Women and the Rail Strike
By Margaret Sanger

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By Harriet M. Dilla, M. D.

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Women and the Rail Strike

By Margaret Sanger

The most important thing about the April railroad strike to women is that it is not the last of the gigantic struggles, but only the beginning of a long series of them. Virtually every other organized trade in the country is in exactly the same position. There is and will be for some years to come a terrible battle between the employer and the employee. While these two are fighting it out and the employer is battling to get enough money to keep his family in comfort in the face of rising prices, there must of course be increasing industrial disorganization, and in the case of rail strikes, the period when millions of the people of the United States must lack for sufficient food, will be immensely hastened.

The rail strike brought the prospect of famine nearer than most of us realize. Other and greater rail strikes are coming. Moreover, it came very close to precipitating a financial panic that would have plunged the entire industrial fabric of the nation into chaos. For, as explained in this magazine some time ago, the financial position of the world is today "faked" and unsound.

All that we have undergone thus far is but a faint foretaste of the disorganization that is to come. It now appears that no power on earth can prevent the money panic of which everyone is talking and if this comes, no power on earth can prevent idleness, want and starvation. And these things the United States seems to have earned—they are coming to us and apparently we are going to get the full benefit of them within the next few years.

It is probable that we must all, in one degree or other, pay the penalty for our failure to meet our social problems as they developed. Nevertheless, the present mess is a man made muddle. It was created by man's brains—and by some thing else. That something else was our unchecked breeding capacity.

Life has become so cheap in the United States that it is not worth one man's while to give a thought to another man's health or general well being. This is particularly true of the exploiter of labor and the profiteer. And this is not the man's fault but ours. We have not made children scarce enough—we have not made them valuable enough.

This is the beginning of a great day of reckoning. Matters have gotten so bad that they must get worse and we must learn our lessons before we can make them better. But it is for women to make them better and to make eternally sure that this state of affairs will not occur again.

Labor's weakness has been its numbers, pitted one against another in competition for jobs. The exploiter's weakness is that he does not understand that he and the profiteer cannot continue their course forever without labor striking back.

The great numbers of children we have brought into the world have made this situation possible. It is now our duty to begin to undo the evil we have done. We must make children scarce and valuable—too valuable to be mistreated, overworked, or starved. We must refuse to bring more children into the world until it is made safe for them—until they are no longer exposed to the danger of want, are no longer turned teacherless away from schools, are no longer oppressed. When we do that, there will be no more such periods as we are now going through and must go through for some years.

Meanwhile, no woman with the feelings of a true mother will bring a child into being at a time like this. There is no assurance that any child born now can have the care and the food to which a child is entitled. There is no assurance that it can be properly educated. The woman who comprehends the situation will wait five years before giving birth to another. She owes it to her children, herself, her husband and to society.

To New York Mothers

Greater New York lacks 2,200 school teachers. Substitute teachers, raw girls who as yet need experience and should be allowed to handle a given class but a few days at a time, are teaching 40,000 children. One week in the month of March, in addition to these inadequately taught children, 50,000 children were sent home for lack of teachers and 140,000 were compelled to go to school only half time. Still worse, many children, when they did go to school, were taught not even by substitute teachers, but by members of their own classes.

In the words of the New York Tribune, "New York's public school system is breaking down. It is incapable of carrying its load!" Not only that, but successive annual reports have shown that virtually 80 per cent of the school children of
New York City are suffering from hunger or malnutrition in some other form.

A belated effort was made by the General Assembly to provide money enough to restore the schools to something like efficiency, but it will be years before more children can be accommodated and given such teaching as they should receive. Nothing at all is being done to feed the hungry child.

The Plain Truth about the matter is that New York State and New York City are not caring properly for the children that are now alive. No preparation has been made by either city or state to guard the educational welfare of your babies. If the state and the city should turn over a new leaf tomorrow, and do their best, they could not catch up with the job of giving your children decent treatment.

This looks hopeless if you go on leaving the task of regulating the birth rate and caring for the children in the hands of men who have made such a dismal and brutal failure of the job. It is not hopeless if you take it into your own hands.

All you need to do is to stop bearing children until you are sure that your babies will receive proper treatment from the city and the state. The same men who have permitted your children to go hungry to school and to be turned out into the street or taught by underpaid and unqualified girls, are demanding more and more children from you. When you stop the supply and tell them to make New York City a fit place for a child to live and be educated, they will get to work to make New York City just what you demand.

Bear no more children until New York gives decent treatment to those you have already borne.

Mrs. Sanger to England

Margaret Sanger sailed on April 24 for England, where she is to deliver a series of lectures on Birth Control. These lectures have been arranged by the leaders of the Neo-Malthusian movement in Great Britain and will embrace audiences of all classes and conditions of society. Special interest will attach to addresses before bodies of organized labor and women whose husbands are unionists. While abroad, Mrs Sanger hopes to find time to visit Holland and France for further contact with the Birth Control activities in those countries. She expects to return to America in the latter part of the summer, when a number of new plans for the movement in America will be put into effect.

With the June issue of The Birth Control Review, Mrs Mary Knoblauch, again becomes the Acting Editor in Chief of the magazine for the period of Mrs Sanger's absence.

Mrs Sanger was called to England at the close of the most active month in the history of the Birth Control movement. During that month she spoke almost daily, often twice a day. The last address was at a luncheon tendered her at the Colony Club in New York City by her associates. At which funds were raised for The Birth Control Review. Four days were spent in Cleveland, Ohio, where eight meetings were held, beginning with an address before the Woman's City Club and ending with an address before an audience in one of the churches. Small meetings in private houses were held almost daily during the month.

FINNISH TAPER FOR BIRTH CONTROL

The Vapaaetus (The Road to Freedom), a Finnish monthly magazine of this city edited by Milo WALLA, is publishing in the May issue an article in favor of Birth Control. The appearance of such an article in this paper is merely another proof of the international character of the Birth Control movement.

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND BIRTH CONTROL

When women's clubs were first formed in the country, embroidery and cooking, church and charity affairs, Browning and Tennison were the accepted topics of conversation. Today these same women's clubs are awake to an interest in the fundamental social and economic problems of our time.

An indication of this change in attitude was the success of a series of eight lectures on Birth Control that Mrs Sanger delivered last month before the various women's clubs of Cleveland. Crowded audiences greeted each lecture and the request was made that Mrs Sanger tour the state during the fall. Nothing could indicate more clearly than this open espousal of Birth Control the progress women's clubs have made in the past fifty years.
Charity Workers and Birth Control

By Dr. Harrzet M. Dalla (Wells College)

The following article, by Dr. Harrzet M. Dalla of Wells College, is a summary of one of the first investigations of the attitude of institutional heads and charity organization secretaries toward Birth Control. Dr. Dalla found that the three chief reasons for the silence of these social service workers upon the subject were indifference, misunderstanding, and timidity.

RECENTLY A NUMBER of communications were addressed to representative leaders in social welfare work, requesting an informal expression of opinion upon Birth Control, as sponsored by the Birth Control Leagues of America. Among the persons addressed were Secretaries of State Boards of Charities, Superintendents of State Schools for Dependent or Delinquent Children, Superintendents of larger Orphanages, and General Secretaries of Charity Organization Societies.

When the replies were received, it was found that in every case of failure to favor Birth Control, there had been failure to know and understand the purpose and method of the movement. That is, to say, those who did not express favorable opinions were those who, according to their own words, had not studied the subject, or those who, as their comments will prove, had misunderstood it. As ignorance or misunderstanding may prove obstructive factors in the minds of other representative authorities, I believe it will be well worth while to consider several replies and to add such comment as may tend to present other cases of indifference or misunderstanding.

The Superintendent of a State School for Delinquent Girls replied that he “did not feel competent to speak, for the reason that he had not given the subject careful consideration.” He continued, “Since I have been engaged in this work, my time and thought have been so fully occupied that I have not gone into the subject of Birth Control as I should wish to do, before expressing an opinion on the subject.” This officer had occupied his position for over eight years, and in that space had not found time to investigate a matter which related directly and vitally to the work of his institution! Had the superintendent been truly interested not only in remedial, but in preventive and constructive social measures, would not the period of eight years have afforded him opportunity of giving the matter careful consideration?

