



# THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

*Dedicated to the Principle of Intelligent and Voluntary Motherhood*

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A  
MUNICIPAL  
BIRTH CONTROL  
CLINIC  
—  
BIRTH CONTROL  
AND  
EUGENICS

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# THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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} *Editors*

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## EDITORIAL NOTICE

On account of the delay in publishing our March issue, due to Margaret Sanger's imprisonment and the obstructive tactics of the prison officials, we decided to combine the April and May numbers of the Review All subscriptions will be extended one month to compensate

# A MUNICIPAL BIRTH CONTROL CLINIC

*Morris H Kahn, M D*

The following studies were undertaken with a view to determining whether there was an actual need and demand for birth control education and whether such a demand, if it existed, could be supplied with any effect by a scientifically conducted clinic

In view of the fact that this work went on within the wheels of a municipal administration, most of it being done in the dispensaries of the Department of Health of New York City, we felt that it might be of scientific and sociological interest to publish a report and an analysis of the observations made, probably the first of their kind in this country. Section 1142 of our Penal Code was ignored in conducting this clinic

The social and economic status of the patients was fairly uniform, about the same as those attending the other dispensary institutions in this city

A tabulation of the results was made under the following headings: Name and nationality, age, number of years married, number of living children and their ages, number of deceased children, number of miscarriages or abortions, contraceptive methods known or practiced

More or less complete data were secured in 464 cases

The average number of procreative years of married life was 16.1, age 50 being considered in this study as the end of the procreative period for the 72 women who were older than that

The average number of living children was 3.27 and of deceased children 1.2, making a total average of 4.47 children born to each family

Of the 464 women, 176, or three-eighths, had had abortions or miscarriages, the total number of such interruptions of pregnancy being 324, or an average of 1.8 each for the women involved

Of the 464 women, 192 knew of no contraceptive methods and therefore had used none. The remaining 272 women knew of one or more methods, more or less effectual, for the prevention of conception

Of the 192 women who were ignorant of the use of contraceptives, practically one-half—104—had a history of abortions, with a total of 202 abortions or an average of 2 apiece

In contrast with this, of the 272 women who knew of one or more contraceptives, only one-fourth, or 72, had undergone abortions, with a total of 122 abortions or an average of only 1.6 apiece

A further analysis of our tables shows an interesting and striking relationship between ignorance of methods for the prevention of conception and the number of children

Sixty-eight women had had three children each. Of these, twenty-six, or 38 per cent, were ignorant of contraceptives

Twenty-eight women had had four children each. Of

these, fourteen, or 50 per cent, were ignorant of contraceptives

Fifty-five women had had five children each. Of these, thirty were ignorant of contraceptives, or 54 per cent

Thirty-two women had had six children each. Of these, twenty were ignorant of contraceptives, or 62 per cent

Forty women had had seven children each. Of these, thirty-eight were ignorant of contraceptives, or 95 per cent

Twenty-one women had had eight children each. Of these, twenty were ignorant of contraceptives, or 95 per cent

Forty-four women had had nine or more children each. All were ignorant of contraceptive measures

Arranged in tabular form, these data would appear as follows

Number of Women	Number of Children	Number Ignorant of Contraceptives	Percentage
68	3	26	38
28	4	14	50
55	5	30	54
32	6	20	62
40	7	38	95
21	8	20	95
44	9 to 17	all	100

It is sometimes stated by opponents of birth control that contraceptive methods are known by every married person and that the fault and immorality of having a large family of unprovided-for dependents lies not in ignorance of contraceptives but rather in a lack of determination on the part of one or both parents to use preventive measures—in other words, that the failure to use contraceptives results from the inconvenience attending some methods and also from the influence of religious sentiment

The above data, however, tend to show that ignorance of contraceptives not only is a great factor in the production of large families, but is also a great factor in increasing the number of abortions

From the fact that two-thirds of these women knew absolutely no contraceptive methods, while the methods used by many of the others were ineffectual or positively harmful, it is apparent that there is a definite opportunity for educating these women in methods of regulating conception

That there is need and demand for such education is voiced in unmistakable language by the multitude of poor who seek advice from all practicing physicians

NOTE—In view of the exceptional interest of Dr Kahn's article as almost the only example of original investigation of the birth control question by an American physician in a genuinely scientific manner and with real social feeling, we have been particularly glad to arrange for its simultaneous publication in the *New York Medical Journal*.—Ed

# MOTHERS FIRST!

Charles Zueblin

Why is Birth Control being agitated in America while Europe is crying for men? The need for manhood is greater than the need for men. Too much time and energy are spent by the multitude in correcting mistakes. Popular morality consists too largely in observing prohibitions. The inherited code is "Thou shalt not—thou shalt not—thou shalt not." *What shall we do to be saved?* However we may differ as to military preparedness, cannot we agree on three essentials of social preparedness: selected citizenship, protected childhood, voluntary motherhood?

**1 Selected citizenship** Most of our young men are unfit for military service. The young men accepted by the National Guard prove to be not qualified for the army. Ten per cent of the young, athletic enthusiasts who go to Plattsburg are reported to have fainted on a hot day's hike. Our men are too soft for vigorous fatherhood. How many young women are fit for motherhood?

We limit immigrants, we hold them up at the nation's portals and inquire into their pedigree, their health, their sanity, *why do we not choose our natives?* Why do we let midwives guide them into their native land? Why do we let ignorant mothers bear untimely and unwelcome children? Do we not care enough for the nation's native citizenship to fortify potential mothers with the knowledge that will guarantee welcome, healthy children at the time when the mother can give them wise and loving care?

**2 Protected childhood** A family too large for the parents' economic and spiritual resources means the sacrifice of one child for another. It also means usually a high death-rate, with its needless waste of life and exhaustion of motherhood. Indianapolis reported recently a destitute mother and father with an infant, the sole survivor of sixteen born in nineteen years. A New York judge dismissed a woman thief, mother of six children by a tuberculosis father, and reproved the State that denied this woman the means of determining when she should have children.

Race suicide does not mean having few children, it means having few surviving children.

