigrating them to the Antipodes.”

THE LONDON HERALD quotes Alderman Lady Howard, the holder of a large palatial residence called “The Dell,” which the Infant Welfare Committee had suggested as a maternity palace, upon the same subject. The Labor men opposed the maternity palace idea, demanding better dwellings, such as advocated by the Labor Party. Lady Howard protested indignantly against the attitude of the Labor men, declaring “It is not right to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor.”

Error, by its nature, cannot be stationary; it cannot remain with truth; Like a tramp it must quit its lodging as soon as it fails to pay its score to the full.—TAGORE.

Bishop Speaks on “Misuse of Marriage”

A PRIVATE MEMORANDUM on the “Misuse of Marriage” was recently issued by certain bishops in England for the use of the clergy.

In this memorandum they frankly and explicitly admitted the need for birth control under certain circumstances, i.e., when material means for support were deficient and provided it was done by “natural” methods.

Dr. Inge, Dean of St. Paul’s, and chairman of last Birth Rate Commission, speaking of the subject said: “This is emphatically a matter in which every man and woman must judge for themselves, and must refrain from judging others.”

Still more recently, the Bishop of Hull said “If we are to have a League of Nations the Church must modify her attitude of blessing large families and of saying, “Be Fruitful and Multiply.”

Sir Rider Haggard speaking before the same Commission urged as the first duty of true statesmanship the solution of the riddles—small holdings, housing, immigration (Englishmen as Adventurers, etc.)—which he had mentioned especially as children of the right sort will in the future only be born in numbers where the housing conditions are sanitary and desirable and the parents prosperous.

Child-Bearing Strike in Germany

AS A RESULT of the war, there have been 800,000 fewer marriages in Germany, and 4,000,000 fewer children born, according to the Munich Medical Journal, which declares that “a child-bearing strike” is in progress in Bavaria.

The argument is that the German population is too large by 3,000,000 for the land because the hostility of many nations against immigrants from the former empire.

—*N. Y. Globe.*

“A Selective Birth-rate”

SIR JAMES BARR, a former president of the British Medical Association, in an article on “The Future of the British Race” (*American Medicine*, Vol. 24, pp. 6433-655, Oct. 1918) urges a selective, rather than a high birth-rate, and to this end proposes that the masses be educated in the laws of heredity in the hope that those with gross family blemishes will abstain from parenthood. He says that “if everyone would consider his moral responsibilities to the race, rather than to his own selfish gratification, in a very few generations we might produce a pure, moral, highly intellectual, healthy and vigorous race,” and that “The nation which first subjects itself to National Eugenic discipline is bound to inherit the earth.” Sir James is apparently opposed to the National Health Insurance Act and the establishment of a Ministry of Health, primarily on eugenic principles.—*Eugenical Notes*, July, 1919.

A Law Breaking Policeman

By Margaret Sanger

IT IS THE legal function of the police to prevent disorder, preserve the peace and protect citizens in the exercise of their lawful rights. It is not their legal function to censor educational movements. They have neither the privilege under the law nor the educational qualifications to act as censors. They are neither legally nor mentally trained to pass judgment upon what the public shall think, what it shall read or what shall be offered to it as educational propaganda. Under the laws which create the police departments, all these matters are excluded from their duties. Their sole duty, under the law, is to enforce the law. When they step beyond this duty, they become law-breakers, pure and simple.

It is a difficult task for any group, advocating a new ideal, to reach the public ear. The difficulties are multiplied when such a group must at the same time educate the members of the police department as to how we may lawfully do this. Nevertheless, these difficulties like all others, must be met and overcome. And the time seems to have arrived when advocates of Birth Control must devote themselves seriously to the work of educating the police as to our legal rights.

Ever since the Birth Control Review has been published, individuals wearing police uniforms have assumed at once upon seeing its name that it is something they must prohibit. They have attempted to suppress its circulation and have from time to time arrested men and women who were selling it upon the streets. When Kitty Marion and myself were arrested last December by a police sergeant who said that he wished to make a test case to get a court decision, it was hoped that the decision would set at rest all questions as to the legal right of the publication. The Post Office Department had already decided that The Birth Control Review was a lawful publication and it was enjoying second class mailing privileges. The magistrate who passed upon the case of Miss Marion and myself found that the material contained in the magazine did not warrant police interference. These rulings from the Federal Government and from a magistrate of the City of New York should have settled the matter for all time. are concerned, they did not.

POLICE ANNOYANCE MERELY took another form. Policemen who did not happen to agree with the principles of Birth Control have sought by arrogant and unlawful methods to prevent the sale of this magazine in this city. Typical of the expedients used are those used against Kitty Marion on September 27 of last month.

A patrolman from the 1st Precinct station came to Miss Marion and told her that she could not offer the magazine for sale in the street. She showed him a letter from her attorney and a statement from Police Commissioner Enright in which it was declared that there was no restricted districts in New York City in which The Birth Control Review cannot be sold. The patrolman sneered at the police commissioner's authority and asserted that he was running police affairs in the particular

district. He next proceeded to create a situation which might have brought about disorder or arrest. Going into the store in front of which Miss Marion was standing, he brought the manager out and told Miss Marion that the manager had objected to her offering the magazine for sale in front of his place of business, and told her to go away. The manager made no such statement in Miss Marion's hearing. She then took up another position at some distance from the first, but the policeman followed her, again went into another store and brought forth a manager and told Miss Marion that another objection had been made. Rather than go through this process indefinitely, she decided to go home for the day. Later, however, she returned and inquired of one of the managers what his objection had been. The manager said that he had made no complaint. Store managers, naturally are not inclined to disregard the wishes of even lawless policemen.

BIRTH CONTROL ADVOCATES have accepted without complaint both arrest and punishment for violation of the law. When such violations have occurred we naturally expect a policeman to be a policeman and not a censor or disturber. We do not propose, however, to tolerate expressions of personal prejudice cloaked in the uniform of legal authority. We are not going to submit to petty tyranny exercised by a paid public servant armed with a gun and a club. We are not going to be subjected to a censorship created and enforced by ignorant individuals who abide neither by the law, which uniforms and arms them, nor the rulings of superiors whom they have voluntarily obligated themselves to obey. The Birth Control Review did not come into existence to be interfered with by ignorant hate, no matter how clothed or armed.

WHY SHOULD PARENTHOOD BE THE ONE IGNORANT PROFESSION?

SHOULD A FATHER TELL?

BOY'S LOVE SUICIDE AT THIRTEEN

THE REMARKABLE STORY of how a boy of 13 put some rat poison on a cork and licked it off, with fatal results, because a 14-year-old girl would not return his affection, was told at a Liverpool inquest yesterday.

William J. Ellison, of School-lane, Seaforth, Liverpool, described his son as a stubborn, strong-willed boy, well developed physically, and of normal intellect. Coroner: Did you not think the time had come to talk to him about matters of sex?—Witness: Yes, I had thought about it, but it was a very difficult subject to approach.

The Coroner found the boy took his own life, and that his mind was deranged. "Boys of this age," he added, "get some queer notions about the relationships of the sexes."

Would not a little knowledge been a better thing?

—*London Herald*, Aug. 22d.

Editor's Uneasy Chair

The "Rate for the Job" of Producing Children for the British Empire

PENSION SCANDAL—6s. 10d. FOR WIDOW AND 9 CHILDREN

BRIGHTON, TUESDAY—"A scandal" was the description given by the East Preston Guardians today of a case of a soldier's widow, with nine children under 14, being awarded a pension of 6s. 10d. a week.

Her husband, it was stated, was wounded by shrapnel in the back, legs, and arms, and underwent nine operations. He was granted a pension of £2 10s. for life, but soon after his discharge from hospital he died from influenza.

The Pensions Ministry decided that the widow was not eligible under Article 21 of the Royal Army Warrant, as her husband did not die from the result of service. An appeal was not entertained.

The Guardians granted an allowance of £2 3s., and resolved to bring the case to the notice of the local Members of Parliament.—*London Herald*.

The Increasing Burdens of Paternity

AT THE LAST session of the Illinois Legislature the protection of illegitimate children was increased by doubling the amount collectible from reputed fathers. Jurisdiction of cases is given to the same courts that have jurisdiction over delinquent children. Unfortunately the effectiveness of the measure was greatly restricted by providing that the reputed father becomes liable for two years after acknowledging the paternity of the child *in an open court*.

From *The Humane Review*.

The Value of a Child

M. Cazeneuve. "A child today is a treasure to be protected by the country (very good).

"Even if the mother, through lack of resources, must abandon it to the public aid. The child so nurtured has his value for a depopulated country." Certainly he has a value. Flesh for work, flesh for misery, flesh for the cannon, this there must for, exploitation by the happy (few). A charity child costs little and brings in much. The calculation is excellent; it also is vile. We do not say: "Do not have any children." We say to the poor, to the sick: "Consider your resources and your health before calling your offspring to life."

We say to the men on a salary: "Imitate the directors, your masters. Have only a few children."—From *Neo-Malthusian*, journal of the French.

HOW MANY PEOPLE READ? How few stop to think!

If this platitude were not so true, items such as the following would long ago have convinced the most casual readers of the daily papers of the necessity of Birth Control.

How Mrs. Jones Does Her Worst

THE DAILY MAIL (English) of July 13th published an article on its principal page, entitled: *How Mrs. Jones Does Her Worst*, by Dr. Marie Stopes.

It showed how a poor Mrs. Jones had weakened, not benefited the State, although "nine times in twelve years, she produced a potential citizen," for the final result was: "Two workers, neither fit for the army," and "a feeble-minded child, later to be a burden as a potential pauper." . . . "Let Mrs. Jones only have two healthy children and no more, and the State would gain. She needed the knowledge of what is called 'birth control' to begin with. Why did she not have it? Echo answers because of our national stupidity, barbarism and prudery."—*Malthusian*, July 1919.

Would the Child Have Been Better Off If It Had Lived?

NEW-BORN BABY'S THROAT CUT—PARENTS SENT TO PENAL SERVITUDE

ATERRIBLE CRIME BY parents was dealt with at Sussex Assizes yesterday, when, charged with the murder of their newly-born child at Eastbourne, Albert Hobart, a married man, and Mabel Manser, a single woman, were found guilty of manslaughter, and each sentenced to five years' penal servitude.

The child's body, with a terrible gash in the throat, was found in a parcel in a public lavatory at Eastbourne, where Hobart and Manser had lived together.

Mr. Justice Darling, in passing sentence, said children, and especially illegitimate children, who had nobody to care for them, must be protected by the law.

—*London Herald*, July 24th.

Male Solidarity

A TOUCHING CONSIDERATION FOR THE NEEDS OF THE ENEMY

L'HUMANITE" publishes an amazing document issued by the staff of the 256th brigade of the French Army of Occupation. It is the rules for the use of a "maison publique"—in plain English, brothel—in the town of Munchen Gladbach. Perfectly cold-bloodedly it points out that there are only two inmates, that "the resources of the town do not permit any increase of the personnel," and that they must "attend to the requirements of their regular German and Belgian clients."

"In these circumstances, in order to prevent disorder and in order not to exact from these women work beyond their strength, the following measures will be taken." There follows an elaborate scheme for the allotment of the time of these unfortunate women to the men of the various battalions, and the order that "in every battalion there will be, on each allotted day, 20 tickets—five per company. Men wishing to visit the establishment will apply to their sergeant-major." Can any comment be adequate?—*London Herald*.

