The Ultimate Goal of Birth Control

The birth control movement is following the normal course of great methods of human improvement. It began as a purely personal matter, it was next directed toward the immediate amelioration of an obvious social ailment, now it is ready to become one of the greatest of all factors in the prevention of future ills. A comparison with the cure of tuberculosis will help to make this clear. In the first, or personal stage, people attempted to make the victims of tuberculosis comfortable. Restoration of health was rarely expected, the patients were kept at home and the spread of the disease was not checked.

In the next stage, tuberculosis was recognized as a great social problem. The nature of the disease was discovered, and cures began to be made through outdoor life, proper diet, and so forth. Moreover, public institutions in the form of sanatoria began to appear. Then came the final stage when men looked far into the future, and the complete elimination of the disease began to outrank the comfort or even the cure of the patient as a motive for action.

These stages of personal comfort, cure of immediate social ailments, and prevention of future ills are as clear in birth control as in tuberculosis. The first stage began over a century ago. For reasons which are not yet clear, the birthrate among the most intelligent and strong-willed people suddenly began to fall rapidly, especially in New England. This was merely a self-protective, personal measure comparable to making the tubercular patient as comfortable as possible. It was accomplished almost wholly through self-restraint, and little was said about it. Nevertheless it gave rise to some uneasiness among far sighted people, and a book or two was written about it. Viewed narrowly, it wrought far more harm than good. Just as the great care given to tubercular patients seventy-five years ago did harm by keeping them alive and thereby spreading the disease, so this early birth control did harm by reducing the number of children in the highest type of family. Viewed more broadly, both movements were good because they were the beginnings of something great.

The main objective of the second stage of birth control was the amelioration of suffering among women who were overburdened with childbearing. It was accompanied by the development of scientific methods of contraception, and by the establishment of public clinics. Its scientific discoveries parallel the discovery of the nature of the tubercular bacilli, and its clinics correspond to the sanatoria for tuberculosis. In neither tuberculosis nor birth control did the second stage mean any diminution in the activities of the first, although it redirected and improved them.

The third stage in birth control has scarcely appeared as yet, and is little understood. Its objective is eugenic. It proposes to use contraception in such a way that children shall be numerous in families where the biological inheritance is desirable, and shall diminish steadily in number as the biological inheritance becomes less desirable. Thus far, to be sure, our methods of determining what parents will give their children a good inheritance are very crude. Nevertheless, as a rule good inheritance and good training tend to go together. This is doubly fortunate. It means that, regardless of whether people place more faith in inheritance or in training, they can work together enthusiastically toward the goal of many children in the most desirable homes and few in the least desirable. It also means that a very practical and almost untried way of consciously raising the level of society stands ready to our hand.

We must revise our social system to conform to the eugenic ideal. That ideal is that the size of families should decline steadily in proportion to the degree to which people depart from the type defined by such terms as emotionally stable, strong-willed, kindly disposed, adaptable, talented, and intelligent.

It is vastly more difficult to achieve this purpose than to stamp out tuberculosis. Nevertheless, it is equally possible and far more necessary. The first step is a widespread realization that the birth control movement is ready to enter the third and greatest of the three stages described above. This does not mean any relaxation of the previous efforts toward the immediate relief of suffering. It does mean, however, that henceforth the eugenic ideal will be more and more fully recognized.
birth control in general and the work of birth control clinics in particular is actually eugenic or the reverse. Our dependence on mere impressions rather than on actual statistics as to this detail is amazing. The third step is scientific investigation to determine what are the best methods of making birth control fully eugenic and how to apply them. A prerequisite to this is that the people who work and give for philanthropic objects must realize not only that birth control is a means of relieving immediate suffering, but that it is the most powerful and hence, when misused, the most dangerous of all means of altering the character of mankind.

The wielder of such a weapon needs vast wisdom.

—Ellsworth Huntington

FROM DISGENIC TO EUGENIC
BIRTH CONTROL

By Henry Pratt Fairchild
President, Population Association of America

People frequently talk as if the limitation of population was a voluntary matter, something that could be adopted or rejected according to choice or whim. The truth is, on the contrary, that the limitation of population is a great universal law of nature, from which there is no possible escape. The only choice is as to the method of limitation.