In Johnstown, it was found that the death-rate in families of eight children or more was two and a half times as great as in families of four children or fewer. In Holland, where the control of conception is taught under the patronage of the State,\* both birth-rate and death-rate have steadily declined. The happy result has been an actual increase not only in population, but in the stature of the people.

\* This statement, although widely current, is not entirely correct. The birth control clinics in Holland are maintained by the Dutch Neo-Malthusian League, numbering eight thousand members. Dr. Rutgers, secretary of the League, states that while the government has not formally sanctioned the birth control propaganda, the laws regarding personal liberty and the freedom of the press uphold it and protect its advocates from molestation.—Ed

In this country, the families least able to support children are the most prolific. Perhaps the well-to-do ought to have more children, but what shall the mass of the workers do? Postpone marriage? Abstain? They must marry early and have children early because their incomes decline in middle life, when the rewards of the middle-class increase.

Are the mothers of the multitude not to choose the appropriate time to have children, as the more fortunate mothers do? Is the nation to go on paying for this human wastage, at the same time that its citizenship is undermined? Can we not insure, for more of the children that come into the world, the care of a healthy, happy mother?

**3 Voluntary motherhood.** Children have too often been the by-product of men's sensualism. Women have not only been the victims of selfish, lustful men, they have given themselves freely for love when they knew the price would be too high. Many scientific methods are being employed by intelligent women to control conception. Many other methods are employed unnaturally or criminally to the destruction of womanhood and motherhood.

The methods of preventing the birth of children range from asceticism to abortion. None of these must be confused with contraception, the purpose of which is to allow women to determine when they shall be pregnant. Asceticism is the surrender of both motherhood and the sex relation. Continence is the postponement of both. Perversion is a very common consequence of continence, a menace to the woman and the race. In fact, continence may be injurious where contraception would conserve health and favor subsequent motherhood.

Some austere people believe the sex relation should be limited to procreation, but most objections to the restriction of offspring come from celibates who may be supposed to be without personal knowledge of sex.

Defying fear, superstition, tradition, is the necessity of voluntary motherhood for the protection of mothers, children and the race. Contraception commands the support of those who believe in MOTHERS FIRST!

## A Degrading Implication

Those who talk about a higher plane where the number of children will be regulated by what they call self-control, but what is really unnatural asceticism—the harmful results of which the physician and social worker know only too well—are not elevating but degrading marriage by implying that there is something bestial and reprehensible about the normal expression of affection between husband and wife. We will elevate the race, not through trying to crush out the physical basis of life, but by laying stress upon its spiritual meaning.—*Frederick A. Blossom*

*Motherhood will never be truly sacred until it becomes conscious and voluntary*



Drawn by Chamberlain

## BREEDING MEN FOR BATTLE

*Olive Schreiner*

In supplying the men for the carnage of a battlefield, women have not merely lost actually more blood, and gone through a more acute anguish and weariness, in the months of bearing and in the final agony of child-birth, than has been experienced by the men who cover it, but, in the months of rearing that follow, the women of the race go through a long, patiently endured strain which no knapsacked soldier on his longest march has ever more than equalled, while, even in the matter of death, in all civilized societies, the probability that the average woman will die in child-birth is immeasurably greater than the probability that the average male will die in battle.

There is, perhaps, no woman, whether she have borne children or be merely potentially a child-bearer, who could look down upon a battlefield covered with slain, but the thought would rise in her, "So many mothers' sons! So many young bodies brought into the world to lie there! So many months of weariness and pain while bones and muscles were shaped within! So many hours of anguish and struggle that breath might be! So many baby mouths drawing life at women's breasts—all this, that men might lie with glazed eyeballs, and swollen faces, and fixed, blue, unclosed mouths, and great limbs tossed—this, that an acre of ground might be manured with human flesh, that next year's grass or poppies or karoo bushes may spring up greener and redder, where they have lain, or that the sand of a plain may have the glint of white bones!"

And we cry, "Without an inexorable cause this must not be!" No woman who is a woman says of a human body, "It is nothing!"

## BIRTH CONTROL AND EUGENICS

*Paul Popenoe*

*Editor of the Journal of Heredity, official organ of the American Genetic Association*

Is the practice of birth control eugenic?

To be eugenic, a measure must favor the reproductivity of the happier and more efficient parts of the population and discourage the increase of the less capable parts.

It is a matter of common notoriety that birth control as at present practiced does just the reverse. The superior parts of the population are limiting their families so much that they are not even reproducing their own numbers, while the increase of inferior families is checked only by the death-rate, because they do not practice effective methods of birth control.

It is necessary to conclude, therefore, that birth control as at present practiced in the United States is the reverse of eugenic. It is tending to race deterioration.

For race betterment, the present differential nature of the birth-rate must be changed. A spread of birth control to the less capable part of the population will be an important advance for eugenics in cutting down the racial contribution of inferior stocks. But it is not likely that the gain will be as great as is sometimes supposed. It seems probable that those who will practice birth control most effectively are the prudent, far-sighted, conscientious parents, whose children the race needs, while even possession of a knowledge of contraceptive methods will not affect the reckless and improvident, those who procreate while drunk—those, in short, whose children the race would be better off without.

Even though he firmly adheres to the principle of intelligent and voluntary motherhood, the eugenicist cannot think that the universal practice of birth control will have no drawbacks. It will be a better condition than that which at present exists, when the superior classes alone limit the size of their families effectively, but it will increase the task of eugenics, since it will require vigorous measures to augment the birth-rate of eugenically superior families.

To this end, it would be desirable that birth control propagandists should not make unfounded claims of the merit of small families and delayed parenthood. The quality of a child is determined much more by the character of his ancestry than by the number of brothers and sisters he has or the length of the interval between his birth and that of his predecessor.

If it is admitted that parents should have no more children than they can afford to bring up decently, it ought perhaps to be equally admitted that they should have as many as they can afford to bring up decently. In other words, there is much need for public education on the proper size of family, but the doctrine of birth control is only one side of it. Some people need fewer children, some need more. It is not fair to expect the birth control propagandists to carry on a simultaneous campaign on these two sides of the question, but they ought at least to recognize the two sides and not throw unnecessary obstacles in the way of eugenics.