What Are the Chances for Race-Betterment?

THE TERRIBLE CONDITION in which a number of children are alleged to have been found in a house at Leytonstone was recalled yesterday when Henry Neville Hatchard (52), a clerk, and Beatrice Hatchard, his wife, of Carltonroad, Leytonstone, were again remanded by the Stratford Magistrates on a charge of being concerned together in the manslaughter of Daisy Mayes, a seven months' old child, by wilfully withholding food from her. No further evidence was offered.

The other children found in the house are described as looking like little old men. Two of those who were taken to the infirmary are going on well, but the other four are still very ill. The police have examined the bones found at the back of the garden, and there is little doubt that they are the bones of animals.—*London Herald*.

Children of Famished Mothers Born Blind

WARSZAW, POLAND—The abnormal number of children born blind in this country during the last three years, despite the fact that their parents were healthy, is due mainly to the malnutrition of mothers, according to a report issued by the American Red Cross—From the *N. Y. Globe*, June 30th.

Poverty-Stricken Mother Kills Babes

ATHERS, OHIO—Making a funeral pyre of her bed clothing and saturating it with oil, Mrs. Mary Sprazisar was burned to death here today while her seven children suffocated in an adjoining room. Mrs. Sprazisar lashed herself to the top of the bed and applied a match.

In accordance with her last wish the mother and her children will lie side by side in the graveyard here, city officials said. The eldest child was aged ten years and the youngest seven weeks.

Despondency, caused by the desertion of the woman's husband and resultant poverty, was responsible for the tragedy, the police believed.—From the *N. Y. Call*, July 30th.

What then would happen if we were to decide to have twice as many children as we have? Either the ground would have to produce twice as much as it does, or there would be twice as many poor, or the industries would have to be doubled to double foreign trade, or the half of the population would have to eat the other half.—*VOLTAIRE*.

Of all excesses that of procreation is the most harmful to mankind—From the *French Neo-Malthusian*.

Book Review

AN APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE. America's Code of Cost a Disgrace to Democracy. By Kelly Miller. With an Introduction by Albert Bushnell Hart. Published by MacMillan Co. 103 pages.

This is a short book, but a strong one. Published in 1918 it is, let it be said with shame, more timely today than it was a year ago.

From the preface by Albert Bushnell Hart to the warning sentence at the close, it is an arraignment of, and a challenge to, all right thinking Americans.

Our intentions in bringing the Negro here were evil, and evilly have we treated him ever since. We may twist and turn as we live, the fault and the folly of our own making. If the Negro is bad we brought him here. If we have made him worse the shame is ours. If we are really superior we should raise him up. Why have we not done so? It is not too late to mend. Equality of opportunity is the most the Negro asks and the least that a democratic nation can afford to grant. The wonderful spiritual patience of the Negro will help us, he will forgive us our trespasses, if we will stop our sinning against him. Thus the humble may confound the mighty, but the mighty must give heed to their ways. The nation could not exist part slave and part free. That proposition was solved at the point of the sword. The nation now must destroy lawlessness, or lawlessness will destroy the nation. Right thinking will solve the problem, and the problem must be solved.

M. K.

God blesses large families, but he does not feed them.

—From the *French Neo-Malthusian*.

Woman: Her Sex and Love Life FOR MEN AND WOMEN

By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M. D.

THIS is one of Dr. Robinson's most important and most useful books. It is not devoted to abstruse discussions or doubtful theories: it is full of *practical* information of vital importance to every woman and through her to every man, to every wife and through her to every husband.

The simple, practical points contained in its pages would render millions of homes happier abodes than they are now; they would prevent the disruption of many a family; they show how to hold the love of a man, how to preserve sexual attraction, how to remain young beyond the usually allotted age. The book destroys many injurious errors and superstitions and teaches truths that have never been presented in any other book before. In short, this book not only imparts interesting facts; it gives practical points which will make thousands of women and thousands of men happier, healthier, and more satisfied with life. Certain chapters or even paragraphs are alone worth the price of the book.

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Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Dutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellakkig 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, Senior Luis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*.
- BELGIUM (1906).—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Masciaux, 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 *Zadruky*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscoso, Rua d'Bento Pires 29, San Pablo; Antonio Dominguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapes 25, Rio de Janerio.
- 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).—Legg Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*.
- AFRICA.—Ligue Néo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

- ANN ARBOR, MICH.—Mrs. L. A. Rhoads, 1318 Forest Court.
- BANCOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luce, 40 Central Street
- BOSTON, MASS.—*The Birth Control League of Massachusetts*. P. O. Box 1358. Mrs. Oakes Ames, president.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Dr. L. A. Young, 5152 Haverford Avenue.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*Birth Control League of Ohio*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, 10601 Ashbury Avenue, secretary.
- DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.
- 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.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 W. 97th Street, chairman.
International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, President, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
Voluntary Parenthood League, 206 Broadway. Mary Ware Dennett, Director.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon St., Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—*The Birth Control League of San Francisco*, 239 Geary Street. Margaret McGovern, president.
- 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.

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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DECEMBER

1911

Dedicated to Voluntary Motherhood

**THE SUPREME COURT DECISION
THE HOSPITAL INVESTIGATION**

By Mary Halton M. D.

BREAKING INTO THE SOUTH

By Margaret Sanger

Editorials—News Notes—Uneasy Chair

FOREWORD

This Magazine does not publish contraceptive information.

It is illegal, in this country, to give such information.

The object of this Review is to show why this law is obsolete, pernicious, and injurious to the individual, the community and the race.

The law must be changed.

Read the Birth Control Review and you will understand why.

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

MARY KNOBLAUCH
Acting Editor

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY
MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER
Editor

VOL. III

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1919

No. 12

Editorial Comment

IT IS TO BE hoped that Owen R. Lovejoy's report on the *Legislative Prohibition of Employment for Children*, and the necessity, in this connection, of a better school system, will be seen by every citizen of this country. A summary of his paper read before the Children's Bureau in Washington is given in this issue. Mr. Lovejoy insists first of all upon a careful consideration of the individual—the individual child be it noted, as well as the individual of mature years. Proper attention, he also shows, cannot be given to the child so long as excessive industrial burdens are laid on the shoulders of half-starved mothers.

The mothers, of course, will be half starved and overworked so long as they are doomed to breed ignorantly more children than can be decently fed and cared for on the wage earned by the fathers. How long this will be depends upon the spread of scientific knowledge. A step in the right direction has certainly been taken by the committee of the same bureau, which reports on the minimum standard of education and protection for adolescent children. This includes a knowledge of sex hygiene and reproduction. The next step, let us hope, will be a knowledge of eugenics and the proper limitation of families.

The report of the Ohio State Institutions, the introduction to which we have reprinted, will show the necessity for this further step. One of our States at least has awakened to a realization of the folly of ignorance, and the expense of it as well. Taken merely from the point of view of the taxpayers, this report shows the terrific burden to the community of reckless breeding. The unfit reproduce themselves with an appalling rapidity.

Of course, birth control is not specifically mentioned in these official reports; nor was it in Miss Lathrop's paper on *Income and Infant Mortality*, which was summarized in the November number of this REVIEW. And yet, what fundamental change in the sad condition of things can be produced without it. A minimum wage standard will do no good if the family to be supported by it cannot be regulated.

That seems obvious enough. The State institutions will always be filled with the unfit, if breeding goes on to the point of physically exhausting the mother, and exceeds the financial ability of the father to provide for his offspring.

The circle is a vicious one, and a widespread scientific knowledge of birth control seems the only solution.

When ignorance is no longer a fetish, the people will take the responsibility of producing a better race into their own

hands. They know that the knowledge can be had, and that it concerns them, and they will get it because they are entitled to it.

An institution is the result of an ideal, not an ideal of an institution. If the ideal of the people is a better race, the laws of the State which prevent the attainment of that ideal must be altered to conform to the new conceptions of what the people who make the laws think best for themselves.

Many of the well-to-do women to whom we have spoken on the necessity of birth control information as a health measure say, "But any doctor will tell you what to do if child bearing is dangerous for you or if you cannot bear a healthy child. Why make such a disturbance about a matter that regulates itself?"

That is just our contention. The rich or well-to-do can and do get the information. The poor, who need it most and whose ill-born children become a nuisance or a menace to the community, cannot get it. The certified report of a physician and a witness who made the rounds of the city hospitals with a view to having such information given to a badly diseased patient proves that. We especially commend this report to the attention of our readers. After reading it, let them ask themselves the question: What can be done; what can I do to remedy so cruel and stupid a state of affairs?

Making People Think

THE MARKED SUCCESS of Margaret Sanger's visit to Elizabeth City, N. C., is attributed by her largely to the efforts of W. O. Saunders, editor of the *Independent*. Mr. Saunders, too, is a human being with a mission. His medium is a newspaper and the public platform. He, himself, speaks through his newspaper; he brings lecturers on vital subjects to his home town to do the speaking from the platform.

Because Mr. Saunders has been instrumental in benefiting his community by assisting Margaret Sanger to introduce the birth control movement there, the readers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW will be interested in knowing what manner of man he is. The best indication is a recent editorial which Mr. Saunders published in his newspaper. The following excerpts are reprinted here in the hope that they may inspire other editors to follow the example of this high-minded crusader of North Carolina:

"We grow only as we learn. We can learn only through the assimilation of ideas. Isolated people are, generally,

ignorant people. To know things we must learn through contact with teachers. These teachers may be newspapers, books, movies, billboards, phonographs, or public speakers. Public speakers are, I think, the greatest teachers. Maybe moving pictures are greater teachers. But this I know: most people's ears are better than their brains.

"I am an educator, a teacher. I have the greatest audience ever accorded any man who has lived in your midst. I talk to probably 20,000 men, women and children thru the columns of my newspaper every week. A hundred thousand persons, first and last, get my viewpoint in the course of a year.

"And yet I have discovered that a good talker on a platform may make a bigger dent in the craniums of the public in a sixty-minute speech than a writer can make in many weeks of editorializing.

"I love this town and the people in it, and I desire to help make this a town of interesting people. If I had the money of some of our wealthy citizens, I would build in this town an auditorium that would seat 2,000 people. I would put a mighty pipe organ in that auditorium and hire a talented organist to give concerts two or three times a week. And I would make a present of that auditorium to the people. I would bring to that auditorium the greatest public speakers, the greatest preachers, the greatest orators, the greatest teachers, and the greatest thinkers in America. I would do that. I would bring to this town every week some worth-while man or woman with a message. I would bring education, inspiration, and uplift to every human being in this town, and get my reward by seeing this town grow into a community of enlightened, free-thinking, beautiful souls.

"But I can't do just all I would like to do for you. I have found, however, that I can do this: I can bring interesting men and women to Elizabeth City from time to time and give you an opportunity to hear them. And this I hope to do."

Would Not Grudge Three Cents

AT THE MEETING at the Greenwich House, Mrs. Simkovitch asked Dr. Dublin what he would do to take care of women who were willing to have children. He looked a little bothered, explained that we could not help them financially or anything like that, gazed at us a moment and then (in a sudden confidential little burst to the audience): Well, he had never really felt, you know, that the three cents spent in this war for the little distinguished service medal had been wasted. He had not, indeed.

Now, this shows how much better it is to send a man out on the job of urging women to have children.

