BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

SEX AND REPRODUCTION

By Dean Inge

THE MORALITY OF BIRTH CONTROL

A SYMPOSIUM

Harold Cox  Judge Lindsey
Katherine Anthony
Warner Fite  John Sumner
Mary Johnston

Official Organ of
THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE
BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS
IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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

ENGLAND—Neo-Malthusian League, 124 Victoria St., London, S W 1

HOLLAND (1895) —De Nieuwe Malthussansche Bond. Secretary, Dr. J. Rutger. 9 Vrouwehuisstraat, Den Haag. Periodical, Het Geheel der Huwelijk.


SPAIN (1904) —Unión Española de Regeneración Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Bultó, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. 1a, Barcelona. Periodical, Salu y Fuera.

BELGIUM (1906) —Ligue Neo-Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr. Fernand Marsaux, Echevin, Courcelles.


BOHEMIA-CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1901) —Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zizhov, Prague. Periodical, Zdruhu.


BRAZIL (1905) —Setor Brasileno de Propaganda. Secretary, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d'Orantes Pires 26, Sao Pablo, Antonne Dominguez, Rua Vixande de Morangueses 25, Rio de Janeiro.

CUBA (1907) —Secção de Propaganda. Secretary, Jose Guardia, Emredrado 14, Havan.

SWEDEN (1911) —Sällskapet för Humanitar Barnantalning. President, Mr. Hymko Berggren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va.


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Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation
MARGARET SANGER, Editor

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Notes For The New Year

The New Year reaches us at the moment when, as never before in its history, the Birth Control movement in America has asserted its tremendous vitality. We must look forward to a year of increased activity, a year of hopes—and also a year of great dangers. Events of the past two months have succeeded triumphantly in bringing this question to the attention of the thinking public. Efforts to suppress and to kill this great effort of civilization have had just the opposite effect. A flood of protest and of publicity has surprised and overwhelmed our enemies. The story of the underhanded and treacherous attempt to kill liberty has been published broadcast in America, and sent by the news cables to Europe. We face a new year during which we must take advantage of the unprecedented opportunities offered for our cause. To all of us who believe that education in Birth Control is the first essential for the future of civilization and racial progress, the great duty for each one is faithfully and loyally to do his and her part. The fight is now in the open. We know the source of the opposition to our movement. Our enemies have openly declared themselves. An even more desperate battle is fronts us—not merely the fight against stupidity and prejudice and reaction, but the battle for free speech and honest expression. Already we are launched in that battle. Stand with us. Back up all of us who are on the fighting front!

In this period of growth and expansion we need support of all kinds. We need members and supporters of the League. We need subscribers and sustaining contributors for the Birth Control Review. Moreover, we have leased headquarters for a "clinic" in New York City, and have placed an application for a license before the State Board of Charities. We are now with great patience awaiting an answer to this request. This "clinic" or health center would aim to supply a long felt need in providing a place where physicians and other medical people who give them adequate information to prevent bringing into the world congenitally imperilled children. In accordance with the decision handed down by the Court of Appeals in the Sanger case, such a procedure is perfectly practical, legitimate, and legal.

The world importance of the Birth Control movement has been emphasized anew in the invitations extended to Margaret Sanger to visit Japan in the near future to speak on the economic phases of Birth Control before students of the Japanese universities and other selected groups. This invitation follows closely upon the publication of a series of articles by Mrs. Sanger published in the Reconstruction, a magazine of Tokyo. It is another manifestation of the new international spirit now making itself felt in world civilization. That Margaret Sanger follows so closely upon the economic phases of Birth Control before students of the Japanese universities and other selected groups is another proof that prophets are not without honor—save in their own countries!
Sex and Reproduction

By W. R. Inge

[Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London]

(A Comment on Lord Dawson's Paper, Which Was Published in These Pages Last Month)

I

T IS A bad symptom that Lord Dawson's paper at the Birmingham Church Congress, wise and temperate and in perfect taste, should have been received in certain quarters with denunciation. The newspapers which have taken the lead in this agitation have probably mistaken the mind of their public, if not, they cannot be congratulated on their clientele.

In dealing with a subject where so much ignorance and prejudice have been proved to exist, it is best to begin with a dispassionate and colorless statement of elementary facts.

The reproductive capacity of every species is far in excess of the possibility of survival. In some of the lower forms of life the fertility is prodigious. The starfish (lurida) has 200 million eggs. "If all the progeny of one oyster survived and multiplied, its great great grand offspring would number 66 with 33 noughts after it and the heap of shells would be eight times the size of our earth."

Fertility and care for offspring usually vary inversely. Sutherland says: "Of species that exhibit no sort of parental care, the average of 49 gives 1,040,000 eggs to a female each year, while among those which make nests or any apology for nests the number is only about 10,000. Among those which have any protective tricks, such as carrying the eggs in pouches, or attached to the body, or in the mouth, the average number is under 1,000, while among those which bring the young into the world alive an average of 56 eggs is quite sufficient."

Man is no exception to this rule. Where the natural checks of famine, pestilence, inter-tribal slaughter, and disease operate without hindrance, the equilibrium of population is maintained by a very high birth rate. In the Middle Ages the births and deaths in the undeveloped towns were both round about 50 per thousand in each year.

THERE ARE CITIES in Asia where these conditions still survive. Almost everywhere the numbers press con-stantly upon the means of subsistence, and children can only survive where there is room for them. In many parts of the world, both in the civilized races of antiquity and among barbarous races in our own days, surplus children are gotten rid of by systematic infanticide.

If we look at old pedigrees, or at old tombstones covered with the names of one family, we shall see that a married pair in England, till the nineteenth century, might expect to lose more than half their children in their own lifetime. These children were of course not murdered, but nothing effective was done to keep them alive.

The population of a country is determined by economic laws, not by the will of individuals. Individuals may exercise choice, but numbers, like water, find their own level. Every unwanted baby, kept alive by humanitarian interference, drives another baby out of the world or prevents him from coming into it.

Depopulation is a somewhat rare phenomenon, and is generally caused by a change in the climate, exhaustion of the soil, or the diversion of trade routes. The depopulation of Mesopotamia followed necessarily on the destruction of the irrigation system by the Mongol hordes. The physiological infertility which is exterminating the physically splendid races in the South Sea Islands is another matter. It is a rare disease, and the causes of it have not been fully cleared up.

It is of course possible for a nation to increase its numbers by expropriating another nation. Merely to subjugate another nation is worse than useless, because the conquered people, being driven to a lower standard of living, will probably multiply faster than their conquerors. It is no use even to mas-sacre all the fighting men. But if the women and children can be driven from their homes, and their lands seized by the invaders, then no doubt the conquerors may multiply up to the limits imposed by the size and fertility of the occupied territory.

THIS IS THE real meaning of "the right to expand," of which we have heard so much. It is a pleasant prospect, if every nation with a high birth rate has a "right" to exterminate its neighbors. Perhaps a quotation from Prince von Buelow's "Imperial Germany" will bring home to my readers what this claim means, and what calamities it has brought upon the world: "The course of events has driven German policy out from the narrow confines of Europe into the wider world. The nation, as it grew, burst the bounds of its old home, and its policy was dictated by its new needs. The Empire could no longer support the immense mass of human-ity within its boundaries. Owing to the enormous increase of population German policy was confronted with a tremendous problem. This had to be solved, if foreign countries were not to profit by the superfluity of German life which the mother country was unable to support." Mr. Harold Cox even says: "In the era upon which we have now entered the one funda-mental cause of war is the overgrowth of the world's popula-tion."

I do not entirely agree with these two writers because it is impossible for a country to have at any time a much larger population than it can support, but in the main they are right. The supposed duty of multiplication, and the alleged right to expand, are among the chief causes of modern war, and I repeat that if they justify war, it must be a war of extermina-tion, since mere conquest does nothing to solve the problem.

