Freedom in Sight
Bills in Two State Legislatures

Menace of Population Growth

By Raymond Pearl
A Calling of the Clan

WHEN WE PROTESTED, some months ago, against the underhanded and unsportsmanlike tactics of the enemies of the Birth Control, and challenged these enemies to honest, clean fighting in the open, we had little knowledge of the lengths they were willing and ready to go to destroy this great movement for the true education of the women of America. The breaking up of the Town Hall meeting in New York, just about a year ago, was of the greatest value not only in exposing Roman Catholic opposition to Birth Control, but in uncovering its organized and criminal disregard of the fundamental and constitutional rights of free speech guaranteed by the founders of our nation to every American citizen. The unwarranted usurpation of authority by high officials of the Catholic Church in New York City has set a precedent for illegal impudence that has now been followed, with more or less cowardice, by our enemies in other cities. Events of the past few weeks, events which crowd upon each other with amazing rapidity, teach us many things about the tactics of our actively mobilized enemy.

In the first place, we now possess undisputed evidence that the only organized opposition to the Birth Control movement in the United States is that sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. The efforts of the Knights of Columbus to break up our meetings in every city in which we have held conferences or lectures, the determination of this subsidiary organization of the Roman Catholic Church to prevent Margaret Sanger, in particular, from addressing the public, the striking repetition of these efforts in the various cities, gave us a body of evidence that the effort to destroy our educational program is a concerted and definitely organized campaign. The enemy has indeed come out into the open, brazenly defying the rights of free speech and free expression guaranteed us by the Constitution of these United States. But if this enemy has come out into open, do not make the mistake of concluding that it wages war against us by fair means alone.

NO! ALL MEANS ARE used to destroy our efforts for national health and racial hygiene, for the liberation of enslaved motherhood and the children of the future. Specifically, the tactics of these gallant "Knights" against all intelligent and self-respecting women of the country, include such cowardly and hypocritical activities as:

1. Instigating the violation of laws assuring peaceful assembly and law abiding meetings,
2. Intimidating hotel owners and managers and the owners of halls, legitimately contracted for, and in some cases paid for, by those supporting the movement for Birth Control;
3. Threatening boycott and withdrawal of patronage from such hotels and halls,
4. Bringing pressure to bear on municipal officials and authorities, threatening the withdrawal of political support to Mayors and Chiefs of Police who uphold the Constitution of the United States and City ordinances which guarantee the right of peaceful and law abiding assembly;
5. Indulging in every form of misstatement, perversion of fact, and vilification of leaders and program to antagonize the community at large against the aims of Birth Control.

The events in Albany on January 23rd remain the most flagrant instance of these reprehensible tactics. Two meetings had been arranged at the Hotel Ten Eyck. The afternoon meeting was devoted to the scientific aspects of Birth Control. The evening meeting was to be public and educational in aim. We know that the Albany police were ready to break up the afternoon meeting the moment Margaret Sanger attempted to speak. Innocently, she did not make this attempt in the afternoon, because she was conserving her strength for the evening meeting. Following the afternoon meeting, the Mayor of Albany, who had previously informed our organizers that the corporation counsel of the city could find no statute authorizing him to stop our meetings, went in person and deliberately ordered the management of the Hotel Ten Eyck to close its doors against our evening meeting. The end of this battle of Albany is not yet in sight, our efforts are to be renewed there. For it is out of just such struggles that the Birth Control movement acquires its staunchest adherents and champions.

THE FIRST MARYLAND State Birth Control Conference was scheduled for Baltimore two days later. Mrs Sanger hurried from the Albany battlefield to the southern city. Although Maryland remains a Catholic stronghold, our enemies there dared not attack the powerful position enjoyed by our friends of John Hopkins, such eminent scientists as Dr Adolf Meyer, Raymond Pearl and Dr R McC. Chapman. Under such auspices Mrs Sanger was not molested in making her address. But at Hagerstown, Maryland, the following day, where she spoke under the auspices of the Women's Club of Half Way, she discovered that these dauntless and courageous women had only just succeeded in winning the battle against our enemies. They had finally, after the greatest effort, secured a hall in which the "notorious" Margaret Sanger might be permitted to speak. First they had engaged the YMCA hall—
engaged and paid for it. But those gallant, lily white "Knights" had brought pressure to bear. The spineless officials of the Y M C A. had succumbed to the blustering braggadocio of the Roman Catholics. The hall was withdrawn. The brave women then tried to get the Armory. It too was withdrawn under pressure. The Unitarian Church was refused—more fear of the mysterious power of those gallant defenders of American womanhood—the "Knights." And finally, it was the owner of a dancing academy, who, to his everlasting credit, proffered the use of his hall. There was another protracted struggle to get chairs. Even the undertaker refused—perhaps unconsciously realizing that those who sought to bring down the infant mortality rate could be no friends of his! But finally, due to the indefatigable enthusiasm and energy of Mrs. Morgenstern and her associates, the meeting was held. It was a triumph in more ways than one. For quite aside from the question of Birth Control, it is a great spiritual achievement to triumph in the defence of one's constitutional rights. This Rural Woman's Club has set an example for all American women in courage, in energy, and, in the deepest sense, in true American patriotism.

Fortunately for a convalescent campaigner, the next chapter was a comparatively quiet one. There was no strenuous opposition in Chicago, where Mrs. Sanger spoke at the Sunset Centre, to over 2,000 people and where the cosmopolitan atmosphere of a great city makes organized opposition more difficult. But in Milwaukee, the seat of a great Catholic University, the enmity was intense. Mrs. Sanger was to speak under the direction of the Open Forum. Three halls were engaged, three halls were taken away, the managers and owners intimidated by the lily-white Galahads. Finally Mrs. George Raab secured the Auditorium. The Knights went to the Mayor, who is a Socialist and has a broader vision than most of our regulation made-to-order mayors. He refused to interfere with our meeting. He declared he would defend to the utmost the right of Margaret Sanger to speak in Milwaukee. Furthermore, he pointed out to the knightly delegation that if he were to interfere with the right of a Birth Control advocate to free speech, merely because of the opposition of Roman Catholics, he would, to be fully consistent, be compelled to interfere with the rights of Catholics, to oust them from halls where they held meetings. The Knights then appealed to the Chief of Police. But owing to the fact that there was a Socialist administration in Milwaukee, there was a greater respect for American traditions and constitutional rights than exists in such a municipality as Albany. The Knights were foiled again. The result was a great over crowded meeting in Milwaukee. Fully 1,500 people crowded into the hall, and hundreds were turned away.

At the hearing in Hartford, Connecticut, our Roman Catholic enemies came out in full force. Ecclesiastics, high dignitaries of the church, and a large delegation of Catholic women appeared before the Judiciary committee supporting bills the enactment of which would thrust back upon the State the support of all Roman Catholic institutions for the care of the Feeble minded, the dependent, the delinquent, for orphans and illegitimate children. Incidentally, let us not neglect the significance of this attempt to thrust upon the citizens of Connecticut the inevitable results of the large family system advocated by our opponents who so bitterly denounced Birth Control. Of the most sinister significance is this tacit confession of the Catholics that they need state aid to support the ever increasing numbers of unfortunate and unwanted children they are bringing into the world.

There is one great truth we must learn from the ceaseless warfare of our Roman Catholic enemies. Their forces are organized, directed, and united. They are able to break up meetings, to intimidate municipal authorities, to coerce whole American communities to accept their reactionary and near sighted point of view. With an audacity inflamed by a supreme disregard of the true interests of humanity in general and of America in particular, they are usurping control of American opinion and American institutions. They succeed in their lamentable obstruction of the course of true civilization, not because they are supported by our intelligent citizen ship, but because the forces of American intelligence and enlightenment are scattered and unorganized. The adherents of Birth Control, we have every reason to believe, far outnumber its opponents in this country. But, as we have so often restated, it is not enough merely to believe in Birth Control. That belief must be clearly and sharply crystallized. In the interests of national health, in the name of all our children, in our faith in the glorious future of our country, the forces of intelligence, of education, of enlightenment, of American freedom, must rally under the banner of humane science. We must present a solid, invincible front, against which the army of reaction can make no advance. We must march into the Future triumphantly and exultantly, scattering the forces of reaction as chaff before the wind. And thus initial step, this very work of organization, will prove to be of the greatest educational value. Out of the despair of individual effort, the discouraging fight against the organized powers of darkness, the loneliness of the individual against the cruel mob, may grow a great spirit of cooperative effort, with each recruit giving of his and her best, inspired by an indomitable courage, and aflame with the faith that only in this spiritual solidarity may we create our world anew—a world of radiant health and of life giving love.

Please take notice.

