Does that include me, Gov. Miller?
### BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

**IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

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

**HOLLAND** (1805)—De Nieuwe Malthusannen Bond, Secretary, Dr. J. Ruigter, 9 Verhulststraat Den Haag. Periodical, Het Geldelijk Huwgezin.

**GERMANY** (1809)—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Herr M. Hausmeister, Stuttgart Periodical, Die Soziale Harmonie.


**SPAIN** (1904)—Luis España de la Regeneración Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bolfi Calle Provenza, 177 Pral la, Barcelona. Periodical, Sal y Fieraz.

**BELGIUM** (1906)—Ligue Neo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courretzels.


**NEW YORK**—Grace Anderson, 7th St., London.

**SWITZERLAND**—H. H. Malthusian League, Loa Grandjean.

**MALTUSIAN LEAGUE**—Mrs. A. E. Dale, 518 Mexico, D. F.

### CALENDAR OF EVENTS

#### FEBRUARY 2nd

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

#### FEBRUARY 3rd

A dinner was given in honor of Mrs. Sanger at the Bellevue Stratford in Philadelphia. Prof. Patton of the University of Pennsylvania emphasized the necessity for Birth Control. He was followed by Mrs. Sanger who gave a very inspiring and convincing appeal for international cooperation for Birth Control on a scientific and logical basis. The audience was deeply impressed and enthusiastic.

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

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

#### MONDAY, the 7th

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

#### FEBRUARY 13th

The Long Island Association of Chiropractic Doctors had Mrs. Sanger lecture on Birth Control and its relation to Society.

#### FEBRUARY 17th

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

#### KITTY MARION and RUTH ALBERT

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

Owing to illness and fatigue Mrs. Sanger has been compelled to cancel her lecture dates for the rest of the month. Mrs. Juliet Barret Rublee spoke at the meeting held at Mrs. Marcus Marks on the 23rd, Mrs. Anne Kennedy spoke to the Flora McDonald Society of Brooklyn, on the 26th.
THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

Vol V  MARCH, 1921  No 3

EDITORIAL

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

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

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

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

IMPORTANT AS are the first two tasks here defined, they are misdirected unless they converge towards the third, unless they aim always to facilitate the solution of the last and greatest of our problems. We must keep this always in mind. We must work realistically. We must begin here and now. We must work from within, out. If birth control were not the answer to the immediate needs of submerged and overburdened mothers all around us, it would not and could not exhibit such tremenous vitality. From the economic, the intellectual, the logical point of view, it might be overwhelmingly necessary and convincing, yet if, like so many reform policies, it had to be imposed from above—had in short to be thrust upon the underlying population from above, it would be inevitably foredoomed to failure. But it is because birth control is the answer to great human needs and the articulate cry for help from enslaved women, that it cannot be refuted or dismissed.

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

THE GREATEST misunderstanding seems to arise, at the present moment, because of our support of the movement to effect the amendment of the New York State statutes (Article 106, Section 1145) aiming thus to clear the way for practical and effective birth control education in this state, by removing the present prohibitions to doctors, nurses, midwives, clinics and dispensaries. To the objection that this perpetuates and even strengthens the so called “medical monopoly,” let us repeat that this question must be practical, effective, and scientific. It cannot be a subject of back fence gossip. To speak of “medical monopoly” is to speak of the monopoly of any specialist in technical scientific method and knowledge. We might as well condemn the “dentist’s monopoly,” the “occulist’s monopoly,” or the “plumber’s monopoly.” For the best care of our teeth, we must go to the dentist, even though we might get...
much information out of a volume devoted to the relation of teeth to health. The proposed state amendment would open a direct avenue of approach to the women who need direct education and instruction in methods of birth control. It would permit us to get in touch with these women without condescension, but with respect and reverence. Many cannot read—a pamphlet or book no matter how simple or lucid would be valueless. The great point to remember is that we must reach each individual woman, because the instruction must be based on individual needs and physiological peculiarities, upon individual diagnosis and characteristics, which, as any trained investigator knows, vary widely. And it is precisely the ab normal and submerged woman it is most important to meet.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Establishment of special clinics dispensers and hygiene centers.

