BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Presidential Address

By CHARLES V. DRYSDALE

Medicine's Responsibility for Birth Control

By WILLIAM ALLEN PUSEY, M D.
BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, INC.

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Published by The American Birth Control League, Inc.

Monthly on the first of each month

Entered as Second Class Matter, March 11, 1918, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Subscription price, $2.00 a year
Message to the President of the United States

HON. CALVIN COOLIDGE,
President of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

MR PRESIDENT

The Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, now convened in New York City, has aroused world-wide interest in the complex problems of national and racial health. It has emphasized the biological and economic waste to the American nation involved in the segregation and maintenance at public expense of the delinquent, defective and criminally unfit classes of our population. It has pointed out the organic correlation between an uncontrolled birth rate and the great national problems of maternal mortality, child labor, poverty, mental defect and crime, and the vast national expenditures necessary to meet these problems.

It is imperative, Mr. President, that as a nation the United States meet this problem of an uncontrolled birth rate. As an American citizen, I respectfully suggest that you, as Chief Executive of the United States of America, take steps toward the formation of a Federal Birth Rate Commission. I suggest that this Commission be composed of impartial scientists drawn from the fields of economics, biology, sociology, genetics, medicine and philanthropy, and have free access to all facts and statistics as to all customs and conditions now menacing the racial health and economic well-being of our country.

The formation of such a Commission would, I am sure, win for you the eternal gratitude of all American citizens who carry in their hearts a deep and disinterested love for this country and who are concerned in its future. I believe that all patriotic American Citizens, including yourself, Mr. President, must agree with me that our Chief Executive cannot willingly or consciously evade problems, upon a solution of which depends the fulfillment of our high destiny in the creation of the future.

Respectfully,

MARGARET SANGER,
President, American Birth Control League
We wish to extend our warmest thanks to those delegates who made a difficult trip across the Atlantic in the equinoctial season and with a very brief rest after the strenuous days of the Conference started on the long journey home. Without this sacrifice on their part we should have lacked the weight of experience and authority contributed by the delegates from England, France and Germany, the European founders of the International Birth Control movement. We should have lacked as well the zeal and enthusiasm of the newer group of pioneers from other European countries who in a remarkable brief space of time have made Birth Control a living issue at home.

To Dr Harré and Dr Drysdale we owe special thanks for acting as our interpreters for the French and German delegates and for making themselves, in large degree, responsible for their comfort and entertainment. We sincerely hope that in spite of the handicap of proceedings carried on in a foreign tongue, the French and German-speaking delegates derived as much inspiration from the Conference as a whole as we derived from their contribution to it. To Dr Drysdale, President of the Conference, we owe a special debt of gratitude for his modest and untiring zeal, his willingness to be called on at all times, to do any task, great or small, and to assume any responsibility that would help lift the burden from the shoulders of others.

Birth Control has not yet passed the stage of persecution here or abroad. Carlo Tresca’s sentence of a year in Atlanta Penitentiary has, it is true, been commuted to President Coolidge’s pardon. To four months the cruel and unusual penalty has been reduced to four months each. If M Humbert alone had to serve it, he would do it and be through with his persecutors, but Mme Humbert must serve too and they have a little girl that means they must forsake their home again and leave the little girl in strange hands. There might add as a point of tragic interest, that Mme Humbert’s mother and brother were also condemned as Neo-Malthusians, to pay a fine. As they could not pay the mother served three months in prison, and the brother just finishing his six months.”

An appeal for the Humbert Case was made to the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference by M Giroud (“G Hardy”), son-in-law of Paul Robin. Pledges and contributions amounting to a thousand dollars were made and it has been arranged to pay the fine in monthly installments. More money is needed and readers of the Review who did not attend the Conference are urged to make their contributions through the American Birth Control League.

It takes a good deal to prevent an Englishman or an Englishwoman from doing a thing he is convinced he is right in doing. This enviable British endurance has recently been eloquently expressed again. When the conviction of Guy Aldred and Rose Witeop—for publishing the pamphlet, “Family Limitation”—was affirmed by a higher court, the fighting spirit was not extinguished but rather lashed to greater intensity. Rose Witeop has again undertaken the publication of “Family Limitation” and in the event that this right is again challenged, she is prepared to test the case in the highest court. Undaunted by her experiences, Rose Witeop is contemplating the inauguration of a Birth Control clinic in the thickly populated region of Hammersmith. In this district she hopes to reach thousands of overburdened mothers of the needy classes who are not now reached.
Place of Birth Control in the Woman's Movement

*By Alice Drysdale Vickery*

Honorary President of the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference

May, 1925

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This seems to me a very critical period in the world's history. Either the world's inhabitants must face the problem of controlling the numbers of succeeding generations in proportion to the supply of necessaries, or the struggle between the various races and nations will become intensified and lead to world-wide disaster.

This is a time in which it is of the utmost importance that women shall learn to realize their responsibility in view of the fact that the peopling of the world belongs to them. It is essential then that women shall come to the front and insist that they will no longer consent to be deprived of the knowledge which will allow them to fulfill their function in the way which will reflect credit upon themselves individually and collectively, and benefit the world at large.

Sir Arbuthnot Lane has written of "the crass stupidity of man," and when we recall the obstacles which have been placed in the way of women's education generally, and education in physiology, biology, and all that concerns the reproduction of the human species in particular, we cannot think the phrase misplaced. The church has always looked with disfavor on the education of young people, more particularly women, in sex matters. Men also, have very largely desired ignorance in their mates. The legal profession have placed obstacles in the way of the young couple's education, generally, and education in physiology, biology, and all that concerns the reproduction of the human species in particular, we cannot think the phrase misplaced. The church has always looked with disfavor on the education of young people, more particularly women, in sex matters. Men also, have very largely desired ignorance in their mates. 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Maternity and Dependence

As woman did not know how to control reproduction and as she naturally, as did man, desired a mate in the early days of maturity, she fell, almost of necessity into a state of dependence, and that dependence has been fruitful of evil results. But with the knowledge of contraception, of birth control, there is no longer the same reason why she should accept a position of dependence. The young girl like the young man should find the same opportunities for employment and self-dependence open to her. She can postpone marriage until she meets with a suitable partner. And when she does meet with an apparently suitable partner (say at 21 years of age) she will not be faced with the necessity of forfeiting her independent position for fear of the premature arrival of offspring. She will by means of birth control methods be able to maintain a position of self-dependence for some years. There is much to be said for a temporary postponement of parenthood after marriage.

If as the age of physiological maturity is 25, it will doubtless be granted that parenthood should be delayed to that age in order that maturity and not immaturity should produce the next generation. Again, it is not well that the young couple should be able to enjoy to the full (say from 21 to 25 years) the delights of intimate companionship, until they can feel assured that they are well suited to one another, that their characters and ideals are likely to develop along mutually sympathetic lines, also that their career (industrial or otherwise) may not be hampered by the premature arrival of another mouth to feed and care for. Obliging the young mother to cease her independent employment.

Home Building

The young couple owe to each other fidelity and companionship, mutual solace and assistance. They will learn in this period of experience, to understand each other more fully, not merely trusting to the more or less superficial attraction which brought them together. They will besides be more able to assure their future, to build up the home and create and develop the little capital which will enable them to face the responsibility of parenthood without alarm. The prospective mother, with health assured will be willing to cease her contribution to the family budget at a suitable period, having laid by what she deems sufficient for the time being. She will be prepared to give to the new-comer her time, her strength, her thoughts, so that together the young parents will mutually enjoy the delights of parenthood, and by the careful use of contraceptive methods will feel assured that no second birth will come to cut short prematurely the mother-care due to the first comer.

Think what all this power of direction means to the young couple in their early married life. The power to go slow, to adjust their expenses to their means to avoid all the overstrain of being always a little behind. Poverty is held at bay. Slums are not

(Continued on page 185)
Medicine's Responsibilities in the Birth Control Movement

By William Allen Pusey, M.D.

I t is not for me to elaborate before an audience of this sort upon the problems of population that are concerning us. These topics are peculiarly your own, but an amateur may perhaps with propriety say a word upon them, because he at least is at the advantage of having a different viewpoint.

With the Earth's population increasing, under the favorable conditions of modern civilization, at an unprecedented rate, with the frontier advancing so rapidly that the hospitable parts of the Earth will soon have been occupied, with the saturation point in sight, beyond which the Earth cannot afford decent sustenance for its inhabitants, the time is rapidly approaching when the problem of population will engage some consideration from even the less thoughtful of men. What is to happen to the world's population is a question that should now be recognized and considered by the thoughtful. Mankind must face the extreme probability that, under the favorable conditions of the present day civilization, we are rapidly approaching the point where the support of the population of the Earth will be its most pressing problem.

No intelligent student of the subject believes that population will continue indefinitely to increase with the rapidity of geometrical ratio, but it requires no particular gift of prophecy to see that if the tendency of population remains unchecked, we will soon be upon a situation, where an unsuccessful struggle for decent maintenance will have become the lot of most men throughout the Earth, as it is their lot now in the most densely populated parts of it. The only possibility that anyone suggests that might prevent this otherwise inevitable development is some Deus ex machina in the form of inventions of chemistry that will furnish food for mankind in some altogether unnatural and now unknown way. No man of reasonable caution can rely upon this as offering any probable solution of the problem. It is altogether probable that it offers no prospect whatever for the furnishing of a food supply for the world, greatly beyond what can be produced by methods now in use. Let the situation develop naturally and the only relief for the overpopulation of the world lies in wars of the strong against the weak for a place in the sun, in pestilence and other great disasters, and in the inevitable increase in the disease rate and the death rate that are sequences of the degradation and misery of overpopulation.

I saw a statement recently by Dr. Raymond Pearl, I think, to the effect that this all seems so inevitable that he is inclined to question its accuracy. I imagine he must have had in mind the various unhappy influences that would affect the otherwise inevitable development of this situation, for I cannot understand the reasoning that questions the accuracy of the conclusion that two and two make four because it seems so unassailable. Subject to the restraints, which can only act to postpone the situation, but not to prevent its ultimate occurrence, one must accept the conclusion that the situation is in sight now where the population of the Earth will tax its capacity for furnishing sustenance.

Humane Restraints.

What can be done in the face of such a prospect? The obvious answer would seem to be that mankind should strive to imitate nature and attempt to provide for the preservation of the most fit of its members. Nature provides for this in the long run by its cruel and inexorable methods of eliminating those least able to preserve themselves. It is the temporary setting aside of this principle through the applications of man's new knowledge which has within a hundred years brought us face to face with this situation. But these are possibilities of producing nature's results by less cruel and costly means. There are two rational measures that present possibilities in this connection. One is to improve the race by breeding, the other is to check by birth control the tendency to the submerging of the better stock by the greater fecundity of the inferior.

The practical application of eugenics, except in the gross way of eliminating the manifestly unfit, presents an exceedingly difficult problem. It is a problem, however, not beyond man's attacking. We can see in isolated human strains now some fortunate results of its action. There can be no question of the importance of the problem and the fact of its practical difficulties should not make us give it up as hopeless or even altogether impractical.