Is ignorance of the subject adequate defense?

The SUPERINTENDENT OF an old and excellently administered orphanage wrote that he “found the letter difficult to answer, as the subject is a large one, and is some thing that a layman could not be expected to know much about, unless he gave it much study.” He believed, however, that “knowledge of contraceptive methods would be a blessing in some cases.” The question arises at once, is a superintendent of a large city orphanage for thirty years a “layman” in the field of social welfare, especially as it relates to child life? If our experienced social workers modestly disclaim authority and responsibility in the several fields of specialized preparation, to whom shall we look for guidance in information? For thirty years this superintendent had looked with indifference upon such proposed measures of prevention as might, so far as he knew, prove the constructive solution of the kind of tragedies which he so constantly saw around him. Another victim of the mechanical routine of remedy!

Those were instances of indifference and failure to consider the purpose and meaning of the movement. Let us turn now to several typical cases of misunderstanding. The Secretary of a State Board of Charities and Corrections declared that he favored not more, but less, legislation regulating personal details, for he felt that law making bodies had already gone too far in the policy of dictating personal conduct which ought to be left to the individual. His view is precisely that of the friends of Birth Control and Voluntary Motherhood, and did he not know this! They, too, believe that there is too arbitrary a regulation by law of matters relating to, and best decided by, individual circumstances in the light of science and science. Doubtless the secretary would agree, then, with those who are seeking to bring about the repeal or amendment of Section 211 of the Federal Penal Code.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF an old and excellently administered orphanage replied with a long and cordial letter in which he supposed he was giving reasons for disagreeing from the principles of Birth Control. In the first place, the gentleman gave as his view, one of the clearest possible statements of the aims of the movement which he thought to oppose. This is what he said:

“My position is this, that each particular case should be dealt with by the physician in charge. In the case of the very poor, Visiting Nurses should act with the consent of a physician. Thus, in a quiet and reverent manner, practically all evils resulting from a woman’s bearing too many children, or bearing them at too short intervals, could be avoided.”

This is a perfect statement of the position of Leagues for the Birth Control and Voluntary Motherhood. But does not the superintendent know that his recommendations are illegal, criminally illegal, so long as the Federal Penal Code remains unchanged? The immediate aim of these organizations is to amend Section 311 as to permit the very policy of professional, confidential and scientific information or treatment which the gentleman suggested.

I am under the impression from what he said, that the gentleman understood the Birth Control movement to sponsor promiscuity of information. If there are others who enter the same erroneous impression, let us clear up the matter at once. The purpose is to permit the confidential and professional giving of scientific information in specific cases.
where unfortunate circumstances of the individual family justify limitation of number The procedure would be con
dential, professional, scientific and individual.

We have discovered two obstructions among social work
ers—to indifference and misunderstanding There is apparently a
third, and for the want of a more satisfactory term, we shall call it timidity As a social worker, myself, and as a friend and colleague of many now engaged in the various fields of social service, I hesitate to term the deterrent force sub
serviency or bad faith, though it has seemed impossible at
tunes to draw the line.

HERE IS THE reply of a rare and splendid man, the gen
eral secretary of a large and excellent Associated Char
ities Organization He has had a wealth of experience and
observation, gained from direct contact with the problems about which other people read Is it not legitimate to turn to such as he for expert judgment and advice? But he holds expres
sions of all opinion, through deference to his
subscribers and beneficiaries He states his point of view and I shall quote his words.

"With regard to your inquiry, I must advise you that so long as I am identified in an executive capacity with a repre
sentative organization, I cannot publicly express my per
sonal opinions, whatever they may be, because when opinions are expressed, they become the word of the organization rather than the individual Our organization not only serves the entrire public, but has the entire public for its constituency Our constituents are intense on both sides of all questions, therefore no one may have the right to use that vehicle for the propagation of his personal views." He then quoted from another social service leader, and adopted the views as his
own, saying, "If a movement is right, it will grow, it will prevail, regardless of what you do or do not do, whereas if you take the stand to which you are personally inclined, you will alienate a large group of supporters and the bene
ficiaries of your organization will suffer accordingly You have no right to cause them that suffering."

DOUBTFUL THIS CONDITION of mind and conscience obtains in many other reputable charity organizations, and wishing not to be arbitrary in my comments, I am going to submit to you a series of brief questions which may help in the evaluation of the reasoning of the general secretary. May I state them as follows.

(1) Is a Charity Organization Society a proper agency to which to apply for advice upon social welfare projects? If not, what organization is?

(2) If so, should it be prepared to express its expert opinion for the guidance and enlightenment of public opinion?

(3) In deciding upon an issue, which should predominate, the immediate demands which are often relatively remedial in character, or the ultimate results which would bring present sacrifice in some respects for future benefits?

(4) Is it fair to the subscribers of welfare organizations or of any organization, to accept and disburse their contributions without investigating a possible change and improve
ment of policy, which might render their support of greater and more constructive benefit? Does the executive of a business corporation refuse to consider and recommend improvements of policy?

(5) Do you honestly agree with the view which disclaims for social workers all responsibility in securing preventive and constructive reforms? Is it really true that reforms are effected automatically, without the intervention of persons engaged in "affected interests."

(6) Granting that you answer all of the above questions favor of the view of the General Secretary, just where will you go for expert information upon social questions, and to whom will you apply for the final view? Or is it true that the subject of prevention of social distress does not con
cern the public, the subscribers to private charities, and the taxpayers to public relief?

AT THE PRESENT time, my conviction is this, we must ask of our reputable Charities and Corrections that they assume some degree of initiative and responsibility in in
vestigating such measures as are urged by scientific and sociological authorities. If we allow them to disclaim all authority and responsibility, to whom shall we turn for leadership and decision? Indifference, misuderstanding and timidity are no longer defenses Rather, are they not serious charges?

In closing I am going to quote a letter expressing the senti
ments of many others, which was written by a leader in reformatory work for girls, whose experience and standing in this country justify the title she enjoys, "mother of cor
rective work for girls." After almost a half century of careful thought and honest effort, she expressed herself as follows.

"The letter that reached me yesterday relating to the sub
ject of Birth Control has interested me greatly A few days ago at our National Conference and in many other gatherings, we have had considerable discussion upon the subject, and we could see that if rightly carried out, it was a movement of great economic and social value.

"Within the last few hours I received a young girl into the intitution who was one of thirteen children, eleven of whom were living and in delicate health. It appeared that want of care was the cause of her delinquency, and this is true over all of this state as well as other states.

"How is it possible for any woman, the wife of a poor man, to bear a child every year and at the same time to take proper care of the family, either as to health or morals? In a few years the mother is worn out with child-bearing, dies, and leaves a family to be looked after by the father, who so often fails in his mission. Charitable and Correctional Insti
tutions have to take the unfortunate children. Here it is frequently found that the children are defective in body or mind, and this condition can generally be traced to the over
doing of the mother in so frequent child births.

"We have many girls in this school who are motherless For this very reason, I will hail with the greatest joy the day
when it becomes possible for the number of children in poor homes to be regulated, so all may be decently cared for, and the mother live to rear her family.

The longer I remain in this work (the correction of girls), the more firmly convinced I become that THE WRONG THAT IS BEING COMMITTED DOES NOT CONSIST IN GIVING INFORMATION, BUT IN WITHHOLDING IT. The world is allowed to become peopled with incompetents and unfor tunates of many classes, when this condition could be prevented by the use of judgment and reason."

What Would You Do?

If you were already using less food than you really like to use, and if prices were mounting (as they are mounting daily), and you learned that next week prices would be higher and it would be hard to get as much food as you are now getting for any price, what would you do?

Invite company? Hardly.
You would be more likely to postpone your invitations until better tunes, wouldn't you?
You would want to assure your guest of plenty to eat and do so without having to beg the food, wouldn't you?

If this is true of a guest that you would invite for a short time, it is just as true and a thousand times more important that you exercise similar forethought in regard to bearing children who will be with you for years.

If you don't believe that you are going to have a harder tune to get plenty of food next year, don't take the word of a Birth Control advocate for it. Read these dispatches, published in the newspapers of April 19.