In the past, much Neo-Malthusian propaganda has tended to convey the impression that small families are *per se* a desirable thing racially—a statement that should not be made without important qualifications.

It makes no difference whether one believes in universal knowledge of birth control, it can not now be stopped and must be regarded as a fact to be reckoned with. But I believe eugenists go much farther than this. They will look with satisfaction on an extension of birth control to the inefficient part of the population, and many of them are taking an active part in the campaign. If some have hesitated, it is because they see so clearly the harm that has been done the race already by birth control among the superior classes, in excess of what was needed or desirable. Here not birth control but "birth release," as Sprague has said, must be preached.

If birth control advocates will recognize this discrimination and support it, they can count on the active support of most eugenists in endeavoring to reduce the size of families among the inefficient and destitute.

## Birth Control Not Birth Prevention

*Roswell H. Johnson*

*(Comment on the preceding article)*

If "birth control" is synonymous with birth prevention, every eugenist must, of course, take a very critical attitude toward it, for, as Mr. Popenoe points out, all who desire a better race are greatly interested in increasing the size of many of the families of capable people which are now too small.

Mr. Popenoe's quotation from Professor Sprague errs, however, in using birth control as synonymous with birth prevention. Birth control means not prevention but regulation. It means the determination of the size of the family by the will of the parents. The true birth control advocate should be as eager to see the too small family increased as he is to see the too large family decreased in size. Those who advocate birth prevention for the sake of a wholesale reduction of the population are not asking for control. Suppression is not control.

Control in the sense of the Birth Control Movement must be taken to mean birth regulation. Birth regulation is desired by no one more than the eugenist. Regulation should be not only individual, but also influenced by the social and racial needs of the species.

There is no warrant in limiting birth control beyond this proper scope.

"The people or nation that follows the false teachers—be they editors of papers, authors of books, magazine writers, "Eugenists" or what not—who advocate the limitation of the birth of children, will enter upon the sure road to ruin and extinction and will deserve their disgraceful end."—*President Hyrum M. Smith of the Mormon Church.*

## AS A DOCTOR SEES IT

*Benzion Liber, M D,*

*Editor of the Yiddish monthly, "Rational Living"*

### I

A bundle in a corner of my waiting-room and a man standing nearby As I make him a sign to walk into the consulting-room, I see the bundle move and, on closer examination, I find that it is a woman He lifts her up and helps her come in

He is straight, strong, well built She is crooked and bent, her right arm hangs down immovable, she pulls along one leg while she limps with the other one Her face is covered with innumerable wrinkles

Seeing that they are silent, I ask

"What does your mother complain of?"

He blushes, looks down After a while

"She is my wife"

Now it is my turn to blush, I feel uneasy to have made such a blunder and I try to repair it

"I know, I know, I only meant to say "

"Just tell the doctor," she interrupts at the right moment and saves me from my embarrassment

And he tells me the story which I hear so often, with which the walls of my room are so familiar, the same sad story of involuntary pregnancy, the same infinitely deep wail against that vague something which poisons pleasure, which punishes one for having had a minute of happiness, although it was but the satisfaction of a natural want He is a poor workingman and he has five children

"Do you realize what a sixth one means?"

Yes, I do realize He will not get more wages and—the same loaf of bread, the same room, the same air, the same amount of money for clothing, the same time and strength the mother can give, must be divided into one more part I do realize The family becomes still poorer, the mother becomes more enslaved to the house, the father more enslaved to his employer

And he explains to me that her case is even more hopeless How will she take care of the child? She cannot even carry a baby!

I look at her It is a well known fact that women who have given birth to several children become old sooner than those who have had only one or two and always look older than their husbands, but this is an unusual case

"How old is she?"

"Thirty-six You ought to know us, doctor You were in our house a few years ago My boy had erysipelas and "

"O yes I was there and I saw this woman, but it never occurred to me that she was that child's mother I thought she was his grandmother"

Of course, they want me to interrupt the pregnancy, something I will not do I really should do it but I cannot, I am too much of a coward I feel guilty and tell them a lie as an excuse, giving them names of other physicians who

might help them, as I know that more than fifty per cent of our doctors, including many who officially are against what they call "criminal" abortion and many who vote for resolutions condemning the birth control movement, perform abortions

I ask them

"Why don't you prevent such things? You would not need to have an abortion"

"Prevent? Prevent?" says she and seems not to understand

But later, as they go out, I pull him by the sleeve and, when we are alone, I look at him inquiringly He understands me and answers

"What can I do? I am a man Would it be better to go to one of those women for money and perhaps get a disease? Would it, doctor?"

### II

He is the secretary of a small trade-union, 28 years old, intelligent After a thorough examination, I tell him that his illness is syphilis

"I suspected it," says he and begins to sob aloud "What shall I do? I am lost! Oh, my children, my poor wife! How can I go home?"

And he bursts out

"I am a scoundrel! I deserve it, but she!"

He knocks his head with his fists, while tears roll down his cheeks

I quiet him and make him sit down

"After our second child was born, we agreed not to have any more My salary would not be sufficient, you see? So she did not allow me to come to her Not even to embrace her She went to all the doctors she knew and none would give her a preventive Some did not know of any and others were afraid of the law A year passed I could not stand it Perhaps I should have waited longer But I went to a prostitute And now and now "

## Birth Control

*William Sanger*

Birth control is the message of a new social philosophy dedicated primarily to the proposition of voluntary motherhood and racial betterment By its advent a new epoch is dawning in the affairs of men A new race shall arise, released from the dead weight of poverty, disease, almshouses, asylums, reformatories and prisons It shall be a race more dynamic in its pro-social impulses, more keen and alert to digest ideas, a race arising from a finer mother- and father-hood, from firesides where children have been wanted and welcomed and reared in an environment of human tenderness and all that that implies

*The rational limitation of offspring is not only a right but a duty, society should recognize that right and teach that duty*

## AN ARSENAL OF ARGUMENT

*Birth Control, Its Medical, Social, Economic and Moral Aspects* By S Adolphus Knopf, M D \*

It was worth the long journey the writer made across the state of Ohio to attend the closing session of the convention of the American Public Health Association. For four days, the delegates had patiently listened to papers and discussions on venereal disease and vital statistics. Finally, on the afternoon of the last day, came the address for which many of them had been "waiting around."