The application of methods of birth control is also a matter of great difficulty, but it is a more tangible problem. It is capable of more direct application and it offers some practical prospect of influencing the situation. It would seem, in the face of the facts we now have, to be one of the highest duties of thoughtful men to consider it. The question is, in fact, when it is reduced to its bald terms, this Shall we undertake by intelligent methods to
put some guidance, through birth control, upon the population of the Earth, or shall we leave the problem to be handled by nature's ruthless methods of checking population of the Earth, by fatal and infant mortality? But, as I have said, the problem of the Earth's population is one upon which the physician must appear as an amateur in any group whose specialty is the study, not of the individual, but of society as a whole. There are certain aspects of birth control which fall peculiarly within the province of the physician and upon which he can speak perhaps with some authority from the standpoint of special experience.

Upon no class can it be impressed more than upon physicians, that the sexual appetite, after hunger, is the dominating influence in life. But in spite of its overwhelming importance, the relations of the sexes is the unsolved problem of civilization. Nature makes the sexual appetite one that is consistent. On the other hand society says it is an appetite that must be repressed, but it need hardly be said does not abide by its precept. The irresistible biological fact and the attitude of society towards this fact are not consistent, and this inconsistency produces a situation in which there is constant deceit—with all that that entails—struggle and failure.

Contraceptive Resolution, Sunday Afternoon, March 29th

That this session on Contraception of the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, made up of physicians, affirms that Birth Control is a very important and complicated problem requiring scientific study and guidance, comes properly within the province of Preventive Medicine, and that the subject should not only have a place in the program of County and State Societies and of the American Medical Association, but also become a part of the work of suitable clinics, hospitals, and other medically supervised organizations engaged in scientific study and prevention of disease and crime.

No one who knows anything about the history of man's rise from savagery would advocate, regardless of any freedom he might have from considerations of conscience, unrestricted sexual license, but those who, like physicians, get a mew of the concealed part of the motives and activities of life must realize the supreme importance to the happiness of mankind of a proper sexual life. It is society's business to see that this is attained by providing proper conditions of married life. Civilization is built upon the family, and satisfactory civilization can be built only upon satisfactory family life. I do not mean to intimate that happiness in family life is dependent altogether upon sexual gratification. I know that in extraordinary conditions satisfactory marital unions can be built upon the higher aspirations and tastes of life alone, but I am willing to say bluntly that sexual life is the elemental fact upon which satisfactory family life, as a rule, depends and that without satisfactory sexual life, marital life, as a rule, is irreparably damaged.

And it is here that the importance of birth control comes into this problem. Nature has provided in man, as in animals, for the maintenance of the species by a capacity for reproduction far in excess of the needs for it or for the possibilities of its exercise. The way that nature takes care of this anomaly in man, as in animals, is by providing, under conditions of extreme hardship, for the reduction of fecundity, but more frequently by the destruction of the excess. Always some form of birth control or of destruction of the young or the less resistant is exercised by nature. In man, even if child-bearing is carried to the limit, nature provides restraints upon it, frequently by breaking down the overburdened woman, and always by the disappearance of fecundity in the woman in middle life. Civilized man, who is above the state of brutality, always exercises some form of birth control in the general sense of that term. Consciously or unconsciously practically every couple make some effort to avoid breeding like rabbits. And the higher men rise in the intelligence scale the more effort they make to avoid nature's inexorable methods of eliminating the excess, by limiting their progeny to those that they can provide for.

And it is in this effort at birth control in married life that such havoc is played with the happiness of marriage. In the lack of knowledge of how to attain the ends that they must attain—in other words, in the lack of knowledge of proper methods of birth control—in the uncertainties of the situation, penalties are put upon what should be the pleasure of proper sexual life in marriage that are so great that they often utterly destroy it. Sexual enjoyment is largely psychical, the constant intrusions of the necessity for these restraints, their uncertainty and the consequent anxiety tend to destroy it. It is particularly in the plastic period of young married life that these unhappy factors have their widest play and do so much to break down the happiness of marriage. There is, I believe, no other
factor that contributes more—I think I might say as much—to sexual immorality than the seeking by married men of that sexual gratification from illicit intercourse that they have found lacking in married life. And this situation arises largely as a result of the difficulties and anxieties that come from efforts at birth control. There could be no greater contribution to the morality of the world, as well as to its happiness, than would be the removal of this unhappy state that interferes so greatly with marital happiness.

Now these are material facts. They are not facts that appeal to the so-called moralist, or to the ethical dreamers who would like to have mankind not as it is, but as their dreams would picture it. But they are facts. Sexual life is a part of man. It is not unclean or disgusting or something to be hampered and repressed and destroyed. It is the foundation of the family, and happy family life is one of the few great enduring satisfactions of life. But with all of its esthetic and psychical values, family life is founded upon biological and unchangeable facts.

Even in irregular sexual life there are, I believe, there can be no atonement, either by the mother or the child. With the sexual instinct as it is, with custom stimulating this appetite by every suggestion prurient ingenuity can devise, with the possibility of marriage refused to many women, with the atonement for an illegitimate child beyond any possibility, the women of any intelligence or decent instinct who find themselves in this condition—and there are plenty of women of this sort who find themselves in this condition—are confronted by only one possibility, and that is abortion. The aggregate of human agony that is the result of this situation is beyond any computation. I am not saying, in order to avoid argument, that these women are not deserving of their agony, but I would call attention to the fact that it would be better for society if the situation were handled differently.

The result of it now is unending abortions with disease, physical and moral injury and death in its train. This is inevitable under the present conditions of society. With the penalties of illegitimacy, whatever they are, for the mother and for the child, women will escape them by the ruthless termination of conception at any risk to themselves and at any risk of the law’s penalties for their acts. The fact that they can do this is not due to the low honor of the medical profession—medicine’s position upon this matter is higher than that of society in general, the knowledge of how cruelly to produce abortion is as old as any knowledge in civilization. The trade is passed down from mouth to mouth and, with the demands there are for it, cannot be extinguished. The trade is most common among those who are least competent to practice it. It is one of the tragedies of civilization which is most completely concealed. Practical methods of birth control offer the only relief from this tragedy.

The objections which are offered to facts that I have referred to above are, first, that as respects married life, it puts gratification of sexual appetite (Continued on p. 131)
A Great Sociological Congress

THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, MARCH 2631

WHY, a discussion like this might change one's whole life!” one young woman was heard to say to another, as the audience drifted out of the session on sex and reproduction of the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference. What was true in respect to the individual of this session on psychic release, as the earlier programs called it, was true in a different sense of each of the sessions on the seven days program. Some paper or papers in each session—in some the whole discussion—opened a window to a new view of the life of society or the individual.

Not once but again and again was heard from scientists, sociologists, editors, physicians, the statement that the Sixth International was not only the most fundamental but the most vitally interesting sociological conference ever held in America. A sociological conference it was, and it was a matter of astonishment to many listeners at how many points Birth Control was found to touch the life of society.

MESSAGE FROM HAVELock ELLIS

The knowledge of Birth Control gives us mastery of all that the ancients gained by infanticide, while yet enabling us to cherish that ideal of the sacredness of human life, which we profess to honor so highly. We do not need and indeed it would be undesirable, to emulate in human breeding the achievements of Luther Burbank. We have no right to attempt to impose upon any human creature an exaggerated and one-sided development, but it is not only our right, it is our duty, or rather, one may say the natural impulse of every rational human person, to see that only such children may be born as will be able to go through life with a reasonable prospect that they will not be heavily handicapped by a born defect or some special liability to some incapacitating disease.

It was a truly international conference also. On its program appeared scientists or Birth Control propagandists from China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Germany, Holland, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Canada and the United States. The list of vice-presidents adds to these still another country, and perhaps the most remote, the Commonwealth of Australia, represented by Sir George Knibbs, Director of the Institute of Science and Industry of the Commonwealth.

From all over the world also came messages of felicitation in numbers so great that only a few could be read at the sessions. Among those in England who thus expressed their support were Havelock Ellis, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, Arnold Bennett, Lawrence Housman, Bertrand Russell, in France, Jean Longuet and Henri Barbusse, in Norway, Fridtjof Nansen, Arctic explorer and humanitarian, in Italy, Professor Ettore Levi, international expert on child welfare. From India, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and many other countries came further messages.

Among the Americans who sent greetings were W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, of the Association for the Advancement of the Negro, Professor Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University, Professor H. H. Laughlin of Cold Spring Harbor, Fannie Hurst, Upton Sinclair, Ben B. Lindsey, Professor Edward Alsworth Ross of Wisconsin University, Hendrik Willem VanLoon, and many others, representing almost every state in the union and many fields of public activity.

Mrs. Sanger’s greeting in the name of the host-ee league, published in the April Review, Dr. Drysdale’s Presidential address, Dr. Norman Haire’s report on England—the country which is today nearest success in having Birth Control rec-
and ultimately, in a series of volumes under certain subject groupings Nothing can be given in this brief article but an impression of the sessions as a whole

Two sessions on March 26 and the evening session on war the next day, dealt mainly with population problems. The paper at the morning session March 26—over which Professor East of Harvard presided—which presented the clearest picture of the relation of population to natural resources, was Professor Henry P. Fairchild's "General Idea of Optimum Population." This, one of the other participants pronounced the "star of the morning." It was in fact, one among a galaxy of stars. At this opening session the opposition was invited to make its statement and nothing on the program was more interesting than the discussion which followed Dr. Louis I. Dublin's paper on "The Excesses of Birth Control," to which, as one of the speakers said, the whole proceedings hurried the answer.

Outstanding addresses at the afternoon session, were "The Differential Birth Rate" by Professor Raymond Pearl, Professor Walter Willcox' brief message from H. G. Wells: "Wannest good wishes to the International Conference. There is no other subject of such importance as Birth Control. Knowledge of a mark a new and happier phase in the history of civilization.

and illuminating analysis of the trend of population in the United States, and Professor Ellsworth Huntington's clear and picturesque illustration from China of how overpopulation causes racial deterioration.

Papers which made a distinctive contribution to the war session were that on the French population problem, by M. Giroud ("G. Hardy"), of Paris, and Harold Cox' paper on "A League of Low Birth Rate Nations."

A resolution addressed to the League of Nations followed the war session. Though there was no discussion of the legal aspects of Birth Control in the United States, a resolution on this subject was passed at the first session of the conference.

The economic and health aspects of Birth Control were discussed on March 27. At the first of these sessions over which the Reverend John Haynes Holmes presided, after papers on the relation of Birth Control to Poverty, by Dr. Alice Hamilton, to Juvenile Delinquency, by Miriam Van Waters, and to Child Labor, by Owen Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, reports on conditions in Mexico, China and India were made by representatives of those countries. Dr. Peter Tutskin was to have spoken on Russia, but his steamer was delayed and his report was given later. Resolution on the relation of Birth Control to labor and to child welfare were passed.

The most striking address at the health session—in some ways indeed, the most striking of the whole conference—was Dr. William Allen Pusey's paper on "Medicine's Responsibility in the Birth Control Movement," which is published in full in this number of the Review.