The enormous increase in the population of Europe during the nineteenth century is a phenomenon quite unique in his.
The Birth Control Review

SIR, It was the result of the industrial revolution, combined with the opening out of new food producing areas beyond the seas The two new conditions reacted upon each other Vast quantities of commodities could be produced cheaply, and they could be exchanged for food, while the improved methods of transport made the exchange possible and easy

THE PROCESS went on merrily at first because the new countries produced far more food than they needed for themselves So there was a demand at home for more labor The State, as shortsighted as governments usually are, applied an artificial stimulus to the birth rate by a Poor Law which encouraged irresponsible parentage, and permitted the Poor Law guardians to send wagon loads of little children to work in the factories of the north Till about the end of the century every new pair of hands in England paid its way on the average, though the birth rate began to decline, in response to the falling death rate, after 1878

But the new countries are getting filled up The United States can feed itself, but not much more Even the wheat fields of Canada and the Argentine are not as shortsighted as governments usually are, applied an artificial stimulus to the birth rate by a Poor Law which encouraged irresponsible parentage, and permitted the Poor Law guardians to send wagon loads of little children to work in the factories of the north till about the end of the century every new pair of hands in England paid its way on the average, though the birth rate began to decline, in response to the falling death rate, after 1878

But the new countries are getting filled up The United States can feed itself, but not much more Even the wheat fields of Canada and the Argentine are not unlimited And we in England have long since lost the privileged position in manufacture which we held for a considerable time after the war with Napoleon

An abnormal era of expansion has reached its natural end We cannot support more than our present population, and though there are still a few countries where a young English man of the right sort may emigrate with decidedly better prospects than he would have at home, there are no longer any wide empty tracts of good land waiting for occupation Emigration, in a word, is a palliative only, and before long it will cease to be even a palliative Maps of the world are very delusive, they do not always mark the deserts, and there are many other unpleasant explanations of the empty spaces which look so alluring

THESE, then, are the facts The natural rate of human increase has never been and never can be attained An equilibrium between births and deaths is the normal state of things, the nineteenth century was not normal, but unique There are no more empty Americas and Australias, and, equally important, we have no longer any great surplus of manufactured goods, because the producers of those goods have begun to ask why they should not enjoy themselves The “Expansion of England,” over which Sir John Seeley gloated so eloquently, was a grand thing while it lasted, except for the barbarians whose lands we took from them, but it has reached its natural and inevitable limit We must cut our coat according to our cloth and adapt ourselves to changing circumstances

Till the beginning of the war the birth rate and death rate in England declined in parallel lines, the annual increase of population remaining very steady, at about one per cent per annum The utter absurdity of talking about “race suicide” is apparent to anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the subject The decline in the birth rate was made necessary by the improvements in sanitation and medical science, which increased the average duration of life by about one third The birth rate also declined by about one-third, the maximum in the ‘seventies being 36 per thousand, and the minimum before the war just under 24

Mrs. Rublee’s Arrest: A Record and a Protest

Generations of a future age will undoubtedly find incredible the action of the New York police in arresting Juliet Barrett Rublee on December 2, 1921 This courageous woman was arrested while testifying at a hearing before Chief Inspector Lahey into the causes that led the police to break up the Birth Control meeting at Town Hall, and to arrest two speakers, Mrs Margaret Sanger and Miss Mary Winsor, of Philadelphia, on charges of disorderly conduct Mrs Sanger and Miss Winsor were released without a hearing by Magistrate Corrigan, who ruled the police had failed to submit sufficient evidence even to justify the drawing of a complaint against them

When Mrs Rublee appeared before Magistrate Hatting, Mr Wilson, Assistant District Attorney, moved for her discharge on the ground that there was no legal evidence on which to predicate a charge within the jurisdiction of Tombs Court

The arrest, however, was of the greatest influence in awakening interest and spreading sympathy in the cause which Mrs Rublee has so courageously and steadfastly championed for years

The incredible stupidity of the proceedings was likewise apparent to the Evening World, which exclaimed in an editorial

“The effort to muzzle the Birth Control propagandists is about as stupid an attempt at obstruction as ever helped a minority movement

“It is a puzzle how any one can imagine that police abuses, star chamber sessions, inquisitorial investigations, false arrests, farcical prosecutions that bear all the earmarks of clumsy persecutions, dummy complaints and quick releases when the proceedings come into open court, will suppress the Birth Control advocates

“The stupidity of the Town Hall proceedings was bad enough The result of this interference was that the meeting at the Park Theatre was so well advertised that curious and interested crowds were turned away

“Even this lesson was lost Acting through the clumsy machinations of the police, the same opposing influence undertook to revive the Inquisition Fortunately for Mrs Rublee, the Inquisition in these days has to work through the courts Mrs Rublee suffered only a slight inconvenience and enjoyed an
opportunity of setting people to thinking about the movement for which she is a martyr.

“The score to date is all in favor of the Birth Control advocates—not because of the excellence of their case, but because of the sheer stupidity of the opposition. What will be the next move?”

“The arrest of Mrs. Rublee for her part in the Birth Control meeting of several weeks ago adds another chapter to the story of the New York City administration’s useless highhandedness,” said the New Republic editorially. “Even though the official who originally ordered Mrs. Rublee’s arrest later disowned his action, even though the complaint against her was immediately dismissed in court, the fact remains that a stupid outrage was committed. What redress has the victim of such false arrest? Very little. A suit for damages would not come up for trial for a year or more, and at best would result in the award of a few dollars. No sense of decency seems to restrain the police from arbitrary arrests, and the law as it exists is too fickle to act as a deterrent. Obviously one remedy is legislation providing swifter justice and a greater penalty for false arrest. Here is a matter which is well worth investigating by the New York Bar Association.”

Concerning her arrest Mrs. Rublee made this statement:

“My arrest is only another example of the unwarranted and malicious interference of the New York police with the exercise of the right of free speech and personal liberty on the part of Birth Control advocates. The hearing before Inspector Lahey, at which Mrs. Sanger and I were examined as witnesses, was to determine whether charges should be made against Captain Donohue for having stopped the Town Hall meeting on November 13th. The proceeding was conducted by Inspector Lahey under the advice and guidance of Assistant Corporation Counsel, Martin Dolphm. They both showed that they felt that the hearing afforded them an opportunity of seeking to embarrass the advocates of Birth Control. This was shown by the mass of irrelevant questions that could have no possible bearing upon the issue before the Inspector. Part of the investigation was conducted in a most brutal fashion, savoring more of persecution than of investigation. The questions were clearly framed in the hope of trapping witnesses and with a deliberate purpose of finding an excuse for arresting some advocate of Birth Control.

“Immediately upon the close of my testimony Inspector Lahey left the room, whereupon, in the presence of several witnesses, Mr. Dolphm instructed patrolman Thomas J. Murphy, who is also his secretary and stenographer, to arrest me. Apparently my crime consisted in having read Section 1142 of the Penal Code and having read it, in attending the Town Hall meeting on November 13th, or perhaps my crime lay in expressing the opinion that the Section 1142 is unwise legislation.

“Inspector Lahey and Assistant District Attorney Dolphm knew perfectly well that the Town Hall meeting which was finally held, according to the original program, November 18th without interference by the public authorities was a scientific discussion which could not possibly be twisted into a violation of Section 1142.

“How ridiculous and unwarranted was the action of Mr. Dolphm! is shown by the promptness with which the magistrate dismissed the complaint and the public admission of the Assistant District Attorney that there was no ground whatever for the arrest.

THE OUTRAGE was too serious to pass without indignant protest from those in all walks of life. It was not merely a matter of freedom of speech, of Birth Control. It was an outrage against civic decency. The following protest was therefore sent to Mayor Hylan by a number of prominent New Yorkers.

The undersigned, none of whom have taken part in the advocacy of Birth Control, call your attention to the grave and flagrant interference with the right of free speech, which has been recently practiced by the Police Department of this City, and respectfully ask for a public investigation of the causes of this interference to the end that the right of free speech may be safeguarded.

You are doubtless already acquainted with the fact that on the evening of November 13th, the police of the 26th Precinct, acting, we understand, under the direct command of Captain Thomas Donohue, forcibly closed a public meeting which had gathered at the Town Hall, 121 West 43rd Street, Borough of Manhattan, for an oral discussion of a question of public policy and morals. We are advised that without any warrant or legal authority justifying his action, Captain Donohue arrested two ladies and in spite of their protests caused them to be taken to the Police Station and hence to the Magistrates’ Court, where they were promptly discharged.

A second offence was of an even more flagrant nature. It occurred on December 2nd, in the unjustifiable and excusable arrest of Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee. After having testified as a witness in an inquiry before Chief Inspector Lahey into the action of the Police Department in connection with the Town Hall meeting of November 13th, Mrs. Rublee was arrested by Patrolman Thomas J. Murphy by the direction, we are informed, of Assistant Corporation Counsel, Martin Dolphm, who was present as Inspector Lahey’s advisor. The arrest of Mrs. Rublee was so completely without justification or excuse that the Assistant District Attorney acknowledged in open court that there was no evidence to support a charge of any kind and Magistrate Hatung promptly released Mrs. Rublee.

The action of the Police Department above referred to constitutes such a willful violation of the right of free speech as to cause grave alarm to the citizens of New York, who have a right to know why such outrages have taken place, what influences and motives are behind them, and whether any conspiracy exists in the Police Department to deny the right of free speech and the equal protection of the law to citizens of New York. This is obviously a matter of the gravest concern. We, therefore, join in asking a full, immediate and public
investigation of the action of the Police Department in the premises, to be followed, if the evidence warrants, by such
disciplinary measures against the officials found to be guilty
as will discourage similar offenses hereafter.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY MORGENTHAU  SAMUEL H ORDWAY
HERBERT L SATTERLEE  PIERRE JAY
PAUL D CRAVATH  PAUL H WARBURG
LEWIS L DELAFIELD  CHARLES STRAUSS
CHARLES C BURLINGHAM  MONTGOMERY HARE

MAYOR HYLAN has finally ordered a complete investiga-
tion of the action of the Police Department in breaking
up a Birth Control meeting in the Town Hall and the arrest
of Mrs Rublee.
The Mayor's decision was made known by David F. Harsh-
field, Commissioner of Accounts, who said, in a statement, that
he had been given a free hand and directed to be "thorough"
in an attempt to establish the motives behind the police action,
and whether there is, as was charged by ten prominent citizens
in a letter sent to the Mayor December 9, any "conspiracy"
on the part of the police to restrict freedom of speech.