The assembly room was filled as at no other session of the congress. An electric tension charged the air. Birth control was going to be discussed in public and by a physician!

"The object of my appeal," began Dr. Knopf, "is not a plea for reducing the population but for increasing its vigor by reducing the number of the physically, mentally and morally unfit and adding to the number of physically strong, mentally sound and more highly developed men and women."

"The larger the family, the more congested will be the quarters they live in and the more unsanitary will be the environment. Last, but not least, with the increase of the family, there is by no means a corresponding increase of the earning capacity of the father or mother and, as a result, malnutrition and insufficient clothing enter as factors to predispose to tuberculosis or cause an already existing latent tuberculosis to become active."

As a veteran of the long war against tuberculosis, winner of the International Tuberculosis Essay Prize in 1910, the speaker gave especial attention to the pathologic relationship between that disease and the large family.

"A carefully taken history of many cases," he said, "has revealed to me that, with surprising regularity, the tuberculous subject, when he or she comes from a large family, is one of the later born children—the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, etc. The explanation of this phenomenon is obvious. \* \* \* According to some authors, sixty-five per cent of women afflicted with tuberculosis, even when only in the relatively early and curable stages, die as a result of pregnancy, which could have been avoided and their lives saved, had they but known the means of prevention."

On the value of contraception in preventing the birth of children tainted with venereal disease, Dr. Knopf stated that, "could a syphilitic or gonorrheal parent be taught how to prevent conception during the acute and infectious stages of his or her disease, there would certainly be less inherited

syphilis, less blindness from gonorrheal infection, in other words, fewer unfortunate children in this world handicapped for life and a burden to the community."

Birth control, however, is not desirable only for the poor and diseased. It will save many a normal family from ill health and economic disaster.

"If even a relatively well-to-do family begins to increase out of proportion to the earnings of the father, the family will soon be in want and approaching poverty. Less and less good food, less sanitary housing, less care of the children and more sickness will almost inevitably result."

After a consideration of birth control in various foreign countries, Dr. Knopf took up the connection between birth control and the home, with special emphasis on its value in making possible early marriage—a point that cannot be too repeatedly urged.

Two of the stock objections to birth control received specially effective attention at Dr. Knopf's hands.

"One of the strongest arguments of our moralists and purists is that the knowledge of contraception would lead the young to enter upon forbidden sexual relations. Granted that this may happen in a number of instances, the benefit derived from a diminution of venereal diseases, a greater number of happy and successful marriages among the younger people, fewer but better and healthier offspring, instead of an unrestricted procreation of the underfed, the tuberculous, the alcoholic, the degenerate, the feeble-minded and insane, would more than outweigh the isolated instances of sexual intercourse prior to marriage."

"The critics of birth control maintain that, with the knowledge of birth limitation, many women, whether poor or rich, who should and can bear children will shirk the duties of motherhood. This I do not believe to be true. You can no more prevent the desire for motherhood in the normal healthy woman than you can stem the tide of the ocean."

After appealing for the establishment of free birth control clinics and citing many prominent advocates of family limitation, Dr. Knopf closed with a stirring declaration of faith.

"A quarter of a century of practice among the tuberculous, the rich and the poor, in palatial homes, humble cottages, dark and dreary tenements and overcrowded hospitals, has shown me enough to bring to my mind the utter immorality of thoughtless procreation."

"Such frank, scientific approach," commented *The New Republic*, "lifts the taboos." When the history of the birth control movement in America comes to be written, against the leaden gray background of the bigotry, cowardice and mercenary cynicism of medical bodies, will stand out the figures of such stalwart fighters for truth, justice and humanity as Knopf, Jacoby, Robinson, Ira S. Wile, A. L. Goldwater, Robert L. Dickinson, Morris H. Kahn, S. A. Tannenbaum. Their small number will remain as a tribute to their manliness and an eloquent commentary on the intellectual and social standards of their colleagues.

F A B

\* Address delivered at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, Cincinnati, October 27, 1917. Published simultaneously in the *New York Medical Journal* and *The Survey*, November 18, 1916. See also correspondence in the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, December 15, 1916, and the *New York Medical Journal* and *The Survey*, December 23, 1916. Reprinted in revised form, with stenographic report of the discussion, in the *American Journal of Public Health*, February 1917. Bound reprints may be secured of the *Birth Control Review* at ten cents each, postpaid.



## MORSELS FROM A HUNGER STRIKE

Mrs Ethel Byrne has been imprisoned in New York for *saying things which the authorities do not approve*. People have been imprisoned in the past for saying that the earth was round, for studying anatomy, for denying witchcraft, for refusing to commit murder. Mrs Byrne is merely continuing the ancient line of martyrs—*Oregon Daily Journal*

If Mrs Ethel Byrne, of New York, really wishes to starve herself to death in jail, why not let her do so? People of her kidney, while willing to suffer much to get in the headlines, really have no desire to die. What they are looking for is the martyr's crown, and it would do them a world of good to be told in the beginning that, if this crown is acquired, it will have to be a *post mortem* honor—*Fort Wayne (Indiana) News*

Fifty years from now, the newspapers of to-day will be in a poor state of preservation, if, indeed, they will not have disintegrated. Which is unfortunate, for without recorded proof, it will be hard to make the youth of 1967 believe that in 1917 a woman was imprisoned for doing what Mrs Byrne did—*F P A*, in "The Conning Tower," *New York Tribune*

Mrs Byrne's defiance has sharpened the issue between self-respecting citizens and the existing law. The law is hypocritical. Outside Roman Catholic circles,\* birth control is practised by practically all well-to-do, well-informed married couples. To talk of "the solemn mandate of the law," as Justice Garvin did in this connection, is to be absurd—*New Republic*

Many of us were stirred to indignation by British persecution of suffragettes. England imprisoned women for destroying property and disturbing the public peace. We are imprisoning them for teaching certain physiological facts—*Denver News*