Washington, April 18—Indications of a worldwide shortage of wheat this year and a worldwide increase in demand, was reported today by the American Agricultural Trade Commission at London who said bread was selling in England at what was generally considered the highest price the workingman would tolerate without grave disorders.

There is little to be expected from Russia in the way of wheat exports and Europe must turn to the United States, Australia, Canada, and the Argentine.

"Washington, April 18—Alarming reports of decreased food production due to scarcity of farm labor have been made by Congressmen Senator Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina who is just back from a trip through the South predicts that the country will soon be face to face with the most serious food famine in history. Similar reports have been made by Senator Capper of Kansas and Senators from other great food producing states.

The world, short of food, is looking to the United States. The United States is short of food and is going to face "the most serious famine in its history." The world is not going to be able to support even as many people as it is now supporting and millions have already died in Europe from a famine that is growing worse each day. "Famine" means want among those who have money and those who have not.

In the face of these facts, what will the commonsense woman do? Will she go on bringing children into a hungry world? Or will she refrain from having children until she knows that there will be food enough—that there is no danger of famine. The question before American women is will you bear children to go hungry, or will you practice and encourage Birth Control until conditions are settled? What will you do?

To Margaret Sanger

By Kepler Hoyt

Friend of humanity, on thy heart lies that forced maternity which evermore hath been the fruitful source of woman's woes. Thine ears are smitten by the bitter cry of youth to whom their due heredity—environment—are ruthlessly denied.

By thy clear mind is seen the world's first need—A birth rate that shall breed no poverty, no ignorance or vice, disease or war.

Thou martyr of today—tomorrow's pride,—
What thy sad eyes have been, thy spirit brave gives strength to thy frail body to attack thine is the voice that, trumpet toned, demands emancipated motherhood, and cries time's new evangel for the human race.

No calumnies, no threats, no prison-cells
Can e'er abate thy consecrated zeal
Or set a bound to freedom's fresh crusade.

Woman of God, commissioned from on high
to banish the worst bondage of the years,
The very church and state which have ordained
that slavery shall know in thee
A statesmanship they had not known before
but—better than all public credit given—
The mother's gratitude, the children's joy.
In countless homes thy gospel doth protect.
Shall ever be love's sweetest recompense

Is there not an excessive modesty without warrant in philosophy or nature, dwindling us in this country, drying us to the visera? Is there not a decay—a deliberate, strange abnegation and dread of sane sexuality, of maternity and patriotism among us, and in our literary ideals and social types of men and women? The great lesson of Nature, I take it, is that a sane sexuality must be preserved at all hazards.

—John Burroughs.

Two properly educated children are a far greater good to our nation than a host of neglected little mites and an over worked and nervous mother. —The Malnusian
Eugenics and the Social Problem

By Henry Bergen, Ph D

(Continued)

IT IS ALSO probable that a certain selective influence must be exercised by substances of differing chemical composition on the constituent materials of the germ plasm, for if the reproductive cells contain, as no doubt they do, specific organ building substances for specific organs, and if these substances or their particular sort of metabolism stand in close physical or chemical relation to the materials or metabolism of the somatic cells which are subsequently built up on them, it is quite comprehensible that certain toxins which would appear by preference to attack particular cells of the body may also have a specific injurious effect on the rudimentary constituents of those cells.

IN THE OPINION of the present writer, it is possible that the toxins especially concerned in germinal deterioration will be found rather among the endogenous poisons that are produced by the body itself as a result of organic disturbances leading to deranged function and diseased metabolism than among the more acute pathological processes with which they stand in reciprocal relation as a rule of a chronic nature, at least one of the preconditions of germinal injury, namely their long continuance in the body fluids, is fulfilled by them.

The effects of germinal deterioration on the developing or mature soma are expressed in functional weaknesses, which may occur apparently in any organ or tissue or group of homologous cells, and are as a rule, although not always, unattended by coincident structural (histological or anatomical) changes. According to the testimony of pathologists who have given their attention to this question, the rudimentary constituents of the nerve cells are most liable to injury, and therefore the central nervous system suffers most, and although it is quite true that we have long been in the habit of connecting nervous disorders with degeneration, there is no reason to believe that any particular group of determinants is immune to injury. Moreover, as the result of any organic weakness apt to lead to the production of endogenous toxins which circulate in the body fluids, and, as many endogenous toxins are nerve poisons and act directly upon the central nervous system and the sympathetic ganglia by which the organs are controlled, and since in the processes of normal metabolism specific organs secrete substance—the intermediate product of metabolism—which are intimately connected with the activity of other organs, it follows that the disturbance to the function of one organ may injuriously affect the tissues of another or several other organs, giving rise to new functional disturbances and setting free fresh toxic products in the system, for it is the tendency of all organic disease processes to move in vicious circles.

III THE BIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMINAL DETERIORATION

THE IMPORTANCE OF the functional weaknesses which result from injuries to the germ plasm lies not only in their immediate effects on the health and physical and mental capacity of the individual, but also in their influence as predisposing factors of disease. The functionally defective tissue or group of cells is characterized by a lack of vitality and powers of resistance to external causes of injury which may range all the way from a weakness so slight that it may never become apparent, to defects so great that the mere exercise of function is sufficient to cause a permanent breakdown. In his Pathogenic Innerer Krankheiten, Professor F. Martius includes among functional weaknesses of germinal origin disturbances of the circulatory system conditioned by a constitutionally defective heart or by the vasomotor nerves, degeneration of the walls of the arteries (rupt. disposition to arteriosclerosis) and of the blood forming tissues and other cells which stand in reciprocal relation with the blood, various disturbances of the respiratory system which predispose to bronchial asthma, hay fever and other inflammatory processes, certain forms of genuine contracted kidney and nephritis, many disturbances of metabolism, including diabetes, obesity, and gout, the majority of weaknesses which predispose to disease processes due to the action of microorganisms (tuberculosis), and most functional diseases of the nervous system, including all the so called endogenous psychoses—mania, melancholia, manic depressive insanity, chronic and acute, and so-called moral insanity.

NOW IN ALL cases of germinal injury the body must first be in a diseased condition, and probably chronically diseased, before the injury can take place. Diseases are, according to the theory developed by Martius, a result of the action of two factors, which may act either singly or in combination—the constitution, which each individual brings into the world with him and some external cause of injury, the meeting factor, projected upon him as a hostile incident from the environment. It sometimes happens that the constitution, that is to say, the tissues and organs of the body taken collectively, is so weak or defective in one or another particular, that the mere exercise of natural function is enough in itself to produce a diseased state, as happens, for example, in physiological albuminuria, genuine diabetes, certain psycho neurotic conditions (neurasthenia, hysteria), and near sightedness. In such cases it is considered that defective germ plasm
In certain cases the causes of germinal defects are identical with the causes of disease, in other words, they are either primarily or secondarily, immediately or proximately the effects of injurious influences of the environment. In the earlier history of the race germinal deterioration was unques-
tionably much rarer than it is at the present time. There were then, no doubt, as there still are, rudimentary constituents, which at times must have bordered on the pathological, for no sharp line can be drawn in theory between an extreme minus variation and a slight modification due to external injury. And it is probable that as the bearers of extreme minus variations were on the average less well adapted to the conditions of life of their day and more sus-
sceptible to the attacks of microorganisms, the tendency was towards their elimination. At the present time it is probable that stocks in which all the different sets of homologous rudimentary constituents of the germ plasm are in a perfect state of health, so to speak, are rare, that in the great majority of cases organic diseases are caused, as Professor Martius has said, by the double action of the constitution and the environ-
ment, and that in all such cases where disease processes de-
velop on the basis of a pre-existing germinal defect, a vicious circle is involved. The disease results in part from an existing genetic weakness and may in turn be a cause of further genetic weaknesses. We are, however, unfortunately unable for lack of adequate data to determine the relative importance of defective germ plasm and inciting environmental factors in the causation of disease at the present time. Although there is no doubt as to the injurious nature of the various exogenous poisons concerned, the virulence of pathogenic microorganisms, the effects of mechanical injuries, especially considered in their relation to traumatic neuroses, "shell shock," etc., the blighting influence on the offspring of maternal ill health, malnutrition and industrial labor during pregnancy, and the cumulative effects of a succession of slight injuries in combina-
tion with chronic exhaustion with its accompanying endogenous toxins leading to a final breakdown of the powers of resistance of the individual, nevertheless we are seldom in a position except in palpable cases of unsound parentage to know even roughly to what extent or even whether the constitution of the patient was already defective before the external injury took place. And this is especially true of intrauterine dis-
turbances, in which both constitution and environment are involved in a peculiarly complex manner.