A word to our subscribers: An immense amount of work and expense would be saved in our Circulation Department, if every subscriber would send in cheque or money order for renewal before the date of expiration. Renewals thus sent in are credited from the date that the old subscription expires. In some cases, it takes two or three reminders before subscriptions are renewed. Please remember that support for the Review is support for the cause of Birth Control, and send in your renewals promptly.
News Notes

MRS SANGER was relieved of the necessity of going to London for the trial of Mr Guy Aldred, concerning the destruction of her pamphlet, which was ordered in the magistrate's court on January 9. It was felt by Mr Harold Cox and other friends that her evidence might not be admitted at the trial of the appeal, and that it was useless for her to go. The appeal came before the Recorder of the County of London and a bench of justices of the peace on February 9th, but a plea for an appeal to a higher court was entered, and the destruction of the pamphlets was stayed until this plea is settled. The decision of the Bench, if upheld, will precipitate a new fight on freedom of the press in England, a fight of the kind in which Englishmen delight, and one which is sure to be waged to a finish.

January 10 —A bill for the amendment of the Federal law which prohibits the carrying of Birth Control information or appliances in the mails or by common carriers was introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Albert B. Cummins (S 4314) and in the House of Representatives by Representative John Kussell (H R. 13756). The bill simply omits the words "prevention of conception" from the categories of forbidden literature and articles. An attempt was made to safeguard the public against indiscriminate and misleading Birth Control information by adding a provision that Birth Control literature that may be carried through the mails shall be limited to such as "bears the endorsement of duly licensed physicians or public health authorities." The bill, as introduced, did not, however, carry any such safeguard.

January 23 —The stopping of the meeting at Albany, at which Mrs Sanger was to have spoken was described in our last issue. The arbitrary action of Mayor Hackett aroused widespread indignation, as a wanton interference with freedom of speech and liberty of opinion. A protest signed by fourteen prominent Albany women was sent to the mayor after he had refused, on the ground of illness, to meet personally a delegation which waited on him at the City Hall. In their letter the women protested against the stigma placed on all those who had attended the meeting, "of countenancing a movement contrary to morality, propriety and uprightness," and also against an order which was an invasion of their constitutional rights of freedom of speech and peaceful assembly. The reply of the Mayor, which was dated January 30, afforded no satisfaction whatever to the women and they followed up their former complaint with another letter in which they definitely asked the rescheduling of the order stopping the Birth Control meeting. The names of the women who signed the letter were:

Marion S Humphrey  
Miss Virginia Lipe Wilcox  
Mrs Robert H Brabb  
Mrs Allen H Moore  
Mrs F D Bidwell  
Mrs C H Wheeler  
Mrs Katherine Gavitt  
Mrs C L A Whitney  
Mrs W O Sullman  
Mrs Luther H Tucker  
Miss Weare Cooin Little  
Mrs H L K Shaw  
Mrs Peter Brashear  
Mrs Brian Leet

The postponed meeting is described under date of February 20.

January 25 —A bill to legalize the practice of Birth Control (now forbidden by State Law) and also the giving of Birth Control information by physicians and nurses was introduced in the Connecticut Legislature by Representative Suskey, and referred to the Judiciary Committee.

January 25 —Extraordinary interest was shown in Baltimore in the First Maryland State Birth Control Conference which was held at the Hotel Belvedere. The banquet hall of the Hotel proved to be entirely inadequate for the numbers who wished to attend. Gallery and platform were crowded, as well as the space originally set apart for the audience, and over 200 women were turned away, after the hotel supply of chairs had been completely exhausted. Under the able chairmanship of Dr Adolph Meyer, Psychiatrist in Chief of Johns Hopkins Hospital, the scientific, medical, ethical, psychical and social aspects of the question were considered, papers being read by Dr Ross McC Chapman of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Dr C A Rubenstein, former Rabbi at the Har Sanan Temple, Dr Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins University and Dr Raymond Spaeth of the School of Hygiene and Public Health of Johns Hopkins Hospital. The first address was given by Mrs Margaret Sanger who sounded the key note of the convention in her description of the purpose of Birth Control and the need that exists for it, if there is to be any hope for the improvement of the human race. At the end of the meeting Dr Meyer gave an admirable summary of the papers, and a number of questions, sent up from the floor, were answered by Mrs Sanger and the other speakers. The audience included a large number of doctors, university professors and students and many of the most socially prominent women of Baltimore.

January 26 —A meeting, at which Mrs Margaret Sanger was the speaker, was held in the Stouffer Dancing Academy, Hagerstown, Md., under the auspices of the Women's Club of Halfway, Md. Great difficulty had been experienced in securing a hall for the meeting, the Y M C A Building and the Armory—the two most available halls in Hagerstown having been successively refused for a Birth Control lecture. However, out of admiration for the courage and persistence of Mrs George Gellbach, Secretary of the Washington County Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs H T Morningstar, Chair man of the Education Committee, an offer of his academy was made by Mr Frank B. Stouffer, and the result of the contest between the forces of the opposition and these courageous women was an overcrowded meeting and immense enthusiasm on the part of all who heard the Mrs Sanger's address.

January 29 & 31—Two large and deeply interested meetings were addressed by Mrs Sanger in Chicago. The first, on the 29th, was held at the Mt. Sinai Social Center. This had been arranged by Mr S D Schwartz. The second at the North Shore Branch of Mt Sinai Social Center at Winnetka, also arranged by Mr Schwartz, was under the charge of Mr Frank Solomon. Both meetings showed the progress that the movement for Birth Control is making in the Middle West.
January 30—An audience of about 1800 persons, described by the newspapers as “a cross section of Milwaukee’s population,” listened to Margaret Sanger at a meeting held in Plankington Hall at the Auditorium, which had been arranged by the Open Forum of Milwaukee. Scores of men and women were turned away by the police, whose only duty proved to be the enforcement of the fire regulations against overcrowding. Vigorous efforts had been made beforehand to put a stop to the meeting. Mayor Hoane had been approached by the Marquette Women’s League and by other organizations, urging him to protect the city from the “insidious propaganda” of Birth Control. The reply of the Mayor is worth recording. “I believe,” he wrote, “in freedom of speech, freedom of press and religious liberty. The idea of stopping something because we do not agree is wrong. If things which Mrs. Sanger says are objectionable, the police will stop the meeting, but something out of the way must be said before they can do this. I have never been in favor of denying the use of the auditorium to any but the Ku Klux Klan. No persons have the right to censor this woman, because they do not agree with her.” As is always the case, interest in Birth Control was immensely quickened by the opposition to the holding of a Birth Control meeting.

January 29—a debate on Birth Control was held by the Eastern Branch of the Y M C A of Brooklyn, N Y. Hitherto this subject has not generally been included among those chosen for debating clubs. It is satisfactory to note that victory lay with the affirmative side, headed by Mr. Irving Zinaman.

February 1—Mrs. Sanger spoke at a luncheon at the Chicago Women’s City Club. The arrangements had been made by Mrs. Payson S. Wild, Chairman for the family limitation committee of the Club. There was a large attendance and the women showed themselves ready for definite advances in practical work.

February 3—Mrs. Ann Kennedy had a respectful and sym pathetic hearing when she presented the case for the Birth Control bill before the Albany County Medical Association.

February 7—The Second Pennsylvania Conference on Birth Control was held at the Hotel Bellevue Stratford in Philadelphia. There were two sessions, the first being held in the South Garden on the roof of the Hotel. Mrs. George A. Dunning, one of the vice presidents of the Pennsylvania branch opened the session and the speakers were Mrs. Donald R. Hooker of Baltimore on “The New Race”, Dr. Henry E. Jackson of Washington on “Overpopulation as a Cause of War”, Dr. Charles Dudley Saul, “Impressions of a Practical Physician,” and Mr. Igor Yussepfow Channius Anopsoly on “Birth Control in Europe.” At the close of the papers Mrs. Alice M. F. Newkirk spoke on the legislative situation in Pennsylvania. The evening session was preceded by a dinner, with Dr. Kate C. Baldwin as toastmistress. The principal speaker was Margaret Sanger and there were also addresses by Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein and Dr. John C. Vaughan of New York.

February 11—The postponed mass meeting, first arranged for January 4, was held at Parson’s Theater, Hartford. The theater was packed, with the exception of the upper gallery which the management had not intended to open. The crowd was so great, however, that after the beginning of the meeting late comers were allowed to go up, it being impossible to find room for them elsewhere. Interest was keen, because the bill for legalizing Birth Control had already been introduced in the legislature, and the hearing on it had been set for the following Tuesday. Mrs. Sanger was introduced by Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, who addressed her fellow citizens as an old resident of Hartford. The meeting was free, but a generous collection was taken up—more than sufficient to cover the cost of the hall.