This is a finite globe. Vast as it is, the substances of which it is composed all exist in absolutely fixed quantities, and its superficial area is unchanging. All living creatures have to subsist on this globe. In order to survive, they require two chief services from the earth—food and standing room. The food of living organisms, whether plants or animals, consists of about a dozen elementary substances, such as carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, phosphorus, etc. Of each of these there is only a limited amount. If we can imagine that at any one time all of these substances were actually used to form the tissues of living bodies, that would represent the maximum volume of life possible on the earth. In point of fact, the continuance of successive generations requires that only a portion of these substances can be in living bodies at any one time. Hence, the actual maximum of life is much less than the one imagined.

Furthermore, every living organism requires some space to exist in, and the total amount of space in the world is limited. There is, therefore, a second great barrier to the increase of life.

On the other hand, nature has equipped all living species with a tremendous physiological capacity for increase, and a powerful urge that drives them to come as near as possible to realizing this increase. The result is a periodic outpouring of offspring at a geometrical ratio sufficient to overflow the globe in a very few generations, even among the slowest-breeding species. This is the most significant picture of the order of nature—a potentially infinite number of living creatures seeking to survive on a strictly finite amount of food and space. Obviously, there must be limitation of some sort.

Nature's method of meeting this situation, and providing the necessary limitation, is through death. Nature allows all these offspring to be born, and then arranges to have the superfluous ones killed—most of them die in infancy. By this method, nature manages to preserve a virtually stationary population for all her species.

There can be no doubt that for many ages of his early existence man obeyed this law of nature with very little modification. Children were born at a rate closely corresponding to the biological capacity, and then enough were killed off in one way or another to keep the numbers almost stationary. This is, only a slight excess over two children per couple, on the average, could grow to maturity and become parents in turn.

But as man's brain began to develop, and he learned to think about these matters intelligently, the idea gradually developed that it would be much preferable if some of these surplus children could be kept from being born at all. Then they would not have to die. So he (or she) exhausted his ingenuity in trying to devise means of getting rid of children who were on the way, but whom he did not want to have born. The result was the wide variety of painful, dangerous, cruel, and disgusting methods of abortion with which the mores of primitive peoples abound.

The ideas and practices of even the most civilized nations had not advanced much beyond this point at the time when Malthus wrote his famous essay on population. But he did not like abortion, and so he suggested as the best means of limiting population the postponement or abandonment of marriage, even though he recognized that this would involve a great deal of "miserly." But the thinking capacity of man was still improving, and presently some persons began to ask whether it would not be a still better method of limiting population to keep superfluous children from being conceived—then they would not have to be killed at all, not even in the womb. This was the origin of the great Neo-Malthusian, or birth control movement. It represented a shift of emphasis from control by death to control through births, or more accurately, through conceptions.
Now it is clear that in all this progression from the natural method of limitation to the human method, it has been man's intelligence and thinking power that have suggested the possibilities and the methods. Consequently, it has been the more intelligent societies, classes, and individuals, on the whole, that have most extensively and successfully substituted control through the medium of birth (or conception) for the cruel method of control by death.

But modern societies, in accordance with their humanitarian principles, make every effort to prevent the death of anyone, however humble his origin and limited his intelligence. The result has been that, since birth control was practiced mainly by the more intelligent and fortunate elements in society while the large families of the less well-endowed elements were kept alive by social effort, these socially inferior elements contributed much more than their share to the total population, and society grew from the bottom rather than from the top.

This has led many to criticize and oppose the whole birth control movement. This attitude is obviously mistaken, as it ignores the fact that population as a whole must be limited. The correct conclusion is that birth control should be more widely extended, not less. It should be pushed down and out into every element in society, so that the increase of the less socially desirable classes should be at least no greater, and if possible less, than that of the more capable. To the extent that this can be done, birth control becomes a powerful eugenic agency.