A mere woman, a mother herself maybe, would have just said something heavy about a healthy child with a chance to grow up into a good man or woman being the greatest reward possible. Such a woman would very possibly have maundered on into the admission that a defective baby or one that is going to be starved to death in its first few years

is a heavy punishment. It takes Dr. Dublin to think up a three-cent medal.

Social Hypocrisy

MONSIEUR FERNAND MOREL, writing to G. Hardy, of *Le Neo Malthusien*, says in part:

"I recognize the utility of your publication, and even its necessity, but I deplore it. I deplore the fact that it should be necessary to proclaim truths of so absolutely primitive a nature; it is as if it were necessary to publish a magazine which would say to people: Don't eat except when you are hungry, or, better, accustom yourself to eat at regular hours, don't over-eat; don't sleep except when you are sleepy, or, even, don't fall from a fifth-story window, it will hurt you.

"I deplore, above all, the hypocrisy which regulates our society, and the duplicity which enables crowds of the evil-minded to overwhelm with mud and stones those who have the courage to say or do the things which no one after sane reflection would dare sincerely to disapprove of in his own life."

M. Morel then goes on to say that he believes in contraceptive methods and considers almost anything less cruel than abandoning one's child to public charity, and he concludes:


"But I consider that the fact of having brought a child into the world, of having voluntarily made him take the first steps in life, confers upon the author of his being, not rights but obligations, an immense debt to the creature for whom such a responsibility has been accepted; and I would be merciless toward the parents who neglected their parental duties, the only sacred duty that there is in this matter of procreation."

The BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Editors:

MARGARET SANGER  MARY KNOBLAUCH
MAUDE EDGREN LILY WINNER BLANCHE SCHRACK
And in Recognition of a Vital Spirit that Still Animates
this Magazine, JESSIE ASHLEY

Art Editors:

CORNELIA BARNES LOU ROGERS

VOL. III

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The Investigation of the Hospitals

By Mary Halton, M.D.

A RECENT OPINION GIVEN by a judge in the New York State Court of Appeals states that a doctor may give a patient contraceptive information in order to prevent disease.

This opinion, if it stands, is directly contrary to and should set aside the law as it is written on our statute books, which makes the giving of such information by a doctor a crime. In order to test the working of the present law in its relation to poor women unprotected by the secrecy of the doctor's private office, a survey was made of the hospitals of New York and to find out what could be done for a poor woman in such condition of health that pregnancy would mean death to her.

A committee, of which Dr. Mary Halton was chairman, was organized by the New York Women's Publishing Company, and a survey made of the hospitals.

The following is the report of that committee:

Statement

THE COMMITTEE VISITED every hospital in New York City, Manhattan Borough, in which women are treated as patients.

Eye and ear hospitals, hospitals in which children only are treated and other such special hospitals were not included in the survey.

In each instance the medical superintendent of the hospital was interviewed and asked to answer for the hospital. In a few instances in which the superintendent was either unwilling to answer or felt that he had not sufficient authority to answer, the president of the medical board was interviewed and gave the answer.

The following question was asked of each hospital:

"We have come to you to ask for birth control information for some patients if you can give it to them.

We know that these patients can be legally aborted if they become pregnant, as they are suffering from advanced disease which would mean death to them if they attempted to give birth to a child.

But therapeutic abortion in our cases would be insufficient to save life. Our patients are so advanced in kidney disease or in tuberculosis, that merely the incidence of pregnancy would mean a fatal termination of their lives. Can you, therefore, in order to save these women, instruct them in methods of contraception in order that they may live if they continue a normal wife's relation to her husband?"

Each hospital in New York refused to allow the patients to come, and each hospital said that under the present law it could not give such information to any such patients.

Some superintendents went on to explain that if the hospital acceded to our request, its charter could be revoked

and the doctor who gave the information would be subject to arrest.

All hospitals declared this information could not be given by the hospital either in the clinics or in the hospital itself in any official way. Some kindly superintendents suggested that we might go privately to some of the doctors of the hospital staff, and that on account of the urgency of the cases, they might be willing to break the law in their private offices.

Many superintendents expressed themselves as willing to sign a petition for a change in the present law, since it can put such hardship on sick women.

Some kindly superintendents suggested that we might go privately to some of the doctors of the hospital staff, and that on account of the urgency of the cases, they might be willing to break the law in their private offices.

The following hospitals were interviewed:

Bellevue and allied city hospitals, which includes Gouverneur Hospital and Harlem Hospital.
 Harlem Hospital
 Neurological Hospital
 French Hospital
 German Hospital, now Hahneman Hospital
 Flower Hospital
 Italian Hospital
 Jewish Maternity
 Knickerbocker Hospital
 Lying-In Hospital
 Manhattan Maternity Hospital
 Misericordia Hospital
 Mount Sinai Hospital
 New York Hospital
 New York Medical College and Hospital for Women, now called Community Hospital
 New York Nursery and Child's Hospital
 People's Hospital
 Post Graduate Medical School and Hospital
 Presbyterian Hospital
 The Park Hospital (formerly Red Cross Hospital)
 Roosevelt Hospital and Vanderbilt Clinic
 St. Ann's Maternity Hospital
 St. Elizabeth Hospital
 St. Luke's Hospital
 St. Mark's Hospital
 St. Vincent's Hospital
 Sloane Hospital for Women
 Sydenham Hospital
 Women's Hospital

Is Birth Control A Constitutional Right?

THE QUESTION WHETHER Birth Control is woman's constitutional right is still unanswered. For the first time in the history of the United States that question was raised on October 12, when the case of Margaret Sanger came up in the Federal Supreme Court. The case was dismissed without an opinion because the court held that it had no jurisdiction.

So this question, the most momentous for women that ever arose in the Supreme Court of the United States, went undecided.

Regardless of this fact, the same principle which caused the case of Margaret Sanger to be appealed to the highest court of the land, although she had long since served the sentence imposed, still lives. Whether the constitution of the United States protects a woman's right to the control of her own body and the mother function or does not protect her, she has that right inherent in her own nature. The Birth Control movement, growing by leaps and bounds, will fight for that natural right with increasing vigor and courage.

THE QUESTION at issue was not whether Margaret Sanger should go to jail. She was arrested October 26, 1916 for her part in operating a clinic in Brownsville, a district in Brooklyn, to which clinic overburdened mothers flocked. She was sentenced to thirty days in jail and served her sentence. The case was appealed upon principle. Involved in it was the most sacred right of American womanhood,—the right of keeping within its control the function of reproduction. At great expense and with infinite pains the case was prepared for appeal and fought through the New York Court of Appeals and to the highest court in the United States. The legal controversy has attracted wide attention. Even those who are ordinarily indifferent to the rights of women have taken notice of the serious import of the case. A Boston newspaper, for instance, called the attention of its readers to the fact that it is the most important case since the Dred Scott decision which was largely responsible for the Civil War.

But bloody as was that struggle, important as it was to the millions of negroes who were freed, vital as it was in deciding the destiny of the United States, it was still less important than the Sanger case. The Dred Scott case meant the freedom from chattel slavery of a few million of oppressed human beings. If the supreme court had held that the Fourteenth amendment to the constitution was violated by the so-called "obscenity laws," it would have almost directly opened the door of freedom to many millions of American mothers, and in a single generation would have raised the physical, moral and mental standard of the American people.

The Fourteenth Amendment provides: "nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

ATTORNEY GOLDSTEIN IN presenting his argument showed the court that the present "obscenity" laws prohibiting the communication of information concerning con-

traceptives make motherhood compulsory to married women. He further showed that certain diseases are rendered fatal by pregnancy, and that thus the statute operates to condemn to death, without due process of law, married women suffering from such diseases.

That the statute also has the effect of forbidding marriage to men and women not sufficiently well-to-do to support large families, while it violates the right of the child to be born of that "emphatically purposeful parentage" which is necessary if the child is to be "the perfect result of the creative impulse."

"The man and woman," asserted the attorney, "have as much natural right to say how many children they shall bring into the world and when as to say when and why they shall marry. . . . Reproduction cannot be enforced haphazard as if men and women were convicts and parenthood the penalty of a crime, without vitiating the entire race."

OTHER POINTS RAISED in this epoch-making argument included these: Prevention of conception is not obscene, and the subject of its very nature has no place in the "obscenity laws."

The law is unconstitutional and void because the prohibition it involves is not in any way related to the public health, morals, or welfare, and because the statute fails to promote either of the three.

The law is unconstitutional because it lacks "regulation" provisions—it prohibits physicians from giving information upon contraceptives even when pregnancy would be dangerous or fatal to the health of the patient.

THE PROSECUTION RESORTED to technicalities, but raised two points which are a reproof to the spirit of American womanhood. It pointed out that these laws have been on the statute books in some form or another since 1868, and have now for the first time been challenged before the Supreme Court of the United States. It also cited the shameful fact that in states where women have the vote, these statutes still remain upon the books.

MMARGARET SANGER HAS done her part. Regardless of the fact that she served her sentence, and that her personal sacrifice, so far as this case is concerned, had been completed, she forced the case into the Supreme Court of the United States—and that at the earliest possible moment. But what is to be said of those who have let these infamous, oppressive statutes, violating the legal as well as the natural rights of women, remain undisturbed all these years? What is to be said of those women, who, having claimed the ballot, have failed to use it to wipe from the books of their states the laws which most invade their basic rights?

American women will not be free until they themselves win their freedom. They will not attain the right to control their own bodies until they have forced a recognition of that

right.

The case has been fought through in behalf of American womanhood. If a favorable opinion had been handed down, and the "obscenity laws" wiped out, birth control information would have been within the reach of American women without violation of these laws, which, infamous as they are, are still laws and a powerful menace.

THIS WORK HAS been done at great expense, such as all like cases entail. Those expenses are still to be met, and they must be met by contribution. Everyone who realizes the importance of this case, which to women is the most important one which the Supreme Court has ever considered, should send a contribution toward the expense to Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Breaking Into the South—A Contrast

By Margaret Sanger

THE FIRST public lecture on birth control in the South developed into a series of addresses within twenty-four hours, and was in every way a gratifying surprise to me. I had the feeling that it would be hard to break the ice for the birth control movement in a city in which not even a suffragist had delivered a public lecture. To my delight, however, I found that people, both white and black, in Elizabeth City, N. C., were so eager to know about birth control that every possible moment of my time was given to speaking.

The first lecture, which was the only one I expected to deliver in Elizabeth City, was arranged by Mr. W. O. Saunders, editor of *The Independent*. It was delivered in a theatre Sunday afternoon, November 2nd. Women in the audience requested an address for women only, and this was given immediately following the general lecture. These meetings were attended by white women of all classes and conditions, some of them being farmer's wives—mothers of five, six or more children—some of whom drove fifteen or sixteen miles to hear about birth control.

After the lecture, a number of elderly women lingered to ask further questions and to express their appreciation of the movement. They were singularly unanimous in their expressions. "The message comes too late for me," was the tenor of their words, "but thank God it comes in time to save my daughters from what I have undergone."

A committee of negro women urged a public address for negroes in a negro church for the same evening. This was delivered and was followed the next day by a short talk on "Education" at the negro normal school, and in the afternoon a lecture for negro women only on methods of birth control.

Meanwhile, women who came from near and far were gathering at the hotel where I stopped. Among these were a number of social workers and public-spirited citizens, who asked help in establishing a clinic for the mill workers. A temporary committee was formed, and is going ahead with the work of bringing fundamental, practical help to those women who work in the mills.