Mrs Byrne was convicted for an offense which, in itself, is morally equivalent to the incitation to murder. Yet, such was the publicity given to this woman that she received from the mawkish sentimentality of the Governor a pardon. Daily bulletins were issued concerning her condition. Physicians and nurses were detailed to give her extra attention. This was nauseating to the public. The course that was taken lifted her into a prominence that advertised her dangerous, immoral cult all the more—*Catholic News*

Everybody was bothered to death about Ethel Byrne. Everybody had to think about Birth Control. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of publicity space was contributed to the movement by that woman's single resolution. In five days she announced her message to the whole American public and proved the sincerity of her belief in it. Could one make a finer and more intelligent sacrifice?—*The Masses*

\* A superfluous exception as intelligent Catholics believe in birth control—for themselves—Ed

## THE STUPIDITY OF TRYING TO JAIL AN IDEA

"I've served my time and what good has it done the state? Nothing has been changed. My principles haven't. And the birth control movement is stronger than ever"—  
*Statement by Margaret Sanger on her release from jail*

February 14, 1917

My dear Comrade Sanger—

The initial number of "The Birth Control Review" has just been received. Hearty congratulations! It is live and lusty in every page and paragraph. Please send me an extra copy.

You and your sister and comrades are making a brave fight against the wolves of the system. You are being tried in every fibre but you have the stuff that stands and you are bound to win.

With affectionate greetings and words of cheer to you all, I am

Always your comrade,

EUGENE V DEBS

## Vision

Walter Adolphe Roberts

The folk who in the blatant market-square  
Barter for fame and gold,  
Ah, how should they behold  
The dawn upon the far horizon flare,  
The rebel hope unfold!

But one, clear-eyed amid the selfish throng,  
Above their praise or blame,  
To her the vision came  
And led her forth to battle with the strong—  
A splendor and a flame!

Greenwich, Conn., March 1, 1917

Dear Mrs Sanger

Your incarceration evidences the fact that we are still living in the dark ages. Society owes you a debt of gratitude, rather than ignominious treatment, for your unselfish service to present and future generations.

In the hope of speedy and complete vindication, we are,

Sincerely yours,

HERMANN PAULI  
PENELOPE PAULI

"I do not think that the superstitious class-bound nature of our legal system was ever more thoroughly exposed than during this agitation for birth control"—Walter Lippmann

## THE PERSECUTION OF MARGARET SANGER

The propaganda that Margaret Sanger is pushing is a democratic movement, if it is nothing else. We all know that wealthy and "socially" prominent people have the information that the law bars poor people from getting. And the movement is in the direction of the equal application of those laws.

The argument for the repeal of the laws prohibiting the divulging of birth control information is a very strong one. It is not the plea of the wastrel and the rouser and the roue—those classes have the information, and they act upon it to the limit. It is not the appeal of the immoral woman. She has that information. Without it she would have been unable to be what she is.

It is the cry of the working class man, and more especially the working class woman.

Up to to-day the propagandists of the idea have been hounded and persecuted and imprisoned. They have not had a chance to be heard. They have not been allowed to state their case.

And it is to the credit of Margaret Sanger that she has stuck steadfastly to her cause, and has endured indignities and imprisonment, just to be able to state the case—  
*New York Call*

## Efficiency and Moral Liberty

*Samuel Bernard*

Efficiency is the cry of the day. Let us employ eugenics in its highest form for the efficiency of the human race.

We'd thus alleviate the suffering of the mothers of our race from too frequent child-bearing, a subject which men (who make the laws) could hardly seriously consider or have any conception of. We'd thus diminish the number of cripples and unfit, which are a burden to all of us, to whose upkeep every citizen, either directly or indirectly, contributes. We'd thus have children which mother, with the mother instinct, desired and wished for, and to which both parents were able to give proper attention and to bring up properly.

We boast of our democracy. We are proud of the men who worked and fought and brought about political and religious liberty for us. Then men and women who at present work and strive for moral liberty will win an equal reward and appreciation from all enlightened and broad-minded citizens of our day, as well as of the better race which we may have shared in bringing about.

In conclusion, allow me to quote an eminent social worker's opinion on the matter, namely, that "birth, the most important of life's processes, must be left less to chance and guided more by all the enlightenment the world has to offer to-day."

## EXPLOITING FALSEHOOD AND BOYCOTTING TRUTH

The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures has advised its correspondents that the Major firm's production, "Will You Marry Me?" is condemned.

"The theme of the picture," says the report, "is abortion, disguised as birth control. The board believes the treatment of the theme to be objectionable in detail and such as, in its total effect, would be perniciously misleading to general audiences."

The same might justly be said about "Where Are My Children?" "Race Suicide" and "The Unborn," three films which pretend to deal with birth control, but which actually exploit abortion.

The readiness of the moving picture exhibitors to show these profitable films, which cater to the powers that be by deceiving the public as to the real meaning of birth control, contrasts significantly with their servile timidity with regard to the one genuine birth control film on the market.

As an instance of their hypocritically virtuous attitude, the Associated Motion Picture Exhibitors of Brooklyn, N. Y., unanimously voted to boycott the Margaret Sanger birth control film because, forsooth, "themes of this nature hurt the industry" and they were "opposed to the use of the screen for such purposes." In other words, clever lies go, but clean facts don't.

The extreme solicitude of these gentlemen for the morals of their patrons was further shown in their decision "that the widest publicity be given this [highly virtuous] resolution in order to prevent even the announcement of contemplated releases of this kind."

All of which was docilely reprinted by the movie editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, with the intelligent comment that "for the protection of their patrons, Chicago exhibitors might well take heed to the course of the exhibitors' association of Brooklyn in an effort to encourage clean films" (!) "Similar action on the part of film organizations everywhere," he piously adds, "will do more toward clarifying the film situation than all the censorship. It requires concerted action to rid the industry of trashy and stupid plays constructed to appeal to morbid sensation seekers."

Ask your "movie man" if he intends to let you see the real birth control film and, if not, why not!