Eugenics filled nearly the whole day on March 28, the only papers on that day not having a direct bearing on that subject being Havelock Ellis on "The Evolution of Birth Control," Calvin Bridges on "The Mechanism of Sex Determination" and Roswell Johnson on "The Distribution of Birth Control Practices." Three foreign Eugenists, Professors Haskovec, Gm and de Lapouge, presented papers. After American papers by Professor Whiting, Dr. Little and Dr. Wile, the negative side of eugenics was presented vividly by Dr. Max Schliapp of the New York
which they passed the resolution put before them gave the decisive answer to the statement that the medical profession is opposed to Birth Control. Speakers before these meetings were Dr James F Cooper and Dr Hannah M Stone, both of the Clinical Research Department of the American Birth Control League, and Dr Norman Hale of London. A full discussion from the floor followed these papers.

Chief among the social events of the conference, the concert, luncheons, receptions and dinners, was the Pioneers Dinner on the evening of the twenty-sixth, to which 355 guests sat down and at which they listened to the experiences of pioneers, old and new in the movement. To the older group belonged Alice Drysdale Vickery, "pioneer of pioneers," of that older generation of Drysdale's who turned Malthusianism into Neo-Malthusianism. Her paper we print in this issue of the Review. Dr C V Drysdale, President of the Conference, was another of this group and so was Dr Aletta Jacobs who founded the first Birth Control Clinic in Holland. Though they came many years later, for this group also spoke Margaret Sanger, who renamed Neo-Malthusianism Birth Control and Kitty Marion who since the early days of the movement in America has made national and international contacts for the League by selling the Review on the streets of New York.

The speakers for the newer group of pioneers were Thit Jensen of Denmark and Johann and Betty Ferch of Austria, who in a very few years have made Birth Control clinics a reality in their countries and have obtained recognition for them from the medical profession, and Dr Norman Hale, former director of the Walworth Clinic in London.

At the dinner also were read messages from other pioneers—professor Knut Wicksell of Sweden, Judge Ruppenthal of Kansas, Professor Phadke of India, Alice Stone Blackwell, pioneer in another field who has thrown herself into the fight for free speech for Margaret Sanger in Boston.

March 80 was the last day of the scientific sessions. Its discussions involved a more elusive subject matter than the meetings of the days preceding. In the afternoon was held the ethical session at which the chairman was the Reverend William H Garth and the speakers were with exceptions, ministers—Baptist, Episcopal, Unitarian, Hebrew. At this session at least one Roman Catholic priest was present and listened with close attention, and an aged Episcopal clergyman, a traditional opponent of Birth Control, confessed himself unable to cope with the weight of opinion on the other side, represented by ministers of his own church.

The morning session on sex and reproduction presented the positive argument for Birth Control, the right of women to the psychic release of sex, unmarred by the blighting fear of too frequent pregnancy. Dr G V Hamilton presided, and the scientific aspect of the subject was presented by two psychoanalysts, Dr Adolf Meyer of Johns Hopkins and Dr A A Brill of New York. Grace Potter spoke both as a psychoanalyst and as a woman, and the feminist demand was clearly and eloquently put by Doris Stevens and by Dr Helene Stocker of Berlin. Practical facts as to the effect of Birth Control on the marriage rate were given by Professor William F Ogburn and the lack of it in breaking up marriages by Dr William F Robie. Appropriate resolutions were passed at this and the ethical session.

In the evening a public meeting was held at Scottish Rite Hall at which an audience of 1,200 heard addresses by Norman Thomas, Dr Drysdale, Dr Norman Hale, Thit Jensen, Margaret Sanger, Ruth Hale and Dr James F Cooper. The subject of Dr Cooper's paper was "The Medical Status of Birth Control" and at the end of the meeting a public health resolution was adopted.

It was on this day that Mrs Sanger sent to President Coode, in the name of the American Birth Control League the letter we publish on our editorial page, calling for the appointment of a Birth Rate Commission.

The morning of the thirty-first was mainly a business meeting with discussion of various national leagues, closing words by Dr Drysdale and Mrs Sanger and a graceful presentation of (Continued on page 186)
Neo-Malthusian Philosophy

Presidential Address at the Sixth International

By Charles V. Drysdale

PART I

The vast majority of civilized people are now familiar with the idea of birth control, but it is safe to say that to all but a small fraction it appears simply as an empirical practical remedy for certain individual evils—a means whereby women can be relieved from the strain of excessive maternity, the family can be preserved from falling into economic distress, and the children can be given a better preparation for life. A few go further and begin to realize that it profoundly affects not only individual but social well-being, and that there is practically no department of human thought or influence upon which it has not a powerful modifying influence. But I doubt if there are many who appreciate that birth control is merely the practical side of a great philosophic scheme or scientific humanitarian religion which has been in the minds of its founders from the very outset, and that it is destined to revolutionize human ideals from their very foundation.

The organized Neo-Malthusian movement, which bore as its motto "A Crusade Against Poverty," may be said to have started from the Bradlaugh-Besanç trial of 1876 and to have had four main objects:

1. Quantitative or Economic To promote the understanding of the Malthusian doctrine, and to diminish the birth-rate until it is in harmony with the increase of subsistence and thus to eliminate misery or absolute poverty, i.e., to secure that all shall secure adequate nourishment.

2. Qualitative or Eugenic To improve the quality of the race by advocating abstention from parenthood on the part of the hereditarily diseased or defective and limitation of births in each family to the number which can be satisfactorily reared without external assistance.

3. Physiological and Moral To promote healthy understanding of the sex functions, and the knowledge of hygienic contraceptive devices, and to promote sexual purity by advocating universal early marriage which can only be achieved by removing the fear of the economic evils of large families.

4. International To remove the international rivalries caused by the pressure of overpopulation and thus give opportunity for the establishment of international law leading to federation and permanent peace.

We are now nearing the completion of the first half century of our Crusade, and it is opportune to take stock of our achievements in each of these departments.

1. The Malthusian or Quantitative Aspect

The inspiration for our Crusade arises from the great doctrine of overpopulation first clearly enunciated by Malthus in 1798, and which in my opinion stands to social science in the same relation as Newton's law of gravitation does to physics and astronomy. Indeed I would go so far as to claim that no one should be regarded as competent to express an opinion on any social question whatever, who does not show his knowledge of this fundamental doctrine and its bearing on the question at issue. No astronomer at the present time would pay attention to explanations concerning the movements of the heavenly bodies in which the law of gravitation did not play a prominent part and no proposition for social reform should be considered seriously if it is put forward without reference to the population doctrine.

As regards the appreciation of this doctrine we can look back on our fifty years progress with great satisfaction. After a period of almost total eclipse, it has won its way in every section of the community, even among those which started with denial and contempt of it. I would like in this connection to pay a tribute to the prominent American economists, who have been foremost in maintaining the importance of the doctrine, during the period of eclipse in all other countries. On the other hand I cannot but notice with regret a tendency in modern sociological workers to depreciate the exposition of the population doctrine as given by Malthus himself, more especially his famous ratios. Science has no use for Popes in any department, and we have ourselves departed widely from Malthus as regards his practical proposition, but after many years of study and attempts to render the population doctrine as clear and precise as possible, I must confess to complete failure to improve upon Malthus's exposition, and in my booklet "The Malthusian Doctrine and Its Modern Aspects," I think I have demonstrated that even the ratios of Malthus are sound in principle and I cannot but wonder at his prophetic insight.

But when we look at the practical results which have followed our propaganda, we can only be filled with joy and thankfulness that we have been in-
strumental in producing the greatest amelioration in human conditions which has ever taken place in the world's history. Immediately after the Bradlaugh-Besant trial of 1876, the birth-rate of the most important European countries which had shown an upward tendency before that time, began to take a rapid downward course which has persisted to the present day. It would probably be an underestimate to claim that two and one-half million fewer births now take place annually in Europe alone, than would have occurred if the birth-rates existing in 1876 had been maintained. Now according to the Malthusian law the rate of increase of population, i.e., the difference between the birth and death rates, is determined by the rate of increase of subsistence. Let us suppose for simplicity that the rate of increase of the food supply of a country is one percent or ten per thousand per annum. Then if the birth rate is fifty per thousand as it has been in Russia and Egypt, and only ten per thousand can survive, the death-rate must be forty per thousand. But if the birth-rate falls to forty or thirty, the death-rate can fall to thirty or twenty respectively. If every rise or fall of the birth-rate will be followed by a corresponding rise or fall in the death-rate, if the Malthusian doctrine is true and no sudden alteration of productive power had taken place.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

The course of events have completely justified our anticipation on this point. Wherever the birth-rate has fallen there also has the death-rate diminished and usually by a closely corresponding amount, while where the birth-rate has been stationary or rising the death-rate has either remained nearly stationary or has actually risen in spite of all advances in medicine and sanitation. We have therefore considerable justification for the assumption that in the great majority of countries there has been a pressure of population on subsistence and that the great fall of the death-rate which has been witnessed in most civilized countries is principally due to the fall in their birth-rates and would not have occurred if the old high birth-rates had been maintained. In Great Britain alone we now have nearly half a million less deaths annually, than would have taken place with the birth-rate which subsisted before 1876 and the average length of life has been increased from about 35 to 57 years.

This "Law of Correspondence between Birth and Death-rates" as I have ventured to call it, is a direct deduction from the Malthusian law and is one of the most stupendous human importance. In the first place it disposes definitely of the foolish cry of "Race Suicide." Reduction of the birth-rate in an overpopulated country not only does not diminish the rate of increase of the population but may actually increase it, as those who come into the world to die in childhood contribute nothing to the Increase of population but deprive the others of a certain amount of subsistence and reduce their strength and efficiency. Holland and Germany have both shown an acceleration of population increase with a rapidly falling birth-rate. France which is always spoken of as a "dying nation," has actually about the same rate of increase today with a birth-rate of about 19 per thousand, as it had before the Revolution with a birth-rate of 39.

Population and the Span of Life

The second valuable result from this law is that it permits us to estimate fairly closely what the birth-rate of a country ought to fall to in a country of stationary population and of negligible net migration the birth and death-rates must be equal and will be given approximately by dividing 1,000 by the average duration of life of the people. If the population is increasing or diminishing, this quotient gives us the mean between the birth and death-rates if the rate of increase is small. Now according to the law of correspondence we have just considered, the rate of increase or difference between the birth and death-rates remains approximately constant however the birth-rate varies, in a stable overpopulated country. Our object is to eliminate overpopulation, i.e., to raise the duration of life to its full physiological maximum, indicating that a sufficiency of the necessities and comfort of life has been obtained for all without impenurious luxury. What should be the duration of life in this case? In highly overpopulated countries like India, China and Russia, the average duration of life is probably not greater than 25 years. In Great Britain before the decline of birth-rate set in it was probably not more than 35 years, but it has risen rapidly and it is now nearing 60 years. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the Psalmist's figure of "three score years and ten" or 70 years is attainable in view of the considerable amount of poverty and preventable disease which still exists. Adopting this figure as our provisional ideal this would mean a birth and death-rate of 14 per thousand for a stationary population.

Let us apply this to France, the "dying nation." Its normal rate of increase appears to be about two per thousand. Its present birth-rate is about 19 and death rate 17, so that its longevity should be about 1,000 divided by 18, or 56 years—about the same as in Great Britain. For a longevity of 70 years and the same rate of increase the birth-rate would be 15 and death rate 13, so that there is still need for the birth-rate to fall in France.