All this happened between noon on Sunday and three o'clock Monday afternoon.

Never have I met with more sympathy, more serious attention, more complete understanding than in my addresses to the white and black people of this Southern mill town. Each element in the audience seemed to look at the question from

its own standpoint. All in all, these audiences were a striking demonstration of birth control's universal message of freedom and betterment.

Among the white people, the argument which appealed most strongly was that of family betterment and increased happiness in the home, where the size of the family can be kept down to a point in which the father's earnings and the mother's attention are adequate for the care of children. That birth control results in longer life among women and decreases the mortality among infants and children of tender years appealed to representatives of insurance companies, who made it plain that they had got the point. Even a mill-owner, who is perhaps the most powerful citizen of Elizabeth City, was open-minded enough to recognize that birth control, in bettering the condition of the workers in his mills, would tend to increased efficiency.

That the wives of farmers and of other workers recognized the liberty, the mental, physical and spiritual advantages that come with birth control was made plain by their attention, by their questions, and by their expressions of appreciation. They need it most, and doubtless it was they who best understood.

If Elizabeth City is an index of the South, it is ready, waiting, crying for the message of birth control.

It is with somewhat similar pleasure I look back upon a lecture given October 28th before members of the League for Women Voters in New York City. It was an interesting audience. These were workers—active business women, some in clerical positions, some of them professional women, some of them housewives. They were mostly women who have grappled with practical problems and who have been tasting the first fruits of an expanding freedom. Their attitude was one of intelligent reasoning—they wanted the message; they wished to weigh it and decide for themselves whether to apply it. There was in this audience but one objector—a mother of four children, who said she wished she had four more. The rest of the audience joined in the hope that since she desired them, she might have them.

In unhappy contrast to these meetings was the Conference of Social Hygiene, a division of The League for Women Voters, at which I was one of the speakers. This was held at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York, October 20th. At once one could feel hostility in this audience, composed almost entirely of women physicians. One wondered whence such

antagonism could come, but when the lecture was over and questions and discussion began, one was not left long in the dark. The antagonism was among the women physicians themselves—the people whom one would least expect to have that attitude. Yet there it was.

One physician rejected birth control because she believed I claimed too much for it. She did not believe that it can accomplish as much for women as I believe it can—therefore she dismissed the whole subject!

Another objected to birth control, saying that when a woman's children are arriving so rapidly as to make her lot unendurable, she should leave her husband. Asked what a woman living in the slums, and having four or five children barely supported by her own earnings and those of her husband should do with the children, this physician blandly dismissed the whole matter by saying she *should take them with her*. This from a woman physician whose practice is, presumably, largely among the poor!

A third woman physician objected to any discussion of the subject, saying that it was "nasty." It is hardly to be supposed, however, that this physician refuses either to give her

services or accept fees in maternity cases. Dr. Mary Halton quickly settled this point by her positive assertion of the beauty and cleanliness of all that relates to the sex life. Her defense of birth control was clear, strong, and illuminating.

But let us not deceive ourselves as to the general attitude of either women or men who are attached strongly to institutions—whether these institutions be professional organizations or something else similar in spirit. Usually their egos have become attached to these institutions—they have built up the old organizations—upon those organizations they depend largely for their standing and personal success. Subconsciously these well-meaning people know that their institutions are going to tumble into disuse before the vigorous, fundamental remedies which we propose to apply. The women physicians who follow the old manner of thinking subconsciously know and fear the effect of birth control, which will largely dispense with their services as they are now rendered. These will never take the initiative in freeing the world from its chains. They love their institutions, their prejudices, their own chains, better than they love humanity and the truth.

Standard for Adolescents

THE STANDARD FOR the minimum public protection of adolescent children was submitted by the committee appointed by the Washington Conference of the Children's Bureau.

The committee was composed of the following members:

Dr. Charles V. Chapin, Chairman; Superintendent of Health, Providence, Rhode Island.

Dr. Ellen Stone, Superintendent of Child Hygiene, Health Department, Providence, Rhode Island.

Dr. George P. Barth, Director, School Hygiene Bureau, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Dr. H. L. K. Shaw, Division of Child Hygiene, State Board of Health, New York.

Dr. William R. P. Emerson, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dr. Dorothy Reed Mendenhall, Children's Bureau.

The many interesting features of this standard show an utterly new interest in the care of the child from the point of view of his social needs as a future citizen. The fact that a knowledge of sex hygiene and reproduction is included as a necessary part of his education is an encouraging sign of the growth of the belief that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

Minimum Standard for the Public Protection of the Health of Children and Mothers, proposed by The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

ADOLESCENT CHILDREN

1. Complete standardized basic physical examinations by physician, including weight and height, at least once a year, and recommendation for necessary treatment to be given at children's health center or school.
2. Clinics for treatment of defect and disease.
3. Supervision and instruction to insure
 - (a) Ample diet, with special attention to growth-producing foods.
 - (b) Sufficient sleep and rest and fresh air.
 - (c) Adequate and suitable clothing.
 - (d) Proper exercise for physical development.
 - (e) Knowledge of sex hygiene and reproduction.
4. Full-time education compulsory to at least sixteen years of age, adapted to meet the needs and interests of the adolescent mind, with vocational guidance and training.
5. Clean, ample recreational opportunities to meet social needs.
6. Legal protection from exploitation, vice, drug habits, etc.

Light Ahead

By Frances Maule Björkman

BEGINNING last June with the formal request on the part of a group of members of the Conference of Social Workers that birth control be placed on their official program for next year, we have had steadily accumulating evidence that the subject of family limitation has been recognized by the organized forces working for social betterment as an essential part of their scheme.

So far this recognition has found expression merely in papers and discussions. But there is every reason to believe that these will be followed in time by action gradually leading to the adoption of the subject as one of the planks in their platforms.

Within the last month, hearings on birth control have been held before three of the most powerful and widespread of the organizations working for Social Hygiene—that is, the American Social Hygiene Association, the Social Morality Association of the Young Women's Christian Association (through the International Conference of Women Physicians), and the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters.

Although Dr. Lewis Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., who was selected to lead the birth control discussion which took place during the sixth annual meeting of the American Hygiene Association in October, was quite evidently on the negative side, this fact did not seem in the least to prejudice the large audience that had gathered to hear him.

Dr. Dublin stated that while he did not quarrel with the effort to secure the repeal of the existing prohibitory laws regarding birth control, he did deplore what he called "The Propaganda"—from which one inferred that he was under the impression that there existed some organized effort to keep down the population.

AT THE CONCLUSION of Dr. Dublin's address, the birth control advocates were given their opportunity to challenge him, and the applause with which their remarks were greeted seemed clearly to indicate that the majority in the audience was on their side. One pointed out that the only organized propaganda was that directed towards the repeal of the prohibitory laws on birth control information; that the purpose back of this effort was not so much a limitation of the number of children to a family as a prudent "spacing" of the children in such a way as to give each child the maximum opportunity and to safeguard the mother against exhaustion. She called attention to the fact that from the point of view of evolution it was in the order of nature for a developed humanity to produce fewer but better children, and she showed by examples drawn from biology that as life ascends from lower to higher forms, fewer young are born but more survive.

Mrs. Maxwell Hyde brought forth an enthusiastic round of applause by asking Dr. Dublin how "the family of four"

which he repeatedly mentioned as ideal, and even necessary to racial survival, could be attained by the average married couple without the aid of birth control. Dr. Dublin admitted that this was a difficult question; in fact, did not attempt to answer it, but dodged with the exhortation, "Let the people have their four children first." Another speaker asked Dr. Dublin how he could reconcile his demand that the duty of each married couple was to make the best possible contribution to the race with the fact that the only contribution that many thousands could make was a syphilitic, an idiotic, insane or criminal child, or a child cursed with all sorts of anti-social tendencies, as long as the law prohibited the giving of information on birth control. To this Dr. Dublin replied only that he was entirely in sympathy with the effort to change the laws.

STILL ANOTHER SPEAKER pointed out that withholding information on the subject of birth control by means of restrictive laws was not meeting the population situation, so deeply deplored by Dr. Dublin namely, that the most intelligent classes were not replacing themselves, while the ignorant and unfit were multiplying themselves many times. She called attention to the fact that, despite the laws, the intelligent classes did possess this information, whereas the ignorant and the unfit were really the only one who were entirely unable to get it. Would not this condition be ameliorated rather, she asked, by throwing open scientific and reliable birth control information to the poorer classes, notably through the establishment of clinics where the best possible advice would be given free of charge.

During the six weeks' session of the International Conference of Women Physicians the subject of birth control was constantly before the delegates in one connection or another—as would seem inevitable in a group of medical women gathered together to consider the purpose announced in the banner strung across the platform, "Health for the Womanhood of the World."

ON OCTOBER 13TH, the subject was officially on the program in a paper by Dr. Ada Potter, of Holland. It was rather unfortunate, despite the fact that Dr. Potter was the only delegate from that country, that she was the person selected to lead the discussion on birth control. Dr. Potter, it appeared, is a neurologist and psychiatrist, and as such has devoted herself exclusively to her own line. She admitted frankly that she knew extremely little about the government-approved birth control clinics of Holland; and while her paper took for granted the use of contraceptics as a fundamental necessity for the safeguarding of women's health, she devoted her remarks chiefly to a plea for a greater measure of medical supervision in their use, and a stricter regulation of their sale.

The attitude of all the foreign doctors to whom I talked was characterized by this same taking of contraception for

granted. All said quite openly that they gave the best information they had whenever they were asked for it; but all agreed that this information was inadequate and unsatisfactory and that a great deal of laboratory research and clinical experiment was desirable. Most of them were rather horrified to learn that the giving of this information on the part of physicians was illegal in free America.

Within the month the League of Women Voters has twice given an opportunity for its members to listen to the claims of Birth Control, once at an open meeting at the League headquarters in New York City and once at a conference of the Social Hygiene Committee of the League.

At the open meeting, which took place on October 28th, Mrs. Sanger was the speaker. About a hundred women were present, and the discussion that followed Mrs. Sanger's address indicated that practically all were heartily in favor of the opening up of the utmost facilities for promoting knowledge in the use of contraceptives. At the hearing before the Social Hygiene Committee, which took place on October 20th, Mrs. Sanger and Mrs. Minturn Pinchot were the speakers. Dr. Valeria H. Parker, of Hartford, chairman of the committee,

presided, and demonstrated clearly by her opening and closing remarks that she herself was heartily in sympathy with the aims of the Birth Control Movement.

The audience was made up chiefly of women doctors attending the International Conference of Women Physicians, and a number of them were also the state chairmen of the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters in their respective states—which fact gave to the conference an importance greatly disproportionate to its size.

The discussion brought out no serious comment that was not entirely favorable. Among those contributing to it were Dr. Edith Hale Swift of Boston, Dr. Mabel Ulrich of Minneapolis, Dr. Rachel Yarros of Chicago, and Dr. Mary Halton of New York.

While the conference adjourned without deciding to recommend that birth control be placed officially among its aims, the general sentiment was that the subject was in harmony with the purposes of the committee, and that, as individuals, the members should work quietly until public feeling had been brought to a point where a definite stand could be openly taken.

Future of Motherhood

We would call the attention of Dr. Dublin to the views of a practical man who wrote for the "Lansbury Herald."