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

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

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

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
104 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK N Y

Vol V March, 1921 No 3

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The Birth Control Review
Suffrage and Birth Control

By Florence Guertin Tuttle

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

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

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

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

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

Why was the privilege of exercising the franchise granted to women? Never as an end in itself, but rather as a means to an end. Suffrage suffragists pleaded, was to be a tool, an instrument by means of which women were to get things done, especially things for women and children which men were too busy or too indifferent to execute. It was primarily an instrument of construction. How futile the franchise is as a weapon of destruction was shown in the last election when women wasted immemorial strength upon a negative measure—the defeat of an individual. In the end, the way of the transgressor is hard since Hanan generally constructs his own gal lows. Franchise was granted to women for positive purposes—to build up life where it is weakest, to overcome bad legislation with good legislation and to substitute justice for in justice.

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

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

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

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

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

The Birth Control movement is primarily a movement to produce better children. It is not a movement to embargo production. It is a movement to safeguard production. Fewer babies will be born, but more will survive. Its object is a certificate of health insurance, so far as is possible, for every child. It affirms that no child should be bulleted before birth with an inheritance stamped with tuberculosis, venereal or alcoholic poisoning, or a mother whose vitality is exhausted through perpetual pregnancy. Above all else it is a woman's question. For while responsibility for parenthood should be far more vital than it now is to a man, to a woman it should be paramount. Nature herself has made her responsible for the health of each little one for nine long months before its world advent. Nature therefore challenges every woman with a sacred responsibility to see that mothers are free to guard their own health and their unborn children. That this sacred guarding of mothers and children does not take place today is proved by the statistics of society's reckless waste. Approximately 25,000 women die annually in the United States, in child birth. As for the infant death rate, that of New York City alone, the mightiest metropolis in the world, in spite of the millions spent upon welfare work, it is still 85.4 per thousand and capable we are told of being greatly lowered.

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

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

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

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

(Concluded on page 17)
The Second Step

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

Hit the High Mark for the Victory Fund

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

This is what each shot will hit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$5000</td>
<td>Maintenance of the campaign for the bill in the legislature for three months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2500</td>
<td>Provides enough to counteract the National Catholic Welfare Council's extensive propaganda for six weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1000</td>
<td>Will enable us to solicit legislators personally in Albany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500</td>
<td>Is needed to print about 10,000 circulars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250</td>
<td>Must be raised every month to cover the current deficit of keeping up the office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100</td>
<td>Defrays a week of educational campaigning</td>
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<tr>
<td>$50</td>
<td>Shoots circulars into 2,500 homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25</td>
<td>Distributes 125 copies of the magazine for propaganda purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10</td>
<td>Pays for the services of stenographer for 2 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5</td>
<td>Will keep 100 people informed about the progress of the bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1</td>
<td>Will supply 10 social workers and nurses with material to enlist workers in our cause</td>
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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
104 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

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

Name:__________________________________________

Address:________________________________________

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

These things made things go.

What if—there he stopped and absorbed, wrapped, he watched the miracle of the magnet pull the nail to it. With out visible means, the solid nail leapt the gap and clung to the magnet.

Two little girls, Rosie Spozzo and Reba Rosalsky, rushed out of the areaway of the kosher restaurant and made a stand men, the street sounds and street sounds and rumors of these things.

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

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

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

"Tony's downstairs, Miss' Telura—you want Tony I' get him."

Rosie ran downstairs obsequiously.

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

"Tony Telura! To—nee" she cried shrill and piercing.

"Ya mamma wants ya Tony! Don't ya hear? Ya mamma wants ya!"

Tony let the magnet draw the nail to it once more. The needle, the mysterious compass that men sail the sea by—it was part of this. Maybe—above him, out of reach, like a bird, a thought fluttered force that makes things go. He could not grasp it.

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

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

"My father can't get no work," he answered lacerously, but he flushed and darted eyes.