With the accession of the mines and potash beds of Alsace-
Lorraine it is quite possible that the survival rate of France can be increased to something approaching that of other countries and in that case we shall see the death-rate fall faster than the birth-rate.

For Great Britain and the United States of America a survival rate of about 10 per thousand seems normal, so that a birth-rate of 20 and death-rate of 10 seems the ideal to be aimed at.

2 The Qualitative or Eugenic Aspect

Side by side with the quantitative question of population, and of equal or even greater importance in Western nations at the present day is the question of its quality. The importance of this question was realized from the very beginning of the organized Neo-Malthusian movement and in the very first year of its origin in The Malthusian appeared articles laying down the principles which have since become known as negative eugenics, i.e., that persons having hereditary disease or defect although they might marry should abstain from procreation, and that families should be restricted to that number for which the parents could provide satisfactory nurture and education without external assistance. Although modern Eugenics has added to our knowledge of what constitutes hereditary defectiveness, it has not in the least affected the above principle, and we are glad to see that Eugenists are tending more and more to accept it.

It is of interest in this connection to recall that Darwin, to whom we owe the modern appreciation of heredity, avowedly drew his inspiration from Malthus, and his famous doctrine of natural selection through the struggle for existence is simply an extension to the whole of living organization of the Malthusan doctrine. In various communications which I have recently made to the British Eugenics Society, I have put forward a definite guiding principle for practical Eugenic reform, i.e., that we should apply the rational selection made possible by contraceptive methods to imitate the Darwinian process of natural selection as closely as possible, by recommending abstention from further parenthood whenever the individual or his offspring would have been eliminated in the struggle, if not relieved by economic or medical assistance, and unless until a better criterion is evolved, I suggest that this principle should be accepted. The matter is of the most extreme importance from the humanitarian standpoint, as the painful truth has been gradually forced on our consciousness, that all the well meant attempts at preserving the lives and improving the conditions of the unfortunate, are simply swelling the mass of unfitness, and stifling the educated and thrifty classes by excessive taxation.

But the selective agency of natural selection is equally well secured by preserving the defective individual, provided he does not reproduce, and once this is recognized, we can solve the greatest of social problems — how to reconcile humanitarian assistance with race improvement. Another great Eugenic factor in which we Neo-Malthusians have great faith, is the natural instructive selection of f lee womanhood. The natural healthy woman is passionately desirous of beautiful children, but the feeble and diseased woman dreads the arrival of sickly diseased children above all other terrors, and when the knowledge of contraception enables each woman to be "mistress of herself" to use Ingersoll's phrase, an immense eugenic advance will be made.

On the intellectual side, we can rejoice that our eugenic ideal is steadily winning its way towards acceptance. But as regards practical results this part of our aim has so far failed up to the present in every country except Holland. Immediately the Malthusian League was founded a campaign was at once launched among the working classes who received it with enthusiasm. But within a few months it was absolutely frustrated by the Socialists who claimed that it was a pretext for making the people content with their lot instead of agitating for their "rights," and that if the people would espouse socialism and work for the revolution, they would obtain all they needed without limitation of their families. Their success was so complete that it was impossible to obtain audiences for birth control meetings, and the scheme had to be abandoned for nearly forty years, when the failure of Socialist promises led the people to listen to us again.

Differential Fertilzity

In the meantime the educated classes rapidly seized on the new doctrine and adopted family limitation for themselves to such an extent that today families of more than two children are rare among them. The doctors and clergy are now at the bottom of the fertility list. But instead of helping us to circulate the information to the poor, they have opposed its dissemination in every possible way, on medical, moral and national grounds. It is little wonder, therefore, that the selective action of birth control has so far been almost diametrically opposite to that which we intended. We were further attacked by the early eugenicists who claimed that the poorer classes would never exercise prudence, and that birth control must inevitably be eugenic in its operation.

(End of Part 1)
Legislators Wake to a Vital Problem

Hearing on the New York Birth Control Bill

In the May, 1923, Birth Control Review there appeared an editorial on "Intelligence Tests for Legislators". Mrs. Sanger had just come down from Albany where "noisy and ill-mannered politicians" had held a hearing on the Birth Control Bill which was in reality "no hearing because most of the legislators refused us the courtesy of listening to our arguments, like schoolboys impatient to return to their game of marbles". She suggested that there was "no more certain way in which the voters could appraise the fitness of all candidates for public office than by asking for a statement of their attitude toward the problems of health and racial hygiene—whether they are ready to safeguard and protect the child-life of the state or the nation from the widespread abuses and evils which have grown out of criminal neglect." 

Though no such intelligence tests have been applied a very radical change has in the last two years taken place in the attitude of legislators in New York State toward the fundamental questions involved in Birth Control legislation. No action has, it is true, been taken as yet on the bill introduced this year by Assemblyman John Boyle, but the attitude of the Codes Committee at its hearing on March 17th, was not characterized by levity or discourtesy. On the contrary, it was characterized by profound Interest and increasing as the hearing progressed, in the subject matter of the bill.

The surprise of the hearing was that no Roman Catholic opposition materialized, and indeed no effective opposition of any sort. Only two persons appeared on the negative side. One of these was the aged Canon Chase of Brooklyn, traditional opponent of Birth Control, whose views were listened to politely but aroused no apparent enthusiasm. The second was a physician who claimed to represent a small group in the state medical society, and whose statement appeared to rouse at times the antagonism, at times the levity of the committee. In the early part of the hearing there was a suggestion of heckling in Chairman Esmond's frequent questions while arguments for the bill were being presented. Later, Mr. Esmond took pains to explain that he desired merely by his questions to bring out the answers to certain objections which would be sure to come up in the legislature. These were three, that such a bill would be useless on account of the "natural indolence" and stupidity of the poor whom it was meant to aid, that race suicide would result, and that by removing the fear of pregnancy, it would increase immorality.

The last objection the chairman himself answered, expressing his belief that even if a few took advantage of this immunity the state would benefit by doing away with illegitimacy and abortion, the present consequences of irregular sex relations. Percy L. Clark of Cornell University showed the dangers of overpopulation and he, with other speakers, answered the race suicide objection with figures as to the relation between birth and death rates.

In respect to the indolence and stupidity of the poor, Mrs. Sanger stated that the Clinical Research Department of the American Birth Control League teaches methods so simple that once learned any mother who is intelligent enough to keep a nursing bottle can use them. Those below this standard should be regularly cared for in a public almshouse or, under certain special conditions, should be sterilized. As for indolence, she had reason to believe from the thousands of poor and ignorant mothers who wrote her, that the poor would not let laziness stand in the way of protecting themselves from excessive childbearing.

The humanitarian and personal aspects of the subject were brought out by the Reverend Dr. Garth, Mrs. Ernest Adee, Mrs. Rose Halpern—herself a mother helped by Mrs. Sanger—and Mrs. Robertson Jones.

It was the medical testimony that clearly carried weight with the committee. Four physicians spoke for the bill. Birth Control as a preventive of abortion was Dr. John C. Vaughan's theme, and Birth Control as the highest expression of preventive medicine the subject of Dr. Hannah M. Stone, whose address appears on another page of the Review.

Dr. James F. Cooper gave impressive figures showing the growing support for Birth Control that is coming from physicians. Two years ago 700 physicians put themselves on record for the New York bill. This year, in two days no less than 53 expressed their hearty approval, and in the same period of time 825 applied for invitations to the contraceptive session of the 6th International Conference. Over three thousand physicians have visited the Clinical Re-
"MEDICINE'S RESPONSIBILITIES"

Mothers Who Have Been Unable to Obtain Help in the Consulting Room

No statement is more general in letters from poor mothers than the statement that the doctor warns them against having more children but refuses to tell them how to avoid pregnancy. It appears in almost every other letter and it effectively answers the claim of those who tell us that doctors always give contraception advice on cases where it is needed. A few—relatively few—do give that advice, but the rank and file do not, some because they do not know, others because they fear to or have scruples, others—we hope not many—for the more sordid or cynical motives some of these mothers attribute to them.

During the past year the increase of interest in contraception has been very great, and a greater number of physicians are giving advice. Courses in contraception technique in our medical schools, combined with amendment of our laws, would equip all physicians to give not only warnings, but aid.

"They Won't Do Anything for Me"

I purchased one of your books called "Woman and the New Race." If there was ever a book written and told the truth, yours certainly does. I certainly am happy that I had an opportunity to read it, because I am in misery myself, just the same as some of the letters you printed in the book.

I just came from the hospital and am too weak to write, so I am asking my husband to write for me. I have three living children now and in 1918 I had a serious operation.

Since that, I lost one child at birth, and had two abortions, the last in 1923. I have to pay the ambulance, doctor, hospital, and undertaker all at once! Ever since the operation, I am getting weaker and losing weight and color. But with all my pleas with doctors, they won't do anything for me. I went to several and they thought that what I asked for an insult to them. So since I read your book, I didn't ask any of the doctors for help, as I know I won't get it.

When I sent for your book, I was in hopes that I would get some information. The kind I was seeking. So, dear Mrs. Sanger, I am asking you to tell me how to obtain good contraceptives, the kind that would last for years as you mentioned in the book. Please let me hear from you soon and tell me what to do and I will always be grateful to you for this favor.

"They Act as if It was a Sin"

We are just more of the unhappineses. We are farmers, and when we go to our doctors here, they act as if it was a sin and a crime to give us help or advice.

My mother was tubercular, and I am not very large or strong, although I do not think I have any signs of T.B. But my trouble is this. I am married and have two sweet babies. They are only eleven months apart. The father has not been to the doctor for six months. He told me I could have the baby nurse it and then it would not be a sin.

Pennsylvania

I am just one of many in harmony with the movement and I have tried so hard to advocate it. I have a little story of my own to relate. When a girl scarcely in my teens, I was operated on for an abdominal abscess. Adhesions resulted that crowded my maternal organs to such an extent, that my uterus was crowded out of place and the continual pressure caused me considerable annoyance, so much in fact that I submitted first, to a minor operation, then a major operation to relieve me of the pressure without any...
May, 1926

result. Physicians advised me to have a baby, I had been taking no precautions and of course continued married life as before. About one year after my third operation, I became pregnant on February 12, 1923, I gave birth to a baby boy at the hospital. Scarcely a week passed by when septic poison set in. For a month I was just hanging on, then I had to submit to another operation, an abscess had developed, and I had three incisions as a result again. Finally on April 30th, I came home, after being there almost four months (January 5th to April 30th). Doctor told me I should have no more children and I live in constant fear. Yet when he might have attended to me he never did. Could you, would you, Mrs. Sanger, impart your information to one so crippled bodily as I am? I would rather lose husband, home and income than submit to such an experience, and then not know results.