Two books by Margaret Sanger  
**"WHAT EVERY GIRL SHOULD KNOW"**  
 and  
**"WHAT EVERY MOTHER SHOULD KNOW"**  
*Twenty-five cents each, postpaid.*

*Jailed for Birth Control*, the story of the trial and imprisonment of William Sanger, edited by James Waldo Fawcett, ten cents a copy

## AN HONEST BIRTH CONTROL FILM AT LAST!

Showing the story of Margaret Sanger's work, her clinic and her arrest



"The patient in my last nursing case was the wife of a struggling working man. She was suffering from the results of a self-attempted abortion. I remember well the day I was leaving. The physician, too, was making his last call. She said 'What can I do to avoid another illness such as I have just passed through?' I was interested to hear what the answer of the physician would be. To my amazement, he answered her with a joking sneer" — Margaret Sanger, in *Physical Culture*, April, 1917

"The arrest of my assistants and myself and the closing of the clinic in the Brownsville district of Brooklyn does not discourage me. The clinic, I believe, accomplished at least this: it showed the need and usefulness of such an agency. The free clinic is the solution for our problem. It will enable women to help themselves. Woman must triumph over the laws which have made her a childbearing machine" — Margaret Sanger, in *Physical Culture*, April, 1917



## "BIRTH CONTROL"

(Under the management of the B. S. Moss Company)

## A PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF BIRTH CONTROL

Lillian Browne-Olf

(Written for the Conscientious Opponent)

All over America to-day there are formed or are being formed groups of persons interested in the study of Family Limitation and in the dissemination of information concerning Birth Control. So widespread and so persistent is this propaganda becoming that the forces of Opposition are taking cognizance of this movement and are conducting, by means of free speech and free press—and by less legitimate methods—an unscrupulous campaign of misrepresentation, persecution and abuse. By artful appeals to religious and traditional prejudice, by clever sophistical argument, the public is being warned against the perils of "immorality" and "indecent" and timid and docile spirits are frightened into a compliance with reactionary tendencies, contrary to their own wellbeing and to the welfare of society.

Yet who can be so ignorant or so hypocritical as not to admit that the practice of family limitation in some form is at least a generation old in America? This movement is but another evidence of an undercurrent of change in the mental and moral outlook of America, an undercurrent scarcely discernible to some, but which, nevertheless, has been silently and steadily flowing until now an obscure but actual condition has come to light and has crystallized into a frank and conscious avowal. Family limitation is here! Too late our censors pretend to be shocked! Too late they attempt to stem the tide! To be sure, anachronisms appear on our statute books, making it a criminal offense to impart information on this most vital matter, but the knowledge is nevertheless daily spreading and will continue to spread until the lawmakers will be obliged to meet the popular demand.

It is asserted by many that Birth Control is a woman's movement and so it is primarily. But not *solely*! There can be no separation of the sexes in a matter that affects both so vitally. Through open opposition, through lack of sympathy or indifference, man may awake to find in his mate an irresponsible companion, an unwilling slave or a deceptive fraud. Nor can man shift the responsibility by mere acquiescence. If he acquiesces in a spirit of relief from a troublesome burden and thinks the problem solved by putting it up to his wife, he loses so much of his dignity and his manhood and he forfeits that greatest of all blessings, mutual helpfulness, mutual understanding and mutual confidence. Responsibility has a common gender in parenthood. The sexes "rise or fall together, bond or free."

When one considers how seldom this ideal of unity and concord in the sex relationship is realized, one is forced to admit that our whole attitude toward sex is on an unwholesome and unsound basis. Fundamental psychic changes must obtain, a cleaner, more mature attitude must take the place of the primitive, convention-veneered instincts—in short, we must create a new morality, based upon responsibility, sincerity and loyalty. In short, we need a new morality.

The conscientious opponents of Birth Control—those who have no axe to grind—base their opposition upon traditional, superstitious or sentimental grounds. Their sensibilities are shocked and honestly shocked by the mere thought of contraceptives. They view with abhorrence the use of mechanical methods of prevention. They feel that such practices are "blasphemous" and "unholy," that they render the sex relationship unchaste and that they destroy the spiritual significance of love, making it a purely physical thing. They contend that continence is the only alternative for those men and women who, for any reason, feel that they should not become parents. They take the ground that procreation is the sole justification of sex expression.

Those of us who have passed through that phase feel that our honest and sensitive friends are in a stage of arrested development, that their whole attitude toward sex is erroneous and untenable. We feel indeed that, instead of being a spiritual attitude, it is in reality, upon analysis, a physical attitude. The idea that sex is a temptation, a necessary evil, a thing to be ashamed of in itself—this to us is the supreme blasphemy! We fearlessly acknowledge the benefits of a normal sex life other than the supreme and crowning glory of the conscious creation of a desired child. We believe that the physical poise, the mental sanity and the spiritual renewal resulting from such an harmonious adjustment are the ideal condition for rational and happy living. We contend that sex, under the condition of normal expression, is a blessing the possibilities of which cannot be estimated until as a race we shall arrive at a more grown-up and spiritual understanding of its significance. For we say with that pure lover and friend of woman, Robert Browning, "Nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh helps soul."

(To be continued)

## The Immaculate Misconception

Louisville, Ky., Feb. 13, 1917

Mrs. Margaret Sanger

You will think differently about birth control, or the murder of innocent, defenseless children, when you stand before the judgment-seat of God and are hurled into Hell.

Marriage was instituted by God for the propagation of children, and those who do not want children are privileged to remain unmarried or live as virgins.

You have but one life to live, which will decide your eternity in Heaven or Hell. Why not spend it doing good instead of evil?

On Judgment Day, those children you have murdered and have influenced others to murder will stand before you and, pointing their fingers of denunciation at you, demand of God to punish you.

From the instant of conception, a soul is united to the body by Almighty God, which you will have to give an account of. Instead of rearing that child for Heaven, you murder it.

Your money will have no influence with God.