February 14—The bill for the amendment of the N Y. law controlling the giving of Birth Control information was introduced in the New York Legislature by Assemblyman Rosenman of New York, and referred to the Committee on Codes. The bill is No. 852. It extends the rights of physicians to give contraceptive instruction and prescriptions to all married women. As the law now stands such information can be given only in cases of disease.

February 17—At a very representative meeting of the medical men in New York, at which 45 doctors, members of the County Medical and the New York State Medical Association were present, a straw vote was taken on the Birth Control amendment pending in the New York Legislature. The vote was 36 in favor, 1 opposed and 8 not voting.

February 20—The Albany public meeting, stopped on January 23 by action of Mayor Hackett, was held at the home of Mrs. Ernest Pittman. The Mayor again exerted himself to suppress the meeting. Oddfellows Hall had been secured and the meeting had been advertised to be held there. Again the case of the Mayor was issued and the hall refused, the Mayor stating that he would not allow the holding of any public meeting on Birth Control. Mrs. Ernest Pittman offered the use of her home, throwing it open to the public freely, not merely to invited guests. The Mayor was informed over the telephone that a public meeting would be held there and was invited to attend. He made no answer, and evidently considered it wiser not to attempt the suppression of a meeting held under such auspices. Over 250 people attended, and many had to be turned away for lack of room. Many of those present were from surrounding towns, for the keenest interest had been aroused all through that section of New York State. In addition to Mrs. Sanger’s speech—the speech which she had been scheduled to give at the original meeting on January 23—Mr. Arthur Garfield Hayes of the American Civil Liberties Union gave an address on the constitutional right of free speech and a resolution was unanimously passed protesting against the action of the Mayor.
The Hearing at Hartford

Mrs Sanger Before the Judiciary Committee of the Connecticut Legislature

On February 13, in the Old Senate Chamber at the Capitol at Hartford, Connecticut, was held the first legislative hearing in the United States on a bill to legalize the giving of Birth Control information. It was fitting that Connecticut should be the first State to take into consideration the undoing of the mischief which has been done by past obstructive legislation, for Connecticut is the only State whose Statute Books make it a crime to promote Birth Control. The bill which was introduced on January 25 would repeal this old law, and moreover, would definitely make legal the giving of contraceptive information by doctors and nurses.

The bill, HB 504, had been referred to the Judiciary Committee, and according to Connecticut procedure the hearing was before a joint committee of both Houses—two Senators, one Hon. Arthur F. Ellis, ranking as chairman, and eleven Representatives, one of whom, Hon. John Buckley, also ranked as chairman.

The Senate Chamber is not large, and long before the opening of the hearing it was packed to the doors. There were several other bills to be heard before that for Birth Control was reached. Most of these bills concerned dependent and delinquent children, and were proposed amendments to a code passed two years ago for the reform of the State system of dealing with these unfortunate young people. Almost all of these measures were promoted by the Roman Catholics, and were aimed to secure more State aid for children in Roman Catholic institutions. The Roman Catholics, led by Bishop Murray, were there in force to advocate these measures, which were opposed by the men and women interested in the support of the laws which had been secured, with great difficulty and in the teeth of vigorous opposition, so short a time previously. If all the measures thus put forward are passed, it will add many thousands of dollars to the State expenditures for charities and corrections in the form of doles to sectarian bodies.

It was a curious commentary on this zeal in behalf of the poor, whom they have in their institutions, when these advocates of State expenditure, arose to enter vigorous protests against any bill that would make it possible to diminish the number of defective and delinquent boys and girls, through the scientific teaching of Birth Control. The opposition was represented by a lawyer, Mr. F. E. Jones, as well as by Bishop Murray of the Hartford diocese. After they had put forward their case against Birth Control, Mrs Sanger was allowed a few minutes for rebuttal. The attitude of both the chairman of the committee was entirely fair and considerate, and while there was evidently some antagonism on the part of some of the members, and some questions were asked which betrayed either ignorance or opposition, no attempt was made by any member to embarrass the advocates of the bill.

The first spokesman on behalf of the bill was Mr. Henry F. Fletcher, of Hartford, through whose efforts the bill was introduced. He gave a brief explanation of the purpose of the bill and of the statute which it proposed to repeal. He then turned over the case to Mrs. Anne G. Forritt, who, as a resident of Hartford, appeared on behalf of the Connecticut Legislative Committee of the American Birth Control League. She urged the committee to give a favorable report on the bill, as one which would equalize conditions for rich and poor, the rich already having access to the knowledge which is withheld from those who most need it. The bill would cause no expense to the State, but on the contrary would save thousands of dollars in taxes by preventing the birth of the unfit. It was not intended to permit the miscellaneous dissemination of Birth Control information, but only to place the right in the hands of responsible people—physicians and registered nurses. Mr. Robert P. Butler, Corporation Counsel of Hartford, who volunteered his support, was the next to speak. Mr. Butler is active in Hartford and Connecticut politics, and has much influence with the Democratic minority in the Legislature. He urged the eugenic value of Birth Control.

The chief interest of the hearing centered on Mrs. Sanger, who then took the floor and made a plea for Birth Control. She traced its history and development—through disease, famine and war, the cruel methods of nature, to infanticide and abortion, the almost equally cruel methods of primitive man, to the modern scientific measures which make possible responsible parenthood.

There seemed some doubt on the part of the committee as to whether the parents of unfit children would exercise Birth Control, if it were within their reach. In reply to a question, Mrs. Sanger told of the thousands of letters she is continually receiving from mothers who have had one or more feeble-minded or defective children, imploring her to help them to avoid bringing more such children into the world. She emphasized strongly the fact that the advocates of Birth Control are not in favor of abortion, but desire only to prevent the beginning of life. If this is murder, she added, then it is murder to remain single.

The opposition to the bill brought out the old objections that it was against the law of nature, that it was "atheistic," that it struck at the foundations of Christian family life, that it was an insult to womanhood, and (from a member of the Legislature) that it was a vexatious piece of legislation. In his long harangue against it, Bishop Murray used some curious statistics. He cited the City of Bradford, England, as a terrible example, overlooking the fact that Birth Control has not been openly taught there, and there is no clinic within one hundred miles of the city. In rehearsing the supposed facts, he gave the infantile mortality rate of Bradford, which is very high, largely owing to the
fact that the mothers are workers in the woolen factories, and are overburdened with unlimited child bearing in addition, and compared this infantile mortality with the general death rate in other places. He gave one of the more remote and rural provinces of Ireland as a blessed example of a high birth rate, 45 per thousand as compared with 21 or 22 in England, but acknowledged that the death rate in this province was also about 45, just balancing the birth rate, instead of 12 or 13, the average English rate, which allows a fairly high survival rate. He asserted that the natural law, given by the Creator, established the sex function exclusively for one purpose, and that to exercise it for any other purpose was an unnatural perversion. "You would have to convert the whole State of Connecticut into a vast insane asylum," he said, "if people were foolish enough to do this thing, after the law was passed."

Mrs. Sanger was warmly applauded, when in rebuttal of these assertions, she pointed out the absurdity of invoking "the law of nature," when in every other respect we have developed far beyond submision to the cruel and unintelligent natural law. She spoke of the high function of sex love in building up the home, and the absurdity of a theory which if carried into practice would mean that in the ordinary family the sex function would be exercised only three or four times during the whole of the married life.

Several doctors had volunteered support for the bill, but of the three who expected to be present, only one was able to get there. Statements from two others were given in writing, and other written expressions of approval were afterwards sent to the chairman of the committee.

Bills for Birth Control are now before the Legislatures in New York and Connecticut. Every friend of the movement in these two States is urged to get into communication with his or her Senator and Assemblyman, or Representative, and either by letter or personally to show the great indignation that anyone should attempt to decide what his wife should know.

Miss Daniels was of course the heroine of the evening. She made a good speech and was tremendously cheered. Among the speakers was Mrs. Janet Chance, a daughter of the late Dr. Alexander Whyte, of Free St. George's Church, Edinburgh, the most famous Scotch preacher of his time. The meeting thoroughly grasped the fact that Birth Control is something which the upper classes do not want the workers to know about, and its anger and resentment were very great. The movement is steadily taking hold among the working class. Great good is being done by the lectures of Miss Stella Browne, to women's clubs, in which she explains the theory and practice of Birth Control from A to Z. Whatever the result of the Aldred appeal may be, every body now regards his prosecution for selling Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet as a very stupid mistake. It merely brought out the fact that many of the leading people in London are whole hearted believers in Birth Control. Sir Arbuthnot Lane, Bart., who is one of the two or three most eminent doctors in London, took the stand as a witness in the trial in the police court, and said that Mrs. Sanger's book should be in the hands of every young person about to marry. Harold Cox, the editor of one of the two most high brow magazines in the English language, said the same thing. Mrs. Bertrand Russell and J. M. Keynes, the economist, have become sureties for the costs of the appeal. Aldred defended himself, and did it amazingly well. The whole trial was a demonstration in favor of Birth Control, and the magistrate seemed to feel that he was the most insignificant person in the court.