Thus in actual life we meet with people of all degrees of constitutional strength, whose reactions to external injury present extraordinary differences, and so there is a constant interplay of factors, the constitution on the one hand, the environment on the other, and the more vicious the environ-
ment and the more susceptible the constitution to Injury, the worse it is, not only for the individual, but also if he has off-
spring for the health of the race.

IV THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMINAL DETERIORATION

As we have seen, the effect of injurious conditions of the environment is to can, physical deterioration, to diminish the constitutional strength of the individual, to weaken his powers of resistance to disease and therefore in certain cases to lead to modifications of the germ plasm and degenera-
tion, for a person whose vitality is lowered, strong as he may originally have been, readily becomes a victim of a chronic...
disease process under the stress of unfavorable conditions of life and employment.

Although the meeting factors of disease may be roughly divided into two groups according to whether they arise from conditions of employment or of home life, it must be borne in mind that they are as a rule not only very closely related and in many instances practically identical, but equally apt to supplement one another. In the first group we may include among the most common, mechanical (dust, results of accident), toxic (industrial) poisons and thermal sources of injury, dampness, exposure to the weather, to infective diseases (tuberculosis), and the nature of the employment, especially when it is productive of nervous exhaustion and overstrain, which must also be especially considered in their effects on women and children. Among the second group are insanitary dwellings, overcrowding, bad air, lack of sunlight, exposure to infection, want of sleep, malnutrition and malnutrition, and inadequate clothing. It is no less obvious that chronic exhaustion and its accompanying lowered vital tone are generally a result not of one but of a combination of several of the above influences, than that a reasonable amount of hard physical labor and exposure to the weather may have only a beneficial effect on the individual, provided his constitution, naturally strong, has not already been weakened. For example, the exhaustion of employment may not only be due to the direct expenditure of muscular and nervous force necessitated by the actual performance of work, but it may be and usually is the cumulative effect of physical and nervous strain combined on the one hand with injurious toxic and thermic influences, bad air and the like of the place of employment, and on the other with malnutrition, insanitary conditions of the home, vicious living and lack of rest. Some years ago Dr. Walter Claassen, in an admirable series of articles published in the *Archiv für Rassen und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, pointed out how the nervous exhaustion of employment (it self often due to a complex of causes) leads to a general state of nervous excitement and irritability which commonly incites to alcoholism, drug habits and sexual excesses, which in turn increase the risk of contracting venereal disease and also react on the family by direct infection or by reducing its purchasing power to secure a proper and sufficient supply of the necessities of life, often submerging it below the poverty line and thereby arousing a spirit of hopelessness recklessness and indifference to the future and to the symptoms of disease, accompanied by slovenliness in housekeeping and in the care of children and the preparation of food by the wises. Children born in such surroundings are handicapped from the beginning even if they are genetically sound the chances are great that, owing to the condition of their mothers' health during pregnancy, their intra uterine life will be such as to expose them to arrests of development, morphological defects and organic weaknesses, which, if they are fortunate enough to survive infancy, will handicap them throughout their lives and perhaps ultimately lead to degeneration, as happens in thousands of cases.

Now it is plain that to such injurious conditions of the social environment as are outlined above the poor rather than the well to do are exposed, for it is the poor who are compelled by their poverty to live and labor under those unnatural and insanitary conditions of existence to which no organism can be expected to adapt itself. It is social misery, fundamentally a result of the poverty of the mass of the people, which increases both the predisposition to disease and the exposure to disease. The lower we descend in the social scale, the greater we find the wretchedness of home life, the greater the risk of injury caused by the conditions of employment, and the smaller the opportunity of recovery from such injuries. The well to do enjoy much more freedom of choice of occupation, their homes are usually sanitary and commodious, their food adequate, and although many of them suffer in full measure from alcoholic poisoning, venereal disease, excessive nutrition, anxiety, nervous strain and overexhaustion, due sometimes to the struggle for wealth and position and even for economic existence, but more often to irregular habits fastened on them by the vicious customs which always arise where there are great inequalities of wealth, nevertheless there is no doubt that, as all statistical investigations show, as a class they are sounder, physically and genetically, than the poor. The practical problems of eugenics are therefore more intimately connected with the working class and especially the industrial proletariat than with the upper classes. In the first place, the working class, which is dependent on a daily or weekly wage for its livelihood, is usually computed at rather more than three quarters of the population in industrial nations, and in the second place the incidence both of disease and degeneration is relatively higher among the poor than among the well to do. Not only does the fault lie in their environment, but the economic struggle for existence among them is of such a character that the losers, instead of being killed outright and quietly buried are maimed and forced down deeper into the mire of poverty with all its attendant handicaps on health, and the winners, even if they succeed in passing through the ordeal of life unscathed, gain no greater advantage, except for a negligible emergent percentage, some of whom on occasion even ascend to the ranks of the nouveau riche, than that of being compelled to continue to live on as wage earners in much the same sort of an environment as that in which they began their lives. This environment, if we exclude the agricultural laborers, who have their own troubles, is rarely "natural", that is to say, it is not an environment of wood and meadow, with broad sweeps of river and sky and unlimited fresh air and sunshine, but a capitalist and landlord made environment of unduty, illventilated, and overcrowded homes in the vicious moral atmosphere of sordid, grisy streets, cut off often not only from the rays of the sun but even from the fresh air, an environment of chimney stacks, smoke, dust, microbes, poisonous vapors and insistent, clattering machinery, in which it is as impossible for a strong and healthy race of men to develop as it is for a healthy race of fish to live in the sewer polluted waters of New York Bay. For it is an environment...
In such conditions, which, as we know, are widespread in all industrial nations, competition in the form of the economic struggle for existence (from which these very conditions themselves arise), is nothing more than a cause of degeneration. Those found fit to succeed and survive are in general far from being either physically or intellectually the finest specimens of the race, and frequently happens that their descendants are inferior to themselves to a degree unknown by Galton’s rule of “fitter” selection. Even now in our great cities it is claimed by imagistative biologists that we can see the forerunners of a race of undersized, early aging, physically and genetically inferior men, in whom cunning is on a fair way to displace intellect and whose moral instinct and emotional life are hardly more human than those of the higher animals. This of course is purely fanciful, races are not created out of disease, and even the worst specimens of humanity that populate the slums and parks of our great cities are nothing more than mere wrecks of humanity whose offspring are doomed to extinction.