The Doctor offers no Relief

West Virginia

I am writing you personal to try to obtain from you the advice I am seeking. I saw an ad in one of our magazines for a book, "Woman and the New Race." I ordered this book and after reading it I found many helpful things, but no exact answer to the one great question "How can I avoid such frequent childbirth?" After being married three years and five months, I find myself the mother of three sons, the youngest is now 10 months old. We are only a young couple 26 years old and have a small farm. Our income is very small and if our family continued at this rate we can never be able to give our children much advantage in life. When I was married I had perfect health. I was a farmer's daughter and made a hand on the farm, that is I performed a man's labor every day on a farm. Now I am a nervous wreck. I can hardly do my housework and have been on our doctor's hands since our last baby came. The doctor says my system is in a run down condition from such frequent births and yet he offers no relief, only to build me up again. I am tired of life as it is at present and if you have any means of telling me how to control childbirth, I am sure it will be the one great turning point in my life.

My husband is very kind to me and is a real father to his family. Yet, all his love and sympathy does not help me to regain my health and enjoy life as I deserve. I was brought up in ignorance of all the questions of sex. I come from a family of six children, so you see my mother knows nothing to tell me. I have tried various things others have told me but to no effect.

Now Mrs. Sanger, please send your real answer and if there is any way to prevent child birth or becoming pregnant, I certainly will try to procure enough money to pay you for your pains. I am very anxious to procure a real cure for this one great trouble.

The Doctor Says to be Careful

New York

Today, I had one of your Birth Control Reviews of August last handed me and I find after reading it many interesting things.

I have been married 12 years and in that time I have been pregnant nine times, bearing five living children and two born dead and two miscarriages at about two or three months, and my third child was too weak to stand this world and left us at seven months. The rest are well and strong, but I am not. I am just now recovering from a miscarriage and am very weak. I have been home from the hospital only a week and the two doctors that took care of me tell my husband "One more child and I won't answer for her life," and I asked them what we should do to prevent conception and they said you must be careful, that is all they would say. My husband is very much worried. We are very dear to one another. He is very good to me but we both realize that we have life and four remaining children to care for and we can not go on like this with the suffering and worry and expense and nothing to show for it when we are done. We are both very fond of children, too much so to see them brought to this world to suffer and die or die before they ever enter this world.

I am certainly in favor of birth control. Think it is a fine thing where one's health is at stake or the income not sufficient to maintain all expenses. My husband is not a rich man. We have enough, if not too much sickness and doctor's bills, and hospitals come in to eat us up. We can live and care for what we have but if we have too many more or too many sick spells between, we will have to begin to think. If there is anything you can do or say to help me, I would be very glad to hear from you and in the mean time you have both my husband and my own best wishes, also our prayers for help in your great work. There are many others I wish you could reach who I know need your help as much as I.

"Hoped, by Sod, I Would Have no More"

Michigan

I am a woman 32 years old. I was married when 21 and I have four children, the oldest nine and the youngest three years. I was injured after the birth of the first by being dragged by a horse when three months along with the second child and ever since childbirth is a horror to me. I have to be sick from ten to twelve hours, take chloroform, and the doctor has to use instruments. He advised me the last time, saying he hoped, by God, I never would have any more, but there it stands as you say, and will not tell what to do to prevent it. My husband is in favor of not having any more children as he is small and not as strong as he has been and four children are all we can afford to raise and educate as they should be.
An Appeal to Reason*

By Hannah M. Stone, M.D.

The American Birth Control League, in accordance with the present status of the law, organized some time ago a Clinical Research Department. In this department contraceptive information is given to married women who come within the meaning of the law, that is, to those who are ill and diseased, and in whom pregnancy would either endanger life or seriously aggravate the disease. This Clinical Department is under the supervision of a Medical Board, on which a number of prominent physicians serve, and cases are being referred to us by many physicians, hospitals and social service departments throughout the state. It is, therefore, natural that we, who work in this department, come in contact with a large number of women who require contraceptive advice, and are constantly impressed with the great importance of this work and with its imperative need. Medicine strives to be not merely curative, its ultimate aim is to become preventive, and contraceptive advice is in innumerable cases the finest expression of modern preventive medicine.

Unfortunately, the law, as at present constituted, is inadequate to permit the physician to exercise his best judgment. Under it, we may give contraceptive information only to those women who are actually ill already, where a further pregnancy would be a distinct danger to life or health. Daly, however, there come to us other women, women who have borne many children, women who have become exhausted with the tremendous task of bringing up their already numerous offspring, women whose husbands' pay is hardly adequate to provide for even a small family, and where every additional child would mean further deprivation and misery. Women, who, should they become pregnant again, would inevitably turn to abortion with all the suffering, injuries and dangers it involves. And we, because of the present law, must turn them away, must close our doors to them without giving them that information which would prevent so much future ailment, misery and family unhappiness.

Shall I cite some of the cases which I meet so frequently at the clinic? It is quite unnecessary to bring up the unusual, or particularly pitiful, or especially dramatic case. Let us take an instance that almost every general practitioner sees in his office daily. A woman, say 28 years old, in poor circumstances, with four or five children, the last one probably a nursing baby at the breast. Unable and unwilling to give birth to any more children, with no means at hand properly to bring up even those she already has, she comes to us for advice. What shall we say to such a woman?

Let us, as frank. Either she has to abstain from all sexual relations as long as she does not want to become pregnant, or else she must employ some method of contraception. In the opinion of the most enlightened medical thought, abstinence in married people for a prolonged period of time is neither feasible nor desirable. It is distinctly harmful physically and mentally, and very frequently leads to irremovable domestic disruptions and social difficulties.

The only alternative is the employment of some contraceptive method. The choice of the method is plainly a health problem, for many methods are both harmful and useless. It, therefore, should be the privilege and even the duty of the physician to instruct his patients in the use of the proper means of contraception. Contraception is a problem in preventive medicine, and its employment should be left to the judgment of those people whose duty it is to care for the health of the community. I remember a woman who came to our clinic only last week. In the eleven years of her married life she had given birth to seven children. Two of the children died in infancy, and three she brought with her. The last one was seven months old. The children she had with her looked anemic, undernourished and rickety. Her husband was a laborer earning $4.00 a day. She came for contraceptive advice.

Now, what are such people to do? If we, physicians, are not permitted to give them advice on how to lead a normal life without constantly beggting new children, children who are practically pre-ordained either to die in infancy, or else to remain malnourished and sickly most of the time? Well, they secretly obtain and use contraceptive devices which often endanger their health, or else they submit, as they do in spite of our warnings, to frequent surgical abortions which often endanger their lives.

Should it not, then, be our duty as physicians, appointed and entrusted by the community to work for its welfare and health, to give such people safe, simple and scientific contraceptive information, information which will bring them the desired relief without the danger of ill effects? A law permitting the giving of such information by physicians would be a long step forward in preventive medicine.

Gentlemen, I appeal to your reason.
Our Own Literary Digest

Over a period of about two weeks the daily press of all but four states of the union put out almost eight hundred stories on the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference. News stories covered the subject matter of practically all the sessions, and the New York Sunday papers published feature stories and made known the scientific foundations of the Birth Control movement by using in whole or in abstract some of the more important papers read at the sessions. The four states which gave no space to the Conference were, with the exception of New Hampshire, western states from which returns may come in later. The south, generally slow to respond to new ideas, showed quite as lively an interest as the north and west. All this group gave the news of the conference, no less than 24 stories being printed in Louisiana, 19 in Virginia and 17 in Florida.

Twenty-four editorials appeared in Massachusetts, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Montana, Illinois, West Virginia and New York papers. Many of these, including the Springfield Republican, the Brooklyn Eagle, the New York Telegram and the New York World, comment on the changed attitude of the public and the police. "It is a question that has evidently got beyond the stage of being settled by police clubs," says the New Bedford (Mass.) Mercury, and the New York Telegram makes this fact the text of an editorial on the delay of the Commissioner of Accounts to publish the report demanded of him by Mayor Hylan, fixing the responsibility for the breaking up of the Town Hall meeting in 1921. The New York World's excellent editorial statement of the changed public attitude, under the head "A Conference Which Marks Progress" is reprinted in full on another page.

The Springfield Republican concludes that "So far as appears from the reports of its proceedings and considering also the imposing list of men and women of scientific and civic standing who are participating, the conference is likely to prove of public service."

It follows this up toward the end of the conference with a brief note to the effect that "the decorum of the gathering continues to be scrupulously maintained."

On the whole, overpopulation is the aspect of the subject which impressed the editorial imagination most strongly. The Rome (N.Y.) Sentinel is especially struck by the discovery that "a declining birth rate is by no means necessarily accom-paned by a declining population, but quite the reverse." The relation of the United States to the Japanese population problem gives reality in the mind of the editorial writer in the Lincoln (Neb.) Star to the general discussion at the session on war.

The Anaconda (Mont.) Standard publishes a wholly approving editorial on the relation of Birth Control to population problems, and the Montgomery (W. Va.) Post, though not in full sympathy believes that "such conferences as this should help to lead to a better survival rate of the really fit," while the Poughkeepsie (N.Y.) Eagle feels that "The average observer hesitates to endorse the movement, but occasionally when he considers population statistics and tries to look into the future he is likely to feel a little disquieted none the less."

The Opposition

Some papers are in opposition to the discussion of population. The Johnstown (Penn.) Democrat believes that overpopulation takes care of itself. "The people in young lands" says this editorial writer, "are prolific because children are an economic asset. As lands grow older, children become less and less an economic asset and there are fewer of them. And that is just about all there is to it."

The Boston (Mass.) Transcript and the Springfield (Mass.) Union appear to desire to discourage discussion of population problems on account of their very importance. Says the Transcript, "These distinguished sociologists are addressing themselves, in point of fact, to some of the greatest problems which confront man-kind. They are talking about the population of the whole world. In other words, they are assuming to discover wise counsel and guidance to be parcelled out to 1,748,000,000 men, women and children."

"Will the sixth international Neo-Malthusian birth-control conference now be able even measurably to slacken it, or will the world's vast questions of population really be determined by forces more vast?"

What the "forces more vast" are, is not specified, but no other possibilities come to mind except battle, famine and plague. The traditional "acts of Providence" which have regulated population so far.

The Union writing of "The Birth Control To-Do" states that "There are few more ludicrous figures than the man or woman who goes about with heavy heart because of the dangers to the

(Continued on page 154)
Overpopulation and Migration as Causes of War

By Warren S. Thompson

PART I

As dynastic influences dwindle and as personal animosities and injured self-esteem disappear or become less important as causes of international strife and as some of the most dangerous features of modern nationalism are done away with, it appears to many that war should soon be a thing of the past. But it is with war as with most other ills from which mankind suffers. As soon as one cause is removed other causes producing the same evil or other similar evils are likely to spring up.

We have now passed or are rapidly passing the stage of social development in the more advanced nations of the world where important events follow from personal causes, if indeed they have ever done so. There was a greater element of truth in Louis XIV's assertion "I am the State" than there would have been had the Kaiser or Czar said the same in 1914. The social and economic organization of the world is steadily becoming more complex, so that whatever truth there may once have been in the theory that great men are the most important causes of the course of events, there is now little practical truth in this doctrine. More and more we find our efforts to understand the course of history leading us to the study of intricate economic and social processes in which the important factors are great impersonal forces.