The Branch League in Honolulu is holding regular meetings the third Friday in each month. Dr. Emily C. Dole is the secretary. At the meeting in August a committee, with Judge Sanford Dole as chairman, was appointed to draft a bill making it legal to sterilize certain types of degenerates. The subject for debate in the January meeting had reference to making sex information a part of the curri culum of certain schools in the Islands.

What We Want is the letting our consciousness play simply and freely upon the facts before us, and listening to what it tells us of the surely intelligible law of things as it concerns them, and surely what it tells us is that a man's children are not really 'sent,' any more than the picture on his wall or the horses in his stable are sent, and that to bring people into the world when one cannot afford to keep them and oneself decently and not too precariously is by no means an accomplishment of the divine will or a fulfillment of nature simplest laws, but is contrary to reason and the Will of God.

Matthew Arnold

"It is hard to keep moral sentiment alive when twenty per sons of different sexes and families are huddled together in the same room."—District Attorney Benton, N. Y.
The Menace of Population Growth

By Raymond Pearl

The problem of population growth is essentially a biological problem. It is a problem which has more direct and serious and painful consequences for us and our children and grandchildren than perhaps any other biological problem whatever. It is a problem which bears very directly upon such homely and important questions as whether we shall have a new automobile next year, whether it is advisable to buy that new home or stay in the old one awhile longer, whether after all a college education for the boy will in the long run produce any better results than high school plus the hard knocks of business life immediately administered, or finally, and most significant of all that we hold dearest and deepest in our hearts, whether we shall have any or any more children. If my fairly long and somewhat painstaking study of the matter has not wholly misled me, it is my considered judgment that the cosmic process which most fundamentally affects such matters as these I have mentioned, and many others like them which altogether may roughly be designated "standards of living," is the process of population growth.

To the problem raised by the steady, never ceasing operation of this biological process attention is invited at this time. I shall try first to show that there is a problem, and what it is. Perhaps there may be some who have supposed that population offers no problem, or if it does that the only question is how to get enough of it. It was not many years ago that we heard a great deal from our most vigorous and greatly lamented President about race suicide. The doctrine was that the civic and social value of a person was in direct ratio to the number of his posterity. But another of our great citizens, one whom we may perhaps regard as even wiser than the great man to whom I have referred, namely one Benjamin Franklin, said in an essay written in 1751 on "The Increase of Man kind"

Who can now find the vacancy made in Sweden, France, or other warlike nations, by the plague of heroism forty years ago in France by the expulsion of the Protestants, in England by the settlement of her colonies, or in Guinea by a hundred years' exportation of slaves, that has blackened half America? There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as, for instance, with ferns and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages, be replenished from one nation only as for instance, with Englishmen. Thus there are supposed to be upwards of one million of English souls in North America (though it is thought scarce eighty thousand have been brought over sea) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufacturers at home. This million doubling, suppose but once in twenty-five years, will, in another century, be more than the people of England, and the greatest number of Englishmen will be on this side of the water.

What an accession of power to the British empire by sea as well as land! What increase of trade and navigation! What numbers of ships and seamen! We have been here but little more than a hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war, united was greater both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in Queen Elizabeth's time.

"In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polygus, take away a limb, its place is soon supplied, cut it in two, and each deficient part shall speedily grow out of the part remaining. Thus if you have room and subsistence enough, as you may, by dividing, make ten polyguses out of one, you may, of one, make ten nations, equally populous and powerful, or rather, increase a nation tenfold in numbers and strength."

Some forty years later, the great clergyman economist, Malthus, wrote his epoch making "Essay on the Principle of Population," one of the greatest books the human mind has produced, so far ahead of its time that in the main his argument is truer and more significant today than it was when he wrote it.

In his opening chapter, Malthus said: "I think I may fairly make two postulates. First, that food is necessary to the existence of man. Secondly, that the passion between the sexes is necessary, and will remain nearly in its present state. Assuming, then, my postulate as granted, I say, that the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power of the earth to produce subsistence for man."

The problem of population has never been better defined than in these words. It may be put into schematic form in this way:

1. The habitable area of the earth, however broadly one may define "habitable," is definitely limited.
2. There is no innate or inherent biological limitation to the rate of reproduction of mankind.
3. Therefore eventually the habitable area of the earth must become completely saturated with human population, with so many people in short that no more can possibly live thereon, and those who are living can only maintain life with the greatest difficulty, without either ease or comfort.

Now, is there any ground really for so gloomy a picture? Mr. Babbitt and his optimistic friends of the business world assure us that there is not—that this great and glorious land of ours will alone forever support an ever increasing population, that anyone who suggests the contrary is certainly not a 100 per cent. American and in fact probably pro German, and will in good time be dealt with as he deserves by the Ku Klux Klan or the Anti-Saloon League or by some other of the numerous 100 per cent agencies, so nobly organized to convert this country, as soon as possible, into the land of the fettered and the home of the cowardly, if I may venture to bring up to date one phrase of our national anthem:

To Circumvent Mr. Babbitt and his friends, suppose we look at the matter from the standpoint of the whole world, rather than that of the United States. This must be wholly
unobjectionable because we have lately in set terms officially repudiated the doctrine that we are for any practical purpose even an integral part of the world

I have recently (Geographical Review, Oct., 1922) made an examination of the existing world statistics of population and production and consumption over roughly the period covered by the nineteenth century for certain commodities, and, from necessity, for a shorter period for others. Let us consider briefly the results.

In the first place it appears that the world's population increased in the century somewhere between two and two and a half times. This is, in itself, not an extraordinary figure and would appear to be nothing to be in any way alarmed about. It is far smaller than the rate of population increase under special circumstances, where the population of a particularly favored area may double itself in fifteen to twenty years;

But, while the population was increasing at the most two and a half times, the world's coal production and pig iron production increased from fifty to seventy times and by 1917 had increased nearly 100 fold over the conditions of 1800. The world's cotton production increased in the same period twentyfold, the world's commerce, a little more than that, the world's shipping increased something like eightfold, while the railway mileage increased, in the period from 1830 to 1917, by roughly 3,000 fold, and the telegraphs 300 fold.

In the face of such figures as these, one may well ask, "Where are we going?" No sensible person will for a moment suppose that such increases as those for cotton production, coal production, or pig iron production can go on indefinitely at the rate shown in the 117 years covered. It would be manifestly absurd. Yet, on the other hand, it must be remembered that these figures are world figures, approximate if one pleases, but on the whole certainly not far from the true, unknown facts. Thus consideration means that the population of the world, in one way or another, has used up in the business of carrying on its life all of the coal, all of the pig iron, and all of the cotton for which the production trends have been as stated. There is no such thing as "interworld" trade. Therefore, it cannot be asserted that a part of this production went for export and consequently need not be worried about. Trade relations have still to be established with the other planets. When we look at the facts of world production, we are also, and implicitly, setting before ourselves the data of world consumption using consumption in the broad sense of usage plus wastage.

ESSENTIALLY THIS SAME thing that we have been looking at is going on relative to food, although world food statistics, even for the most important crops, are not available for anything like a century, nor are they very accurate. But rough as they are, their trends are probably reliable. It appears that during the twenty years prior to the world war the world production (and consumption) of such staple crops as corn, wheat, oats, barley, potatoes and sugar was increasing at a distinctly more rapid rate than population.

Now it appears to be true that the whole fiber of our social organization is bound up with the consumption of about the indicated amounts of products. In other words, so much coal and so much pig iron and so much cotton were produced in the last century because the world's people needed them, or, at least, thought they needed them to maintain and continue their lives, individually and collectively, in the way they were doing and presumably wanted to do. Put in another way, there seems no escape from the conclusion that the present stage of the development of the world's civilization requires about the ratios of production to population shown on the chart in order to maintain itself and continue at its present standards of living.

But there at once follows a most significant corollary from this. If it be granted that the coal and pig iron production, for example, cannot by any possibility be projected for another century or two along the same lines that their production has followed during the past century, then it must be that, unless the rate of increase of population slows up, the ratio between the production of these goods and the population which has been maintained in the past cannot possibly be continued in the future.

What is happening in regard to population growth? For some time past I have been engaged in the study of this problem, both from the statistical and the experimental points of view. The net result of these studies, as yet only partly published,* has been to establish two laws of population growth, which make possible the prediction of future population under certain conditions. These laws may be stated as follows:

1. The Law of Population Increase in One Epoch.

POPULATION STARTING at a beginning as near as possible to zero grows at an ever more rapid rate of increase until a time is reached where there is the optimum relation between the number of individuals existing and the means of subsistence in the fixed area to which the population is confined. After that point the population continues to grow but at an ever decreasing rate per unit of time until finally a point of saturation is reached where no more individuals can be supported by the available means of subsistence.