"These gentlemen," said Commissioner Harshfield, "com-
plained to the Mayor that on the evening of November 13 the
police of the Twenty sixth precinct had forcibly closed a public
meeting at the Town Hall, 121 West Forty third street, Bor-
ough of Manhattan, held by certain men and women who advo-
cate the control of the birth of children and asked for a public
investigation of the cause of this interference by the police, to
the end that the right of free speech may be safeguarded.

"Inasmuch as under the law the Commissioner of Accounts
is authorized to make investigations and for that purpose is
clothed with the power of compelling the attendance of wit-
nesses and examining them under oath, the Mayor has by letter,
dated the 10th instant, directed the Commissioner of Accounts
to make a thorough investigation".
There the case at present rests. Further developments will
be reported, though from experience we have little faith in
official investigations.

Birth Control: Is It Moral?
A Symposium of Representative Opinion

Harold Cox
(Editor "The Edinburgh Review")
At Meeting of First Birth Control Conference at Park Theatre,
New York City, November 18, 1921

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

I propose, first of all, tonight to make to you exactly
the same speech which I had prepared to make last Sunday
night (applause), and then I propose to say a word or two
about another and even broader subject.
The question I submit to you tonight is this: Is Birth Con-
trol Moral? Now, when any problem of morality is put to
you, or whether any particular action is right or wrong, the
first question you have to ask yourselves is: What is the pur-
pose of that action? For, if the purpose be wrong, the thing
itself must be wrong. What then, are the purposes of Birth
Control?
The first purpose of birth control is to preserve the health
of the mother (applause). If a woman has children as
repeatedly as Nature permits, her health cannot be preserved.
I have heard of women in our slums in London, married
women, who say, "Our lives are one long disease." Is it
desirable that that should continue indefinitely? Is it desir-
able that thousands, even millions, of married women in the
poorer quarters of all our towns should not know for 10, 15,
20 years what it is to have a whole year of real health? That,
then, is the first purpose, to preserve the health of the mother.
The second purpose is even more important. It is to pro-
mote the health of the child, for here you have the new gen-
eration involved. The children that are born today make up

the new generation now. If children are born so rapidly in
succession to one another that the mother cannot give proper
care to each, it is impossible that they should be brought up
healthy children. Attempts are made in many countries to
escape from that difficulty by establishing public institutions
to assist in the nurture of the children, but I contend that no
public institution is an adequate substitute for a mother's
care (applause). I contend, further, that you can find
no higher moral purpose in life than the rearing of healthy
children to be the men and women of the next generation, the
fathers and mothers of generations to come (applause).

Those are two purposes which I think you will agree
with me are moral purposes.
The third purpose of Birth Control is to raise the general
standard of life throughout the whole community (applause).
Now, that is impossible as long as the families of the poor con-
tinue so large. In the poorer districts in all countries the
children are brought up in poverty, without sufficient food,
without sufficient training, without sufficient opportunities of
play, they are turned out at an early age to earn money, and
the absurdity of the thing is that though they go out to earn
money in order to assist the family income, their competition
in the labor market actually lowers the wages of their own
parents.
Again, many people try to escape from this evil of the mul-
tiplication of poor children by all sorts of State subsidies, free
meals for school children, for example. Again, I say that you
are doing a thing which produces worse results than you antici-
pate, for you are destroying the link between parent and child.
Only a little while before I left England a friend told me that she had heard some of the women down in the East End of London—that is our poor quarter there, as here—saying, "Well, our kiddies aren’t our own any longer, they belong to the County Council now." I contend that you break the most fundamental of human relations if you substitute the charity of the State for the duty of the parent (Applause).

What, then, do the advocates of Birth Control propose in order that we may have a higher standard of life throughout the whole community? They propose that exactly similar measures should be taken to improve the standard of the human race that a skilful gardener takes to improve the quality of the flowers that he grows, and sows his seed widely and thinly,—he leaves plenty of space for each seedling to grow, takes care of each plant as it appears above the ground, and the result is the production of a fine flower. But is not the production of fine human beings an even higher moral purpose than the production of fine flowers? (Applause)

AND THE FOURTH purpose of Birth Control is, from some points of view—especially in view of the present condition of the earth—even more important. The fourth purpose of Birth Control is the prevention of war (Applause). The surface of the earth is limited and by no magic can we increase that surface, but the power of multiplying human beings is unlimited,—you can go on multiplying them in definitely as you can multiply any plant or any race of animals—and if you continue to do so, if you continue to multiply the human race, disarmament agreements will count for nothing, because as the different races continue to multiply they will be brought up against the hard fact that there is not room enough on the earth for all of them and then they will fight for space to live (Applause). You may take it as certain that the majority of men would sooner kill one another than starve themselves. And what the opponents of Birth Control, in effect, say is that it is the duty of women to go on breeding the men to kill one another.

Well, that danger of war, I say, is perhaps the most serious of all the questions before us because it is getting progressively more imperative, more dangerous progressively, because the earth is so full that a small rate of increase in any country will give you a large annual increase of population. That is a very simple proposition which a great many people fail at first sight to realize. You can see it in a moment if I put it to you this way that one per cent on a million yields a larger income then ten per cent on a thousand. If you have got a small population, you can have a large birth rate, if you have got a large population, you cannot have a large birth rate because you will have so many millions of children produced that there won’t be room enough for them all. You must reduce the birth rate as the population grows.

How are you to do it? There are only two ways. You can either have fewer marriages—that is what Malthus suggested many years ago, suggested that marriage should be postponed—or you can have fewer children to each marriage,—ask people to marry early and live happy lives together but not to have so many children.

I CONTEND THAT fewer marriages mean, in practise, more prostitution (applause), and fewer children per marriage mean more happy homes (Applause).

These, then, are the four purposes of Birth Control: the preservation of the health of the mother, the promotion of the health of the children, the establishment of a higher standard of life for the whole community, and finally, the prevention of war. I venture to say that no one will deny that all these are moral purposes of highest order (Applause).

Some people, however, declare that though the purposes are moral the methods proposed are immoral, and they begin by saying that Birth Control is an interference with the processes of Nature. Well, I confess I find it a little difficult to be politely tolerant when that argument is used, for what is the whole of human progress but an interference with the processes of Nature? (Applause). It is not natural to wear clothes (laughter), it is not natural to live in houses, it is not natural to apply science to cure disease, marriage itself is unnatural (laughter and applause). The truly natural man, the savage in Central Africa, waits for the woman he wants, stuns her with his club, and carries her off to his cave (laughter), that is real Nature. And if these idealists of what they call "the processes of Nature" were true to their own convictions, they would get up and advocate that we should all go back to our primitive nudity and to our primitive savagery—and then there perhaps would be a case for the police to interfere (Applause and laughter).

Well, not content with that argument about Nature, they proceed to quote the Bible, and they quote a particular text from the Book of Genesis which enjoins persons to whom the command was given to be "fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," and they have gone on quoting that for centuries, and very few people have taken the trouble to look up the circumstances under which that command was given. It was given to Noah (laughter) and his three sons and their four respective wives immediately after the Flood (Laughter). Noah, I may remark in passing, was 600 years old at the time and his eldest son was 90 (Laughter). To these eight people of rather extended age (laughter) the command to be fruitful and multiply was given at a time when all the earth was empty, and yet you have ecclesiastics getting up and quoting that command as if it applied to London and New York today (Laughter and applause).

TODAY IT IS not numbers that we want to increase, but quality that we want to improve (applause), and perhaps it may be worth while to remind you that that elementary proposition was understood a great many centuries ago by some of the people who contributed to the Bible. You will find in the 6th Chapter of the Book of Ecclesiastes these words "Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons, though they multiply, rejoice not in them, for one that is just is better than a thousand." (Applause).

But if parents are to have fewer children they must practise Birth Control. I contend that it is impossible to expect healthy young married couples to abstain altogether from the funda
mental relation of married life, except at intervals of two or three years, and then to live entirely as celibates after they have had two or three children. The thing is utterly inhuman and impossible and it would break the happiness of millions of married couples. I contend that the love of man and woman is one of the most moving and also the most ennobling of human instincts, and I cannot do better at this point than quote the words of the King's physician, one of the most distinguished physicians in London, Lord Dawson, who, speaking recently at a meeting of the Church Congress, said "Life without the love of man and woman would be like the world without sunshine."

Therefore, I contend that Birth Control is moral because it renders possible the continuation of that sunshine, because it renders possible the attainment of a higher standard of life for mother and for child and of a higher standard of living for the whole community, and finally, it is moral because it prevents the otherwise inevitable recurrence of devastating wars (Applause.)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, that is the speech which I had intended to make on Sunday night last. (Laughter and applause.) I was prevented from doing so by an incident to which I wish briefly to refer. I am not a citizen of the United States and I have not the right, nor have I the desire, to comment upon or interfere in your purely domestic matters (laughter), but issues are sometimes raised in one country which affect all countries (applause), and among such issues is the issue of freedom of speech (Applause.) On that issue I feel that I, as an Englishman, am entitled to express my opinion to you as Americans (applause), for we share not only the same language but the same traditions of government and of liberty (applause), we inherit to a large extent the same history. King Henry VIII, who liberated England from the domination of Rome (applause), Queen Elizabeth, in whose glorious reign was first developed that overseas movement of the English race from which your nation sprang, Cromwell, who fought for constitutional liberty, Milton, who defended liberty in words that will live for all time,—all these and countless others whose names may be forgotten but whose works still endure, all these are a part of your history as well as of mine, and in the name of this glorious heritage which we together share, I appeal to you to permit the great principle of liberty of speech to be trampled under foot in any part of your country (Great applause.)