FRANKLY, THE FUTURE of motherhood should be causing us the greatest concern, for a nation's wealth lies in motherhood. Sentiment will not help us out of our difficulties, for it must be understood that economic conditions will have a powerful influence over motherhood.

A leading feminist takes a rosy view. Listen: "It seems clear that women will choose motherhood rather than any other occupation if the State makes the conditions of motherhood tolerable." Now, it seems only reasonable that the State should make the conditions of motherhood tolerable. But past experience does not show that the State is likely to do the reasonable thing. Indeed, I suggest that we may expect the State to do the reasonable thing only when the Government has created a Brain Department. Therefore, for the moment my hopes of State aid are faint ones. As to the average young woman in the city, say, "choosing motherhood rather than any other occupation," I have the gravest doubts.

Let us take into consideration for the moment the average workman, whose weekly earnings amount to two or three pounds a week. The modern young woman has grown quite used to earning as much as he has. She has been able to buy fairly decent clothes; she has been able to go to a theatre or concert when she wills. In fact, she has tasted the sweets of liberty, and has been to a great extent free from financial worries. Her ego has developed making her independent and self-reliant. I cannot imagine the average city girl throwing up her comparative independence to marry the man with a small income—and they are the majority.

Our modern girl may be as romantic as a Charles Garvice heroine, but she will hesitate a long time before she leaps into

the sea of matrimony with a three-pound-a-week man.

For keeping house and home on about three to five pounds a week is no picnic, and the modern girl knows it. Romance is very charming; but the constant care of pounds, shillings, and pence, the worry of making both ends meet soon knocks the romance out of marriage, which often, under these circumstances, degenerates into a dismal little tragedy.

I doubt if the average girl who has been bending over ledgers or over boxes of ribbons will be overanxious to bend over a smelly gas stove instead. The ledgers and the ribbons finish at five or six o'clock in the evening, but the smelly gas stove goes on forever.

Let us turn now to the modern young man; I have talked with him at home and over there. He has traveled; he, too, has known something of freedom. He has no great hopes that wages will remain at their present level. As one of them put it to me quite recently: "No, old man, I shan't worry about marriage. I can keep myself fairly comfortably on about three pounds a week; but I don't feel justified in asking a girl to share such a small sum. It would mean a slow death to love trying to live on the money."

A large number of our young men are thinking the same and acting upon it. They see no reason for changing their ordinary life for the responsibilities of marriage. They will tell you that "the money won't run to it."

To put it briefly, I have no reason for hoping that the State will make the condition of motherhood tolerable.

War work may not make women lose their taste for marriage; but low wages and increased prices will certainly make men lose theirs.

HARRY FOWLER.

The Child in the Hands of the Law

By Ellen A. Kennan

LAW IS ALWAYS AN inelastic, clumsy instrument, difficult to adjust to individual human need, likely at all times, even under the best of circumstances, to bear lightly on one and heavily on another. But laws framed to ameliorate conditions that are due to a deep, underlying injustice are bound to work out in strange backhanded ways.

Imagine a cess-pool in the vicinity of a great city, from which waste matter seeps into the source of the water supply, so that the city finds itself a hot-bed for typhoid fever germs. Then suppose that the city authorities, ignoring the condition at the source of the water supply, direct their whole attention towards the most careful and scientific quarantine of all persons afflicted with the disease; the typhoid will still continue, and there will always be plenty of people who will have to be quarantined. Just so long as we maintain an economic system that condemns children to a life of slavery, and lays its malignant hand upon them even before they have issued from their mother's womb, and just so long as our laws make child-bearing compulsory, we shall continue to have defective children to segregate, even though well-intentioned ladies and benevolent gentlemen spend all their days trying to bring order out of chaos with an endless chain of compulsory attendance laws, factory laws, free milk laws, tenement house laws, and what not. With one hand we rob children of the elementary human rights, the right to be well-born, the right to be wanted, the right to play, the right to choose a vocation and prepare for it, and with the other hand we write laws making child-bearing compulsory. Workers we must have!

IT IS A GOOD LAW that provides that a child may not be taken out of school until he is fourteen years old or until he has finished the grammar school, providing he is able to finish by sixteen years. And it is a good law, too, that prevents the child from hiring himself out during summer vacations without having first secured working papers, but under a decent social and economic system, one that was not based on underlying injustices such laws would be entirely unnecessary, and, well-meaning as they are, under our present insane system, they often work very grave injustices to the poor, defective child. Such a child has to stay on in school among far younger children, although it is perfectly clear that he is learning little except to loaf and acquire idle habits. Oftentimes he chafes under the enforced attendance and would be glad to get out and find work. Even during the long summer vacation he must be idle. In my visits this summer I found family after family in which there was a big boy who was in the class for defectives, who was able to work and eager to work, whose financial help was much needed by the family, but whose hands were tied by the law. Why did he not get working papers? This matter of getting working papers is not so simple as it seems. There are few of these hard-working fathers and mothers who can take time off from their work to go in search of the much desired papers. To the man or woman of leisure or even to

the working man who has easy hours and decent conditions and at least a practical knowledge of the language, it may seem a very simple matter to meet the requirements of the law, but to the father who leaves home, at 7 or 7:30 a.m., and does not get back till 5:30 or 6 p. m., or to the mother who has five or six little children clinging to her skirts and who never gets out except to market, such a matter is not simple.

JOHN FERRARI IS ONE OF these victims of a perfectly good law. He is a big handsome Italian boy, overdeveloped physically, and so underdeveloped mentally that he has been placed in the class for defectives. John likes to work and he is so good-natured and pleasant he can get jobs. As soon as school was out this summer he had secured a job as helper in a barber shop. His employer liked him and he was earning about \$12 a week, money which his family needed very much. John was beginning to feel that he wasn't "dopey" after all, but that he was of some importance in the world, he was taking genuine pride in his work, when along came the inspector—he had to do his duty: John was under age and had no working papers, he was forced to give up his job, and was thrown on the street to loaf the rest of the summer. As it happened he was the oldest of a family of nine children of whom eight are living. The ages of the children run 13, 12, 10, 9, 7, 5, 4, 2, 7 months. This family lives in three rooms. The father earns \$35 a week. John's twelve dollars would have been a tremendous help to the family and the psychological effect on John himself of holding a job would have been fine, but—there was the law. One might draw some consolation from the assurance that at least the labor market was being protected, that the general wage scale was not being reduced by cheap labor. But even this crumb of comfort we are denied. In order to eke out the family income of \$35, John's mother "finishes skirts" at home. She gets 8 cents a piece for them, and to earn anything worth while at these rates Stella, 12 years old, a year younger than John (the law allows twelve-year-old Stella to be exploited) spends her whole vacation sitting stooped over in a close, hot tenement room, finishing skirts. Stella looks pale and sickly and has already twice failed of promotion in school. And while mother and Stella sew, little Concettina, ten years old, must tend baby, wash the dishes and diapers, and do all the other odd jobs waiting to be done in a family of that size. This mother is only 34 years old, she is Catholic, her mother had 13 children, her husband's mother had 17. It does not require much imagination to look ahead a few years and picture the situation, which is bound to grow steadily worse. But over and above all of this is the fact that Mrs. Ferrari and Stella are welding not only chains for themselves, but are helping to fasten the chains of slavery upon the whole working class.

ANGELO IS NOT YET quite 15, he is the oldest of a family that at present numbers seven children, two are dead and there have been two miscarriages, making a total for the mother of eleven pregnancies in fourteen years. The baby is only four

months old. Angelo is subnormal in intelligence and has been placed in the class for defectives. Anna, 13 years of age, has not been able to get beyond the fourth grade, though she should be in the seventh. The glands of her neck are swollen, and she has already undergone two operations. Giacomo, nine years old, is still in the second grade. The rest of the children are not yet of school age. The father of this family is a day laborer on the car tracks, earning \$19.00 a week. Though they live in three rooms, and the children sleep three in a bed, still \$19 a week will not feed them all, so the mother "finishes pants" at home at the rate of 20 cents a pair. She earns \$1.20 a day, as she can finish six a day, provided, of course, that 14-year-old Anna who has the swollen glands takes care of the four-months-old baby, washes, cooks and cleans. This mother is 35, is also Catholic and can still bear five or six children, and each child that she bears will be snatching the food from the mouths of those already on the scene. And all the time the wage scale that has been built up by the class conscious worker at such tremendous sacrifice, this mother with her little wage slaves, is doing her utmost to tear down!

Mrs. Mary Kolinsky is more intelligent than many of the mothers I met on my rounds. She has five children, all living, the oldest is 11 years, the youngest 5 months. She is very ambitious for her children, and it distresses her greatly that John, 10 years old, is in the class for defectives. Her husband is a window cleaner, earning \$27 a week. At the time I talked with her he was out on strike. Of course she could not see her children starve, so she was making women's underwear at hose, night-gowns, chemise, petticoats, for 80 cents a dozen! She could make two dozen a day if the children were well and did not interfere. Of course the burden of the little ones fell on 11-year-old Mary, while mother was sewing. Mrs. K is 29 years old, Polish and Catholic. But she is too good a mother to want more children, notwithstanding her Catholic training. She is eager to know how women who have small families manage it—but no one may tell her, for there is the law! So while the father of the family strikes to bring about better conditions in one line of work, the mother, faced by the hungry mouths of children she did not want to bring into the world, is making all of his effort and sacrifice purposeless, by dragging down the wage scale in another line of work.

Not all of my work this summer was with the poor mothers of many children, and the mothers of defective children. I sometimes found a mother whose children had been pronounced above the average in intelligence and had been placed in rapid advance classes. These mothers had for the most part such a passion for fine children that they had managed in some way or other to limit the size of their families. Mrs. Smith was such a mother. Her husband had died two years ago leaving her with four children. She told me how narrowly she escaped having two more mouths to feed. Her husband was earning \$22 a month, they already had four children and the youngest was only 18 months old when she found herself pregnant. She felt hopeless, she felt desperate! She had tried to take precautions, but the only information she had been able to get

was faulty. She had done her best, the method was not a good one. Now what was she to do? She knew it was unfair to the four children she had, to bring others into the world to share the father's meagre wage. She set herself to her task with energy and after much effort was put on the track of a doctor who would perform an abortion for \$30. It was very hard to collect \$30, but she knew it would be still harder to pay the expenses of confinement, and support a fifth child. The abortion was performed and in her womb was found not one child but twins. Just a year later her husband died. "Think of it," she exclaimed, as she finished her story: "What in the world could I have done with two more mouths to feed when it is so very hard to get on with the four I have!"

Mrs. Smith receives \$52 a month from a charity organization for the support of her family of four children. Sadie, her oldest, 13½ years old, is now in her second year of high school, as she finished the grades at 12. The law provides that Sadie may be taken out of school at 14, if she has completed the grades before that age. So the organization that is allowing Mrs. Smith \$52 a month says Sadie must stop school in another half year and go to work. Sadie wishes to continue school, her mother wishes her to continue, her teachers say she has unusual ability, there is every probability that if allowed to go on with her education she will be able to contribute much to society, but it is perfectly legal to take her out, and a board of directors that has never seen Sadie cannot be expected to see the situation from a reasonable, human point of view, so she will probably soon go to work to help support the rest of the family, unless some kindly disposed person intervenes.