Complex Causes of War

This does not mean that men are any less able than formerly to direct the course of history, nor that the personal qualities of leaders are any less important than of yore. It merely means that we are now coming to see that with the growth in the size and complexity of our social organization and with more knowledge of the processes of life, we can no longer be satisfied with the easy, simple, personal explanations of events which have prevailed in the past. We must study actual situations as we find them developing in life, in their complexity, and in their intimate connections with past situations, if we are ever to get forward in our efforts to control our destiny. We must squarely face the fact that life is complex and difficult and that easy explanations and simple causes are not to be desired because, as partial truths, they will not lead to efficient means of control— the aim of human endeavor.

A strong effort was made during the Great War to have people think in simple terms regarding its causes, for in this way the emotions necessary to its prosecution could most easily be aroused and sustained. We were told that it was due to personal pique, jealousy, fear, or blundering, and an effort was made to convince us that the evil wills of a few swashbucklers and diplomats preoccupied the greatest catastrophe in the life of modern times. For several years this simple, personal explanation of the causes of this war was accepted by the great majority of the people everywhere, and the few people who thought otherwise were made martyrs.

With the passing of the immediate crisis and the return of people to the humdrum of customary occupations, we are now experiencing a clarification of vision. We are able to see that this war at least has its origin not primarily in dynastic pride and squabbles, nor in the personal piques of diplomats, nor even in the evil wills of greedy capitalists, but rather in the whole situation in which Europe found itself as a result of its historical development and especially as the result of its very rapid growth in population consequent upon industrial revolution.

Population Pressure

Do not misunderstand me! I would not underestimate the power of dynastic forces, especially in past ages, nor the suspicion engendered by current diplomatic practices, nor the traditional hatreds of nations, nor the deliberate efforts made to foster a bigoted nationalism, but I would insist that a very rapidly growing population made it easier, indeed made it very easy, for the leaders of the different nations to arouse the states of mind in their peoples which would not tolerate war but would welcome it because they had been led to believe that it was the only possible solution of the unstable situation in which they were living. There are times when any kind of activity is preferable to remaining quiet, waiting for the unknown but inevitable to happen.

The equilibrium of the nations is always more or less unstable. There are many forces that can so disturb it at a given moment that war is likely to result. If ever peace is to be attained we must not only look for the forces which directly disturb the equilibrium at any given moment but we must go behind these to search out those which underlie a condition of unstable equilibrium. The removal of the immediate and direct causes of war will never stop war. We must go a great deal farther and remove the basic conditions which make it likely that the status quo will be altered by any nation if only it is expedient to do so. It will be my contention here that perhaps the most important force
making for an unstable equilibrium between the nations of the world is over-population and the consequent striving to migrate, or as I prefer to call it, the unequal pressure of population on different parts of the world. A condition of this sort had been developing rapidly in Europe in the half century preceding the Great War.

To make this clear, it may be well to review very briefly some of the facts of population-growth in Europe since 1800. In that year all Europe had about 175,000,000 inhabitants. Just before the outbreak of the war, these 175,000,000 had increased to about 450,000,000. This increase had not been evenly distributed between the different nations. If we look more closely at facts of population-growth for the great nations of Europe for the 40 or 50 years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great War, we will better understand how population growth exerted its influence upon the policies of the different countries.

The German Empire had grown from slightly over 41,000,000 in 1871 to nearly 65,000,000 in 1910, and was increasing at the rate of 1.3% per annum at the time of the outbreak of the war. This was a somewhat lower rate of increase than it had in 1800. It had passed the period of its largest excess of births over deaths. During the time that Germany was increasing 58.1% in population, France was increasing only 8.53% or from a little over 30,000,000 to a little over 30,000,000, and Russia had increased 71.0% or from about 76,-500,000 to almost 131,000,000. Great Britain had increased 43.6%, Austria-Hungary 37.8%, and Italy 29.4%. In Germany, Great Britain and Austria the rate of natural increase had been declining for a few years and in France for a much longer time, while in Russia, Italy, and Hungary it was the largest it had ever been in the years immediately preceding the war. In Russia the outlook was for a still more rapid growth in the immediate future.

German statesmen who had been watching the trends of population growth very carefully had begun to feel that they were between the hammer (Russia) and the anvil (France and England) and that they must crush one or both or be crushed by them. The very rapid growth of Russia and the smaller Slavic countries should help us to understand this feeling. If French statesmen, on the other hand, felt that France had already dropped into the position where she could no longer be the hammer and that she was rapidly slipping into the position where she could not sustain even the role of anvil, we can also understand why they did so and appreciate what it means to one nation to remain practically stationary while her closest neighbors is increasing rapidly in numbers and power. It would be beyond the province of my paper to discuss in detail how the growing pressure of population led German statesmen and the German people at large to feel that their rapid growth in numbers entitled them to control a larger share of the world's surface in order to insure the supply of things they needed to keep on growing. We can all imagine how we would feel if we were placed in the same situation. On the other hand, a weaker nation like France dare not admit a single encroachment without laying itself open to further encroachments whenever its stronger neighbors may feel inclined to undertake them.

"I wish to express my hearty concurrence with the objects of the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference and I trust that the publicity it obtains may do much to further a true understanding of the place of birth control in a well-developed population policy."

Professor Warren S. Thompson,
Scripps Foundation for Research on Population Problems, Miami University, Ohio

Even in the United States with all its vast resources, we frequently hear business men complain of the attitude of the authorities of various countries who have not undertaken the development of their own resources and who are unwilling that American capitalists should undertake their exploitation on their own terms. How much stronger this feeling must be when the population of a country feels the real pinch of lack of natural resources and sees great abundance of these elsewhere to which they are denied access. None of us likes the "dog in the manger" when we want the hay on which he has made his bed.

I am not claiming that population pressure is the only cause of war nor that it is generally the immediate cause of war, but I do believe that we will never be in a position to understand the great complexity of the social and economic situations out of which war is likely to arise until we study far more carefully than we have been in the habit of doing the effects of the growth of population-on national economic policies and therefore on international policies. Until we do understand the great complexity of the situation likely to bring about (Continued on page 183)
Impressions of The Conference

From the Information Desk

By Anne Kennedy

The spirit of this Conference was best emphasized by the individuals who daily went in and out of the sessions, with their program in hand, expressing enthusiasm, interest and admiration for the educational advantages that were available during the six days of the sessions, and to emphasize how wide this interest was, I will give a few personal conversations with some of the delegates and attendants.

From the South, a little woman with black eyes and a southern accent, stepped briskly up to the desk and said "I want to represent the South at the Conference. I know that the women in the southern states and in New Orleans especially, are interested in this great problem of Birth Control, so I do not feel I should register from one particular state." She stayed through all the sessions and took voluminous notes, exclaiming over the wealth of material she would have for her club members.

A man stepped up and presented his credentials from the Mexican Consul General of New York City, asking that he be permitted to attend all sessions of the Conference. He was Professor Rodriguez y Cos, who founded the Department of Sociology in connection with the University of Mexico. He is making a world tour, investigating new educational methods and constructive movements for world betterment in every country. He was most enthusiastic about the Conference.

Instructors from twenty-four of our colleges and universities attended all or part of the sessions. Many of these men and women were most flattering in their praise of the dignity and interest of the Conference.

One professor, who is connected with a state university, said "This exceeds any scientific conference I have ever attended because it has inspiration and vitality in its program, and sincere and earnest enthusiasm connected with its organization."

A Social Worker's View

A woman registered from New Jersey and said "I saw in the Paterson paper all about this Conference, and I just wanted to see Margaret Sanger. Could I go in and listen to her? We have a little sewing circle among my neighbors and I want to tell them just how Mrs. Sanger looks. I will describe her hat and dress, as well as the things she says, to these women who believe in her work." Many delegates came from the Neighborhood Associations and the day nurseries, all exclaiming over the interesting papers and the valuable suggestions for their work among the poor.

One woman who came from West Virginia said "There is not a mining region in the whole country that so desperately needs the kindly hand of Margaret Sanger as West Virginia. We are working continually among women who are suffering from malnutrition and the hardship of poverty and yet are still bearing children. Not because they desire to bring more children into the world, but because they have no means of securing information as to how to limit their families."

A tall, fine looking Englishman handed me his card and said "I am asked by this magazine to attend the Conference and to write an article on the significance of this gathering." The next day, he introduced me to his wife. He had found the Conference so interesting he wanted to make it a family affair, and expressed his belief that he was attending a very great gathering of intellectual minds dealing with some of the greatest problems that concern our future civilization, all pivoting around Birth Control.

Nurses in Attendance

Nurses from the hospitals rushed hurriedly after registering, saying "I do not want to miss one bit of the papers or the discussion." There is no doubt that the nursing profession as a whole endorses this great movement. They know perhaps better than the doctors how keenly each mother longs for this information.

An alert and intelligent woman stepped up to my desk and said "I have come on from St. Paul to get your advice and to see if anything can be done in our state for Birth Control. My husband is a doctor and he is coming to attend the sessions for we have found that the law permits physicians in our state to give Birth Control information for the cure and prevention of disease, just as you have it in New York. We will attend the clinics and the sessions, and we hope to arouse active interest in this great cause when we return west."

Dr. Otto Neustatter, from Munich, Germany, was a popular attendant at the Conference. He is Scientific Director for the Society of Popularizing Hygiene.

During one of the sessions, my attention was called to a man in uniform standing at the rear of the hall, and on stepping up to him, I saw that he was a fireman, not an officer of the law. He said "Oh, I am the fire officer for the McAlpin and I
just wanted to stand here and listen to these papers I think that it's about time for people to support Mrs. Sanger in her fight. What a fine little fighter she has been through these years, and say, could you just let me meet her for a few minutes to shake her hands when they're through?"

The Commissioner of Charities of one of the upstate towns expressed her deep and firm conviction that until Birth Control was established as part of our great public health program, no reduction could be made in the need for charity in any city. More and more, the overburdened mother was driven into the charity offices, to lay her troubles on the shoulders of the citizens of her state, where they rightfully belong, as long as the law will not permit her to receive Birth Control information except when she is broken in health.

An earnest student of sociology from one of the Massachusetts colleges, told me he felt this to be one of the greatest privileges of his life—to be able to attend this Conference. He pledged enthusiastic support for the cause and will assist us when we go to Boston to challenge Mayor Curley's manifesto against any discussion of the subject of Birth Control in Boston.

A representative from Texas told me that the women who had elected Governor Ferguson would be equally interested in a campaign for Birth Control, and that she would advocate in all her clubs a study of the subject from every aspect.

Workers Birth Control Group in England

A REPORT *

By Dora Russell
Hon. Secretary Workers Birth Control Group

PART II

SEVENTEEN county committee members, distributed all over England, and all married women and delegates to the Conference, were elected to organize areas and correspond with the Central Committee. The officers of the Group, elected for a term of one year, were Chairman, Mrs. L. Strange Malone; Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Adamson, Secretaries, Mrs. Clifford Allen and Mrs. Bertrand Russell. The Group was open for membership to all men and all women in Labor organizations, but, so far as possible, control of its policy was to be in the hands of men and women who had known the responsibility of parenthood. Miss Jewson was the only single woman on the committee. There was and is, no married Labor woman in the House of Commons. Miss Jewson has been a valiant helper, unflinching in her advocacy of the cause of working mothers.