**IN SHORT**

*We can no longer afford to be mere pawns on the chessboard of evolution. We must take a hand in the game.*

—**SIR ARTHUR KEITH**

* * *

The advantage of the new era of voluntary families will be that the most responsible section of the population will be the parents of the future. The less responsible, not caring about the needs of the community and preferring freedom to the burden of children, will tend to eliminate themselves.

—**A. M. CARR SAUNDERS**

* * *

All those today who are deeply concerned in the great problem of eugenic progress assume as a matter of course that the only practical instrument by which eugenics can work is birth control.

—**HAVELock ELLIS**

**ENCOURAGING EVIDENCE FROM EUROPE**

*By Guy Burch*

Director, Population Reference Bureau, and Secretary, American Eugenics Society

**MORE** than a decade ago I took the position that when the so-called lower economic and social classes of the population were given an opportunity to practice contraception not only would the birth rates of these classes fall, but the birth rates of the so-called upper and middle classes would rise. I based this position not only upon the Franklin Malthus-Darwin principle of population growth but also upon an observation of human nature. Now it appears that this position is supported by statistics.

In Stockholm, Sweden, where contraception has been permitted to reach the lower classes since the World War, Dr. Karl Edin has found the following results:

"That the fertility of the upper classes has increased with the income declared in the census. Couples having an income of at least 10,000 Swedish crowns in 1920 had a birth rate 50 percent above the rate for couples with an income of less than 4,000 crowns, and yet even this last mentioned group had a birth rate perceptibly higher than that of the working class, especially among young couples." (Proceedings, World Population Conference, Geneva, 1927, p. 205.)

Since Dr. Edin's conclusions were published in 1927, he has gathered more data to support his earlier findings, and Dr. Friedrich Burgdorfer, another equally reliable internationally known authority, has reached similar conclusions concerning the birth rates of large German cities, where it is known that birth control has also reached the lower classes.

"On the basis of statistics taken from the income tax," says Dr. Burgdorfer, "I have recently been able to prove that today the number of children of families with large incomes is not diminishing but increasing. While on the average, in large German cities, for every 100 married taxpayers in the income group (under 1,500 reichsmarks) there are only 96 children, the number increased from income group to income group, until the largest percentage was found in the highest income group (over 50,000 reichsmarks) with 140 children for every 100 married taxpayers" (Bulletin, International Population Union, September, 1930, p. 12.)

For many years certain eugenists have been trying to tell the intelligent and responsible classes of the population that they should have more children. This propaganda appears to have had little effect to date. Why? For the very simple reason that intelligent and responsible parents know better than anyone else how
many children they should have under their particular circumstances. There is an old saying out West "that talk is cheap, but that it takes money to buy whiskey". The chief reason, perhaps, why the upper classes do not have more children is that these classes have a high standard of living and they want to take every precaution concerning their children. And as long as these classes must in one way or another supply the funds for the luxurious birth rates of other classes, they will continue to have low birth rates. But once this economic pressure is removed from their standard of living by birth control, enabling the lower classes to have only the number of children they can healthfully support and properly educate, the upper classes will have more children as they are doing in Sweden and Germany.

**Birth Control and Birth Promotion**

*By Frederick Osborn*

**Chairman, Council on Population**

The effect of birth control has been to reduce the fertility of the prosperous groups more rapidly than that of the dependent or marginal groups. As the idea of family limitation has spread in this country, the number of children brought up in homes representing a high school education, or better, has diminished, while the children brought up in homes of a lower educational level are substantially more numerous. All recent scientific studies* indicate that the children from the better homes attain a much higher cultural-intellectual development than do those reared in homes at the lower educational level. Thus, the present group differences in birth rates strongly tend to lower the social inheritance of the country. And there is considerable evidence that they tend to lower the biological inheritance as well. If this should continue, the birth control movement would, in its final result, be disgenic. But already there are some important exceptions to the conditions which we have described. In some places, where, as in the city of Stockholm, the idea of family limitation has penetrated all groups, the so-called social class differentials in fertility have been reversed, the wealthier people having more children than the poorest. We do not know whether the same change will take place in the United States as birth control spreads to all classes, but there are substantial reasons to believe that it will. Furthermore, the legalization of contraceptive services, if properly established, will definitely tend toward equalizing fertility rates in different social groups.