Not only Sadie has been placed in the rapid advance classes and has distinguished herself in her work, but the other three children also have proved themselves of unusual ability and have all been allowed to skip grades. Mrs. Smith who is an intelligent, thinking mother said to me in telling her story: "If my children were slow, stupid and defective, and could not get on in their work, they would have the privilege of staying in school until they were sixteen years old. But since I have unusually quick and intelligent children who are two years beyond their grade they are to be penalized for their intelligence by being forced to leave school at 14." No wonder the world seems a bit topsy-turvy to this devoted mother, a world in which bright little Sadie, eager to study, making the most of her advantages, must leave school to go to work at 14, while big, stupid, good-natured John, unable to learn, is compelled by law to hang on in school till he is 16.

Bees seem to have gleams of intelligence that we human beings lack. They have a class system—a working class and a leisure class, the drones, but their workers are not also breeders. They seem to understand that those that do the drudgery of their world must not also have the burden of bearing the new generation. They face their rotten class system quite frankly, and realizing that the bee race must be replenished from the best nourished stock, they practice division of labor—one class for the drudgery—the queen bee for breeding. Brutal? Oh yes, but rather logical. Anyway they're not human.

Judge Neil's Law

WHEN JUDGE NEIL visited the American institutions where fatherless children were being brought up by the State, he used to ask a child, "Where is your mother?" An outburst of grief was always the reply. He went to a Children's Court to see how the separation of mother and child was effected. The first case was that of a mother with five children. Her husband had been dead three years, and she had tried to keep the home together by charing in the daytime and looking after the children at night. Her health gave way. She could not pay the rent. She came to the court for assistance. The officials parceled out the children among five different institutions. She was overcome with despair. "Would it not be kinder," asked Judge Neil, "to take her behind the court house and shoot her?"

Then he asked who paid for the children's keep. The taxes paid ten dollars (about £2 10s. in those happy days) a month for each child. "Why," he asked, "should not the ten dollars be paid to the mother?" "Oh, that would be against the law!" "Then," he exclaimed, "let's change the law!" And to an English mind the astonishing thing is that he did change it. Judge Neil's law, known as "The Mothers' Pensions Law," or, more properly, "The Widows' Pensions Law," was passed unanimously by the State Legislature of Illinois in 1911, and has been since adopted by thirty-five States out of the forty-eight. Thousands on thousands of children have been saved from Institutions, and are being brought up by their own mothers. An official report from New York City says: "There has been a steady improvement in the homes. The money invested is returning interest in the way of lives made stronger, in decided physical improvement in the health of both mothers and children." The surest evidence of success is that in no State has Judge Neil's Law been repealed.

The amount of the widow's pension varies in different States. It seems to be assumed in all that a widow is able to bring up one child without assistance, but where there are more children than one, she is allowed something between six dollars a month and ten. The money is usually raised partly from taxes and partly from rates. In New York City the cost of a child in an institution was about £60 a year; under the pension law it is about £24. The number of paid officials is enormously reduced; indeed, they almost vanish. The money is administered and watched either by the Children's Courts or the County Agent, appointed by the County Board, which corresponds to our County Council and Board of Guardians combined. The administration of the pensions costs only 5 per cent of the expenditure. The administration of the institutions cost 75 per cent, and it was calculated that one official was required for every five children. In most of the States the pension is continued till the child is fourteen. In many till sixteen, especially if the child is delicate. In Nebraska and Nevada till eighteen, the age up to which the American Free School system is also continued. Unhappily, it is only in Michigan that the unmarried mother receives a pension for

her child, and when it is as a "deserted mother." It is true that, as a rule, the unmarried mother has not more than one child to support.

Last April our Government promised to introduce a Mothers' Pension Bill as soon as possible, and Mr. Baldwin Raper, M.P., has framed the main clauses: (1) the pensions to be limited to necessitous mothers with more than one child, the father also being dead or incapacitated; (2) the amounts to be the same as that now given to war widows, and administered also by the Ministry of Pensions, and with the same supervision; (3) the money to be provided, three-quarters from taxes and one-quarter from rates. Mr. Raper estimates the total cost at about £10,000,000 a year. The estimate appears excessive, on his own showing. In a pamphlet called "Making Britain Fit for Mothers," he states that in this country we have 130,000 children under the Poor Law, and so if £24 a year were allotted for each child, the total would be £3,120,000. No doubt he makes allowance for the many necessitous mothers who have such a violent objection to the Poor Law that even extreme poverty cannot bring them to entrust their children to its official mercy. But still we think his estimate high. However high, it is merely the cost of three or four days of our infamous war on Russia.

So far as the law goes, not much alteration is wanted in this country. We suppose that ever since the Poor Law of Elizabeth, a destitute widow may receive a pension in the form of "Outdoor Relief." Certainly by the "Prohibitory Order" of 1844 she is made an exception from the rule that all relief must be given wholly within the workhouse. The clause making her an exception runs:

"Where such person shall be a widow, and have a legitimate child or legitimate children dependent upon her, and incapable of earning his, her, or their livelihood, and have no illegitimate child born after the commencement of her widowhood."

By law, therefore, a widow with children may receive a pension in the form of Out Relief according to the discretion of the Board of Guardians. And Boards of Guardians have sometimes displayed their discretion by granting weekly sums of money, usually to the amount per child of half a crown a week before the war, but now rising with prices. By a merciful provision recently inserted, the deserted mother was allowed to count as a widow within the terms of this clause, rigorous warnings, however, being added against possible collusion with the husband. But in issuing the list of exception, together with their Prohibitory Order in 1844, the Poor Law Commissioners added an Instructional Letter urging the Guardians "to exercise great circumspection in applying the exception of widows with children in practice." The Commissioners feared that weekly allowances would deter relations from contributing to support, might tend to increase improvidence, and even to reduce wages. Guardians have

laid these instructions only too carefully to heart. They have added the fear that the widow might drink the money given in relief, or might attract the "cupboard love" of some man, who would live at ease upon the children's bread. Accordingly, it is the custom to relieve the poverty-stricken widow of her children by taking them from her and sending them to the Workhouse Schools, usually known as Barrack Schools.

The children are then said to be "institutionally" dealt with, and the expression is exact. Of all forms of up-bringing, the institution, even at its very best, is probably the very worst. The complete separation of boys and girls; the herding together of children in large crowds; the absence of solitude, change, and holidays; the inevitable want of human affection; the warping regularity; the mechanical devices; the ignorance of common life—all combine into the very worst possible education for a child. After costing the country about £30 a year for many years, the child emerges at last in the condition thus described by one who for a long time examined the conditions in the best of the Workhouse Schools round London:

"It was as though he were passed through each of its scientific appliances in turn—the steam washing-machine, the centrifugal steam wringer, the hot-air drying horse, the patent mangle, the gas ovens, the heating pipes, the spray baths, the model bakery, and the central engine."

To have given that £30 a year to the boy's mother and let her bring him up—how sane and simple it sounds by comparison! In a letter upon this very subject (quoted in the *Daily News* of last Monday), Bernard Shaw, after saying he did not know why pensions should not be given to industrial widows and orphans as much as to war widows and orphans, or why, if a man may be compelled to kill, he should not also be compelled to work; or why the rich man who refuses to work is flattered and pampered; remarked in conclusion: "The longer I live, the more I am inclined to the belief that this sphere is used by other planets as a lunatic asylum."

We admit the difficulties. As the Poor Law Commissioners urged, the widow's pension might make her improvident or entice her to take less than standard wages. As the guardians often fear, it might tempt to drink or to "sexual irregularities." The same might be said of the pensions we grant to impoverished Cabinet Ministers. In all such cases we have to risk something. We cannot always be prying into the private conduct of widows or ministers, like emissaries of the Charity Organization Society. The question is whether we are to attempt our remedial measures on the assumption that most men and women are fairly decent people or on the assumption that they are criminally disposed and will sink into crime the moment they get the chance. Everything depends upon that decision. In the present state of the world there is much to be said for the second assumption, and the cynics are having a grand run for their money. But on the whole one may still believe it safe to build up our public life on the con-

fidence that most people are fairly decent, and that out of a hundred widows probably not more than five would drink the pension instead of spending it on their children. Or even if the percentage were ten, the result would be worth the risk if only the children of the remaining ninety could be saved from "Institutional Treatment" under the cruel mercies of the State.

One word more as to unmarried mothers. We have seen that Judge Neil's Law does not touch their case, chiefly because the mother as a rule has only one child to support. Under English law an illegitimate child is "filius nullius"—nobody's baby. It is doubtful whether legally it even belongs to the mother. But custom, by a graceful concession, has agreed that a child is the child of its mother, provided it is illegitimate. Otherwise, it has no parent but the father. The unmarried mother is therefore fortunate to the extent that she is supreme over her own child, and even legally (or at least by custom) it is her own. For support she has a claim on the "putative father," but, for one reason or another, that claim is very rarely enforced. It might justly be argued that, if she cannot maintain the child, she ought to receive the same assistance as a widow or deserted wife, so long at least as the illegitimate family does not increase. At all events, it is just that assistance should now be given to unmarried mothers who have served in our various women services during the war; and that it should be given on the same terms as to war widows. One remembers the hysterical excitement over "war babies" that swept through the country at the beginning of the war. All that gush is silent now. It died as hysterical excitement always dies. But girls who were induced to join our services during the war now sit as unmarried mothers in our workhouses, and theirs are "war babies," if any ever were.—From *The Nation* (English).

Stole for Child Wife

SAD TALE OF HUSBAND OF FIFTEEN

A MAN NAMED Harold Robinson was yesterday acquitted at the London Sessions on a charge of receiving four stolen bottles of whiskey.

Charles Edward Wright pleaded guilty to the theft.

Appearing for Wright, Mr. G. A. C. Keeves pleaded for leniency. The prisoner, he said, was only 15 years of age, and was married to a girl only a year older than himself. He had got her into trouble, and married her to save her honor. He stole the whiskey in order to obtain the necessaries of life for his child-wife.

The prisoner was bound over under the Probation Act to be on good behavior for two years.

DESPERATE BECAUSE SHE was not able to bring up her eight children, and on the verge of giving birth to the ninth, Mme. Sadoux, cultivator, living at Alby-sur-Cheiau, drowned herself.—*Petit Parisien*, July 17th.

Should We Have Birth Control?

From the Pittsburgh Dispatch

By MARY WARE DENNETT, *Director of Voluntary Parenthood League, 206 Broadway, New York*

REGULATION OF THE family birth rate is a basic necessity for the health and welfare of babies, mothers, the rest of the family and for the community. Having babies without regard to the earnings of the parents, their health environment or wishes, is as stupid, wasteful and disastrous as it would be for a farmer to sow his seed indiscriminately.

It would do mighty little good to preach to a farmer about fertilizing and cultivating a potato field after he had been unintelligent enough to plant his potatoes so close together that the plants had no room to grow. Likewise, it is equally futile for charitable folks to give to tenement-house mothers instructions in infant care, when they have been ignorant enough to have an annual baby for several years, and the family earnings are not enough to give even one baby a decent chance for life and health.

Of the adult males in Massachusetts 35 per cent. were earning during "war prosperity" less than \$20 a week. The proportion in many other States is similar. Can these fathers afford unlimited families? Can the country afford to have laws which keep them in ignorance as to how to regulate the birth rate? No possible future rise in wages will ever give an unlimited family adequate care.

Isn't it plain common sense to support the bill backed by the Voluntary Parenthood League, asking Congress to remove the penalty for circulating contraceptive knowledge?

By DR. HARVEY W. WILEY, M. D.