The Group first of all issued in pamphlet form the memorandum which had been presented to the Minister of Health, and other smaller pamphlets. It began to organize a speakers' campaign among local Labor parties, meeting everywhere with an enthusiastic response. Men and women who were parents carried its message far and wide, into mining areas, crowded towns and outlying villages. This campaign is only yet in its infancy but, wherever they go, the Group speakers find that there is an absorbing interest on the part of men and women in all problems affecting maternity, child care, and physical and sex education.

The scientific
outlook is working remarkable changes in the view taken by even the simplest and poorest on questions which were once taboo for public discussion. And the Group does not carry only the message of birth control to the mothers, but of knowledge, love of life, and a scientific attitude to motherhood and care of children. It is those who love children and care most satisfactorily for their own, who are the strongest and most eloquent advocates of birth control. At least, such has been the experience of the Workers' Birth Control Group in its propaganda work.

A resolution in favor of the Group's requests went through the London Labour Party Conference without discussion or opposition, and several resolutions were down for discussion at the big Labour Party Conference in October, 1924. In consequence of the political crisis, (the general election took place immediately) that Conference was greatly curtailed and the birth control resolutions were not reached. They were referred to the party executive for consideration and a report this year demands, and a copy of the Memorandum submitted to Mr. Wheatley, sixty-four members, of whom twenty-one are Conservative, four Liberal and forty Labour, have given definite pledges in answer to this circular. A non-party committee is being formed, and meets for the first time on March 4th, to discuss possible action.

Members of the Group are tackling their own M.P.'s in their constituencies and also medical officers of health with a series of printed questions issued by the Group. Members of Parliament pay more attention to their own local voters than to organizations.

A very successful meeting was held at the Essex Hall on Friday, February 20th, the first big public meeting organized by the Group. Clifford Allen, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, took the chair and stated definitely that Mr. Wheatley's attitude to this question should not be taken as representative of the majority of the Independent Labour Party to which he belongs. Miss Jewson gave a report of the Group's work, and Mr. Thur-

MESSAGE FROM BERTRAND RUSSELL

You have my most cordial good wishes for your International Conference, which I hope will be a great success. I will let what I have to report be absorbed into my wife's paper.

The Independent Labour Party delegates to that Conference were ready to speak and vote in favor, and it is believed that the Miners' Federation were similarly pledged. When a resolution is carried in this Important Conference, permitting birth control as a public policy will go down on the Labour programme.

The Secretary of the Workers' Birth Control Group was invited to speak at the Independent Labour Party Summer School on the Group's policy and secured much interest and support. A representative of the Group, Bertrand Russell, attended the National Committee enquiring into Birth Control and Public Morals under the Presidency of the Bishop of Winchester. The report of this Committee is not yet issued. The Group, on the formation of the Conservative Government, approached the present Health Minister with a request for a deputation or a change of policy. Both requests were refused. It is proposed now to urge upon the Minister that he should conduct the "enquiry," which Mr. Wheatley finally promised after the vote at the Labour Women's Conference. Nothing else in the way of a concession can be expected, unless pressure from Parliament can be applied.

With this in view the Group has circuabized all the present House of Commons with its minimum tile. George Lansbury and Mr. Viant pledged their help in the House of Commons, Dr. Harry Roberts, who is in the Labour Party and has an enormous panel, practice in Stepney, one of the poorest London boroughs, was unfortunately down with influenza, but sent a message of support, and Dr. Maurice Newfield gave a medical view on the morality of birth control. Bertrand Russell concluded with a plea for knowledge and freedom for women.

Evidence on maternity care, which will shew the evils of large families and the prevalence of abortion in crowded industrial areas is being submitted by the Group to the Royal Commission now enquiring into National Health Insurance. The Group is advocating (1) a great extension of ante-natal and post-natal maternity care to be coupled with the giving of birth control information, (2) extensive lectures on pregnancy, care of babies, even anatomy, to young wives and mothers, (3) an extensive propaganda through Insurance societies, public authorities and any possible channels urging the importance of ante-natal and post-natal care.

The attitude of the Group throughout is to demand knowledge, science and research for women into all problems affecting them as mothers, and
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recognition of their work and its Importance to the community. Its members feel that their attitude on birth control, and on sex information goes hand in hand with the programme of Labour women for improved maternity care and pensions for mothers.

The battle will not be fought to a successful conclusion without some degree of pugnacious feminism on the part of the mothers, who were somewhat neglected in the feminist fight of the last fifty years. Knowledge for women on every subject affecting their welfare and freedom for them as human beings is the test which we must fight this battle, and in which we shall ultimately conquer. Let us cease to spill sentiment over the women who bear children for the community and give them knowledge, rights and economic help. Let us have science and plain speaking and plain understanding in the place of sentiment, delicacy founded on taboos and ignorance. Let us have deliberate creation, health, intelligence, in place of chaotic births, deformity and the stupidity born of starvation and bad conditions. That way lies the road of future evolution of the human race, unless a catastrophe involves the downfall of all our knowledge and civilization.

A CONFERENCE WHICH MARKS PROGRESS

Turn back to 1917. All through that year the press carried reports of news having to with birth control, and all that was news was news of violent argument, of law courts and of jails. Mrs Sanger choosing to go to prison, the hunger-strike of Mrs Byrne, stories of forcible feeding denied and reaffirmed. Canon Chase maintaining that birth control was an affront to God, Mrs Sanger fighting to keep the police from taking her fingerprints. Billy Sunday mauling the subject in his tabernacle on Washington Heights, the whole question fought over, quarreled over, torn over, against a background of sensationalism.

Four years later, in 1921, came the raid of a police force into a meeting in the Town Hall, more arrests, more violence, some clubbings, more charges and denials and fierce accusations, followed by lawsuits for false arrest.

Four years more, and in 1925, an international birth-control conference opens quietly at the Hotel McAlpin. It is attended by social workers and medical men from this country, from England, from Austria, India, China and a dozen other countries. On the register of its delegates, not all advocates of birth control but all ready to discuss the question on its merits, are such distinguished scientists and scholars as Alice Hamilton, Raymond Pearl, Alonzo Taylor, Edward Alsworth Ross, Dr E V McColum of Johns Hopkins, Owen R Lovejoy, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University, Irving Fisher, Dr A A Brill, John Haynes Holmes and Dr M Cary Thomas, President Ementus of Bryn Mawr.

Birth control, we may hope, is moving out of the range of angry thinking, raids and jails. The question is coming to be accepted as falling into the domain, not of law and compulsion but of personal choice, of social policy and of morality—N Y World, March 27.

AN APOLOGY

By inadvertence a statement which may appear slighting to the audience which heard Mrs Sanger on March 15th was made on Page 21 of the April Review. The sentence which follows a note on her address before the Community Church should read: "She had an audience equally intelligent but representing a different point of view when she spoke before the Freethinkers' Society of New York on March 15th.”

OVERPOPULATION AND MIGRATION AS CAUSES OF WAR

(Continued from page 119)

wars we will never make headway in controlling them.

Absolute pressure of population on available resources, which may be measured by the difficulties a people experiences in making a living, does not necessarily lead directly to war. In fact a people may be greatly crowded and yet not attempt to push into the territory of their less crowded neighbors because they lack the leadership to make a concerted movement. Also they may have become so accustomed to hard living that they do not feel the pressure as would a people which had known better days. In addition they may not be aware of the easier conditions existing elsewhere, and there may be certain firm traditions in their social organization which do not sanction migration in force. One or more of these factors is operative today in such countries as China, India and Java. So these countries, though having a high pressure of population, do not threaten the peace of the world in the immediate future. These peoples will still suffer for some time the hardships to which they have been accustomed for ages. How long they will do so is a question which I shall not attempt to answer. In less than three-quarters of a century Japan has come out of her seclusion and is strong enough to resent, with force if need be, the way in which Europeans are ordering the world for their own benefit and are excluding other peoples from their preserves. This may or may not give us some indication of what we may expect from other peoples now coming into contact with western civilization in situations so unprecedented as this. History is a poor teacher.
The point I would make here is that over-population is a relative matter and that whether it will lead to war depends upon many factors other than mere density. It becomes dangerous to the peace of the world only when a people feels that it is being kept within narrower limits, both as regards territory and resources, than are its due, because other peoples are unjustly monopolizing too large a part of the earth's resources. Under such conditions, the peoples who feel that they are crowded are at any time likely to attempt to move into territory already claimed by some other power and war is the inevitable result. The migration of peoples looking for new homes today at least, and perhaps in all ages, has been from areas in which they believed making a living was harder than it would be elsewhere. It is the differential pressure of population which is keenly felt by the people with poor or limited resources that is likely to rouse antagonism to peoples better off and thus lead to armed conflict to secure new territory or more abundant resources. The question as to who has a right to use the resources of the earth is which is necessarily going to attract more and more attention as time goes on.

The white race everywhere is claiming that national sovereignty is to determine to whom the right to use resources belongs. The most definite expressions of this doctrine are the Asiatic exclusion policies of Australia, Canada and our own country. Already Japan has openly questioned this right of national sequestration and a small section of the population of India has claimed the right to move freely within the British Empire of which India is a part. Italy is about ready to raise the question of what she shall do with her excess population since a smaller number are to be allowed to enter the United States. Before long we may expect some of the other crowded European countries to question the right of any nation to hold land out of use which they feel is needed for their redundant numbers. If, in the course of a few generations, China should be nationally integrated with a strong central government in control, she, too, can be expected to oppose the exclusion policy of the white race at least as regards the holding out of use of lands her inhabitants would like to settle and till.

(to be continued)

Our Own Literary Digest (Continued from page 141)

world from over-population, the chance that poor stocks will multiply rapidly while good stocks will die out, or because of the belief that many admirable but unenlightened people are bearing children when it means unhappiness to them and to them offspring.

Equally flippant is the comment of the Danville (Ill.) News which maintains that not population pressure but man's natural delight in killing is the cause of war, since "it was and is the nature of the brute to fight." The Brooklyn Standard Union believes that overcrowding makes for peace, for "it is a psychological fact that the more you crowd people together the less they are inclined to fight.

There is much to be said for the doctrine that over-pressure of population makes people meek and docile. Look at the subway trams.

The Newburyport (Mass.) News believes that "economic causes" are already checking population. To this editorial writer, "it seems pathetic for Margaret Sanger to persist in an effort to teach Birth Control to parents." The Springfield (Mass.) Evening Union shows its caliber by attacking Owen Lovejoy equally for advocacy of the child labor amendment and Birth Control. The very levity of such editorial opposition as these quotations illustrate will set readers to thinking of the other side of the question.

Wholly generous and straightforward toward the conference and what it stands for is the attitude of many of the editorials. Says the Pottsville (Penn.) Journal, "Slowly but surely and with admirable patience and propriety, these people have sought recognition for their cause. Their chief allies are newspapers, physicians, and welfare societies which support their claims with figure and logic. This International Conference is just another step toward informing the people, even against their will. And true information cannot harm anybody."

Says the Brooklyn Eagle:

What has been made clear during the discussions at this conference is that birth control is not a simple matter of interfering with natural processes. It cuts deep into world economics, is not without political significance in the broader sense, and is closely related to that body of customs and beliefs and social purposes loosely grouped under the head of morals. Birth control propaganda that seeks to gain the support of intelligent members of the community should be as free as any other kind of propaganda. The present conference has made a dignified and intelligent appeal and the discussions have been interesting and instructive.