*Continued on page 6*
ON THE 9th day of January, 1935, the 150th birth control clinic was organized at Sioux Falls, S D. On the 14th day of March the 161st clinic was organized at Madison, W Va. This means that clinics are now being organized at the rate of practically one each week. The first clinic was organized in 1916 by Mrs. Margaret Sanger, and immediately closed by the police. She opened another clinic in 1923 and it required twelve years to reach the number 150—an average of only about one new clinic per month as compared with the recent rate of one each week. This seems very encouraging when we find that the clinics are very largely used by the under privileged. Impressive evidence of this is furnished by a careful analysis by Alice C. Boughton of the first 500 cases at the Clinic on Maternal Health in Cincinnati. In 444 instances, or 89 per cent, the weekly family income was below $6.25 per member of the family. Fifty-six per cent already had four or more living children—nearly double that of the privileged classes—with a weekly per capita income of but $2.11. Only 28 families had one room per person, one half had two or more persons per room, 120 families were on charity, and welfare agencies had worked in nearly every family represented.

Evidence could be multiplied. During the first two years of the Bronx House Clinic, in a Jewish neighborhood in New York, 403 women applied. Of these 231 had husbands without regular employment, 68 families were on relief, 39 were on C W A. Eighty-two of the women were Catholics, and six of the 29 Protestant women had Catholic husbands.

There seems therefore a high probability that birth control knowledge will be well nigh universally used by those of normal intelligence, if it be universally distributed. If so, we come upon one of the most tremendous facts in the whole history of life, namely, a species of animal that can control its own birth rate. The question then of all questions obviously is, who will use this power most—the washerwoman or the duchess, the ditch-digger or the college professor and financier—assuming as I think we may, that social classes differ slightly in health, intelligence and character?

I believe the first to suggest that birth control would be apt to set up a favorable selection was Frederick Adams Woods, in a discussion with me at the First Eugenics Congress in London in 1912. I believe I was the first to use the term "birth selection." In 1924 Woods gave me some data showing that an apparently favorable birth selection had taken place in a sample of Harvard graduates, which data I published in the World's Work in 1926. At the same time Professor Huntington, working entirely independently, made the same discovery, using much more critical methods and larger samples. Supporting evidence has recently come from European countries.

Men who know how to make money could find no problem of greater importance than this, toward the solution of which they could devote their funds. If this favorable selection could be proved to be universal when birth control knowledge became universal, it seems to me to be the most hopeful discovery in all science. If the selection be unfavorable, as it has been in the main so far, it seems well nigh certain that every society must periodically decline from lack of leaders, and come to an end from the biological disaster brought about largely by its own economic and political success.

Assuming, however, for the moment that universal birth control would set up a favorable selection, its promotion becomes the first duty of the patriot. If we may indulge in what Huxley called "a scientific use of the imagination," it suggests two conclusions of in-calculable importance. First, it answers the criticism that eugenists have no ideal type for which mankind should breed. We do not need one. It means that man's noblest passions, his loftiest ideals and his most abounding vitality will determine that ideal and guide his evolution to higher levels. Second, it means that character, health, and intelligence will have the same opportunity as in pioneer days to our breed weakness, sloth and stupidity. It means that man's own intelligence has substituted a benign birth selection for a brute death selection, and thus the long red gauntlet of evolution is approaching a beneficent end.

—WILLIAM RALPH INGE
NEWS FROM STATE LEAGUES

From Pennsylvania—heartening news of additional clinics in five towns, and more to come. The Pennsylvania Federation reports 3800 patients cared for during the past year. This rapid expansion occurs in a state where legal restrictions are severe.

Illinois proudly reports two new clinics, one in Downers Grove and another in the steel mill district of South Chicago. The latter location was secured through the cooperation of the United Charities of Chicago.

From Doris Davidson, American Birth Control League Field Secretary, comes news of a clinic just opened under her direction in Madison, West Virginia, which has a population of 2000. The clinic has the sympathetic support of relief workers and is the first to be listed in the state.