II. The Law of Self Regulation of Populations.

Populations tend automatically so to adjust their birth rates and death rates, in the face either of normal circumstances, or of catastrophes and calamities, as to maintain a steady onward growth in accordance with the first law.

The large mass of evidence which we have accumulated in support of these two propositions will shortly be published in book form, it is hoped.

* The chief discussions of these results so far as published are to be found in the following:

It must be apparent to anyone who has given any real thought to the matter, or who has made himself acquainted with any substantial part of the pertinent facts, that the world's population cannot go on increasing in the future as it has in the past. The population problem is a real problem of far reaching significance, which cannot be indefinitely neglected, without having the neglect bring in its train an unjustifiable amount of real suffering.

This brings us to the real crux of the matter. What shall we do about it?

In the first place, we now see clearly, through the operation of what I have called the second law of population, which postulates the self-regulatory character of population growth, that none of the traditional checks on population growth, such as war, pestilence, and the like, offers any real solution of the problem. If these calamities, and they are calamities because they involve a vast deal of human suffering, are of sufficient magnitude to make a sensible deflection of the steady, onward march of population increase, their effect is only momentary. The curve of growth comes in a very short time—at most a few years—back to its old course.

The real solution is obvious. There must be a restriction on the rate of reproduction of the human species, taken as a whole and in a statistical mass. Furthermore, as every biologist knows, there will be such a restriction. In most populations it has already begun. The question which one has to think about is: shall this restriction be wholly voluntary and unintelligent—forced by the stern pressure of natural causes, of famine and disease due to exposure and hunger, with all the bitter suffering which this implies, or shall it be in some part voluntary and intelligently controlled? If mankind, organized into a social structure, deliberately and purposefully sets itself to the task of intelligently controlling its rate of reproduction, the world can continue indefinitely to be a pleasant place in which to have one's being. If mankind refuses to do this, on any grounds whatever, our children's grandchildren and great grandchildren will probably see such an amount of suffering, a standard of living so lowered, as to make even these parlous times seem paradise indeed.

To make the voluntary and intelligent regulation of parenthood, birth control in short, a really effective contribution to the solution of the problem of population will be a task of extraordinary difficulty. It will demand a patience, an intelligence, and a zeal on the part of those who carry the gospel, such as human beings have rarely been called upon to put forth. How much can be accomplished that will have a statistically significant effect upon the rate of population growth remains to be seen. But of what the consequences will be of a failure to reduce materially this rate, I have no manner of doubt. If anyone has, I only ask him to contemplate the picture of human misery, squalor, and general wretchedness which the really densely populated portions of the earth's surface present today.

The London "Spectator" On Birth Control

The London Spectator, probably the most highly moral of all British non-religious publications, which is described by its friends as the "organ of all right-thinking people," has come out openly for Birth Control. It has been urged to this course by the prickings of the social conscience in regard to infant and child welfare. In the issue for February 3rd, commenting on Harold Cox's recently published book, "The Problem of Population," it writes: "A child is a valuable and precious creature. We want infants to be more carefully and scientifically tended, we want children to be more intelligently brought up, we want our young people to be more thoroughly, more inspiring taught, we want the whole of our people to live in such surroundings that a civilized existence is possible to them. It ought to be considered wicked and unforgivable, rather than inevitable, to neglect an infant, to provide for a child of five or six nowhere but a dirty street to play in, to teach boys and girls four or five dozen at a time. We rarely develop beings, either physically or mentally, as we know they can be developed. But what can we do? We realize the defects in the workings of our homes and our schools, we know that the young person going into business is up against a real struggle for existence. But of England, De Quincey's dreadful sentence about the Chinese is now true, 'Man is a weed in that region.' We can not take human beings seriously because we have not yet assimilated the new morality."

This new morality means the acceptance of Birth Control. "The use of contraceptives," continues the Spectator, "is not immoral. It is immoral to bring into the world children who are unwanted, likely to suffer from some hereditary disease, beyond the number whom the parents can reasonably expect to support till the completion of their education." "We condemn cruelty to children," continues this exposition and defence of the new morality, "but where is there a cruelty so terrible as that which condemns a child to the life in death of the slums? But the slums are the outcome of over-population." Side by side with this clear sighted exposition of the advance we are making in social morality, we may set the despairing but sublime utterance of a Canadian woman, in hospital for the birth of her 23rd child: This woman submits, but her idea of the God who torments her must be of a cruel and despotic tyrant. According to the newspaper, this woman, 42 years of age, and married at 17, after giving birth to 23 children and burying fourteen of them, could only say: "It is the will of God, God would punish us if we did not have babies." Poor woman! Poor babies! Poor clergy, who in their teachings so construe God's purposes as to make it His will that people should be thus afflicted after he has given intelligence to mankind and guided our scientists to the discovery of means for Birth Control.
6,077 of These Letters Came Last Month

Is There a Demand for Birth Control?

Married at 15—Five Children at 22

Wyoming

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am writing to you like I suppose thousands of other women are writing today, and that is what I am asking, what to use to keep from having so very many children. I have four living children and one dead. I am only 22 years old. I am very weak for I have had five children in six years. And my husband also is sickly for he has miner's asthma. Sometimes he is unable to work at all for two or three weeks and then I have to wash my neighbor's clothes to make a living for six people. I often wonder what would become of us when my husband cannot work at all, or if he should die.

I was married before I was sixteen. My mother died when I was 12, leaving my sister and myself with a father who would not care for us as he should. We were hungry a great many times. Our mother had nine children counting us out—they all died, some when they were born, and two daughters died in childbirth. So you see we are not very healthy.

I will certainly see that my country people, who are Austrian, and others, too, get your book, and help to do away with slavery.

Please write me soon and tell me some way I can keep from having any more children.

Fifty Dollars a Month to Keep Six

Georgia

Dear Mrs Sanger

Will write you a few lines. I ordered one of your books, "Woman and the New Race," and have read it and think it is the greatest book I ever read—if your advice was carried out. I am the mother of four living children and four dead. I am thirty years old. Will you please, for my four living children's sake, give me the right information? My husband works at public work for $50 a month. You readily see we are not able to raise and nourish these four without any more. Please, for my sake and my children's sake help me at any price.

Father Tuberculous

Nebraska

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am writing to you to ask you to help me. I have five children, three girls and two boys, and lost two, and all of these I have are sickly, for their father has lung trouble, and I am not very well. I only weigh 96 pounds. I love my children. My baby is sixteen months old now and I just dread to have more children when we are in such poor health and luck. We don't own our home, but have to rent most of the time. Sometimes we work by the month for some one on a farm, but the wages are so low, and so much sickness that we don't have all we want.

I will close. I hope you can help me, hope to get a reply from you soon.

Cannot Afford to Buy the Right Food

Colorado

Dear Mrs Sanger

I have just finished reading your wonderful book on Birth Control. And I wonder if you could help me to keep from having any more children. I am only twenty-three years old and have five children. Four of them living, my baby is six months old, and I would like not to have any more, as my husband is a store clerk and only gets ninety dollars a month. We only have three small rooms as we cannot afford to pay for more, and I know the children do not get the right kind of food, as we cannot afford to buy it. I am not very strong and have not been able to nurse one of my babies. Please help me, Mrs. Sanger, tell me what to do, as I could not appreciate anything more than to know how to keep from having any more children. Thanking you very much.

A Catholic Woman's Protest

New Hampshire

Dear Friend

Please pardon my bold forwardness in calling you friend. But that is just what you are indeed to all woman-kind.

I am a young woman, only 25 years old, and have been married four years and have three babies and I am now in constant fear to find myself in for another trial. I have a good man, but he is like the rest when desire takes him, it has to be satisfied, and when I don't feel very well, I find it quite distasteful to even have him near me. Besides this, I am an asthma sufferer for the past five years and I am in constant fear that my poor little ones may suffer as I have. Now do you think that I am doing the right thing to bring children into the world, when I can't give them proper care?

I am a Catholic, but I do not believe or uphold them in their thinking that no matter what the condition of a woman may be and that a woman must be a slave, if it should cause her death and leave a man alone with a half dozen or more youngsters that she was a good woman to die so. Yes, but what about those poor little ones? When the mother is gone, she is never to come back, and those poor little ones will never know a real mother's love.