"My daddy can't get no work," he answered.

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

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

"They all say that," Reba answered. "Then they all go get married yes' the same."

The little girls went into the house. At the top of the stairs, Miss Telura was lamenting for the hundredth time.

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

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

Mr. Telura burst into Rosie's flat.

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

Katie mocked. "God! God! For God's sake—shut up!"

Ma an' me'll make out with her when our baby was born—I was alone with ma most all the time. Ma, you go to her and I'll put on water to heat."

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

(Concluded on page 16)
MORE AND MORE are we coming to realize that tuberculosis is a universal disease for it is found in every land regardless of race, color, poverty or wealth. Many volumes have been written concerning its prevention and much progress has been made towards its cure. The establishment of the National Tuberculosis Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in 1905 has been a potent factor in bringing before the public the realization that they too must help and not leave it to a few hard working individuals if this great plague is to be successfully combated.

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

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

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Sanatoriums</th>
<th>Dispensaries</th>
<th>Associations</th>
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<td>1062</td>
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In the last fifteen years the death rate from tuberculosis has declined 27 per cent, a saving of 50,000 lives a year. By eliminating tuberculosis entirely they can save for the country as a whole upwards of $25,000,000,000. We owe a great debt of everlasting gratitude for the struggle toward relieving mankind of this dreadful plague. It is still apparent, however, that some tremendous vital steps need yet to be taken. The question arises: will the yearly raising of many millions of dollars eliminate tuberculosis? That is the fundamental question when one goes right down to the “bottom” of the situation and searches for the reason why these many millions raised to prevent tuberculosis do not do more towards its actual prevention?

HEREDITARY TUBERCULOSIS is very rare. Constant observation has proved that the child does not inherit tuberculosis from its mother but that he or she does become infected if associated with the tuberculous parent. There lies the keynote of the tuberculosis situation. It is in the child’s early life with its mother that infection occurs—1 quote the following:

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

Where there is known to be tuberculosis in the family, Dr. Lampson, of Minnesota, has shown that 67.5 per cent of the children were infected. These facts point definitely to the danger of being in a family not where tuberculosis is common in the past history, but where there is active tuberculosis present. There immediately arises the vital question—should the tuberculous mother procreate? Absolutely not! It is an absolute impossibility to take the child from the mothers who are tuberculous for two great reasons: first a question of the financial cost and secondly the mother love for the care of her own is too great a factor to reckon with. You cannot bring science into everything and the things which we cannot see with our eyes are the hardest of all to combat.

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

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

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

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

DEATH RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Death Rate</th>
<th>Pulmonary Tuberculosis</th>
<th>Tuberculosis All Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Causes</td>
<td>All Causes</td>
<td>All Causes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1,653.5</td>
<td>176.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,602.0</td>
<td>166.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above figures are taken from the United States Bureau of the Census, 1909-1917 inclusive

It seems almost impossible but it is nevertheless true that in the nearly sixteen years of organization, in the trans actions of the National Tuberculosis Association will be found only a few fearless remarks on this subject. The following quotation is by Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rock and Rye

Edward Morgan's New Book

(Edward Morgan's New Book)

A book of poetry, particularly one by a sincere individualist, who is at the same time gifted with the privilege of lyrical song, is ever interesting to the lover of art. Edward Morgan's little volume, Rock and Rye carries the conviction of sincerity on every page. It is evident that he carefully prepared 'copy'—selecting with an eye for the needs of a busy public, and issuing the whole in a conveniently small size which will fill the vest pocket. The old, old cry 'lack of space' is our threadbare excuse for not giving this book of poems the serious attention it deserves. If any reader desires a book of poems radiating the energy of dreamer and thinker, the reviewer can suggest no better purchase than this one. And certainly among the drivel of books issued in America today, it is something for a bored idler at various shrines to suggest a new volume. But again with all the vacancy of American poetry in mind, we recommend this one as a singing exception to the rule—H H.
Race Suicide in the U. S. — By Dr Warren S Thompson
University of Michigan and Cornell University

(Concluded from February)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since 1881, the general death rate and infantile mortality have fallen in Holland until today they are the lowest in Europe. Amsterdam and The Hague have the lowest infant mortality rates of any cities in the world. During this period there has been a decrease of 25 per cent in the birth rate, but at the same time a decrease of 66 per cent in the infantile death rate, thus leaving an actual increase in the number of children reared. Furthermore, the number of men averaging 5 feet 7 inches in height has doubled, and the number under 5 feet 2½ inches has decreased 66 per cent. The people are physi...
cally and morally improved, and the population, as shown above, is certainly not dying out.