New Jersey. A bombshell was thrown into the New Jersey Crime Conference when Mrs. William Thayer Brown, Jr., representing the New Jersey Birth Control League, urged the establishment of birth control clinics as a means of reducing delinquency and crime by easing economic pressure. She quoted Dr. James L. McCartney, psychiatrist of Elmira Reformatory, New York, who made a study of 2500 prisoners, finding that large, unwanted families were a major factor in the cause of crime. The first, second and third children of large families accounted for 63 per cent of those criminals.

Heated discussion followed and attempts were made to throw the resolution out as "irrelevant." Though it went back to committee, the discussion and the press comments served to emphasize the relationship of birth control to crime prevention. The New Jersey League reports a new clinic in Montclair which makes the sixth in that state.

The Morris County Committee of the New Jersey Birth Control League held its annual Social Workers' dinner and meeting on March 8. Fifty attended, representing twenty-five social agencies. The speakers were Mrs. Francis N. Bangs, Marguerite Benson, Executive Director of the American Birth Control League, and Mrs. Vernon of Montclair, who spoke on the sterilization bill at present before the legislature of the state of New Jersey.

A dinner was held by the South Dakota League on March 5, at which Dean Woodruff, Rabbi Fineberg, Mrs. Fairbank, Mr. Monsrud, Dr. Billingsley, Mrs. Springer, and Vera Halver spoke.

The Indiana League reports a meeting under the auspices of the Jewish Forum which was addressed by Margaret Sanger. An audience of 1200 attended.

On February 28 the Woman's Club of Port Chester, New York, cooperating with the leaders of Westchester County and the Greenwich Committee, devoted an entire afternoon to the question of birth control. A formal debate was participated in by two speakers for the affirmative and a physician and the former president of the Club for the negative. The judges decided for the affirmative.

All State League officers, particularly Publications Committee Chairmen, will be interested in the annual report of the Michigan Maternal Health League, which is excellent both in form and substance. Mrs. Morton Keeney, President of the League, will doubtless be glad to send it on request.

BIRTH CONTROL AND BIRTH PROMOTION

(Continued from page 4)

per cent of the number of children required to replace their numbers in the next generation. It is not likely that any such reduction would take place in the United States with its large rural population, but the figure is one to keep in mind. The lesson is clear enough. It will not be sufficient to reduce the present disproportionate birth rates of the dependents, the grossly uneducated, of those inadequately equipped to provide a fit upbringing for their children. This is the first, and at present the most urgent necessity. But an equal necessity has already developed and will become increasingly evident. It is the necessity of increasing the number of births in the better equipped groups, from skilled labor up. Such a change can only be brought about by fundamental changes in our human values, in social conditions, and in the economic handicaps which bear so heavily today on urban people with large families.

Much study will be required to determine what changes are desirable, and how they should be effected. But the need is there. We cannot too long put off meeting it. The able women, who have courageously accepted the responsibility for the spread of birth control, must, without too much delay, help lead the next advance.

The public conscience must be aroused to remove the handicaps now attaching to large families among the well equipped.

AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

MEDICAL ADVISORY BOARD

Fred Kennedy M.D. N. Y. Tiffany J. Willis M.D. Va. Foster Kennedy M.D. N. Y.
THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLICITY TO EVERY STATE LEAGUE

By Mary Lee

EVERY Birth Control League needs a live publicity department. They need it for two reasons: 1 to write and edit all publications, communications and appeals sent out by the organization; 2 to see that the League has constant news of its activities printed in the local press. The first function has as its prime objective the raising of money, without which no organization can carry on. The second has to do with the raising of money in so far as it familiarizes the public with the work, thereby preparing the way for a direct appeal for funds, but it has a wider and more important object, which is to broadcast to the masses of people who are in dire need, the fact that contraceptive information is at hand. Skillfully planned publicity should create a demand which, in the end, even the law makers and the medical profession will not be able to withstand.