A Catholic

## RAISING GARBAGE COLLECTORS FOR THE DOCTORS

"It is necessary that we have a class of population that shall be characterized by *quantity* rather than by *quality*. We need the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Would the lady who considered it an honor to be arrested for birth control be willing to deposit her own garbage at the river-front rather than have one of the *quantity* delegated to this task for her?"—*Dr Geo W Kosmak, leading opponent of birth control in the New York County Medical Society*

(Letters Received by the Managing Editor)

Dr Frederick A Blossom,

Dear Sir

I have given birth to three children in 28 months (all single births) and since my last one came, nine months ago, my health has been very poor. I am writing to you in the hope that I may receive some information that will help me to control the birth of more babies. My doctor will not give me any advice on this subject and I am afraid of using patent medicines for fear of injuring myself. If you can help me, I shall be truly grateful. Mrs E L \_\_\_\_\_

Dr F A Blossom

I wonder if you could help me. My husband is just a working man and is troubled with rheumatism and we can't afford to raise many children. I believe in Birth Control. I think it's terrible to have children when you can't afford to keep them. Please write as soon as possible and try to help me.

Sincerely, Mrs J C \_\_\_\_\_

Dr Blossom. Have you any literature on Birth Control? I have six children, and we are so poor and no work. I feel as though there was any more children I should go crazy. I should like to know what to do to prevent having any more. Yours Respt. Mrs Herman G \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Sir

I have four children, the oldest only six years of age. My husband has never had a steady position, we have had to depend on a few days here and there. It is very hard. Before I would have any more children under such conditions, I would kill all I have and myself with them. I don't know what it is to have a well day as my health is completely gone.

I have several friends in the same boat that I would love to help as well as myself. Will you not help us?

Mrs C D \_\_\_\_\_

### Insofar as He is Able to Judge

I am not interested in anything that advocates of this new crime [birth control] may have to say.

Insofar as I am able to judge, it but represents another duty of woman which, with all other natural duties,\* she seems inclined to shirk.—*Dr Paul Norwood, in "The Critic and Guide," February 1917*

\* Especially her duty to provide work for the doctor

## BREAKING INTO THE SOLID SOUTH

If the birth control advocates knew how quickly their campaign material was consigned to the waste basket by southern editors, they probably wouldn't send so much of it to this part of the country.—*Birmingham (Alabama) Age-Herald*

Every mother should possess the knowledge to limit or control birth. Women will not get this information from the State Board of Health. However, there is a brave woman who is doing much to usher in the day when this information will be available to every woman who desires this emancipation. That woman is Margaret Sanger and her address is 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.—*The Independent, Elizabeth City, North Carolina*

To My Friends

I am anxious to obtain a copy of the circular letter dated in October or November, 1914, and signed by me, which was sent out with the first edition of my pamphlet on birth control. Will some one who happened to save one be kind enough to send it to me?

MARGARET SANGER

### Church Violates the Law

"The Secretary raised the question of further distribution of birth control literature in view of Chief \_\_\_\_\_'s statement that he would arrest anyone who violated the law in regard to the dissemination of obscene literature. The Executive Committee were agreed that the Secretary was acting wisely in distributing Mrs Sanger's pamphlet on *Family Limitation* in families where it is needed and were willing to sign a public statement to this effect, to be used by the Secretary in case of trouble."—*From the minutes of the Social Service Department of the \_\_\_\_\_ Presbyterian Church in \_\_\_\_\_*

### A WORD TO THE WISE

The District Attorney of New York, Cardinal Farley's private secretary and the vice-regent of the Comstock Society are said to have held several anxious conferences over the report of their detectives that Yiddish, Italian, German and Polish translations of Margaret Sanger's pamphlet, "*Family Limitation*," have been prepared and are being circulated widely. It is common knowledge that 160,000 copies of the English edition have already been distributed.

*Not more babies but better babies, better born and better reared*

## WHAT THE BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUES ARE DOING

**Boston**—The Birth Control League of Massachusetts, originally organized to assist in the defense of Van Kleeck Allison, trapped into giving a birth control pamphlet to a detective last July, has now become firmly established as one of the forces to be reckoned with in the community life.

In addition to the Allison defense campaign, which resulted in the raising of a fund of a couple of thousand dollars for legal expenses and the reduction of the original three years' sentence to two months, with an appeal still to be decided by the Supreme Court, the league has issued a booklet on the birth control question, established headquarters in the heart of the city and conducted an energetic educational campaign through large and small meetings during the fall and winter. Its paid-up membership has already passed the 300 mark and includes many professors of Harvard University and the Institute of Technology, physicians, clergymen, social workers and men and women active in public affairs.

A bill was introduced into the State Legislature to authorize medical schools to give their students instruction in contraceptive methods, but was killed in committee. Two other bills have been prepared, allowing physicians to give advice on birth control and legalizing the sale of the necessary supplies. It is proposed also to request the governor to appoint a commission to investigate the entire question.

A beginning has already been made of extending the organization to the other cities and towns throughout the state.

**Chicago**—The movement for birth control has gained momentum rapidly in Chicago during the past few months. Largely attended meetings were held during the winter by the Woman's Club, the Social Hygiene Society, the Social Service Club and other organizations.

The Reform Department of the Woman's Club organized a Committee on Birth Control which, under the leadership of Dr. Rachelle Yarros, of Hull House Settlement, Professor James A. Field, of the University of Chicago, Dr. Anna E. Blount, head of the Eugenics Education Society, and others, has expanded into a Citizens' Committee on Family Limitation.

This committee has obtained from the Attorney General of Illinois an opinion to the effect that there is no legal obstacle to prevent physicians from giving instruction in contraception in their offices. (Mr. Burns, a Catholic member of the State Legislature, has introduced a bill to make the Illinois law conform to the drastic law against birth control in New York and other states.)

The Citizens' Committee has announced its intention to preach the need of birth control in the congested quarters of the city and have the medical information given by physicians. It has issued a public statement, signed by one hundred clergymen, physicians, social workers and men and women prominent in civic affairs, stating strongly the arguments for limitation of offspring and advocating the following educational program:

"As a step toward the creation of intelligent opinion upon this vital problem, we desire, by means of suitable books, articles and public lectures, to bring about a freer and more scientific discussion of the principle of voluntary parenthood. We recommend that lectures on the general subject be offered under the auspices of institutions of public health and welfare and that special educational centers be established, where similar lectures may be provided, where approved books may be made available and where advice concerning family limitation may be had from properly qualified persons, with due regard for the social and moral issues involved."

**Columbus**—The Birth Control League of Columbus (Ohio) was formed on April 1, 1917, following a debate held in the Southern Theater between Rev. M. V. Eusey and Dr. Percy W. Cobb, of the Cleveland league, on the question "Is Birth Control Immoral?"