It is here that the problem of eugenics merges into the social problem. The weakness of professed eugensists is mainly due to their being as a rule, and apart from their special knowledge, average members of the well to do classes, and that consequently they suffer in full measure from the mental and moral disabilities which their upbringings and education have imposed upon them. Their outlook on life, like that of their class—and, indeed, of all classes as such—is narrow, their acquaintance with social problems is invalidated by social prejudice, their economics the “laissez aller” of the “individualist” of the last century. Nor can it be doubted that an inadequate knowledge of the theory of natural selection in its full implications as applied to the human race in its modern industrial environment has had a disastrous effect on their practical suggestions. More than sixty years ago it was shown by Charles Darwin that the development of all living species is part a result of the tendency towards survival of certain genetic characters which are favorable to a successful life in a given environment, and the elimination of the germ plasm which does not possess them in their potential form or is weakened by qualities which are unfavorable to life in the same environment. The presumption is that through the agency of natural selection, i.e., the wear and tear of life, the tendency is for the relatively less numerous offspring of the bearers of inferior genetic qualities to disappear and to be supplanted by the relatively more numerous offspring of the “fitter.” The mortality of the less well adapted is greater than that of the better adapted. Fertility goes hand in hand with fitness. We shall not enter here into a discussion of the adequacy of the Darwinian theory in its bearing on the question of the origin of species, a question with which we are concerned here hot at all, for it is undoubtedly correct in the main in its explanation of the manner in which the biological status quo, so to speak, of any stock is maintained. In the earlier days of the human race and down through milleniums of robust primitive life and a long succession of barbarous civilizations much the same conditions prevailed. The tendency was always for the weaker to be eliminated by barbarous violence or by the attacks of parasites and for the stronger to survive and possess themselves of the most attractive women and reproduce themselves lavishly. It is not probable that there was very much chronic organic disease of the sort that causes genetic injury, and it is certain that the strong were the last to suffer from such diseases. And this state of affairs although constantly modified nevertheless persisted in a greater or lesser measure until the beginning of the industrial system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it was at the end of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century, when machinery first came into use on a large scale and the industrial employment of children became general, that the health of the people took a more rapid downward turn. It was hard on the poor law children, for it is said that they were worked to exhaustion and often whipped and sometimes drenched in cold water to keep them awake, but it was harder on the race. And there is no better evidence that contras selective influences are at work than the fact that ever since the second quarter of the nineteenth century not only has there been a decrease in the expectancy of life of the older age classes, which means that men do not live to be as old now as they did in 1849, but hand in hand with a decrease in the mortality and morbidity of those acute infectious diseases which we have reason to believe formerly played such an important role in genetic development by eliminating the defective, there has been a rapidly growing increase in the incidence of and death rate from constitutional organic diseases, especially diseases of the circulatory and nervous systems, diseases of metabolism and the two great chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and syphilis, all of which are maladies of a type most likely to be a proximate cause of injury to the germ plasm, and, with the exception of syphilis, most apt to develop on the basis of transmitted organic weaknesses. Although this tendency to deterioraton of the germ plasm has been rendered more striking, in part by the excessively high birth rate among the working class through industrial employment of the greater part of the nineteenth century (for wage earning children are economic assets), as well as by the progress of medicine, as a result of which severe acute and chronic diseases have been practically eliminated and the lives of thousands of constitutionally defective individuals who in earlier times would have died in infancy are prolonged to maturity, nevertheless the fact remains that, as practically all social biologists are agreed, the white race is degenerating, and that the process of degeneration has undoubtedly been hastened by the contrary selective tendencies of the great war.

V EUGENIC REMEDIES

Since it appears to be certain that germinal deterioration is in general, due to the action of toxins which circulate in the body fluids as a result of deranged function and diseased metabolism (and perhaps also of direct exogenous poisoning and bacterial action), in other words, of chronic
disease processes, and since disease is in turn either the out
come of the direct action of the environment or of the recipro
cal action of the constitution and the environment, and some
times of an organic breakdown as a proximate effect of the
action of the environment, it follows that the mere positive
and repressive eugenic methods of race improvement, which
would limit the birth rate of the constitutionally unsound and
encourage the birthrate of the robust, are wholly made
quate to create a healthy race and preserve it in health, so long
as the most potent source of racial injury, namely, our present
environment of social and economic institutions, remains un
changed. Eugenists have never ventured to hope that the
birth rate of more than a fraction even of the conspicuously
defective can be restricted, and consequently, in view of the
fact that fresh injuries are constantly being inflicted on the
germ plasm as effects of the contra selective influence of the
struggle for existence in modern industrial life, to the deter
ment of the race, which is evidently unable to adapt itself
to its social environment, the simple elimination of a larger or
smaller proportion of the unfit, however expedient in itself,
can produce no tangible results. Nor is it possible to accom
plish very much at the present time by attempts to stimulate
the fertility of the sound.

The Failing of Eugenists, who look to specifically eugenic
action for positive results, is that they have made the fatal
mistake of attributing too much importance to the influence of heredity on the race and too little to the influence of the environment. Their reasons for doing this, although at first
seem comprehensible enough, are nevertheless based on a mis
understanding of known facts. We know that once the indivi
dual has made his appearance in the world, the influence of his heredity, that is, the characters transmitted to him by
his parents, may be—assuming that there have been no prenatal
disturbances—not only five times as great as that of his environ
ment, as Professor Karl Pearson believes, but five hundred
times as great, so great indeed as to be wholly incommensur
able with the influence of the environment. For if a child
is born with a certain transmitted weakness, let us say of the
cells of the cerebral cortex, it would be as impossible to prevent his turning out neurotic as it would be to turn short sighted
blue eyes into far sighted brown ones. So far as the poten
tiality of our physical and mental characters go, we remain
throughout our lives bound to the limits of the germinal
rudimentary constituents from which we develop. If given
the best of nurture, our natures will arrive at their full develop
ment, but no man's nature can transcend its own inherent
potentialities. The environment cannot add one mich to his
physical or mental statue (although it may subtract several
inches both figuratively and literally speaking—even to the
point of his destruction), and if he is born with serious transmuted organic defects, no environment on earth can re
pair those defects, for they are nothing else than the outward
and visible signs of injuries suffered long before his birth
by the germ plasm of his stock, and these injuries suffered
by his stock are all due in last instance to the action of the

environment. As it is not the individual, who is no more
than a flower on a tree, but the stock, as represented by the
germ plasm, from which all individuals develop, that is of
importance to the race, we are driven to the conclusion that
it is not heredity, which so far as we know is nothing more
than a physico-chemical mechanism of growth by reproduc
tion, whose tendency is towards uniformity of action, with unit
characters normally varying within comparatively small limits
in "true lines," but the environment that is the determining
factor in the welfare of the race. There is moreover but
little advantage in attempting to determine the specific natures of influence of heredity and environment, each has one value for
the individual and another for the race. The individual,
so far as he is unspoiled by the environment, is mainly what
heredity has made him, the stock is no less a degree the
product of its environment and as the physical environment is
today of less importance to us both as individuals and as a
people than our environment of human institutions, there must
necessarily be a continuous transmutation of complex inter
acting forces, environmental and genetic, so that it is on the
whole impossible in any given case to determine precisely,
where one set of forces begins and the other ends.

To what extent the process of germinal deterioration
has progressed in industrial nations, it is impossible to
say in the absence of all adequate investigation. The statistic
n of mortality and morbidity simply show that it is increasing
and permit only of rough estimates, which so far no one has
taken the trouble to make. The commission which reported
on physical deterioration in England some years ago found
of course abundant evidence of individual defectiveness and
ill health, but were not disposed to believe that there was
very much actual degeneration. This opinion, however, was
in part a consequence of the failure of the members of the com
mission to realize how close the connection is between
degeneration and constitutional disease.

We should naturally expect to find the incidence of germinal
defects greater in certain groups of the working class popula
tion than in others, depending upon the nature of the employ
ment and surroundings, and this has been abundantly demon
strated by the pre war German statistics of military fitness.
On the whole, the agricultural and coastwise (not seaport)
population ought to be more sound than the urban, and this
is so, although the difference is less apparent than it would
be if there were not a continuous migration of young men
and women from the country to the manufacturing districts,
accompanied by a thin backwash of worn out carcasses to the
country. A family that moves from countryside to town
generally goes under about as rapidly as a family that, while
continuing in its original neighborhood, finds itself engulfed
by the growth of a near by metropolis, as often happens in
America.

Thus although we are confronted with a deplorable
lack of accurate knowledge in regard to what is the most
vital of all questions affecting the human race, namely, its
health, and are quite unable to obtain more than a very rough
idea of the conditions prevailing, genetically speaking, in any
nation, there is of course no doubt that in theory eugenists are perforce right in their general suggestions of both repress
save and positive remedies, and that the prevention of the
conception of the defective by Birth Control, already signifi-
cant today, will in the course of time become the most im-
portant of all selective agencies. If our knowledge, especially
the knowledge of the general practicioner, who has had no
special training in the subject of heredity, is not sufficient to
permit us to do more than guess the possible results of the
average mating, all of us at any rate know that there is
parental mental deficiency, epilepsy, marked psycho neurotic
tendencies, tuberculosis, syphilis or serious constitutional dis-
 ease of any sort, or where defective children have already been
born, there is but slight hope for sound offspring.