Mrs. Sanger, I bought and read your book on "Woman and the New Race." I admire you and I surely did enjoy that book, but I was disappointed in not having the full instructions on what one could do that would be safe to practise Birth Control.
Four Babies, A Two-Room Shack

Saskatchewan

Dear Mrs Sanger

Having just received one of your books of Birth Control, I am writing to you for some of your advice. I am an Englishwoman of 21, with four babies, the eldest only three. I married at seventeen, at eighteen my first one was born, at nineteen I had twins, and at twenty I had a boy. I had a miscarriage when my boy was seven months old. My babies are well and strong, the eldest walked at four months, but the trouble is, I am not strong myself, and being poor we live in a small two roomed shack, where there is no room for them to play, so they are a lot of trouble to manage, as, being thoroughly healthy, they are always into mischief and fighting all the time. It makes me sick with the worry with them, so you see I feel I would sooner die than have any more worry added to it. I also feel that they should have more care than what they get, but how am I going to give it them if I have any more? So would you please tell me what to do to keep from having any more, as I can't get the information around here anywhere.

The Distorted Knowledge Unguided Youth Acquires

Michigan.

Mrs Margaret Sanger, Dear Madam

Have just finished reading a copy of your book entitled, "Woman and the New Race," which I sincerely believe should be in the hands of all young married people and a great many elderly couples, as a guiding light.

I, myself, was reared by a conscientious but strict moral widow, who believed that everything regarding sex should be learned after the marriage ceremony, consequently such knowledge as I possessed at the time of my marriage—eleven years ago—was of the distorted kind unguided youth acquires in its own way.

I am thirty-six years old, my wife nine years my junior, and we have a family of six children to provide for from a laborer's income.

Our oldest child is ten years old, our youngest four months, thus making a family all and more than I can support, and it was the hope of gaining knowledge to limit our offspring to this number that led us to send for your book, which, while stating that there are ways and means to secure that end, does not enlighten us as to where or how that can be obtained.

We have tried the being careful plan (it doesn't work) and almost all other ideas known to the common people I am now appealing to you, whom I have heard is an author upon this subject, if you possess this knowledge or can direct me to where same can be secured, to impart to us that which will relieve the despair of our lives, earning our everlasting gratitude and appreciation. Price and money will not stand in the way to the limit of our resources, as we both realize something has to be done, we simply can not continue in this way, even if it becomes necessary for us to live apart, which we ardently hope and pray to find some way to avoid.

Wasted Lives

Ohio

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am writing to you to see if there is any help for me. I was married in 1916, then sixteen years old, my weight, 128 pounds. I was married ten months and 23 days when my first baby came. In one year a two months' miscarriage, and on August 12, 1919, a little baby girl that only lived a couple of hours. In three months another miscarriage, and in three months more, I am looking to be confined again. My oldest boy is less than six years.

I almost think it impossible sometimes that there is help for me. It is not because I don't love babies, but it is because I can't stand no more. My weight is 96 pounds, and I can't hardly drag myself around after the work and care for my two children. Now, Mrs Sanger, if there is any help for me, it would be a godsend as I don't know whether I can stand this or not. The doctor refuses to help me, saying that as soon as this is over, I can go through an operation, and then be stronger. But if you can help me I would do most anything, for I can't care for any more babies.

A Doctor's Protest

England.

Sir

I have read the articles on so-called birth control in your paper with disgust. It certainly is true that there are contra concepitives known to the medical profession, but it is a lamentable state of affairs when people outside that profession begin to teach the public how to acquire and use them and so avoid parenthood. I am what is known as a "general practitioner"—a family doctor, and how, I ask you, is a family doctor to practise if there are no families for him to minister to?

My own practice, in a crowded centre, consists largely of confinement cases, and I should be acting against my own interests as well as against my own convictions if I were to put all my female patients as wise as myself in the matter of avoiding childbirth. Even a doctor must live, and though occasionally a woman does indirectly of having too large a family such cases are neither numerous nor normal. A woman is intended by nature to have children, and if she wants to escape her lot she should either remain a spinster or induce her husband to be more self-restrained.

I consider that you are following a mistaken policy in opening the pages of a popular periodical to discussions which may encourage women to shirk their manifest duty
Press Clippings

BACKWARD CONNECTICUT

NEW YORKERS MUST BE grieved by evidence of the low state of civilization and morality in an adjoining Commonwealth. A bill has been introduced in the Connecticut Legislature to permit the giving of information about Birth Control, under proper safeguards, and a hearing was asked of the Judiciary Committee on the principles involved.

Here in New York we know better than to permit discussion of the desirability of amending the laws. Our police last year broke up a meeting for that purpose and arrested speakers almost before they spoke, though even they had to be prodded into action by outside influences. The Mayor of Albany, a bold man, not long ago forbade a Birth Control conference on general principles. But in Connecticut the Judiciary Committee of the lower house consented to a public hearing. Margaret Sanger was allowed to recite statistics about the population of Holland and to plead that poor women be allowed the information which almost any well to do woman can get now. The Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Hartford stood up and said his say against the bill, like any other citizen. And, since Connecticut seems to be as backward as it does, any other citizen. It does not appear that there was any noting or violence, any giving of illegal information, or any other of the dread consequences which leads New York authorities to put on the lid.

The Mayor of Albany ought to request the League of Nations to give him a mandate for Connecticut.—Editorial, N Y Times

January 15, 1923

ALBANY’S PRUSSIANISM

HIGH HANDED POLICE INTERFERENCE with the conference of the American Birth Control League in Albany a few days ago is reminiscent of New York’s experience in the fall of 1921. Then, as now, no legal objection could be found or offered as a reason for forbidding the meeting of the league. In both instances group intolerance of the subject to be discussed was allowed to outweigh the law. And although the league is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, the Mayor of Albany announced that he “figured it would be impossible for any one to talk on such a subject and keep within the law.” So he called the meeting off “for the best interests of the morals and the good of the city of Albany.”

The Albany women behind the conference naturally resent the interference that they are supporting an immoral and improper movement, and they have called on the Mayor for a retraction of his statement and a withdrawal of his objections. They rightly consider his action an invasion of their constitutional rights of freedom of speech and peaceful assembly.

Interference by one group of citizens with the constitutional rights of another group is much too common to be overlooked. And the fact that it is possible to utilize police powers to prevent people from discussing questions in which they are interested is a matter for serious consideration by the public. There will always be differences of opinion on great questions, but there is no reason why any group should impose its prejudices upon the rest of the world to the extent of shutting off the right of speech.

There is no reason why the opponents of Birth Control should not incorporate and hold meetings. It is quite safe to say that neither the police nor the administration of any city would interfere in any way. Let us have fairness and justice in this and all controversial questions from the administrators of the law.—N Y Tribune January 29, 1923

MARGARET SANGER’S RECENT COMING to Baltimore with her Birth Control propaganda has made more apparent what has long been clear to thoughtful people.

Either the State must permit the women to be taught how to have fewer children, or it must set aside funds to aid those mothers, who are willing to have children.

The rich, who are able to support large families, are the first to learn the secrets of Birth Control. The poor, to whom Birth Control secrets are barred by law, become poorer still because they must provide for the ever increasing numbers of children.

If there is any information that can prevent a mother of ten children from having any more, no State or Federal law should prevent her from obtaining it.

—The Afro American, Baltimore

Extract from a Letter Addressed to the Income Tax Bureau, by One of Our Friends and Supporters

Gentlemen,

I cannot frankly and honestly see any reason for your ruling on the American Birth Control League, as it is recognized as educational and philanthropic. Every organization that has a new idea has to make a start, and all the people engaged in this work do it for the sake of humanity. In fact, over population is the most serious subject discussed today in every English-speaking country. Our asylums are filled with the feeble-minded, insane and orphans, all of which I, as a tax payer, have to assist in supporting.

This cause is being antagonized only by a religious or gangsterism, which does not happen to have the same viewpoint as other Christian bodies. Anybody has a right to practice what they believe, but they have no right to impose their wills on others who may not have the same viewpoint.

We have clinics for ears, eyes and nose, and for tuberculosis, and nurseries to take care of mothers and babies, but nothing is done to help the poor woman, the diseased, destitute, down and out woman, from bringing more of her kind into this world for the fit people to take care of.

IN THE GREAT WORLD WAR less than two men out of every hundred were killed in battle. During this time accordingly, a soldier in the trenches was six times as safe as the baby in the slums.

HENRY DWIGHT CHAPIN, M.D.
TO ALL OUR FRIENDS

In two State Legislatures there are now pending Birth Control bills, which would make legal the giving of contraceptive advice by physicians, and consequently the establishment of Birth Control clinics.

In New York, the bill (No 884) has been referred to the Committee on Codes and a hearing will be held early in April.

In Connecticut, the bill (H B 504) is in the hands of the Judiciary Committee and the hearing has already been held.