I hold that there is no liberty so important to the world as liberty of speech, for without freedom of speech progress is impossible, unless men and women are free to criticize institutions and practices which they hold to be wrong and free to advocate changes which they hold to be desirable, there can be no effective movement for reform or progress of any kind. (Applause.) The incident of last Sunday night shows how easily this fundamental liberty may be imperiled, although it is expressly enshrined in your own constitution, and may be imperiled by the very officials whose duty it is to defend the law and the constitution (Applause.)

I SPOKE TO you on this subject because it does not affect America only, because what happened the other night is a warning to all nations. Fifty years ago we in England imagined that the battle of liberty had been won for all time. Tennyson wrote, if you remember, of freedom broadened down from precedent to precedent, he may have been right at the time when he wrote, but he was wrong for the future,—he was wrong in assuming that freedom would automatically progress. No progress is automatic. Each advance that the world makes has to be won by fresh effort, by the efforts of those who see ahead, as Mrs Margaret Sanger has done (applause) and who devote their lives, as she has done, to working for the progress of mankind (Applause.)

And let me give you one further warning. Not only is it impossible to hope that progress will be automatic, but even the maintenance of the freedom you have won is not automatic. As one of the most brilliant English orators said many years ago, "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance," and he was perfectly right, for in all countries there are enemies of freedom, monarchs, politicians and priests (applause), who for one cause or another wish to deprive their fellowmen and women of liberty of action, of liberty of speech, and even of liberty of conscience. There lurks a danger which, if we shut our eyes to it, may destroy the advance achieved by centuries of effort. I repeat, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

And therefore, to you, as Americans, I, as an Englishman, appeal to you to exercise that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, I appeal to you to defend your liberties by whomsoever they are attacked, and I make this appeal to you not for the sake of your own country only, but for the sake of all mankind (Prolonged applause.)

IN ORDER TO determine exactly the status of true public opinion concerning the morality of Birth Control as a practice and a program, and in order that every shade of thought pro and contra might be represented at our now historic mass meeting that concluded, despite the efforts of our enemies, the First American Birth Control Conference, the following letter was sent to representative leaders of thought and opinion:

1. Is not over population a menace to the peace of the world?
2. Would not the legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession be the most logical method of checking the problem of over population?
3. Would knowledge of Birth Control change the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?
4. Do you believe that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families will make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population?

As a vital part of the constructive effort for future work, it seemed that an open discussion on this subject by men and women of international importance would help to guide the American people to a just decision.

I would greatly appreciate an expressed opinion, if you have
no objections, to be read at the opening meeting, knowing the weight it would have with the intelligent people of this country. I have already received replies from Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, Dean Inge, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, and the Bishop of London.

May I hope you will seriously consider the importance of this and allow me to express in advance my gratitude for a brief letter covering these points.

The replies have been so varied, so compelling in interest, so stimulating to thought and discussion that The Birth Control Review will publish the most significant replies, both advocating and opposing our program. This month we begin with the letters of Warner Fite, of the department of philosophy of Princeton, Judge Lindsey, and others equally prominent.

More contributions to this invaluable discussion will be published in subsequent numbers of the Review.

Professor Warner Fite
Department of Philosophy, Princeton

It gives me great pleasure to reply to the four questions proposed in your letter of October 22nd, as follows:

1. I believe that overpopulation is the most serious menace to the peace of the world. It furnishes not merely one motive for war, but the motive which, in the end, underlies and sustains all other motives, and the one only which makes war inevitable.

2. I believe that Birth Control based upon scientific investigation and the dissemination of scientific information, is the only logical and, I should add, the only moral and human method of controlling population. The only other method I can think of is to allow war and starvation to produce their natural results.

3. I believe that common knowledge of the easy and certain methods of Birth Control could not fail to work some change in the moral attitude of men and women towards the marriage bond and some change in the moral ideas of the youth—just because the calculation of consequences and the fear of consequences form so large and so corrupting an ingredient in the composition of present sex morality. With the fear of consequences removed, there would undoubtedly be more increase in the number of illicit sex relationships. But I cannot see that this would be a moral loss, or that there is a moral advantage in preserving a spurious chastity. On the other hand, there would be a corresponding—perhaps more than corresponding—increase in the number of early marriages and in the marriages now forbidden by economic conditions. This would be a great and important gain in the direction of wholesomeness of life both personal and social. And in the end I think that the moral effect of Birth Control as an established fact would be to sift out and make clear the motives of personal devotion and loyalty which constitute the true marriage bond, to emphasize the sanctity of these motives, and thus to make the marriage bond stand for a higher conception of life than it does at present.

4. To me the importance of Birth Control as a condition of any advance in cultural (i.e., moral, social, intellectual) life is simply obvious. Every such advance rests upon the possibility of transforming some part of life from a necessity of nature into a matter of personal choice. It does not follow from this that the choice will be narrow and ignoble. I have no criticism to pass upon those who are voluntarily childless—that is genuinely their own affair—but I think that few parents really envy them. Yet to make the coming of children worth while, for them, for us, for society generally, we must be able to control their number. And to say that modern life makes children a burden is only to say that today each child is an object of responsible concern and solicitude as he never was before. It matters not what we do, personal, family or social. If human life is to be more than a feeding of mouths, we must control the number of mouths to be fed, if population is to do more than press upon subsistence, we must control the population.

These replies are at your service, to read at the open meeting or not, as you judge worth while.

John S. Sumner
Secretary, The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice

Our replies to the questions which you propounded follow:

1. Overpopulation is not a menace to the peace of the world because there is no overpopulation. It is true that in some countries the density of population exceeds that in other countries, and that in cities there is a harmful congestion of population, but it must be remembered that prior to the World War, Belgium was the most densely populated country in Europe. It was also the most peaceful, prosperous and contented. It is not the physical fact of population but the mental and spiritual condition of a people which determines the question as to a menace to continued peace.

2. If there were general overpopulation as distinguished from congestion of population in certain limited areas, the logical way to meet the condition would be to check the birth rate or practice euthanasia among the unfit. But we are told by the disciples of Birth Control in Holland, where the doctrine is practiced, that there is no decline in the birth rate and that the period of the individual life has been increased. This would eventually lead to increased density of population and therefore the doctrine of so-called Birth Control, as practiced in the Netherlands, could not be an effective offset to overpopulation.

3. The knowledge and practice of Birth Control, through the prevention of conception, would and has changed the moral attitude of men and women toward the marriage bond, and preferably the marriage status. Thus is indicated by divorce statistics. Consider New York City. In 1919 there were 1224 matrimonial actions or 1224 married couples in the Courts seeking to have a complete or partial dissolution of the marriage contract. As issue of these parties there were only 399 minor children. If each child were the issue of different parents that would still leave 825 or 67 per cent of childless married couples seeking to avoid a relation which was entered into for life. In practice so-called Birth Control means birth
prevention and without a child, the climax of the assumption of the obligations of marriage, the parties to a marriage are inclined to regard that status with levy, to be assumed or discarded like a garment.

The KNOWLEDGE of Birth Control, which is birth prevention, would lower the moral standards of the youth of the country. Anything which tends to encourage the evasion of obligations saps and breaks down moral fibre. The chief obligation of marriage is procreation. The husband and wife are partners in an enterprise, and the crowning glory of that enterprise, the true consummation of marriage, is the child. Unfortunately, the tendency of the day is to devote too much time to frivolous pleasure. This is true of all classes and ages. The result is an inclination to avoid what would interfere with self indulgence. There is no doubt that the bearing and rearing of children is such an interference. It follows that if knowledge for the prevention of conception is imparted to youth with authority and as a desirable thing endorsed by "nice people," that youth will eagerly accept and use that knowledge. At first the idea may be merely to delay procreation, but delays are dangerous and usually result in utter abandonment and as a result life's greatest and most soul satisfying obligation, the obligation of parenthood, is entirely avoided. That is the story of the increasing divorce rate and the purposeless lives of so many.

Character is built by assuming obligations and overcoming difficulties. If obligations are evaded there is no character. Without character there is no moral standard. If we equip and encourage youth to evade life's greatest obligation, we are going far in the direction of no moral standards and purposeless, disappointed, bitter lives. Our elders did not serve us so well.

4. We believe that where there is the probability of diseased or mentally defective progeny, or where the health or life of the mother would be endangered by child bearing, parents should be advised against further issue and should be informed personally by a licensed physician of any known harmless means toward such a result. This can be legally done at the present time. It requires no propaganda and no change in the State law.