The positive eugenic proposal of encouraging fertile mar-
riages among the constitutionally sound is also good so far
as it can go at the present time, for it is evident that under the
social conditions prevailing in western nations it will not
do for us to be over sanguine of its going very far. So long
as the production of the world, and consequently the material
basis of life, is controlled for the benefit of a fraction of the
population by comparatively small groups of individuals, who,
no less indifferent to the welfare of the race than ignorant of
the most elementary facts of pathology, not to speak of genetics,
and intent only on the pillage of nature and the exploitation
of machinery and men, compete with one another for profits,
production will continue to be held down to the lowest level
consistent with a bare existence for the mass of the people
as a result of the low purchasing power of the average man,
who must in turn compete with his fellows for the privilege
of earning a livelihood,—and so long as nations are governed
not in the interest of the many but for the purely material
advantage of the few, who have monopolized the means of
production, we cannot hope for race improvement. In these
conditions' peace is no less a catastrophe than war. We are
dismayed by the enormous damage caused to the race by the
recent world conflict, which as everyone knows was an inevit-
able result of the competitive capitalist system, its killing off
and running of hundreds of thousands of young men, its ac
companying rise in the incidence of venereal disease and tuber-
culosus, but we blind ourselves to the daily tragedy of ordinary
life.

Unfortunately eugenists are impelled by their
education and their associations and by the unconscious
but no less potent influence of the material and social interests
of their class to look upon our present environment of political
and economic institutions with its accompanying features of
insanitary homes and injurious conditions of employment, in
sufficient and improper food, inadequate clothing, squalor, dirt,
disease, vicious pleasures and wasted lives of so many of the
people as a constant factor, which not only cannot be changed
but ought not to be changed. As long as the eugenists are ap-
parently still laboring under the delusion that the biological
struggle for existence in an environment to which human
beings cannot adapt themselves, is equivalent to and as
beneficent in its effects as the struggle for existence among
animals, ensuring the survival of the finest physical, intel-
nlectual and moral types, it is not to be expected that they
should advocate any reform that would interfere with the pres-
tent social and economic structure of society.

Equalizing the distribution of wealth. Valuable work is being
done by some of them in the struggle against alcoholic poison-
ing, which at the present time can only be won by pitting
the Interests of a more powerful set of capitalists against a
weaker set, and venereal disease and tuberculosis, but not one
of them, so far as I am aware, has suggested the substitution,
let us say, of cooperation for competition, or the extension of
the governments of the western world over the material basis
of life in the equal interest of all the people, or even the exten-
sion of democracy from its present inadequate geographical
basis to the proper representation of vocational, avocational
and other group interests, including the interest of the con-
sumer. (To be concluded)

One Way To Run
By W. W. Corwin Robson

"The centipede was quite happy,
Until the toad went fun,
And pray, which leg goes after which,
She lay distracted in a ditch,
Considering how to run.

We must watch out—us. I mean, about to be "happy
quite" over the approaching suffrage victory. For all
the "toads" won't say it in fun, some of them, and I suppose
many of them, will say with malice and with intent and
pray, which leg goes after which?"

You have all seen the inertia that follows the planting
of a doubt. The confusion that a single remark or an innocent
question can produce.

I don't want to see the newly enfranchised women of this
country sidetracked. I don't want to see the "toads" have any
fun—playful or otherwise. I think a great many hundreds
of women of this country know what they want and I want to
see them get it. Dozens of us admit every day that without
physical freedom our political freedom is meaningless. So I
would like to send a shout that would reach clear across this
country to every newly enfranchised woman—"Don't listen
to the toads!" We are going to be—in fact, we already are—listen-
ing to demands, entreaties, suggestions and hopes, that we will
"run" this way or that. And we are in a fair way of becom-
ing like the centipede, in doubt perhaps, as to which leg goes
after which."

The man who told us in one of our daily papers not long
ago "you will never reach real success until you do not care
a rap whether you reach it or not" is dead wrong to my notion.
The suffragists didn't win their victory that way and Birth
Control advocates will not win their point that way. We've

1 Comp the interesting lecture by Sidney Webb printed in the Supple-
ment to "The New Commonwealth," Nov. 14, 1919
got to care so much for success as WOMEN that we won't care how many raps we get in reaching that success, reach it we will, Shelley says, "a man (and why not a woman, I insert) must unagine intensely and comprehensively, he must put himself in the place of another, and many others, the pains and pleasures of his species must become him own. A great instrument of moral good is the imagination."

And I reecho that we have got to care intensely for and imagine intelligently what REAL FREEDOM for women is. Then there won't be any 'toad' on earth that can divert us with doubts disguised as suggestions and entreaties as to which way we ought to run and how.

A WOMAN'S PARTY HAS been proposed by a member of the National Advisory Council of the already existing National Woman's Party, that radical wing of the suffrage organization who by their picketing and hunger striking kept suffrage in the public eye during the hysterical war period. Here is a group who took all the "raps that came their way cleverly and cheerfully. The Suffrage of February, 1920, contains an account by Charlotte Perkins Gilman of the proposed Woman's Party which it is suggested shall be organized as soon as women are enfranchised. Mrs. Gilman says: "A Woman's Party—offering no rivalry, no opposition as a party, but serving as a strong, steady, upward influence in politics. It would be well indeed for our country if the Woman's Party were to grow strong in every state, to offer a minimum program to all its members which they could further through any existing party, and then to use its (the Woman's Party) funds to develop by careful investigation such further steps in social advancement as seem wise and feasible. As an organized body of women using their power in urging one measure after another upon existing parties and backing their demands with a larger and growing number of votes, they can achieve in the present and push toward a better future. It is of the most vital importance in our country today for the masses of discontented citizens to realize that the remedies are in their own hands with existing tools."

To my mind a WOMAN'S PARTY with voluntary motherhood as the first measure in a "minimum program" could point clearly and definitely the way many women want to "run". We could line up then for a victory of real freedom. So here is a plea to every woman who believes in physical freedom as she believes in political freedom to ask repeatedly and to demand persistently that any WOMAN'S PARTY organized any time, any place, anywhere shall first, last and always sponsor—VOLUNTARILY MOTHERHOOD. All present organizations of women have it within their power at this moment to draft resolutions favoring such a measure as the first to be adopted by any WOMAN'S PARTY formed. Send these resolutions to the leaders of the National Suffrage organizations and follow them with letters demanding that such a resolution be presented on the floor of any convention called to consider the formation of a WOMAN'S PARTY. "ASK REPEATEDLY AND DEMAND PERSISTENTLY" and the "toads" can be as busy as they wish—they cannot head us off.

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Birth Control and A Bugaboo

By Ella K. Dearborn, M.D.

NO NATION HAS ever died, or will die from race suicide, even though every man and woman were given sufficient knowledge to regulate the size of the family according to wishes and income.

What is best for the family is best for the nation, and the way to have a strong nation is to have strong families, not numerically, but individually.

If out of a hundred children born, 50 per cent die, or are degenerates, the nation gains but the normal 50, and the others are an economic loss to both state and family, for it costs more to keep an ailing baby alive than it does to raise a normal child, so it behooves parents to beget 100 per cent children.

What would you think of the intelligence of the man that bought twenty cows, when he had food and shelter for only ten? The humane society would see that his cows were fed, and would compel him to dispose of all that he could not care for properly—but then! Cows cost money, and there are thousands and thousands of babies to be given away, and thousands more are left to die through neglect.

Being born, the individual has the right to demand for himself or herself, health, happiness and a fair share of the good things of life, a good home, education, social refinement and all that goes to make a good citizen.

There are many cases where it is an absolute crime for a couple to bring children into the world, even though they love children, and welcome them at birth. There is no escape from the curse of syphilis, epilepsy and drunkenness in the parents, nor does the curse end with the first generation—"even to the thud and fourth generation" are words of truth.

The use of contraceptives, or even abortion, are small crimes in comparison.

MUCH HAS BEEN said and written about the injury to the mother resulting from voluntary abortion. When a woman has been seriously ill from this, it is because she has taken drugs, or endeavored to operate on herself, for the method used by physicians and surgeons that do that work, is curative for inflammation, flexions, and some other troubles, and cannot injure the woman in any case, if she is properly cared for, as after child birth, or curative operations.

Abortion, however, must not be confused with Birth Control, which employs contraceptives and thus does away with the demand for abortion. —Edmar.
The woman has the first right to decide whether or not she will bear a child

Her own health, the health of her husband, the number of children she now has, finance, heredity, environment, and future outlook should all be considered.