The New York Times published long and thoughtful editorials reviewing the first and the last day's proceedings, as well as an appreciative note on Mrs. Sanger's work for Birth Control: "Mrs. Margaret Sanger," says the Times, "queen bee of the birth controllers that have swarmed here from twenty-two nations, is much more terrible in the imagination of the unlimited multiplicants than she is in actual life. She is a shy, quiet, earnest little woman..."
who employs no sarcasm, invective, sensationalism or militancy in her arguments. She presents her opinions with all gentleness and restraint, keeps vigorously within the laws governing the publishing of biological information, and regards her subject as a quite serious science. There is said to be very little "kick" in her lectures, and much cold fact and reason, wherefore her audiences are sometimes disappointed. So wide is her fame that in one recent year she received 85,000 letters from American mothers of large families—every letter tragic.

Note — Later packages of clippings received as this goes to press, raise the total to 1,500 and the number of editorials to 150. New states represented in the editorial comment are Tennessee, Iowa, Connecticut, North Carolina, California, Wisconsin, Indiana and Michigan.

LEGISLATORS WAKE TO A VITAL PROBLEM

(Continued from page 145)

search Department of the American Birth Control League since it was founded and 5,000 copies of the department's report on contraceptive methods have been sold to physicians.

No testimony was listened to with greater respect by the committee than that of a local surgeon brought in by citizens of Albany. This was Dr. Arthur W. Elting of the Department of Surgery of the Albany Hospital, a convinced supporter of Birth Control. Dr. Elting held that it was absurd from the point of view of medicine that there should be any controversy on this matter. The law which now gives the physician the right to Interrupt pregnancy by therapeutic abortion should make of Birth Control a respectable and reputable scientific procedure and not leave it to the drug store to sell freely if illegally expensive and often unreliable contraceptive devices. He stated that "if there was a physician who did not give contraceptive advice he would like to see him." He believed this advice to be universal in private practice among the well-to-do, it was only refused in the clinics, where physicians feared the law would be able to follow them up. And it was in the clinics, where the overburdened poor came for help that this advice should be given most freely.

The last speaker at the hearing, which lasted three hours in a room crowded to the end, was the sponsor of the bill, Assemblyman Boyle, who dwelt upon Birth Control as a means of attacking the problem of criminal abortion.

Even though this year's bill is not reported by the committee the ground is prepared for the bill that will be introduced in 1926. There is little doubt that our legislators in the State of New York are wishing that groundwork of knowledge that will aid them in passing 'intelligence tests' on this aspect of the problem of public health and public well-being.

PLACE OF BIRTH CONTROL IN THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

(Continued from page 139)

being created. The child will enjoy its childhood. He will have time for play, for education. If accidents happen, if illness supervene, the strain is materially lessened. Woman with efficient knowledge of birth control can practically abolish poverty in the home. Collectively she will learn how to abolish poverty in the town, the city, the village, the nation.

There need be no sex-promiscuity either for men or women. Rational early marriage laws will allow for needful changes.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT CIRCULATION ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of the Birth Control Review published monthly at New York N. Y. for April 1, 1925, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Margaret Sanger, who having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that she is the Editor-in-Chief of The Birth Control Review and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership, management etc. of the newspaper published by her as shown by the above statement required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 430 of Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this statement.

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are

Publisher—American Birth Control League, Inc. 104 Fifth Ave. N. Y. City. Editor—Margaret Sanger, 104 Fifth Ave. N. Y. City. Manager—Elting, N. Y. Magazine Building, 104 Fifth Ave. N. Y. City.

2. The following is a list of the names and addresses of the known bondholders and mortgagees or of the persons in control of the business or management of the newspaper:

None.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities issued (if there are none so state) None.

4. That the two paragraphs below have given the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders of any concern not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee of an island another fiduciary relationship of the person or corporation in question. The statement is made in order that the word "owner" as used throughout this statement shall include all such holders and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold, stock and security in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner and that the above has no relation to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any proprietary interest in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as stated by him.

MARGARET SANGER

Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of March 1925.

EDITH HUSTED

Notary Public

[ SEAL ]

(For commission expires March 30, 1926.)
A GREAT SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS  
(Continued from page 139)

flowers by the president to Mrs Sanger, Mrs Kennedy and Kitty Marion

At Mrs Sanger's house in the evening an international federation was formed of which Alice Vickery Drysdale was chosen honorary president, Margareti Sanger, president. In the June review will be published the general program of the federation, which includes an international conference to be held at Geneva in August, 1936

In the Birth Control Review for August, 1922, Mrs Sanger commented on the lack of stir over the International which had been held in London the preceding month

"The question," she wrote, "has not entered the arena of practical politics. The propaganda is as yet only as large as a man's hand. But the clouds are gathering with marvelous rapidity, rising from the individual homes all over the world where women and children are suffering from privations due to over-crowding and the incoming of too many babies".

To this poignant if almost helpless demand by the mothers of the poor has been added at the 6th International Birth Control Conference the compelling organized demand of men and women eminent in medical, biological and social sciences throughout the world, as well as of a group of women who are articulate to express their desires and well organized to work for their attainment. It is these two groups who are bringing Birth Control into practical world politics. They are taking it to the doorstep of the League of Nations at the seventh International neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference to be held in Geneva in August, 1926

MEDICINE’S RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT  
(Continued from page 136)

above ethical ideals, and, second, that it promotes immorality by relieving it of part of the penalties of extra-marital intercourse. To the first, I would make flat denial. I would maintain on the contrary that an easy, unrestrained, happy sexual marital life renders most probable the realization of its other ideals. As to knowledge of birth control promoting illegitimate sexual intercourse, it would undoubtedly tend to that end to a certain degree by freeing it of one of its two great hazards. It is the same objection that is raised to measures for preventing venereal diseases, the argument being that venereal diseases and fear of conception restrain irregular sexual intercourse, and for that reason it is immoral to offer any protection from these dangers. When we are brought face to face with what this attitude means, it is this. It is better that the world should go on being scourged with venereal diseases and with abortions and the agony of desperation that illegitimate conceptions produce than that it should be freed from these horrors at the expense perhaps of increasing illicit sexual intercourse. I do not believe this is a sound ethical position and I am still more strongly of the opinion that it is not humane, to use no stronger term. I do not believe any moral code in the long run will be benefitted by such an attitude. But aside from its ethical defects, it is not effective. The history of all time shows that fear of venereal disease and of illicit conception is not sufficient to check the exercise of the sexual appetite in those who have not the strength of character to control it. Nothing in fact except strength of character is effective, and I would like to see the efforts for the much desired control based upon that premise.

But I do not believe that knowledge of birth control would actually increase sexual immorality. On the contrary I believe the tendency in this direction would be vastly more than offset by the improvement in sexual morality that would result from making marriages, as a rule, more successful sexually. That of all things would tend most to sexual morality in civilized communities.

It is considerations like these, which I think from their experience are borne in more upon physicians than upon most men, that make me feel that adequate and satisfactory methods of birth control and widespread knowledge of them would not only contribute to human happiness and social betterment but would be invaluable influences in favor of sexual morality. They would, indeed, promote morality in its broadest and best sense.
I know how shocking to some minds are the truths of sexual life that I am expressing, and I am expressing them, not from desire, but from a conviction that necessity, as well as honesty and sincerity, compels their expression. One of the most mischievous factors in our handling of sex problems is that we do not face the truths of biology and experience, but we try to think them away, to ignore them, to persuade ourselves that they do not necessarily exist, that they are not as we find them, but as a certain sort of unreal sentimentality would have them. It is not that this attitude is simply a false one, but, much more important, it is the cause of a great part of the enormous difficulty of the problem. In this problem, as in any other one, fundamental truths, even if unpleasant, must be met and given frank consideration, if any sound progress is to be made.

Another argument that is advanced against birth control, upon which the physician is entitled perhaps to say a word, is that the Earth would become depopulated, if child-bearing could certainly be prevented by easy methods universally known. Assuming that there could be a situation where such knowledge was universal, I am sure nothing is further from the truth. Remembering the relative rarity of sterility, it is an impressive fact how frequently we are called upon to see if we cannot furnish relief for it. One of the facts that is brought home to physicians, as it is to everyone else who takes occasion to consider it, is that men and women, as a rule, want children, that the desire for children is a strong instinct and that the pleasure of their upbringing is the most satisfactory one in life. Indeed probably all the altruism that man has is based upon this instinct. The way that men and women as a rule wish to have children, even under conditions of the greatest sacrifice of comfort and opportunity to themselves, and the way they strive to do their duty by them is the most inspiring human phenomenon. I can think of few more fortunate conditions in the world, than one in which the regulation of the number of children that a family might have, could be reasonably within the decision of the family itself, without the payment of such unhappy, dangerous, demoralizing penalties as are now exacted.

There is one aspect of this problem—obvious when it is stated—which is not commonly recognized, but which is constantly emphasized in the experience of physicians, that is that this is peculiarly woman's problem. Of course it is man's problem also, but men are not concerned in it in the way that women are. It is women that bear the penalties in injury, disease, and death and mental torture that are involved in it. They have a right to know...
how they can intelligently—not crudely and dangerously—control their sexual lives. And they are justified by the highest considerations in fighting vigorously and persistently until they have this right granted to them.

The relation of medicine to this problem is obvious. Methods of birth control have to do with the human body, and that is our province. As I have said before, medicine has not given to the problem the attention that it deserves—not because medicine is not confronted with it every day—but because the subject is taboo and the adequate exchange of scientific knowledge concerning it illegal. It is a problem that requires the technical skill of medicine. I think it must be said that its methods now are crude and unsatisfactory. There is a possibility, with our present knowledge of biological reactions and with intensive consideration of the subject, that improvements might be made that would put these methods on a plane that has hitherto been impossible and that would make them practical agencies for effectively influencing the future history and happiness of mankind. These possibilities are so large that they are worthy of the best effort that medicine has to offer.

At the present time, however, the situation could hardly be more unsatisfactory. The first prerequisite to satisfactory study of any subject is free access to knowledge of it, and that necessitates unrestricted interchange of experience and information among scientific men. That is not allowed now upon the subject of methods of birth control. We are not even in a position where we can freely determine the merits and demerits of the subject. It is not that methods of birth control are not discussed and practiced, they are everywhere. But the facts—and the fiction—are passed from individual to individual—ignorantly, crudely, unsatisfactorily and in ways that often are vicious. It is only scientific, decent discussion of the subject that is prevented, the sort of discussion that is necessary and can only be had, when it is untrammeled, among self-respecting men, who can bring to its consideration knowledge and wisdom. This situation is medieval. From the history of similar situations in the past it cannot be doubted that it must in time give way. To see that this is brought about as quickly as possible is a thing worthy of the vigorous efforts in that direction that are now being made.

MOTHER OF 16 INSANE

Carbondale, Ill., January 19—Mrs Bertha Ledbetter, age thirty-five, among whose sixteen children are triplets and three sets of twins, was Saturday declared insane by a commission of doctors, according to the county court records.

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