A correspondence course on the subject or remedies furnished by a mail order house would be neither safe nor useful. There is no need for a change in the Federal law. It would certainly result in a renewal of that situation when the mails were flooded with sealed packages addressed to boys and girls, placing temptation in their way with a promise of safety from unfortunate consequences, for the financial profit of vicious and mercenary interests.

We favor the prevention by present legal means of the aggravation or transmittal of either physical or mental disease and believe that it would make for human happiness and would raise the social and intellectual average of the community and probably also the verge of moral conduct.

We can see no reason for any alteration in either Section 1142 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, nor in Sections 211 or 245 of the United States Criminal Law, but rather the certainty of untold harm should amendments limiting the scope of those laws be enacted.

Katherine Anthony

It seems very appropriate that the first American Birth Control Conference should begin on the same day as the first International Disarmament Conference. For it is undoubtedly true that over population contributes to war as directly as competition in armament. Probably the reduction of armament means even less for the peace of the world than reduction of surplus population. A world which really wants peace will take as much interest in the birth rate as in the reduction of armament.

That poverty as well as war thrives on over population is hardly disputed in academic circles. Economists from John Stuart Mill to the latest experts on American income statistics have repeatedly told us that one needs to be indifferent to the plannest lessons of history and economics in order to condemn Birth Control or ignore the question.

If family limitation, then, helps to prevent war and poverty, it can scarcely be tabooed on grounds of immorality. For the best that has ever been said on behalf of war and poverty is that they are necessary evils, not that they are moral assets.

From the point of view of society, Birth Control to this extent has its moral uses. And from the point of view of the individual, a moral attitude which is sustained by ignorance and fear is a feeble thing to depend upon. Young people have a right to expect a better ethical nourishment from those who set up moral standards for their education.

Mary Johnston

My feeling is that the lasting solution lies in an increasing composure and a sublimation, all along the line, of the sex nature. And I should like to see arise a movement which should directly inculcate this.

But it is likewise my opinion, that pending this slow inner and spontaneous change, there should be available in this and all countries correct instruction in Birth Control.

Judge Ben Lindsey

Juvenile Court, Denver, Colo

First, I should say that over population, as the world is now organized and conducted under our present system of civilization, with all of its stupidities, would certainly be a menace to the peace of the world.

Second, legal dissemination of scientific Birth Control information through the medium of clinics by the medical profession, if not the most logical, would certainly be a very logical method of checking the problem of over population.

Third, there is nothing in this world that I am more convinced of than that knowledge of Birth Control would positively not change the moral attitude of men and women towards the marriage bond, or lower the moral standards of the youth of the country. On the contrary, I am positive it would im
prove and increase both Did time permit, from my experience here, I think I could give many reasons for this belief.

Fourth How any one could doubt that knowledge which enables parents to limit their families could fail to make for human happiness and raise the moral, social and intellectual standards of the population, is more than I can understand. Of course I believe that such knowledge would do all of these things and to my mind it is little short of crime itself that such knowledge is being withheld.

May I say in conclusion that if we squarely faced this issue and had some rules and regulations through which scientific Birth Control information could be disseminated through the proper mediums, it would do much to end the promiscuous and oftentimes misleading information which is positively being circulated quite generally now with reference to Birth Control,—the truth is that no power on earth is going to prevent people from getting knowledge of Birth Control, no matter what one’s views may be, but because of a sort of “dog in the manger” attitude of those who oppose Birth Control and because of a very well meaning but I think mistaken attitude of some of our moralists, birth control information—which they are not stop ping—is prohibited or adulterated with so much misinformation that by such attitude, we are prevented from getting real, genuine good, such as would come from a proper dissemination.

Frederick A. Bushee, Ph D.
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

1 If ultimate rather than immediate influences are considered, I believe that over population should be ranked as the chief cause of war.

2 It would be one important method of controlling population, but it would not by itself suffice for the ends sought by the Eugenists Other methods would have to be used to control the reproduction of undesirables.

3 In some cases where moral standards are based on fear, it might lower those standards, but I think the possible danger from this source is not comparable to the benefits to be derived from increased knowledge. I do not believe that the attitude towards marriage would be much affected.

4 My opinion is that it would not, and the evidence from Holland seems to confirm this opinion.

Birth Control and Infant Mortality: An Economic Problem

A Contribution to the First American Conference

By James Maurer

President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa.

During the early history of this Republic, it was quite fashionable, in fact, patriotic, to have large families. The head of the family wanted plenty of children with which to work the farm. Fixing the minority age at twenty one years, gave parents the right to exploit their offspring until they arrived at their majority. Another incentive for big families was the new world needed people so much that the birth of a child was looked upon, not only as a family asset, but a patriotic contribution to the Nation. The larger the family, in those days, the greater the opportunity for the head of the family to pay off the mortgage and get rich. Indeed, families with only five or six children were not considered big. Nine and ten children were looked upon as the average family. To boast of being the father of a big family, it was necessary to have from twelve to eighteen children and, to accomplish this, it was often necessary to send two or three waves to their graves. Indeed, it is seldom that living mothers of such large families can be found. When once discovered, it is such a rare exception that it attracts the attention of the scientific world and public officials, as in the case of Mrs Domenico Zaccathea, of New York, a living mother of sixteen children, who received a letter of congratulation from President Harding.

Great industrial changes have taken place during the past century. The primitive handcraft methods of production on the farm, gradually, gave way to machine production and agricultural machinery. The farm which formerly required a dozen people to work, can now be worked with three or four. The blacksmith and wheelwright shops which were once part of the farm equipment have, long ago, evolved into factories, mills, and workshops of towns and cities. The same is true of the textile industry. Even butter and cheese-making is no longer part of the farmer’s work. As this work left the farm, it was quite natural that the workers should also leave there. There was no longer any economic need for large families, but, due to habit and religious dogma, big families continued to be fashionable and, while it is true that the children of the big family were no longer needed, the greater truth is that the farm could no longer support a big family so the children, naturally, drifted after the jobs in the cities, there to mingle and associate with others who left, not only other farms, but countries, in search of jobs, or the privilege to do the work which once upon a time was done on the farm. There, under a new and strange environment, they hear, from certain physicians, corporation serving politicians, the clergy and the press, much about the honor and glory of raising big families and Birth Control is damned, not only as unpatriotic, but as an unpardonable sin. And of course, the having of big families goes merrily on. Children are poured into the world without the slightest regard for their prospects of maintenance, health or happiness.

When on the farm and exploited by their fathers, the combined family earnings belonged to the family and, in turn, through inheritance, each child received its share of the remaining wealth created collectively by the family. There
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May I ask, "Can such a mother give birth to a

vigorou'$, healthy, normal child?" Ordinary common sense

Yet these are the mothers to whom present day

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to do, the wealthy, leisure class, with no cares, comfortable

in many cases, for no other reason than that to do so might inter-

with their life of play and social ambitions

ON THE OTHER hand, we find a great many of the pro-

fessional and skilled mechanics raising families within

their means The average among this class of workers are

desirous of giving their children every advantage in the strug-

gle for existence possible, education, plenty of good, whole-

families, and who

receive a wage scarcely big enough to decently support them

Please Note that the above text is a natural language representation of the document and may not be 100% identical to the original due to the limitations of the text recognition process.
not enough to meet the family expenses so the growing family, through force of necessity, moves into a smaller, cheaper and less desirable place. Unconsciously, perhaps, they also economize on the food and, amidst their struggle to live, comes the mysterious hand of Death. The baby, born from a weak, overworked, underfed mother, dies. Surely now, with one less in the family for which to care, the mother will soon regain her health. But a miscarriage blasts their hopes. Poverty does not permit engaging a nurse so, while the father is at work, ten-year-old Bobbie and eight-year-old Mary try to take care of Mother and baby brother and sister. True, Mrs. McGinnis, a kind-hearted neighbor and mother of eight children herself, drops in now and then to give a helping hand.

So, time passes on, more children, not wanted, come. The father, growing older, finds that the pace demanded to hold his job is getting beyond him. The plant has been Taylorized and speed is what counts. The wife, a mere frame of her former self, sickly and disheartened, collects everlastingly demand ing payment, eviction threatened, another baby dies. Father and husband out of work, or working short time and, amidst all this hell, the stork threatens to come again. “Oh, God,” says the mother, “why another one?” We can’t take care of those we do have and that’s why they die, so why send us babies only to die as babies?” And many of these mothers, in sheer desperation, resort to abortion, sometimes without success, with the result that often deformed creatures are ushered into existence. And, if the father, different from many others, does not weaken and, like a coward, desert his family to escape the tortures of misery and poverty, and the mother does not die or go crazy, they may raise, to manhood and womanhood, some of their children, only to see their sons, some day perhaps, taken from them to be used for “cannon fodder” to feed a war inspired by men of small families or no families at all.

There may be some who think that this picture is overdrawn, but I assure you that it is not overdrawn. There are millions of such families in the United States and, in some of them, the conditions are far worse than those I just described.