We want our friends in every State of the Union to aid us in getting this pioneer legislation safely on the Statute Books.

To everyone in these two States, we say

Write to each member of the Committee in charge of the bill. Tell him you are interested in the measure and urge a favorable report on it. Write also to your Assemblyman or Representative and to your Senator asking them to vote for the bill when it comes before them.

To all friends in other States we say

Think over your friends and acquaintances. Do you know anyone in New York or Connecticut? If you do, write to them; tell them about these bills, tell them of your interest, and urge them to give the bills their support.

Success in one State will help on the movement in every other State.

Below we give the text of each of the bills and the names of the men on the respective committees.

NEW YORK

No 884

AN ACT

To amend the penal law, with reference to the furnishing by physicians of information and articles for the prevention of conception.

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

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

§ 1145. Physicians' instruments and advice. An article or instrument, used or applied by physicians lawfully practising, or by their direction or prescription, for the cure or prevention of disease, is not an article of indecent or immoral nature or use, within this article. The supplying of such articles to such physicians or by their direction or prescription, is not an offense under this article. The giving by a physician lawfully practising, to any person, married or having a license entitling him or her to be married, duly and lawfully obtained by him or her, of any information or advice in regard to the prevention of conception, on the application of such person to such physician, or the supplying to such physician, or the supplying by such physician or by any one on the written prescription of such physician to any such person [on the application of the said person to the physician] of any article, instrument, drug, recipe or medicine for the prevention of conception, is not an offense under this article.

§ 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

EXPLANATION—Matter in italics is new matter in brackets.

Address letters to The Capitol, Albany, N Y., or The Capitol, Hartford, Conn.

CONNECTICUT

H B 504

AN ACT CONCERNING BIRTH CONTROL

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened.

Section 1. The giving by a physician licensed to practise or by a duly registered nurse to any person applying to him or her, of information or advice in regard to, or the supplying by such physician or nurse, or on a prescription signed legibly by him or her, to any person applying to him or her, of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception shall not be a violation of the statutes of the State.

Section 2. Section 6399 of the General Statutes is repealed.

SENATORS

Arthur F. Eells............ Waterbury
Frank L. Wilder............ Bridgeport

REPRESENTATIVES

Raymond A. Johnson............ S. Manchester
Benjamin W. Alling............ New Britain
Ernest L. Averill............ Branford
John Cunliffe, Jr............ East Haven
Edward J. Kelly............ Colchester
Daniel M. Cram............ New London
Frederick A. Hubbard............ Greenwich
Elbert L. Darby............ Danielson
J. Mortimer Bell............ Salisbury
George R. Sturgis............ Woodbury
John Buckley............ Hartford
Book Reviews

A Review by Howard E Jensen
THE SOCIAL TREND, by Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Co., N Y pp 235 $1.75

In this volume Prof Ross has collected a number of previously published articles covering a variety of social topics, to which he has added a number of essays not heretofore available. Altogether he has produced a stimulating book for the layman in the social field, covering in a style unusually lucid and forceful a variety of subjects, such as immigration, the frontier, philanthropy, prohibition, legal and business ethics, job tenure, free speech, militarism, etc.

The second essay, on 'The Necessity of an Adaptive Fecundity,' is of special interest. Prof Ross deplores that the term "race suicide," coined by himself twenty years ago, has lent itself so readily to the use of portentous bigwords to send a chill down the spine of their hearers," as they point to the restricted families of the enlightened peoples as if to a rapidly spreading moral leprosy. The fallacy of superficial conventional moralizers consists in their failure to recognize that a birthrate is not an absolute measure of population increase or social wellbeing. It can only be properly interpreted in relation to the deathrate and the economic prospect of the people concerned. To bring the discussion into the field of concrete social realities, Prof Ross applies the test of arithmetic. If medical science should make no further reduction in our deathrate, and our birthrate should expand to equal that of French Canada, America would at the close of this century contain three billion people, "three times the population of Asia and Africa today with seventy million folks thrown in for good measure." But "suppose that, instead of looking at the performance of other peoples, we should go to our ancestors for a standard through the forty years intervening between the inauguration of George Washington and that of Andrew Jackson, the natural growth of our populations averaged three per cent, a year. Should we equal their record for the remainder of this century, the American people would then be two-thirds as numerous as the present inhabitants of the globe." America's real problem, therefore, is not a declining birthrate, but the fact that "curtailment of fecundity is most practiced by the capable and ambitious and least by the inert and commonplace." Hence the need of policies looking toward the reversal of this differential in the birthrate, bringing about "less prudence in the good homes, and less recklessness in the hovels and tenements." Thus Professor Ross shifts the moral issue which now is concerned, not with maintaining a traditional birthrate, but with bringing about an adaptive fecundity upon which society will in the future depend not only for its rise in intelligence level and in its standard of living, but also for relief from the menace of militarism and the burden of competitive armaments. For is it not idle to hope for permanent peace in a world in which various races and nationalities on diverse planes of culture reproduce with no regard for the economic prospect?

Of equal interest are the essays on "The Changing Domestic Position of Women," and "Women in a Man-Made World." Prof Ross questions the view that the entrance of women into industry and politics and the professions will have a masculinizing effect upon society. Quite the contrary now, that it is easy and safe for a woman to earn her bread, and now that in almost any walk of life she can go about without the male protector at her side, there is a refusal of ostracism not only by those with a gift, a call or a cause, but also by those who lack the instinct for mating and children. Women of a certain seer or even masculine endowment are now for the first time withholding their heredity from the stream of life. This means that each generation of women will be the daughters of the more feminine members of the previous generation. If, therefore, the rejection of marriage and motherhood by one woman in a dozen has any racial effect, it ought to make the female sex in the course of time more truly feminine in its instincts. Whether this confine-ment of motherhood to the more feminine women will affect the psychic endowment of their sons as well as their daughters is a very interesting query. This query the author makes no attempt to answer. Any answer would necessarily be a priori. But he has at least done us the service of raising it as a challenge to current dogmatic assertions as to the racial effect of the revolt of "Women in a Man Made World."

A Review by Lawrence K Frank
THE NEXT STEP, by Scott Nearing. Nellie Leedes Nearing, Copley-wood, N 1, 1922. p 167

The latest book by Scott Nearing, The Next Step, is concerned with a plan for economic world federation through the co-operative organization of producers (i.e., workers). It consists of three parts: a discussion of industrial methods and the handicap thereon of existing political and economic life; an outline of a world economic federation, its organization and operation; and finally, a general discussion of social progress, economic evolution, and so on.

It will indicate the character and nature of the book to point out that the question of what is to come (the next step) in social evolution may be approached in two ways: the rate and direction of social change may be studied, to determine how and when changes are coming, what alterations in institutions, customs and habits are taking place and, more specifically, what new forms of economic activity are being developed. One may address himself to the task of planning out, a priori, the kind of political economic life, which the predictions and preconceptions of the planner make desirable and plausible. Mr. Nearing's book follows the second way and as a plea for the reform of the world in accordance with the ideas and conceptions already made familiar by G D H Cole and others. It is interesting to note in this connection how the older program of state socialism has been laid to rest by the war.

Within the limits of the review only a few comments and observations are possible.

It is interesting to note, in the first place, that Mr Nearing omits all reference to control of population growth as a means of "generating a chosen future out of the given present." This is significant in more ways than one, because social reform is a question of changing the habits of behavior and of thought of people, the habits of behavior and of thought which gave rise to, and support, an unrestrained, uncontrolled birth rate. That is to say, the same rationalizations of competition, profit seeking, nationalistic enterprise, imperialism and so on, as desirable and beneficent conduct serve to defend and uphold the uncontrolled birth rate. Were it not for France one would be tempted to say that the behavior of peoples was socially desirable in proportion as they controlled their births, but birth control is not a panacea.

Another aspect of the book worthy of attention is the nearly all "big business" men will agree with Mr. Nearing that competition, individual enterprise and so on are obsolescent, as witness the "trust" movement and the development of integrated industry in which small enterprises are brought into the relation of subsidiaries to large corporations. They disagree with Mr. Nearing, however, as to the direction of the "next step.

Again one is moved to remark upon the confident expectation of Mr Nearing and others, who advocate the same, semi-soviet organization, that committees of producers (workers) will be guided, in their committee decisions, district, divisional, national and international, "as by an unseen hand," to work for the benefit of the whole of society. Adam Smith had the same faith in individual initiative and enterprise and it should occasion no astonishment, if Mr Nearing's proposals, when, as and if, adopted, should generate the same skepticism we now feel toward Adam Smith's laissez faire doctrine.
If we are to have an international integration of industries, whereby production and distribution will be governed by budget or program (not by fluctuating prices and the profit incentive), as in the U. S. Steel Corporation's control of the source of its supplies, or the Ford automobile industry, then it is to be hoped that the organization of such international integrations will be preceded by more national integrations whereby some experience and techniques will be gained.