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

Evils of Unrestricted Breeding

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

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

And these social tragedies are not by any means limited to the city slums. They are widespread in the country and agricultural districts as well. Referring especially to the tobacco and cotton fields of the South, and the beet fields of the West, Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labour Committee has said: "Large families, poverty, and lack of schooling go hand in hand in these rural counties. It is in this way that the circle of poverty, ignorance and child labour continues unbroken from generation to generation."

The percentage of illiteracy among native born Americans—many of old native stock—in these districts is appalling.

Another dubious distinction that America can claim is preeminence in the prevalence of abortions. On account of the lack of contraceptive knowledge, willfully denied those who are most in need of it, desperate and distracted women, knowing only too well their inability to raise and care for another child, submit to the perilous but single hope of relief in abortion. It is conservatively estimated that 250,000 abortions are performed every year in this country, and over 50,000 deaths result therefrom.

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

Birth Control and Domestic Happiness

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

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

*The ability to control nature, or to modify its normal results, and to change his environment, is universally esteemed as man's preeminent characteristic—which places him above the pale of the animal world. Everyone recognises this, even the most bitter opponents of neo-Malthusians. Still, rational birth control is but an example of the application of this principle.
avoid adding to the already unbearable burden, or, with equal desperation, she resolves to avoid sexual relations with her husband. Anyone with the faintest idea of the potency and deep rooted nature of sex life, can realize the tragedies that are bound up in this dilemma. On the other hand, a dread fully overworked, utterly discouraged woman (or helpless child bearing machine) and on the other, a man, also discouraged and hopeless, but with a normally developed sex conscience, implanted by nature, that is demanding expression.

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

"It is strange, indeed, to hear rich men, well fed clergymen, pious zealots and reformers, leaning back in their comfortable chairs after a sumptuous meal and smoking an expensive Havana cigar, discuss this burning question and bewail the immorality of the common people. Statistics prove that these very people, who extol to the poor all the pleasures of monogamy, are bound up with the immoral acts of their children, free and abandoned. In fact, it is probably as common in the middle and upper class families, where the wife, after the manner of certain well known types of these groups, has been educated along the lines of an unnatural asceticism and her sex life atrophied. In cases of this kind, where there is an absence of sexual harmony and understanding between the married persons, and added to this a fear of pregnancy on the part of the wife, the husband in many cases resorts to prostitution—the choice ranging from the common prostitute to the fashionable kept mistress, according to his social scale. Sometimes, this is even done with the wife’s sanction and approval, the latter willingly suffering the knowledge of the normal and spiritual wreck of the marriage in order to be “let alone.” And it frequently leads to physical disaster, too, as the prevalence of venereal diseases among prostitutes renders the husband extremely liable to infection. Thus, it is that the want of sex knowledge in general and contraceptive information in particular in many cases makes a travesty of marriage and helps to feed the social cancer of prostitution.

EDUCATIONAL STIMULUS

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

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

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

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

DEAR MRS. SANGER

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

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

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

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

Then an old school chum of mine seeing my life asked me to marry him and thinking I was in the position (never to have any more children) to give my little one clothing, food and perhaps a little more joy, did so, and in less than 6 weeks I was pregnant and also a widow. I could get no relief, so I now had a little one and another coming, yet had to work night and day to keep our body and souls together. I was very ill vomiting all the nine months and was a shadow. Sonny was born in a public hospital, a puny sickly child and because he had to be a bottle baby so I could work, he did not get the proper care nor nourishment. At 10 months he died, under nourished, the doctor said, and yet that same doctor knowing my circumstances when I was 6 weeks pregnant, would not give me relief.