It is obvious, therefore, that the poor cannot afford large families. But, laying aside the question of bread and butter, or the hardships of parents, is it wise for a nation to depend upon weakened, neglected, underfed, overworked, soul-racked mothers for the perpetuation of the race? Is it wise to pauperize a family so that the mother may bring forth children, many of them to die in infancy, others to live as mental defectives to reproduce their kind? Is it wise? Is it just? I dare say, is it human to give to the world the free and unrestricted knowledge of how to breed animals, and, at the same time, outlaw the science of human birth regulation and treat as immoral and indecent the knowledge which surrounds the sacredness of human motherhood?

The home is the place where happiness must dwell and, to be happy, the coming of children must be welcome, but there can be no happiness if the coming of children is at the sacrifice of the wife’s health, or life. Neither can there be happiness where the father’s wage is insufficient to properly provide for the family.

Government officials define a living wage for a family of five at thirty-five dollars a week. We know that millions of fathers receive no such wage and it is usually these poorly paid fathers who have the largest families. In Pennsylvania, a highly developed industrial State, we find that, during the past four years, out of every thousand babies born, an average of one hundred and nine died before they were a year old. Compare these figures, in “no-birth-control” Pennsylvania, with New Zealand where family regulation is permitted and understood. The baby death rate there is only fifty per thousand, as against one hundred and nine in Pennsylvania. Astounding and truthful as these figures are, they do, however, not tell the whole truth. We find that, high as the death rate among babies is, it varies according to the family income. For instance, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, among the employees of the Cambria Plant of the Midvale Steel, where housing conditions are bad and wages low, we find the death rate, among the first and second born, was, when the survey was taken, one hundred and thirty-eight per thousand, while the death rate of babies under one year of age and among the ninth or later born, was two hundred and one per thousand.

We further find that, as wages decrease, the baby death rate increases. Infant mortality, where the family income averages five hundred dollars a year, average one hundred and sixty-five per thousand. Where the income is seven hundred dollars, it drops to one hundred and twenty per thousand. With nine hundred dollars’ income, we find the death rate drops to eighty-five per thousand. At one thousand dollars a year, and over, it drops down to sixty-five per thousand.

In Pittsburgh, the heart of the Steel Trust and the cancer spot of the steel belt, where the steel companies profess to have restored pre-war conditions, the hours worked are, nevertheless, pretty much the same. More men are working twelve-hour shifts now than before the war. The annual earnings of over one-third of all productive iron and steel workers are, and have been for years, below the level set by government experts as the minimum of subsistence for families of five, while the annual earnings of seventy-two per cent of all workers were, and still are, below the level set by government experts as the minimum of comfort for families of five.

Pittsburgh lost more babies in 1920, in proportion to its birth, than any other of the large American cities for which reliable records are available. Its wastage of young life, for the year, exceeded that of seventeen cities of more than two hundred and fifty thousand population, in the birth registration area. The measurement of this loss by an infant mortality rate. The number of deaths of infants under one year of age, per thousand, born alive, shows that, for every one thousand babies born in Pittsburgh in 1920, one hundred and ten failed to survive throughout the year. This means a loss, during infancy, of one life out of every nine.

For the same year, Boston had one infant death to ten births, Philadelphia, one to eleven, New York City, one to twelve and Seattle, one to eighteen.
Compare Seattle to Pittsburgh and we find a rate twice as favorable as that for Pittsburgh.

For the past four years, we find the difference still more surprising. Pittsburgh's average for four years was one hundred and twenty two baby deaths under one year of age, for every thousand births, Boston, one hundred and three, Philadelphia, one hundred and three, Cincinnati, ninety, New York City, eighty seven, Portland, Oregon, sixty-eight, and Seattle, fifty eight. These figures do not tell the whole story, they merely give averages for an entire city.

IN PITTSBURGH, WHERE the workers live, we find infant mortality is more than a hundred per cent higher than what it is where the well to do people live. The twenty second ward of Pittsburgh is a working-class ward. Here the death rate for infants under one year of age, during 1920, was one hundred and fifty seven per thousand births, while, in the fourteenth ward, Schenley Park District, where the upper class lives, the death rate, per thousand births, was sixty four. In the first ward, another working class ward, the death rate for infants under one year of age is one hundred and sixty six per thousand live births, while, in the thirteenth ward, a fine residential section, the rate is seventy per thousand.

It is obvious, therefore, that infant mortality is, in a great measure, an economic problem and must be treated as such.

Babies are precious and a joy to the home and are only a source of strength to the Nation when they are, themselves, healthy and when they do not drain and destroy the mother who bears them. But, children, born under the circumstances I have just described, are not a joy to the family, or themselves, and are a liability to the Nation. Of those who live, how few grow to be healthy men and women. The fact that about one out of every four dies from tuberculosis is, in itself, a command for awakening of the social conscience. We must learn to recognize the difference between cause and effect. Today, society is trying to cure effect with charity, insane asylums, poor houses, jails, clubs and bullets. Why not look for the cause and remedy the evil at its base? Then there will be no effect with which to deal. Let us raise the curtain of false modesty, teach the children sex hygiene and the mysteries of their own bodies. Let rich and poor alike have free access to the knowledge of Birth Control. Hospitals, clinics and dispensaries must be left free to administer to suffering humanity. To do so means, not race-suicide, but race-preservation.

Notes From The Field

ON TUESDAY NIGHT, December 6th, Mrs. Sanger spoke at a meeting of the New York County Registered Nurses Association, at 132 East 45th Street, New York City.

Mrs. Sanger made an address to 300 graduate registered nurses on the subject of "Birth Control" and she also pointed out its relation to their work and the important part that they play in this vital movement. Mrs. Sanger found a very sympathetic audience awaiting her speech.

After a rousing vote of thanks to her and the adjournment of the meeting, she was immediately surrounded by enthusiastic and interested women asking what they could do to further this necessary and fundamental cause.

The Birth Control Review and other educational literature on the subject was heartily welcomed and many new members were enrolled to the American Birth Control League.

The FIRST state to be visited in the national campaign of the new League was Massachusetts. A meeting was held at the Hotel Copley Plaza for Mrs. Sanger on Thursday, December 15th. Dr. Lathrop Stoddard of Boston, the author of "The Rising Tide of Color" and a member of the National Council, introduced Mrs. Sanger to a meeting which crowded the hall to the doors.

Miss Rose Standish Nichols gave a tea in honor of Mrs. Sanger's visit to Boston at her home in Mount Vernon Street on Wednesday afternoon, and Mrs. W. B. Cannon opened her home in Cambridge for a meeting Wednesday evening to which were invited a number of Cambridge physicians and the members of the Harvard faculty and their friends. Beside Dr. Stoddard, other prominent Bostonians who joined the National Council of the American Birth Control League are Professor William McDougall and Dr. Alice Hamilton, members of the faculty of Harvard University, Mrs. Oakes Ames and Dr. Abraham Myerson. Mrs. Cannon was chosen temporary chairman of a committee to secure members in the New League for Massachusetts.

Miss Virginia Young and Dr. Lyda Allen DeVilbiss spoke to the members of the Godmothers' League Day Nursery at the Armenia Relief Building on December 20th.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Women's Law Club held at the Hotel McAlpin, December 20th, Mrs. Anne Kennedy presented the aims of the New League.

At the College Club Miss Clara Louise Rowe, the Organization Secretary, met recently the Philadelphia members to arrange for a Pennsylvania State Conference, which will be called at Philadelphia, January 30th and 31st.

LINCOLN'S WARNING

"I do not pretend to be a prophet, but though not a prophet, I see a very dark cloud on our horizon. That dark cloud is coming from Rome. It is filled with tears of blood. It will rise and increase till its flanks will be torn by a flash of lightning, followed by a fearful peal of thunder. Then a cyclone such as the world has never seen will pass over the country, spreading ruin and desolation from north to south. After it is over there will be long days of peace and prosperity, for poverty, with its Jesus and merciless Inquisition, will have been forever swept away from the country. Neither I nor you, but our children, will see these things."—(From page 715, Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, by Rev. Charles Chicheley.)
Eugenic Aspect of Birth Control

By Roswell H. Johnson

It is my task to contrast the effects on racial progress of (a) a continuation of the present status in reference to Birth Control with the results that would follow, (b) a repeal of the present laws which purport to suppress it and a constructive effort to influence the distribution of Birth Control instead.

The present condition is one truly appalling. We have an alarmingly low birth rate from intellectually superior persons. We have on the other hand a disproportionate contribution from the inferior.

No problem whatsoever is of more importance than the amelioration of this condition. Men of the future will have the characteristics of the super fecund and will lack the characteristics of the sterile or sub fecund. Our most pressing problem is to increase the birth rate from the superior and to decrease that from the inferior. The present laws attempting to suppress it utterly fail to hold up the birth rate amo.

When we turn to the inferior, we find it one of the means by which their relative super fecundity is maintained.

The evidence is strong and direct. The reasons which impel want for knowledge on Birth Control are poor education for proper recovery since birth of last, disease, ignorance, poverty, inability to support the additional burden.

We find then that economic pressure is the greatest potential force to hold down the birth rate of the relatively inefficient. Its failure to be more effective is the unburdened child. Let all children be hidden children and at once there will be a marked reduction of the children in the harassed homes.