If a woman doesn't want children, she sm's against them, and herself, to thrust life upon them. She may be a noble and useful woman to the world, and should have the privilege of shaping her life to suit herself.

Most of the inmates of old people's homes have raised families, and though they may be proud of prosperous sons and daughters, nearly all are disappointed in their children, and many regret having had any family at all. After all their hard work and sacrifice, they must spend their last years in an institution, possibly charitable, at that.

On the other hand, there are parents that are leachers on their children, sending them out to work as soon as they are able to earn a dollar, the parents taking life easy as soon as two or three are earning.

Parentage should mean more than the mere animal function of reproduction. If it doesn't, the lower animals deserve more honor than mankind.

Much has been written about women that shirk motherhood for society, or fear of pam, and other frivolous reasons. As a physician of thirty years general practice, I have never known such a case.

Every woman, or almost every woman, hopes to have a home and family—she holds that sweet hope to her heart from girlhood days, and if time and husband have not brought hope's fulfillment, she feels a secret grief, even though she hides it with a smile.

The women of today would like large families, if they were assured of a worth while husband to father them, and a fair chance for the children in the busy world.

I know unmarried women that regret that they cannot earn enough to keep up a home, and care for six or seven adopted children. Oh, no! Mother love isn't growing less in women's hearts, but they are demanding quality, not quantity in families. They are studying eugenics, economics, and national laws and asking justice for themselves, and for their children.

Then, too, they realize that the men of today are too often deserters, leaving a family of children to be cared for by wife and mother weakened by frequent child bearing, or the entire family thrown upon charity.

In Chicago in 1905, 939 men deserted their families, and of this number 891 had from one to seven children. Where the deserting man was found, he preferred going to jail to supporting his family, even when work was given him.

Every city in the United States shows the same conditions, and women knowing this, are right to think several times, and size up the men very carefully, before presenting their husbands with even one child.

In 1907 there were 10,000 husbands fully supported by their wives, and 10,000 more where women helped support the family, and yet New York has denied the ballot to women.

In the face of all this (and every state reports the same proportion of lazy husbands) the world asks the women of every nation to give them more babies!

The men, as individuals, do not want children, for they demand some of the wife's attention. The men want wage earning bed fellows, and when the growing family takes too much of the wife's time and strength, the man walks away, leaving the woman to get along the best she can. No! The women haven't time to vote. Shame on you! You Eastern States.

But supposing both man and woman are physically fit to be parents? Thanks be! There are many such, and they raise as large a family as their condition in life justifies. They have the right to decide those matters for themselves.

Yes, teach Birth Control, the individual has the right to first choice.

Better no children than degenerates.

We are in no danger of race suicide.

Stop howling at the women, and prod the men into a cleaner and more honorable manhood.

The women always carry the heavier burdens of life—these could be made much lighter, if men took their own share.

The nation calls for babies, women call for justice.

The French Population Problem

By Genevieve Grandcourt

(Concluded)

When the fighting was over at the battle of Austerlitz and a portion of the enemy army was retreating across the frozen lake, Napoleon came galloping up at the head of his column and wanted to know what the deuce was the matter with his generals, anyhow what were they wasting time over why didn't they engulf those men why didn't they fire on the ice?

There was some minutes of fumbling and hesitation as to the best means by which to carry out the order, but finally it was decided to lift howitzers to such a position that heavy projectiles could be shot down in an almost perpendicular direction. This done, in less time than it takes to tell the story, perhaps, hosts of Russians and Austrians (so many thousands of them that Emerson in a foot note to his essay on Napoleon hesitates to quote the high figure) were drowned.

Then Napoleon returned to Paris and told Madame de Stael that in his opinion that woman was the greatest who bore the largest number of children.
But we needn't go back so far

In the decades immediately preceding the war just over, a German girl of twenty or thereabouts stood a chance of soon being called an old maid. She must get married with the least possible delay, and begin having her children without reference to anything but the national military policy. If she could bear seven sons in succession, she would be rewarded by the Emperor's sponsorship for the seventh. But not if a daughter came in between. That would not do at all. She must see that that didn't happen. Then, finding after a time that not enough male children were being brought into the world for "cannon fodder," the Kaiser graciously consented to relent—somewhat even if a girl were born among the seven sons. It might be overlooked if it didn't happen too often. That is to say, if seven sons were squeezed into the family sooner or later, the Emperor would still be godfather to the seventh, precisely as if the latter had been a little more considerate in timing his arrival.

So it came to pass that when the German army invaded Belgium and the northern France, the general effect was of nothing so much as the swarming of ants. The grey green uniform which in certain lights made its wearer semi invisible, was everywhere.

SOMEHOW OR OTHER the new European world, at least, had come to believe France of the opinion that civilizations founded upon aggression are doomed. Early in 1915, a Spaniard in the United States and South America, told his impressions throughout the United States and South America, that every time he went there, the sentiment was the same. "What difference does it make," people remarked, "whether it is Germany on the one hand, or Russia or England on the other? Let them exterminate one another, and good riddance to the world." But—no! There is France! Where France is, we are. France must not perish. She alone of the old world powers has thrown down kings, and shorn of her superstitious pride of light over darkness—of the spirit over the flesh.

We cannot wonder this was the conviction of those who remembered what Bourbon and Bonaparte had cost France in reputation and in blood, in territory and in treasure.

Military engagements once lasting hours, or at the most a day or two, where now they endure for weeks, the loss at Austerlitz alone is worth attention. Sloan tells us, "The French had 7,000 men killed and wounded in the long and dreadful stand at the Goldbach and about 5,000 elsewhere. The Emperor thought it a small price to pay for the hegemony of Europe." Echo might well answer, hegemony of Europe.

Guérard says, "after Jena, it was necessary to call in everyone, and even to levy 80,000 men who should not have been drafted until the following year. In 1808, 160,000 men were called one and two years ahead of time."

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The Buth Control Review

As we are dealing with much larger figures in the evolution of killing in the twentieth century, that only 3,000,000 Frenchmen ventured their lives from 1800 to 1815, is somewhat surprising. Of this number, 1,750,000 died of "wounds, disease, fatigue and exposure." But we breathe a deep sigh, and say, "Is that all?" We can do almost as well as that, nowadays, in a little over a quarter of the time.

M. Louis Marm published last November, statistics to show the French losses from 1914-1918 "in all branches of the service". The losses, established and given out officially the previous June, was 1,354,400 in killed. Since the armistice, 600 officers and 28,000 privates, under treatment in hospitals, have died as the result of wounds or disease. The losses in the French land forces, as reported June 1, 1919, have risen to 1,383,000, but the death of only 1,122,400 is definitely known, the balance, 260,600, being unaccounted for. The final report of losses (dead and unaccounted for) represents 16.44 per cent of the mobilized war effective of 8,410,000 men (195,000 French officers, 7,740,000 French privates, 260,000 territorials from Northern Africa, and 215,000 colonial troops).

Since the beginning of the war, 4,193,981 wounded and 4,988,213 sick have been admitted to hospitals. Many men were admitted several times. M. Marm estimates the number of wounded officers and privates at 2,800,000.

The total losses of the French land forces are, therefore, 1,383,000 killed (dead or unaccounted for) and 2,800,000 wounded, half of whom were wounded more than once. Of the 1,383,000 killed, 36,800 were officers. The number of French prisoners captured during the war is 485,400.

The final report of losses in the French navy covers 10,515, of whom 5,521 are known to have died, while 4,994 were unaccounted for.

What about the preparations for all this slaughter—what its immediate effect upon mothers, and hence upon the next generation?

Living for a time in the Paris Latin Quarter, I got to know well one of the thousands of women employed in the manufacture of munitions. Two days after getting news of the death of her husband in battle, she was delivered of a child. The doctor (an old man, the young doctors had largely been mobilized) staggered down the rickety stairs to my apartment after a second session of nearly sixteen hours.

"Another French soldier born," he announced, grumly, "It wouldn't be a bad idea for you to run up at daylight again to relieve that nurse a bit. And if a way can be found to keep that poor mother from going back to work before she is able to stand, it will be better yet."