The publicity department should consist of several members of the executive board of the local organization, persons who have intimate knowledge of its activities and aims, including the treasurer and finance chairman, who have to do with the raising and care of funds. It should also contain at least one member who has had active experience as a journalist, who knows a news story when one crops up, who can write copy in such form that no rewrite is necessary, and who can talk to a city editor in language that he understands. It should further include at least one member who has had experience in the writing of advertising copy, who knows how to put appeals and other communications into the printed form to which the public will immediately respond.

If birth control is to come in the form of clinics in established hospitals, it must come as a result of an overwhelming public demand. American women are already 90 per cent in favor of birth control. The present economic collapse has probably converted at least 80 per cent of the men. This passive approval must be translated into active demand. The "masses" must be shown that birth control exists — that it should be for them as well as for the rich. Only by properly conducted publicity can this latent approval be transformed into overwhelming public demand.

And once that demand has become articulate, neither the timidity of the medical profession, the obsolescence of the law, nor the mediaevalism of the Roman Catholic Church will be able to withstand its force.

What do you think of this? Is there another side to the question of publicity for League activities, including clinics? We are saving a place in the May Review for informal discussion of this question. Let us hear from you before April 12th — Publications Committee.

CLINIC LOAN FUND

THE American Birth Control League is happy to announce a new departure in the establishment of clinics. It is hoped that this new plan, which offers financial aid to struggling committees, will expedite the organization of service in many towns where it is badly needed.

The League has been made trustee of a sum of money to be used as a revolving loan fund for opening clinics. Limited amounts will be loaned to local groups wishing to establish birth control service but lacking ready funds.

The idea behind the loan is that fund raising for clinic support becomes a simpler matter when there is a functioning clinic to serve as a visual demonstration. Seeing is believing.

The League invites applications and will send upon request a bulletin outlining the simple requirements for securing a loan.

Will the officers of our state leagues see that this message reaches friends in unorganized neighboring states?

SEEN IN THE NEWS

_N Y Times_ March 9 — Birth rates among families on relief are becoming the concern of governmental agencies as relief rolls reach the twenty million mark.

Between October, 1929 and October, 1933, 1,612,891 new babies arrived in families on relief rolls.

_N Y Times_ February 2 — Among the reforms listed in the report of W C Headrick, Field Administrator of the area (Tennessee Valley) were birth control, old age pensions, mothers' aid.

_Washington Post,_ March 10 — Of 400 members of the Medical Society of Virginia who answered questionnaires on the subject, 308 went on record as favoring birth control without reservations. 94.87 per cent in obstetrics and gynecology voted affirmatively.

According to location, 93.7 per cent in city areas and 78.75 per cent in rural sections favored birth control.
THE BEST LETTER

The American Birth Control League's prize of $100 for the best letter from a mother telling how birth control helped her to plan her family for health and well-being, has just been awarded to Mrs Leland F Stone of Congers, New York. The prize letter follows:

"I was married in October, 1923. At that time my husband and I agreed that we would have three children—that to bring up three unwarped physically, mentally or morally would take all the money, time and energy we had.

"In the summer of 1925 I went to my doctor for a physical examination and found that I was perfectly healthy. We dispensed with birth control devices and in July, 1926, our first baby was born.

"Two years later (1928) I again had a physical examination. With the doctor's O K of physical fitness, I became pregnant again. My second baby was born in August, 1929.

"In the summer of 1931 I went for the third time for a check-up. Again my physical condition was fine, precautions were dispensed with, with the result that in July, 1932, my third baby was born. All three were remarkably healthy, happy babies and are known in my neighborhood as 'the healthiest, huskies kids in town.'

"I had time to train one to independence before the next one came, and proper spacing has made babies a joy and a most welcome event. I have borne my three with willingness and pride, and the result has been healthy children full of the joy of living."

The judges of the contest were Mrs. Thomas S Lamont, Chairman of the New York City Committee, Alice Duer Miller, author, Henry Goddard Leach, editor of Forum, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, and Dr. Ira S. Wile. Dr. Wile stated that the letter was chosen as best of 110 entered, because it presented a rational and intelligent approach to the problem of family planning.

Mrs. F. E. Bradley of Redondo Beach, Calif., mother of four children, and Mrs. William Welsh of Portland, Me., mother of two children, received honorable mention in the contest.