Three elements which tend to interfere with this result are rapidly being reduced. (1) the extreme simplicity of need, such that some individuals of very low earning capacity do not feel their restriction of income. The rapid spread of communication and universalization of similar clothes and manners which replace the old local simplicities and provincialism are making not only all nations and classes more and more alike in their spending habits, but giving them similar attitudes toward all things including the dislike of very large families, (2) the spread of child labor laws which has gone on very rapidly and is still in progress, together with a marked simultaneous increase in the cost of rearing children are rapidly cutting down the number of families where large families “pay their way”, (3) there is a rapid increase in social capillarity progressing in the world over by which parents know their children can climb out of their own social and financial class if the child possesses the requisite quality individually. Class blocking no longer acts as much as formerly to hold down expenditure standards of the less well paid.

We can confidently predict therefore, that in countries like Holland, without the objectionable laws, we have less super fecundity of inferiors and a lesser gap between the fecundity of various groups. Studies there paralleling those of the United States Children’s Bureau, based on size of families in relation to income, are very desirable.

The advocates of Birth Control will not be satisfied with a negative step such as the removal of suppressive laws with reference to contraceptives. They wish to see that Birth Control is wisely distributed. Birth Control is not birth repression, but truly wise control—that is more births from superior and less from inferior.

When the suppressive laws are removed then our task has only begun. We must see to it that the knowledge of means of control are made class and word wide. The Aryan stock is today the most given to Birth Control and it must see that it does not suffer internationally by the relative ignorance of inferior stocks. The medical missionary should be thoroughly equipped and not hampered from spreading Birth Control because his country outlaws it.

In conclusion, the laws suppressing information and means of Birth Control should be removed because by so doing we can to some extent prevent the outbreeding of superiors by inferiors now going on.

Reply by Margaret Sanger to Archbishop Hayes’ Statement

I am glad to learn from Archbishop Hayes’ Christmas pastoral that the church has a clear understanding of Birth Control separating it definitely from taking life after conception has occurred.

Many people have been of the opinion that the church confused the two ideas and denied vigorously that the church opposed prevention of conception as distinct from interfering with life after conception has occurred. From Archbishop Hayes’ statement we at last realize that there is a perfect understanding by the church of what the Birth Control Movement stands for. For this I am grateful.

I do not care to answer the Archbishop’s theological statement concerning the will of the Almighty. His arguments are purely those based on assumption and he knows no more about the facts of the immortality of the soul than the rest of us human beings. What he believes concerning the soul after life is based upon theory and he has a perfect right to that belief, but we, who are trying to better humanity fundamentally, believe that a healthy, happy human race is more in keeping with the laws of God than disease, misery and poverty perpetuating itself generation after generation.

There is no objection to the Catholic Church inculcating the theories and doctrines in its own church and to its own people, but when they attempt to make these ideas legislative acts and force their opinions and code of morals upon the Protestant members of this country, then we do consider this an interference with the principles of this Democracy and we have a right to protest.
A Catholic Woman on Birth Control

IT IS extremely discouraging, though not at all surprising, to read in the papers the stand taken by His Grace Archbishop Hayes, in denunciation of the movement for contraception.

Of course, it must be remembered that the Catholic Church is a very old and conservative institution that it is controlled absolutely by men, and that these men are vowed to celibacy. Instead, therefore, of being surprised at this opposition of the Church, it would be astonishing if an institution so controlled, acted otherwise.

Women are relatively unimportant in the Catholic Church, though, as in other denominations, they form by far the bulk of its active membership. The Church holds rigidly to the Paulian theory of feminine inferiority, and in the marriage ceremony exhorts the woman “to be subject to your husband in all things, that man is the head of the family, as Christ is the head of the Church, etc.”

Catholics are taught never to question a ruling of the Church, and even the wishes of local prelates are supposed to be accepted without question and yet it is plain to be seen that American Catholics are no longer being bound by these things. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons threw the weight of his great office, plus the power of his really charming personality and learning, against woman suffrage, and tried in every way to discourage the participation of Catholic women therein.

His Eminence Cardinal O’Connell of Boston (who is more reactionary than was Cardinal Gibbons) thundered at woman suffrage. Yet thousands of Catholic American women are ardent suffrage workers.

RIOUSLY ENOUGH, the Catholic clergy are amusingly inconsistent on this subject of contraception. They advocate an unrestricted birth rate, and yet they hold up as the model of motherhood, the Blessed Virgin Mary, who had one child.

The Holy Family is offered as the perfect model of domestic life, and yet if we are to believe the teachings of the Church, St. Joseph was never the husband of the Virgin Mary in the real sense of the word, and I think it highly unlikely that even a Catholic husband would care to maintain such a relationship toward his own wife.

Furthermore, we are taught that when the Angel Gabriel announced to the Virgin Mary that she had been chosen to be the Mother of the Messiah, he asked her consent, and answered her objections, as we find in the New Testament. Yet the Church does not give their Catholic women this same right of choice, but commands them “to be subject to your husband in all things.”

I gather from reading the statements of His Grace on this subject, as well as from numerous interviews which I have had with various priests on the same topic, that they believe that the sexual relation should be entered into for the sole purpose of procreation. If that is true, why do they not absolutely forbid intercourse once conception has occurred? Why do they sanction the marriage of women past the child-bearing age. The answer is clear because the institution of monogamous marriage would go to smash if they did.

FURTHERMORE, since the possibility of the sexual relationship on the part of the human female survives her reproductive capacity, is not this the surest proof that the sex instinct in human beings fills something more than the merely procreative function which it is in the lower animals?

The Church has never come out emphatically against prostitution. Of course, it opposes all immorality, but it is not reasonable to suppose that a Church which, through all the ages, has been powerful enough to prohibit the (civil) relief of divorce, would not be equally powerful to prohibit the illegal institution of prostitution? Is not the failure of the Church to do so, the surest proof that this man controlled in stitution is still unable to accept the single standard of morals, and to enforce upon its male members a rule which would be so distasteful to them?

Why, if his Grace approved the stand of the Eugenic Congress for a better and healthier race, does he not demand the submission of a health certificate by all desiring to marry, as suggested in the amendment to the Domestic Relations Law, May 16, 1917? Such a progressive step by the Catholic Church would compel other denominations to take similar action, and would be of inestimable value in the fight on venereal disease—the real cause of race suicide in this and other countries.

If the Catholic Church only sanctions the sexual relation for the purposes of begetting offspring, on what ground can they sanction the use, by Catholic American soldiers in France, of venereal prophylaxis?

IF THE answer is “prevention of disease,” then surely contraception for the same purpose is doubly excusable, for it has the further merit of protecting society, and unwanted children from physical and economic distress, whereas venereal disease prophylaxis was merely to protect men against the result of their own immorality.

The Catholic Church eventually catches up with the procreation, but it will take some time for it to realize and admit that women are people, really entitled to full equality with men. This can hardly be wondered at when one reads that for many centuries, some of the greatest Fathers of the Church debated whether, having been made from a rib of Adam, woman had a soul at all. However, there is comfort in the reflection that in the very beginning of the catechism we are taught that “man is a creature endowed with understanding and free will.”

Let us hope “man” is intended in the collective sense, and such being the case, perhaps women, understanding how many children they can afford (physically and economically) may be permitted to exercise free will in having them.

Meanwhile, how many American Catholic families do you know today, with fourteen to twenty children?
An Unpublished Letter to the New York Times

November 29, 1921

Dear Sir,

The recent discussion between Birth Control advocates on one hand and an Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church on the other prompts me to inquire if events as history has recorded them prove conclusively that the Roman Church has always been so unwilling to have discussed, some things considered by the Archbishop today as fit only for the ears of properly schooled anatomists.

Some two hundred and sixty years ago among Italian artists the popular subject by reason no doubt of current discussions was the Immaculate Conception. Along with twenty others of the same subject Murillo painted what has come down to us as his best known picture. This was in 1660 just when Pope Alexander set forth views which were destined to find acceptance with his Church as Dogma. 200 years later, during the interregnum about the middle of the 18th century Benedict XIV affirmed that "the Church inclines to the opinion of Immaculate Conception".

About 100 years later, in 1845, Michelet, the great historian of the romantic period, wrote "Strange thing, in the spiritual epoch, a long discussion, public, solemn and European was held in the Schools, Churches and College chairs concerning a subject anatomical, and of which we dare not speak today only in a school of Medicine. What subject? How the Virgin remained Virgin having had a baby? Conceive if you can of Monks, persons vowed to celibacy, Dominicans and Franciscans all racking their brains on the question teaching and preaching anatomy to children, to little girls, occupying their minds with their sex and its most secret mystery!"

Four years later, in 1849, Pious IX addressed a circular letter to the Bishops inviting their opinions on the advisability of defining the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. In 1852 the Louvre acquired Murillo's "Immaculate Conception." On December 8, 1854, in view of the generally favorable sentiments expressed by the Bishops, though some in Germany and France feared it inopportune and possibly injurious, Pious IX proceeded to promulgate the dogma. The decree was read in the presence of about 200 Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops assembled in Saint Peter's, translated from G Bertin's "Histoire des Evenements de Lourdes." Paris, 1908.