No one could do that. In barely a week, she was off, taking the baby with her. It is inconceivable that children born under these and parallel conditions, can develop a measure of efficiency capable of offsetting, in its effect upon society, the cost to mothers and the consequent subtraction from the strength of children yet to be born of them. This woman told me of cases worse than her own. I dare not repeat, for...
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fear of being suspected of exaggeration, the ghastly number of hours which she said were consumed in getting only the shoulders of one baby into the world. It passes belief that human beings can be so nearly tom to pieces and live—to say nothing of going back to work after what was a miraculous short interval.

And it has been observed that the sons of women are brave.

In the First article of this series, mention was made of the obstacles placed by French law in the way of the legalization of marriage. To these obstacles might well be added the conditions of military service.

Bertillon says, "The military laws inflict upon large families the most atrocious miseries. The family which makes the heaviest of sacrifices to bring up five children, pays five times the price in blood paid by the family with only one child. If a young man has the misfortune to be a father before the age for military training, his children are doomed to the most awful wretchedness while he lies at the barracks. The case is not rare. Young soldiers pressed by necessity have actually been known to arrive at headquarters with their babies, and say, 'Si vous voulez que je serve, n'oussites les!' ("If you want me to serve, feed them")

With war ever before his eyes, it is not probable that by the hundreds of thousands, the young Frenchman has hesitated to take steps that might eventuate in leaving a young woman the sole care of fatherless children, or, what would seem even worse from his point of view, perhaps, rendering her the slave of a husband permanently disabled.

The abnormal increase of marriages and consequently of births which in the course of history, has always followed the termination of a war, gives a hint as to the extent to which these events must accordingly have been postponed.

Also, and aside from the burdensome system of property inheritance, taxation, there is the eternal peace and war levy. Incident to the upkeep of an army. A Consular Report tells us, "There is a poll tax, a rent tax, a dog tax, a land tax, a vehicle tax, a door and window tax, an octroi tax, besides all kinds of customs duties on food," etc., etc. And recently there has been talk of still more milking the helpless public.

The discouraging aspect of the government's agitation against scientific Birth Control (especially after its signal success in Holland) is that it demonstrates how little prone men are to learn from experience.

When militarism was rampant in the age of Louis XIV, the situation as to the French birthrate was exactly the reverse of what it is today. In his Depopulation de la France (page 260), Bertillon refers to this fact, saymg, indeed, that then it was undesirable that the number of children born should suffer any increase. "The unhappiness of that period," he adds, was the high mortality.

Precisely.

And it is the unhappiness of every land where the birth rate is high, as witness China and the hygienic, by virtue of her efficiency in hygiene, somewhat exalted normal consequences of reckless breeding, but could not have continued to do so mdefinitely. And the faint stir rings of revolt at conditions had a share in convincing the Kaiser and his minions, in 1914, that if war were to take place at all, it had best not be too long delayed. German women were beginning to have fewer children, they, like the French women, were beginning to ask why.

Have we quite forgotten speeches made by German leaders, and published in our own newspapers a few years ago, speeches and articles to the effect that "Germany must either extend her political boundaries, or strangle her infants at birth?" I have before me a statement of the reasons assigned for this point of view, namely, "the fact that the annual increase of population in Germany nearly equals the combined increases of four big nations, the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, while the food producing capacity of Germany is far less than half that of the four nations named. For eighty days of the year, Germans depend upon imported food. If it were practicable for them to emigrate in sufficient numbers to avoid war, it would also be practicable for the Italians to leave the danger zone of Mt. Vesuvius to avoid destruction." In the face of these facts, of which certainly the higher officials of France cannot be unaware, let us contemplate the existing situation in that country, as summed up a few weeks ago in an editorial in the New York Globe.

"Instead of reducing the army to its 1914 footing of approximately 800000 men it is now proposed to continue the three-year training period and maintain a force of about 1000000. What this means to a population of less than 40,000,000 people, which has lost nearly three million men killed or crippled and has incurred a debt of which the interest alone amounts to at least twice the total prewar government income, had best he left to the imagination. The expectations of a huge indemnity from Germany are apparently doomed to grievous disappointment. Whether the government can remain—or become—solvent with this military burden, or whether the nation can endure this subtraction from production in the amount of its most efficient workmen is doubtful, or, rather, is all too certainly to be decided the negative."

Of course, we all make, and should make, excuses for France. We know what she has suffered, and share in America, perhaps in a higher measure than she fully appears, her resentment at ruthless invasion and her suspicion of, as it were, the death bed repentance of her enemy. But the question which the recent German revolution has put upon Hohenzollersm and all that it stands for, should go far toward reassurmg the French that the German people have awakened from their dream, even as France awakened when she leveled the Bastille.

In consulting various authorities on the French decline in population, I cannot find that divorce enters into the question. Most writers do not even refer to it. One alludes to the fact that it is easier to be divorced than married in France, and says its effect upon the population is negative. Another points out that one of the kingdoms which made up the former German empire, showed the highest proportion of divorces in Europe—and a relatively unimpaired birth rate. This is understandable, since in the overwhelming majority of cases, it is the wife who applies for the relief, and usually only
after her marriage has for some time been nominal. Marriage lasts longer among the poor than among the well to do, not because the one class is more virtuous or the other more vicious, but because the women of the people, and sometimes indeed, the men of the people, as well, have, or think they have, no alternative to the endurance of whatever suffering may be their portion through mismanaging, suffering too often reflected in children who recruit the ranks of incompetents and criminals.

In conclusion we wish to say, at the risk of being wearisome, that Birth Control is designed, not to lessen responsibility but to increase it. In the course of events, it must operate to decrease the population only through the elimination of the unfit. For it cannot be too strongly emphasized that one reason for the decline in a healthy birth rate is that, in the past, so many children have been born who should never have been conceived—either for their own sakes or for the safety of society.

Thus, it is the men and not the women of France who are responsible for the present regrettable decline in the birth rate. They are responsible through unwise laws, through lack of attention to hygiene, through war, through an insufficient understanding of the serious woman's attitude, and consequent disregard for the role womanhood should play in the governance of society and the uplift of the race. In proportion as French women with their recognized intelligence and energy have been instrumental in depopulating their country of nervous wrecks, the progeny of marriages too long delayed, of the diseased and of the unfit, not only France, but—in view of growing intermarriage among nations—the world at large, owes them gratitude.

To the great work of lessening the sum of human misery by giving future generations a progressively better inheritance through medically supervised Birth Control, may the women of all the world ultimately contribute.

**Book Reviews**

**The Swing of the Pendulum,** by Adriana Spadom Publishers, New York

In *Jean Norm* Miss Spadom has created a lovable and admirable woman. But she has done more than this; she has exploded the old masculine fear that the modern woman would be a creature without charm or femininity. Many books have been written on Feminism—most of them by men—but this is the first Feminist novel, and it is significant that a woman, through a woman of her own creating, gives Me and vigor to the dead theorizing of men on the subject.

The book is fascinating reading. Frank Harris has said that women hate the truth as the devil hates holy water, but Jeane faces the truth. She sees that her love and Gregory's, the thing clean and big like the open, external as the earth, is an "affair,"—a love without legal bonds—lust as Hemingway's was for Kitten. And it is the same *Jean* who, modern though she is, and freed from the old hypocrases for women, feels women immortal longing for a child of her own. Thus is the true unpleasure at motherhood—a desire for a child as the full fulfillment of the love a woman bears for a man. Jeane recognizes this as "her very own job." It is here the man whose courage fails at the test, who misses the biggest thing in life through his distrust of what Shaw called "the life force;" the true mating instinct.

The Swing of the Pendulum shows too what true freedom will give to women—work for its own sake, sane companionships with other women, comradeship in love. It is a remarkable book. There is life to every character in it, and not women only will find it interesting, but each man who loves a woman—and that is every man.

**LET'S FACE THE RESPONSIBILITY**

Whetham says, Hitherto the development of our race has been unconscious and we have been allowed no responsibility for its right course. Now, in the fullness of time, we are treated as children no more, and the conscious efficiency of the human race is given into our hands. Let us put away childish things, stand up with open eyes and face our responsibility—William E. Kellogg in "Social Aspects".

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Of The Birth Control Review, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1920

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**COUNTY OF NEW YORK**

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Margaret H. Sanger, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Editor of The Birth Control Review and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the said publication for the date shown above in the caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 434, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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