It is simple enough to outline an international organization on paper, but any one who has had the task of making one angle organization function according to plan or schedule will know that organization charts and plans of operation are merely the syllables for instruction.

The vaunts of Mr. Nearing may be realized, so one will deny that our economic and political life is lacking in intelligence, whatever else they may say about it. The reviewer is unable to dismiss the question which always arises when reading a book such as "The Next Step," namely, is the problem of social reform one of devising elaborate plans and programs for future society, or is it a question of finding out how to make people see, understand, and act? A necessary prerequisite is the renewer. Is it possible that the present corporation structure of management is not only unnecessary, but unsafe. In the words of a recent article by E. L. Bernhard, "Not magic nor traditional culture nor the faithful trusting heart, but the knowledge and tech

The Modern Review (Calcutta) for January is largely concerned with the related Hindu problems of child marriage, remarriage of widows, the high death rate among Hindus and the difficulties placed in the way of normal marriages by the custom of bridegroom and bride price. It quotes from its contemporary in the vernacular Srm Dharma, the statement that in the Andhra district of Madras among the Kalungi (Hindu) 664 out of every 1,000 children under ten years of age are married. At the same time the survival rate of the Hindus is much lower than that of the Musalmans. It is also noted that the mortality in Calcutta in 1922 was three times that in London although London is seven times as large as the Indian metropolis. In India, disease and a high death rate are natural and measurable checks on an increase of population which under present economic conditions could not support these natural checks are supplemented by marriage customs which have a very definite deterrent effect on population growth.

Asia (New York) for February contains an article on Watch Doc toring in Melanesia which throws light on the problem of depopula tion in the Pacific Islands. The introduction of some shreds of the white man's civilization has done little in many of these islands to improve the condition of the people, but much to raise the death rate. The diseases and poisons of civilization are proving too much for these infantile races with their primitive ideas of medicine and hygiene. The problem of population if the native races are to survive seems to lie in the bringing about of a better balance between the birth and the death rate through the supplementing of the evils that the white man has introduced by the benefits of modern hygiene and medical science.

The Nation (New York) for February 7 printed an editorial reflecting severely on the lawlessness of the Mayor of Albany in preventing the holding of a meeting on Birth Control, at which Margaret Sanger was to have spoken. It compared his conduct with the attitude of the Ex Governor of Colorado, defeated in the last election who is said to have declared that he didn't need no law." Judging by the many comments on the Albany incident it is becoming clear that the opponents of Birth Control are being classed with the Ku Klux and the advocates of lynching, when they undertake to substitute their own ideas of "higher morality" for the law of the land.

The Journal of Social Hygiene (New York) for February in an article on "Social Backgrounds of Sex Education" throws a sidelight on why many girls go wrong. They come from large families, living in an atmosphere of privation and of constant quarrelling and they have to guide them no ideals of home or of happy married life.

The Eugenics Review (London and New York) for January contains an interesting group of papers by men who favor Birth Control. The group includes one by Roswell H. Johnson one by Mayor Leonard Darwin, and one by A. M. Carr Saunders Dr Johnson in his paper on "Mate Selection" counters the idea that laws against the dissemination of Birth Control information can be useful eugenically. Major Darwin in his "Observations on Fecundity" makes the point that the size of a family is no criterion of survival value.

**BOOKS RECEIVED**

From Boni and Liveright New York: Salome of the Tenements, by Anzia Yenzerska.


From G. P. Putnam's Sons New York, Up and Coming by Nalbro Barley.

R C CHURCH AND BIRTH CONTROL

WE SHOULD WATCH the evolution of the religious idea towards Birth Control. Only a few years ago we bought a pamphlet in Westminster Cathedral by Father Keating, where he said that, no matter if people knew incapable children only would be born to them, they must go on having children. That was the old idea. Once married, you must exercise no restraint whatever. It was ten years ago that this was on sale in the Westminster Roman Catholic Cathedral.

But I have been hearing for some time past that the so-called safe period was being allowed, and on Sunday I read in the Sunday Times that Father Degan said there were only three methods of Birth Control and they must be accorded to the Christian code.

First, late marriage.

Second, the spacing out of births by periods of mutual continence.

Third, restriction by the less reliable means known as “tuned unions”.

Thus even the Roman Catholic Church admits an important advance on the question. So important an advance is it that there are Anglican bishops, like the Bishop of Southwark, who said he would not accept it. That is Birth Control. That is simply contraception. There is no difference between that and the other methods of birth control which are more hygienic. Father Degan, who was one of the speakers at the Deptford meeting, drew attention to my reference and endorsed it. It was the first time I have had a Catholic priest say, “Yes, Dr Dunlop is right, the Roman Catholic Church now allows this method of Birth Control.”

I think no discussion of the moral and religious attitude would be complete without strong emphasis on that point, that the Roman Catholic Church has made a great advance on this matter, which is not even accepted by all Anglican bishops.

**Dr B I Dunlop**

Birth Control as a Business Proposition

*By Uldrick Thompson*

If you should ask a business man to invest his money in your business venture, he would want to know at once at least two things. First, what product do you propose to place on the market, Second, is there a demand for this product?

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Suppose you should say to these same business men, “We propose to produce diseased men and women, physically and mentally below the normal, unemployable men and women—degenerates. Would they invest?”

Every year some of the money contributed to charity is used to produce just such men and women.

Is this fair to the contributor?

Is it fair to society?

Is it fair to the product?

In short, is such a use of money a common sense business proposition?

**OUR CONTRIBUTORS**

Laurence K. Frank, Graduate of Columbia College, New York, Student of Economics

Howard E. Jensen, Professor of Sociology, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.

Raymond Pearl, Biologist, Professor of Biometry and Vital Statistics, School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore Statistician, Johns Hopkins Hospital Specialist in research work on Genetics, Heredity and Biometry.

Uldrick Thomson, Educator, Honolulu, Hawaii, now in California.

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Go to the rabbit, thou sluggard—The Efficiency Magazine.

*The Birth Control Review*

**THE PIVOT OF CIVILIZATION**

By Margaret Sanger

*Introduction by H G Wells*

Read Chapter II and decide for yourself whether or not the American Mother is a slave to enforced ignorance. This Chapter on “Conscripted Motherhood” describes the conditions under which mothers in America have to bear children.

Do you believe these conditions are right?

What remedy would you suggest?

Is not Birth Control more fundamental than the palliatives of government aid or charity?

**THESE CHAPTER HEADINGS GIVE SOME IDEA OF THE CONTENTS OF THIS VITAL BOOK**

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II Conscripted Motherhood

III Children Troop Down from Heaven

IV The Fertility of the Feeble Minded

V The Cruelty of Charity

VI Neglected Factors of the World Problem

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Dear Madam:

We have made a detailed cash audit of the books and records of the
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for the year ended December 31, 1922 and submit the following report:

The balances of the Company on December 31, 1922 were as follows:

Cash.................................................. $339.17
Inventory—Books and Pamphlets (Estimated) 1,000.00
Furniture and Fixtures.................................. 61.50
Goodwill............................................ 162.37

$1,583.04

which are represented by the following capital:

Capital Stock Issued........................................ $8,850.00

Loss Deficit:

January 1, 1922........................................ $8,113.79

Less Net Income, Year Ended December

31, 1922........................................ 846.83

7,266.96

$1,583.04

The following is a statement of operations for the year under review:

Income:

Subscriptions and Sales................................. $6,659.62

Advertising........................................... 1,492.53

Profit on Sale of Literature............................ 1,254.74

Total Income......................................... $9,406.91

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General:

Office Salaries....................... $8,964.25

Advertising......................... 239.63

Printing and Stationery....... 947.42

Taxes........................................ 10.00

Miscellaneous Office and

General................................. 1,871.43

$12,734.53

Net Loss on Operations............. $8,827.84

Less Donations............................... 9,174.67

Net Income Year Ended December 31, 1922........ $846.83

It will be noted that although the net results show an income of

$846.83, there was actually an operating loss of $3,327.84. The lib-

erality of the donors interested in the work of the Company was the

sole means of overcoming this deficit.

Respectfully submitted,

HURDMAN & CRANSTOUN

Certified Public Accountants

I SAY most emphatically that it is not right that children

should be brought carelessly into the world, on the assump-

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Of the scores of books on Sex that I have read I regard this as the best for the married or for those who expect to have that misfortune thrust upon them It is written in the most dignified and chaste language gives much valuable information that any lay reader may readily understand and must have a large influence in ameliorating the unfortunate conditions that are so sadly common in wedlock as a result of ignorance and of the absence of the high ideals instilled by the author

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