"About three years from that day when by a solemn act of Pious IX the Holy Virgin, was declared exempt from the stain of original sin, she herself appeared to a humble child of the people and by this child interrogated concerning her identity replied: 'I am the Immaculate Conception.' It was the decision from Heaven after that of Earth. Thus a doctrine came to be written for the World by the Church. Go put his signature to it."

Who will say that those controversies did not reach the popular mind? That the circulation of an image which remains yet popular left the lastly entirely unacquainted and devoid of curiosity.

Surely the hazard to public morals was none the less because out of all was to come an ambiguity which in turn was to serve the Church.

Does the Roman Church fear for its power through reduction in numbers? Must Mrs. Sanger please an Archbishop or perhaps a Pope adopt some emblem or mute sign?

Yours very truly,

M R Lukens

Resolutions Passed at First American Birth Control Conference

While desiring a decrease of the world birth rate in general, this Conference is well aware that this should take place on the part of individuals whose progeny would least contribute to a better race and that indeed on the part of many persons of unusual racial value that their birth rate is now too low.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we advocate a larger racial contribution from those who are of unusual racial value.

RESOLUTION

To the Conference on Limitation of Armaments, Washington, D.C.

This Conference desires to draw attention to the vital importance of the population question from the point of view of national security and world peace.

If ever recurring wars are to be prevented the people in each country must be able to live in reasonable comfort within their own borders. This can only be secured by a well balanced control of the birth rate. In most countries such a control is already being practiced by a minority, but the masses are still continuing to multiply their numbers regardless of their children's prospects in life, regardless of the hideous suffering that must ensue when rival races are driven to fight with one another for room to live.

We therefore urge that all nations should publicly recognize the supreme importance of well distributed Birth Control among all classes as a means of raising the standard of human life and of guaranteeing the peace of the world.

RESOLUTION

To the Surgeon General Public Health Service, Washington, D.C.

We, the First American Birth Control Conference do petition the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service to undertake medical research into contraceptive methods for the control of disease and publish such reports for dissemination through constituted health authorities, and

We further petition the Congress of the United States of America to make an appropriation in sufficient amount to undertake such studies and to publish such reports.

PETITION

To His Excellency Nathan Miller, Governor of the State of New York, Albany, N.Y.

We, the First American Birth Control Conference do petition that

You will recommend to the next session of the General Assembly of the State of New York that a Commission be appointed to investigate the decline of the birth rate.
A Review by Blanche Schrack

WOMAN FROM BONDAGE TO FREEDOM, by Dr. Ralcy Husted Bell. Published by Critic and Guide, 12 Mt. Morris Park, N. Y.

Everyone who realizes how much women need educating must rejoice that women now have the vote, not only because it gives them equal citizenship with men, but because it frees them from one narrow aim. Now that women have the vote, their real education begins. Woman suffrage as an issue is dead, but Feminism is coming into its own, and the books hereafter written for and about women must give them that intelligent knowledge of their own past which is necessary if their present problems are to be worked out practically and wisely.

In "Woman from Bondage to Freedom," Dr. Bell has traced the history and struggles of woman from prehistoric times to our own. We have gained much, but the end is not yet. "A stage has been reached," says Dr. Bell, "where no one doubts the desirability of equal opportunity and equal responsibility of men and women under the law, and nobody should question the wisdom of their equal moral obligations to society on given conditions." What these "moral obligations" are women must decide for themselves, and they cannot decide intelligently unless they know what effect sex disabilities and the economic dependence of women have had on past races and civilizations.

Education is necessary for freedom. As long as women consent to remain ignorant, they are in danger of losing rights they have already gained. It is significant that every right women won under the older civilizations, went down with these civilizations, and with the dawn of each new age in the world, woman has had to struggle up again from complete bondage.

The story of her struggles is told with skill and force in Dr. Bell's book. The first three chapters dealing with the earliest mankind, woman in prehistory and in the borderland of history are perhaps the most significant in the book, for, though these chapters cover much the same ground as the first part of Bebel's book on "Woman, Past, Present and Future." Dr. Bell's account is made more vivid by a rare insight into the manner of life of those most remote ancestors of ours.

The theory that women were the first artists is an interesting contribution to the study of prehistoric life. According to Dr. Bell, primitive woman was probably a keener observer than primitive man, and the periods of solitude enforced on her by maternity were favorable to the development of an artistic temperament. Just as the solitary child today, reproducing the childhood of the race, likes to 'make pictures,' so solitary primitive woman amused herself by 'making pictures on the walls of her cave,' and from such inconspicuous beginnings art emerged.

The two chapters on woman's relation to religion and the law give convincing evidence these two forces have been used in the past to rob and degrade womanhood, and religion and the law have both denied to the married woman the right of being mistress of her own body.

There is nothing in the chapter on Birth Control which is new, but Margaret Sanger’s brilliant work on the subject has exhausted the possibilities of presenting any longer any new argument for Birth Control. Nevertheless, as long as Birth Control is not an accomplished fact under the law, this subject rightly has a place in every book on the rights and responsibilities of woman. And Dr. Bell's arguments for Birth Control are sincere and convincing. The ethics of the subject are stated succinctly in one sentence. If there are any personal rights in this world over which church and state should have no control, it is the sexual rights of a woman to say "Yes" and "No." And until the law and religion give woman this right, it is idle to look for any improvement in the quality of the race.

A Review by William J. Fielding


Dr. Robinson has dramatized a number of unusual situations into a gripping story. A strong-willed, arrogant, puritanical clergyman, plagued by his own inner conflicts, resolves to bring up his children in the atmosphere of a clustered "purity." Son and daughter are carefully screened from any contact with the vital facts of life, even to the extent of being denied the normal, healthy companionship of young members of the opposite sex.

Frank, inherently a wholesome type—though his character was fostered by the repressive environment—passed through a carefully supervised adolescence, and in early manhood found himself in love with a wholesome young girl the neighboring doctor's daughter. Before the romance which was approved by both families, developed to a normal conclusion, Frank became vaguely ill, suffering first from mumps, headaches and, later, eruptions of the skin.

The diagnosis of a specialist finally made known the fact that Frank was suffering from congenital syphilis. It seems, the Reverend John Harding Brompton in his youth, had once succumbed to the temptations of those two ever alluring charmsers—Bacchus and Venus. As a result, he developed a slight sickness which, however, soon disappeared under nominal treatment, and he felt apparently no further symptoms.

This blight on Frank's life was a flare back of the distant episode in his father's youth. His vision of happiness which he expected so soon to be realized proved to be a blustering mockery. His engagement to Helen, of course, was broken off, at his own insistence no less than that of Helen's father.

It is at this point that the really interesting part of the story begins. It would not be fair, either to be author or to the prospective reader, to attempt to outline it here. Frank deprived of the first real joy that life ever offered him, as it appeared to be within his grasp decided on the futility of living. Even the fates were against him in his abortive attempts at suicide.

There follows a piece of grim realism in the portrayal of the ghastliness of war, an excursion into the vocations of Russian revolutionary art voices—depicting the fates of emotionalism and idealism of youth—and finally the soberer judgment of the more mature mind that has learned to make a practical compromise with reality.

Still, the original romance is not forgotten and it is ingeniously and happily revived toward the end, as well as another romance that also is woven into the threads of this unusual narrative.
Appeals of Mothers

Dear Mrs Sanger

I sent for and read your wonderful book on "Woman and the New Race" and now I feel I must write you and see if you can help me.

I have been married seven years and have four living children and in a few months I will again be a mother. While carrying my babies I am always very sick with kidney trouble and my left side is very bad. At times I am unable to walk.

We live on a farm and there is always so much work to do that my children are always neglected as it is impossible to get any help if we could afford it. We are very fond of children and love the four we have. The oldest which was four in January and the baby is ten months. Many a night my children fell asleep on the oilcloth floor, and had to wait till my husband came home from work to undress them.

I can not even nurse my baby. So I wish you would kindly tell me something and would help me not to have any more for I am in misery. Could hardly get along to support them all.

Your friend

Mrs Mc

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am writing to you to see if you can help me out. I have six children, the youngest is seven months old, and my age is only thirty years old, and have in my system rheumatism which after my last baby was born, I was four months in bed crippled with rheumatism with the small little ones. Many a night my children fell asleep on the oilcloth floor, and had to wait till my husband came home from work to undress them.

I can not even nurse my baby. So I wish you would kindly tell me something and would help me not to have any more for I am in misery. Could hardly get along to support them all.

Your friend

Mrs V

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am a mother of four children and a nervous wreck. Am still in my twenties and have seen as much trouble as many women twice my age.

Two years ago I lost my first child who was also very nervous. Have a baby now a year old who seems nervous too. Each one is taking its toll on my health and in order to preserve what I have left so that I may care for the three boys I still have, I am appealing to you for aid. Realizing that I have been an innocent victim as many women are who are married, I feel it time to make up and demand the right to say if I shall have any more children and sacrifice my health entirely as well as pass on to them some ailments too.

I bought your book "Woman and the New Race" and read it carefully. I agree with you that it is a greater crime to bring these innocents to life when you are unable to properly care for them than to prevent conception.

Can and will you enlighten one who needs it badly to save her life and her babies already born? Hoping to receive advice from you, I am,
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