Director Bureau of Food Sanitation and Health, Good House-keeping, Washington, D. C.

IHAVE VERY DECIDED views on the question. They are of a distinctly negative character. The sole purpose that nature has for all living beings is perpetuation. There is no other function for which nature cares a farthing. Of necessity, any artificial birth control is to run counter to nature. For economic reasons, any campaign of this kind must, of necessity, prove a failure.

There is just one element of birth control which can ever prove of much advantage, namely, subsistence. If the food supply drops, or if the effort to obtain food, that is, to make a living, becomes more than human beings can accomplish, then there will be a natural restriction in the rate of birth. A Nation that stands still in population is simply preparing to go backward. The means of producing food, and that means all the necessities of life, are constantly increasing. Scientific agriculture is showing how, without increasing the area, to increase production.

Man has two hands and only one mouth. The capacity of the mouth is forever constant. It is the same now as it was 10,000 years ago, and it will be the same 10,000 years hence.

The hands are capable of almost indefinite education, and are thus able to constantly provide a larger amount of the necessities of life. Great men and great women do not always come from isolated and thinly settled communities. The struggle for existence which hard circumstances produce is what brings out the truly great and remarkable in human nature.

It may be hard on the millions to produce one genius, but it is nature's way. Moreover, in my opinion, the teaching of artificial birth control is highly immoral. It is certainly contrary to the status of the country, and I would not advise any propaganda which would tend to land the propagandist in jail. I am, as you may gather from the foregoing, decidedly opposed to any system of education respecting the prevention of children.

By MRS. CLARENCE RENSHAW

BIRTH CONTROL MEANS not the limitation of offspring, but the regulation of offspring. It demands that the size of the family be adapted to the family income and the health of the parents. It places its emphasis on quality rather than quantity; at the same time guaranteeing that quality means eventually the greater quantity.

"Should not the size of the family be ordered by Divine Providence?" asks the dogmatic objector. Since God made man in His own image and constituted him His Vicegerent on earth, the duty of intelligent family regulation necessarily devolves upon man. Man does not hesitate to exercise his trusteeship in the regulation of stock and crops. Why should he hesitate to apply his intellect to the far more important problem?

The children of overcrowded families, the offspring of unfit parents, make necessary orphan asylums, homes for feeble-minded, reformatories and juvenile courts. These institutions require and receive tremendous State appropriations; suppose this money could be used constructively! Probably it would be sufficient to offer a college education to every young person in our Commonwealth.

When voluntary parenthood is universal, when every baby is a welcome baby, we shall have progressed a long way in the science of right living.

By JOHN S. SUMNER

Secretary New York Society for the Suppression of Vice

SELF-CONTROL IS THE only sort of control that should be taught and taught without ceasing. Every evil or misfortune arises either directly or indirectly from lack of self-control. Birth control, as distinguished from birth prevention, will result from self-control. No one, exercising self-control will bring into the world undesired children. Lack of self-control is the source of this inhuman evil.

Character is built by overcoming difficulties—not by resort to easy methods. Artificial methods, advocated by promoters

of so-called "birth-control" spell birth prevention which means destruction of the home, the basis of social life. They have been the forerunner and will always precede lack of character, immorality, and race deterioration and destruction. Self-control signifies a world populated by happy peoples living in peace and comfort. Lack of it means chaos.

Children of today are crammed with superficial knowledge but have not the mental strength of their ancestors because "easy methods" have been introduced into the schools. What is true of intellectual training is true also of sexual training. There is no royal road to anything that is desirable. A few flutter through a worthless life without care and without character. The millions toil and by their toil serve the race and serve themselves. They toil for home and family—the ambition of every normal human being—what 2,000,000 of America's best manhood yearned for during recent months and years of privation abroad.

Convince women that it is their right to cheat in the matrimonial partnership. Convince men that it is their right to indulge without limit. Convince both that by artificial means all parental responsibility may be avoided—physical life in spiritual death.

By IRA S. WILE, M. D.

264 West Seventy-third Street, New York

THE QUESTION IS improperly stated. Birth control exists. The real question is, "Shall the facts relating to birth control be made available to all types in the community?"

This question involves voluntary parenthood, and a knowledge of the means whereby this may be secured and controlled. I believe all agitation for the reduction in the birth rate on the part of those unable to care for children adequately or among those for various reasons unfit to assume the responsibilities of parenthood, should be accompanied by a stimulation of interest in parenthood on the part of those able to bring up families and thoroughly fitted for this function. Birth release is as essential for the welfare of the community as a further reduction in the birth rate on the part of another section of the population.

If birth control carries with it the idea of more children for those fit for parenthood and capable of advancing the welfare of the race, it merits highest approval. If the movement for birth control concerns itself, in a negative way, merely with the prevention of conception, I believe its benefits, because of their negative character, will not have the most marked effect on future generations.

The idea is not to decimate the race through non-production, but to better the quality of the race through limited reproduction on the one hand, and increased reproduction on the other. Those who now have knowledge of birth control should not abuse their knowledge, while those who lack the necessary information should have an opportunity to secure it.

By GRACE R. PAGE

Secretary Illinois Birth Control League

YES, IT IS the necessary preliminary to any scheme of social betterment. We may multiply charitable agencies of all kinds and they may work all the time, but so long as the

families of the poor increase without limit it is like brushing back the sea with a broom. Families where the father's wages could support two children in comfort are utterly swamped by six or eight. The mother is overworked and cannot give the children the physical stamina they should have nor the care and attention which would tend to make them healthy and useful citizens. Thus the children, the parents and society suffer.

Our country leads the world in the number of mothers who are driven to fearful and desperate means of limiting their families. In Holland the Government has supported clinics for instructing people in contraceptive methods for the last 30 years. The birth rate has declined, but so has the death rate. Fewer children are born, but fewer die and the standards of health and comfort are very high. In England a society exists to give this information to married people. It is time the United States repealed the laws which make it a criminal offense to send such information through the mails and enlightened citizens realized their duty toward their less fortunate fellows.

News Notes

IN THE VILLAGE of Bois, Chataegrion, in the Commune of Cressat, a poor girl, Denice Berger, twenty-one years old, strangled the child she had borne, and buried it in the garden. Her mother was accused of complicity. The infanticide was made known and denounced . . . by the seducer.—*Le Bonhomme Limousin*, June 29th.

The father of eight children has been arrested at Thor (Buches du Rhone). He admitted having several times violated one of his daughters, aged fourteen.—*Le Radical de Marseilles*, 28-7-1919.

And M. Rossignol continues to pretend that the more children one has, the more virtuous one is.—*Neo Malthusien*.

Two young girls, pupils of the Public Aid, have been violated by their patrons, Marlot Joseph and Denis Jules, who used them scandalously.—*Reveil de la Marne*, 24-8-19.

And the repopulators say: If you have too many children, send them to the Public Aid!

In a cable to the *New York Times*, October 12th, Dr. Voronoff of the College de France has just discovered an elixir for the restoration of youth and the prolongation of life—of he-goats and men. So far his experiments have not succeeded with the female of the species. This discovery, coupled with Sir Rider Haggard's project for having all children, even those born out of wedlock, brought up either "directly or indirectly," whatever that may mean, by the state, leaves women quite free to bear children and to die at the usual age, with no recognition, not even a three-cent war medal, from anyone. Isn't it time for the mothers to organize?

Notes by An East Side Nurse

SEVERAL weeks ago I called to see a new obstetrical case.

The woman had been in this country about eight years. She had worked in a factory and gone to night school until her marriage, and she was pretty nearly a nervous wreck. Her great ideal seemed to be to be a real American. When I commented on a broken, much-abused toe of hers, she said, "I was trying to be a Yankee when I was green; and my shoes were too short."

"My husband is a salesman in a gents' furnishing. Twenty dollars a week he makes. Twenty dollars a week; and I gotta skimp and save to feed my two children milk and buy clothes and coal and pay rent. Now I gotta take it away from the two to feed a third. I want that my children should be well and strong and go to school. I don't want they should work in a factory. I want them to be educated. I want it so badly that I go almost crazy. When my second baby was born, I went to the doctor to ask what I should do. Every year a baby. He says: "Give up the married life. Leave your husband. A woman like you should not have any more children." Every week I went to the clinic with my headaches—all the time I worry. So the doctor sent me to a sanitarium, and I stayed four months. My headaches were better and I was lonesome for my children. I love my husband, but for my children I am responsible; they gotta have a chance. I tried living apart from my husband, but three rooms we got and I could not do it. I tried hot sitz baths; many times I was caught, and all the time I worry and worry, and my headaches. Oh, God, how it ached! Then the doctor sent me away again; this time I stayed a year. I have been home ten months and I gotta nother baby to feed and clothe. But for eight months I was happy, for I did not worry. What's the use? It was coming.

BUT LAST NIGHT I was like a crazy woman, thinking that for a week I could not care for my children. I could not save for this new baby. And while my husband sat in that chair and rocked after the baby was born, he talked already about the next baby. He don't worry that I can't buy more milk or shoes. He don't earn more money for each baby. I was like a crazy woman when I heard him talk. I don't know what I said. What should I do, Nurse? I know it is wrong to have more children than I can feed. What should I do? My husband won't give me the children so I can live separate, and without my babies I can't live. And I gotta live. More babies I can't have. Please tell me what to do.

Later that same day I met the doctor who said, "I recommended you on a case this morning Nurse, on Rivington Street. What did you think of her, Nurse? She is positively the awfulest woman I ever confined. Like a crazy woman she talks. I never seen anyone like her. I never wish anyone any bad luck but if she would have an abscess of the breast I would be glad. The way she talks is fierce. "I knew a woman what had an abscess on her breast," said the patient

who was everhearing all this talk, "and it cost her fifteen dollars."

"Don't you think, doctor, that that patient is in a terribly nervous state, and was all wrought up during her long drawn out labor pains? Don't you think it is wrong for her to have babies while she is in this state?"

"I was on many confinements where they had worse pains but never such a woman I've seen. I feel sorry for her husband, he is a nice man."

Men like him cannot understand anyone but a man.

Just what does our legislation say about Birth Control for such cases?

A PATHETIC WOMAN STOPPED a nurse on the street the other day and said, "Nurse, I want someone should come and see me. I want to talk with a nurse. Such trouble as I got." The nurse went home with her, she, with her husband and family of five children, the oldest eight years old, was living in three dark rooms.

"We just moved here," she said, "fourteen dollars a month I gotta pay rent here. Twelve dollars it cost me to move. I had to borrow the money. Mine husband, I just wish you could seen him, nurse. He is so tin, like noting. Skin and bones he is. He vorks on a wagon, to be outsides. Eighteen dollars a week he makes delivering bread. Ven he vas a tailor he made more moneys, but the doctor says he got to quit the business and be outsides.

"I don't know what I should do this confinement." Oh yes! It was quite evident there would be another mouth to feed very soon. "I ain't got no money to have a woman in the house, for the doctor I ain't got no money. Each confinement I got less, like I had before. Vat should I do, Nurse?"

"You say I should go to the hospital and you will send the children away for two weeks, so I can come home well and strong to care for mine baby! I would go crazy if I gotta lie in bed and see nobody tending to mine children."

"How much milk I buy for mine growing children? Eighteen dollar a week mine husband gets. One quart of milk I get every day. Coffee and bread I feed mine children. Skin and bones they are."