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

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

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

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

I want to say it is all true and from the depths of my heart I pray you and I will both see the day when you will have won your cause and Birth Control will be taught freely to relieve the suffering of this world. I am fully convinced it is the only thing that can overcome present conditions.
THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS, born near Guildford in 1766, was educated at Cambridge, became Professor of
History and Political Economy at Haileybury College, and
died in 1834. His most famous work, An essay on the Principle
of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society,
was published in 1798, and in a much changed and enlarged
shape in 1803.

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

The Vision
By Harold Hersey
(For Havelock Ellis on his birthday, February 2nd)

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

They Are Our Conscripts

Perhaps the deepest impression I've got since
I've been in Germany is that made on me by the indefatigable beavers of old wrinkled peasant women,
striding like men through the streets, dragging their
carts or lugging their bas
kets, minding their business, seem
ing to notice nothing in
the stream of luxury and vice, but belonging far away, to some
ting better and purer. Their poor, old ravaged and stiffened
faces, their poor, old bodies dried up with ceaseless toil, their
patient souls made me weep. "They are our conscripts." They
are the venerable ones whom we should reverence. All the
mystery of womanhood seems incarnate in them. "They are all one," Yes, Alice dear, what I love in you is only what these blessed old creatures have,
and I'm glad and proud, when I think of my own dear
Mother with tears running down my face, to know that she is
one with these. "—From "The Letters of William James."
The Magnet

(Continued from page 8)

breathing of inhuman effort He heard Miss Spozzo's voice soothing, encouraging Kate's voice hard and snappy with excitement—his father's voice.

Birth?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Well, Telura, another boy," he heard Miss Spozzo's voice.

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

"Get out, you!"

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

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

"What's the matter?" he asked.

"A new baby—" the agent whistled.

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

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

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

"A week—Yes a week—"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Telura found a way—

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

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

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

"They ain't any relatives—"

"She can't lie there—"

"Tony's the oldest—"

"What can you do—five children—"

"Her folks is all killed in the war—"

The priest came to see what could be done.

"Santa Virgine!" he exclaimed.

"What are you going to do, Father?"

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

Tony's mother lay in the bed her eyes looking at nothing. Under a sheet lay the body of Robert Telura, who had taken the only way he knew to give bread to his family.

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

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

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

TONY'S HAND TOUCHED something cold in his pocket.

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

The awful feeling about Tony's chest relaxed.

His mind lost itself in the wonder of speculation. Majestic, distant, always escaping him were the great forces of the earth that make things go. The moon in the heaven's pulling the tides around—Gravity, the magnetic current, the mysterious needle swayed by the North and the little horse shoe magnet.

These, August, mysterious things, greater than even birth and death, obliterated everything—his pale staring mother, his dead father.

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

(Concluded from page 6)

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

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

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

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

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

We need women with executive talent who can organize and
command members. We need speakers who can treat the sub-
ject of an expurgated humanity with dignity and understanding,putting it where it belongs—in the public forum and the
patriotic press. We need writers—unquestionably great writers
whose names will challenge attention and whose consecrated
pens will tell the world why they believe in a scientifically re
stricted race. We need the establishment of a department of
research and the cooperation of scientists—alcoholics, eugenists
and psycho pathics—men who will give us facts as to the
breeding of the unfit and knowledge of how the population
may be unmeasurably strengthened when quality and not quan-
tity is the criterion. The man or woman who would establish
and endow even on a small scale, such a department dedicated
to the interests of better children, will erect a monument "more
lasting than brass." "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the
least of these little ones, ye have done it unto me."

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

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

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

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

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

JESSIE A. DASTRE, former social worker and at one time
house mother and teacher of sex hygiene, in one of the west-
term reformatories, recognizing that lack of sex education is
largely responsible for the deplorable conditions in the lives
of many people, and for the widespread unrest and unharmo-
ny in married and family life, is now lecturing and teaching
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