"How many more children I can feed on eighteen dollars a week? Vat should I do, Nurse? Long ago I know I got plenty. Unt ven I think this year another one, next year maybe again. Vat should I do? Vat should I do?"

THE PRICE OF SLUMS MILLION DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

SPEAKING AT BRIGHTON yesterday, Sir Kingsley Wood, of the Ministry of Health, said the nation today was paying for the country's evil slums and criminal overcrowding.

Let them think of the three million people living more than two in a room, of the million defective children in our schools, and of the Midland City possessing forty thousand back-to-back houses, where the death rate of children was half as much again as in ordinary dwelling houses.

Editor's Uneasy Chair

SENTENCED "WRAF" WOMEN APPEAL FOR RELEASE

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE has written to the Home Secretary asking for the immediate release of the W. R. A. F. clerk, Elsie Kathleen Smith, who was sentenced a few days ago at the Old Bailey to four months' imprisonment in the second division for attempting to smother her baby.

The evidence showed clearly, and the judge admitted its accuracy, that the girl was ill and hysterical when the child was born; she had been deserted by a Canadian officer; had been left to find her way into a Salvation Army Home, and her own people had refused to allow her to take the child home.

"It is entirely beyond our understanding," said the secretary of the League, "that the judge should be able to talk about the sacredness of infant life while at the same time be allowed the name of the Canadian officer to be suppressed. This Canadian officer should certainly have been in the dock with the girl."

Query—What will probably become of this child?

"WAACS" AS MOTHERS PAUPERIZED BY WAR OFFICE

WHEN THE HAMPSTEAD Board of Guardians met yesterday, Mrs. M. W. Nevinson moved that, owing to the number of girls (six since July) belonging to the Military Services—W. A. A. C. and W. R. A. F.—who have recently become chargeable to the parish of Hampstead for confinement, none of whom belong to the parish, the War Office be asked to provide lying-in accommodation for these young women, and that the question ought to be a national and not a parochial one.

Mrs. Nevinson said that the girls should not come under the Poor Law, and soldiers felt very strongly on the matter, and they considered such a procedure was a disgrace to the King's uniform. Apart from that, the charge should be on the army authorities. By nine votes to two the resolution was carried.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function. And as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope.

ROBERT INCERSOLL.

AN OCCUPATION

Translated for the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW from *L'oeuvre*
by G. De La Fouchardière

THERE ARE PHILANTHROPISTS who concern themselves with the results of the demobilization. They say: "What can the "poilus" do when they get home again?" You understand they are afraid that the former soldiers will be bored; they seek occupations for them, and they discover some that are admirable.

One of these philanthropists makes no bones about it; he goes right to the point. He says and writes: "Oh, very well, let the returned "poilus" occupy themselves with repopulation. Let them produce children on every side (sic). Thus our natality by its progression will counterbalance that of Germany, and later . . . !"

A charming prospect, and many thanks for those who shall come later! There is, however, something which must be said at once, although it is hazardous to say it. One runs a great risk of being accused of Malthusianism; and that leads to recrimination and accusations of defeatism.

Here is a story which contains a warning. I know a man high up in the industrial world who encourages repopulation among his employees: he distributes rewards to them progressively on the births in their family, and bases his calculation on the previous number of children.

One day wishing to taste the delights of the happiness he was creating, he conceived the idea of visiting one of the most interesting, that is to say, the most numerous family in its home; the father was the possessor of eleven premiums.

His hands laden with gifts, this philanthropist climbed the five flights and arrived at last in a dirty flat, which smelt of alcohol and tobacco. "But . . . where are your children?" said he with amazement, as he looked about him.

It was very simple: The oldest was in an institution for the deaf and dumb. The second had disappeared; it was supposed that, having had one of his epileptic attacks on the street, he had been taken off somewhere or other. There were two girls who had Potts' disease and were in plaster casts and three boys, who were being treated at various hospitals for abscesses and scrofula; three others were in the cemetery. As for the last baby, his mother had made such a festival of his birth and the accompanying premium that she had dropped him on the sidewalk and fractured his skull.

The philanthropist, learning these things, was indignant.

"You are a criminal," he said to his employee. "What! An alcoholic and a syphilitic like you to create these little unfortunates, who . . ."

"These people never know what they want," said the man to his wife when his employer had gone.

We must know what we want: whether it is an improvement in the quality, or an increase in the quantity, that is to say, industrial production by batches in order to line up a large force thirty years hence, when . . .

I regret to say that the second point of view is that of the sociologues and the philanthropists, who seek, so they say, the happiness of humanity.

The Greatest Problem of the Race—Its Own Preservation

THIS IS THE title of a book of 174 pages, "compiled, edited, and mostly written" by J. W. Jones, Superintendent of the State School for the Deaf, Columbus, Ohio.

It is dedicated to "higher ideals and purer living."

It may be obtained by sending your name and address to the Ohio Board of Administration, Columbus, Ohio, and enclosing fifteen cents to cover the cost of printing, binding, and postage.

Instead of reviewing this book, we will quote the introduction as it stands. It would be impossible to give a clearer outline of its purpose. It is a book which should be read by everyone, especially by those who believe that things are going on very well as they are.

To those who believe in conscious and voluntary parenthood versus instinctive and accidental breeding, every page will furnish additional argument; it is especially recommended to those who so far have not thought upon this subject at all.

INTRODUCTION

The State of Ohio expends approximately four millions of dollars annually for the maintenance of her State institutions. She pays out for lands, new buildings, equipment, repairs, and betterment on an average of at least one million more per annum.

If we could take into consideration, and reduce to figures the loss in time, private expense, trouble, and sorrow of the families immediately involved, this vast sum would be multiplied. If the private hospitals and sanatoriums, almshouses, county infirmaries, jails and workhouses, and private charitable institutions were all brought into accounting, many millions more would be added to this sum.

If the State of Ohio may be taken as a fair average among the civilized people of the world in the care and treatment of its so-called State, county township, and private wards, at least three dollars per capita is expended for everyone of the world's population; or, in other words, five billion dollars are expended annually for this purpose, a sum almost equal to the amount necessary for carrying on the great European war.

This war, which has shocked the world and horrified mankind with its destruction of the human race, is doing no more toward that end than the unnecessary inherited and self-inflicted diseases are doing.

In battle we have the slain, the wounded, the missing, and the captured. In the social struggle we have the same classification of injured people: the killed from unnecessary diseases; the wounded (deaf, blind, feeble-minded, insane, criminal); the captured (incipient cases of tuberculosis, temporary insane prisoners, drunkards); the missing (escaped criminals, deserters, tramps, footpads, and all those who are at liberty and a dangerous burden to society).

Those in charge of State institutions have a rare opportunity for investigating and studying the causes of this great

human waste. The results of their investigations have been set forth in annual reports for many years. These annual reports have been printed in limited numbers, and filed in the archives of the State and given out to any who may be interested enough to call for them. But the general public has never been made acquainted with the true conditions of its social fabric, simply because these reports have not been placed in the hands of the people in a form that invites reading.

The Ohio Board of Administration feels that its duty is only half done when it furnished custodial care and treatment to the State's wards. It owes a greater duty also, namely, the education of the people concerning the causes and prevention of deafness, blindness, feeble-mindedness, criminality, insanity, tuberculosis, intemperance, and general immorality. It believes that by better sanitation, purer living, and more careful mating that much of this human waste may be prevented.

The several stories set forth in this book are filled with information and instruction which the people ought to have. Ignorance is the bane of our national life. People do not wish to live on a low plane, or to bring weak and diseased children into the world. They do so only because they do not know what they do.

No parents want their child to be blind, but because they have not known the dangers attending childbirth, this great misfortune has come to them.

No one wants tuberculosis, but because of a want of understanding of the dangers of infection, this disease is unwittingly passed from mother to child, brother to sister, neighbor to neighbor, and stranger to stranger.

No one would be willing to marry into a family where disease is lurking, with the possibility of transmitting it to a probable offspring, but for the lack of education on this subject such marriages are being solemnized daily all over the world.

The various chapters in this book acquaint the people with these dangers.

The effort has been made by the superintendent to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as the knowledge has come to them in their wide experience in studying the various classes of people, and their diseases.

There is no commercial enterprise behind this publication. It is a mere matter of voluntary service to the people of Ohio on the part of those who have contributed to it. Prompted by the enormity of the unnecessary sin, immorality, self-abuse, and the untold expense of maintaining and caring for the products of these undesirable things, and with the hope of eradicating much of them, and aiding people to take a step forward in higher and better living, the Ohio Board of Administration endeavors to place this book in the hands of all of Ohio's citizens.

MARY KNOBLAUCH.

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, 1919, State of New York, County of New York, ss. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared MARY KNOBLAUCH, 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 (and if a daily paper, the circulation), 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, N. Y.

Editor—MARGARET H. SANGER, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor—MARY KNOBLAUCH, Wyo. Apts., 55th Street & 7th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Business Managers—NONE.

2. That the owners are: N. Y. Women's Publishing Co., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Jessie Ashley (Estate of), 102 E. 52nd St., New York, N. Y. Juliet Rublee, 1957 Biltmore Street, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Mary Knoblauch, 55th Street and 7th Avenue, New York, N. Y. Mrs. Frances B. Ackerman, Lawrence Park, Bronxville, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and 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 case where the stockholders or security holders 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.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is.....
(This information is required from daily publications only.)

MARY KNOBLAUCH, Man. Ed.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1919.

[SEAL]

J. G. KARPF, Notary Public

My commission expires March 30, 1921.

N. Y. County No. 30, N. Y. Register No. 187.

Birth Control Organizations

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

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

CONSTITUENT BODIES:

- ENGLAND (1877).—The Malthusian League. Secretary, Dr. Binnie Dunlop, 48 Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. Periodical, *The Malthusian*.
- HOLLAND (1885).—De Nieuw-Malthusiaansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. D Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *Het Gellukhig 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*.
- PORTUGAL.—E. Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*.
- BRAZIL (1905).—Seccion Brasilena de Propaganda. Secretaries, Manuel Moscoea, 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).—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.

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- BANGOR, ME.—Dr. P. E. Luca, 40 Central Street
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Dr. L. A. Young, 5152 Haverford Avenue.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—*Illinois Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. B. E. Page, 521 Longwood Ave., Glencoe, Ill.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO.—*Birth Control League of Ohio*. Mrs. A. W. Newman, 10601 Ashbury Avenue, secretary.
- DETROIT, MICH.—Mrs. Jessie A. Rene, 919 Brooklyn Avenue.
- 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.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*The Minneapolis Birth Control League*. Mrs. Helen C. Thomsen, 1208 Vincent Avenue, N., secretary.
- NEW YORK:
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr. Ira S. Wile, 230 W. 97th Street, chairman.
International Birth Control League. Dr. Wm. J. Robinson, President, 12 Mt. Morris Park West.
The National Birth Control League. 200 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Maxwell Hyde.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred. Mrs. Amos Pinchot, chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
Voluntary Parenthood League, 206 Broadway. Mary Ware Dennett, Director.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—*The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania*. Rita F. Stein, 924 Mellon St., Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary.
- PORTLAND, ORE.—*The Birth Control League of Portland*. Mrs. J. R. Oatman, 549 Fifth Street, 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.
- ST. PAUL, MINN.—*The Minnesota State Birth Control League*. Secretary, Mrs. Grace M. Keller, 230 Vernon Ave., St. Paul.
- 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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