Arthur Gluck, of Ohio State University, was elected president and Mrs. Sylvia Vermillion, secretary. The following statement of objects was adopted:

To secure such amendments to state and federal laws as will allow physicians and registered nurses to give scientific instruction in birth control.

To advocate and encourage birth control as a means of safeguarding the health of mothers and children and promoting social welfare.

The league will conduct weekly meetings and carry on an active propaganda in conjunction with the state organization.

**Los Angeles**—When the daily papers on the coast told the story of the imprisonment and forcible feeding of Mrs. Byrne, feeling began to seethe. A public mass meeting of protest was called by Los Angeles' city councilwoman, Mrs. Estelle Lawton Lindsey. Long before the hour for opening the meeting, the hall was crowded as were also the sidewalks and the street. A larger hall, seating about two thousand, was hurriedly secured. It was soon packed and the police closed the doors to prevent overcrowding.

The meeting was called to order by Mrs. Lindsey and was addressed by a number of physicians. Strong resolutions of protest were unanimously adopted, to be sent to the New York authorities connected with the imprisonment of Mrs. Byrne.

A committee of physicians, of which Dr. T. Percival Gerson is chairman, was appointed to take steps for permanent organization and to institute a campaign for the repeal of the state law proscribing the dissemination of birth control information.

This committee has not been idle. Men and women physicians have spoken before many organizations in Los Angeles and surrounding towns. The Los Angeles Obstetrical Society has endorsed birth control. A paper read by Dr. Gerson before the Los Angeles County Medical Association precipitated a lively discussion but the motion for endorsement was laid on the table. Many clubs have discussed the subject, with the predominant sentiment in favor of birth control.

It is the purpose of the committee to form a Committee of One Hundred composed of prominent persons, physicians and others, whose names count in the community, to give weight to the campaign for the repeal of the law. Already a bill for amending the obnoxious legal prohibition has been introduced in the State Assembly by Assemblyman Wishard and another has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Chamberlain.

A significant sign of the times is the way all the daily papers are bombarded with letters from the people in favor of birth control. It is a rare paper that one picks up in Los Angeles these days which has not a letter or an article upon the subject.

GEORGIA KOTSCH

**Minneapolis**—The Minneapolis Birth Control League owes its existence directly to the visit here last May of Margaret Sanger. As a result of the interest aroused, an organization meeting was held and an executive committee of seven chosen to carry on the work of agitation.

It was at first supposed that the way was clear for the immediate establishment of clinics, but investigation disclosed stringent penalties for dissemination of contraceptive information and the object of the League became educational

The St Paul group had meanwhile organized as a state league and the Minneapolis society last November joined it and took the name "Minneapolis Branch of the Minnesota Birth Control League"

The most useful public activity thus far of the Minneapolis Branch was in furnishing speakers and helping make up the program for a birth control hearing held December 14, 1916, before the Child Welfare Commission, a body of social workers, lawyers and other citizens appointed by the Governor to recommend to the present legislature changes in the laws affecting children

The Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, representing 30,000 workingmen, had asked the commission to give a public hearing on the subject of birth control The hearing was held in the senate chamber of the state capitol and drew a large crowd The Trades and Labor Assembly sent as representatives the socialist member of the school board, the editor of the *Labor Review* and others The league sent a physician, several social workers and a number of other citizens known for their efforts in behalf of liberal thought Only three persons spoke against the proposal The commission has made its report with no recommendation on the subject, but we were satisfied with the publicity secured for the principle of birth control

HELEN C THOMSEN

**Pittsburgh**—The Birth Control League of Western Pennsylvania had its beginning last December when Dr Frederick A Blossom held a series of meetings in Pittsburgh A small committee was then appointed with powers to develop a working organization

The original committee elected to its membership a number of clergymen, physicians, social workers and other valuable helpers and now includes fifty names

We have appointed a number of sub-committees to carry on the work of the league Probably the County Committee will prove to be the most valuable of these Its work will consist in organizing one by one the counties of Western Pennsylvania We feel sure that, as we reach toward the eastern part of the state, Philadelphia will organize and reach toward the western, and that eventually Pennsylvania will be a unit for birth control

A start in this extension work has already been made by the formation of a birth control group in Johnstown, January 30, under the leadership of Mrs M Heiple, a trained nurse

A visit from Mrs Sanger, who spoke before the leading men's organization and at a mass meeting held in the largest theater in Pittsburgh, brought many recruits and gave added impetus to the local movement

Our plans for the immediate future include the circularizing of all the clubs of the city with a request that they reserve one day of their next year's program for the consideration of birth control We are prepared to furnish them with speakers

It is also in our minds to unite with Mrs Sanger and Dr Blossom in arranging for a rousing meeting at the time of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which will be held in Pittsburgh in June

M B RENSHAW

**San Francisco**—The San Francisco Birth Control League is getting ready for active work to back up the bill now before the California Legislature

The league is stronger than ever, with solid San Francisco women at its head Margaret McGovern, our new president, is a woman who will fight where she knows she is right, and our secretary, Anita Downing, joined the league from the very first because she knew the suffering of poor mothers, having often accompanied her mother, who is a doctor, on her visits But the most ardent woman for the cause is our treasurer, Mrs Hamilton San Francisco is just now having a spell against "commercialized vice" and Mrs Hamilton is one of many other women who feel that reckless breeding in poverty helps to produce the victims of commercialized vice Then we have Mrs George Sperry and Mrs Thomas Dowdell on our board, two women who mean business when it comes to fighting for the right of justice for their own sex These women are all known in the community as sterling, influential women who cannot be ignored

We are hoping that California will be the first state to annul the laws against birth control But when that is over our real serious work begins—that of starting clinics to instruct the poor mothers and to get the material to them

CAROLINE NELSON

**Washington**—The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia was organized in May, 1916, following a lecture here by Margaret Sanger About forty names were secured when Mrs Sanger suggested the formation of a birth control league and, with this as a nucleus, our present organization came into existence

We now have over a hundred members While large mass meetings are impossible here (the government prohibits its employees from becoming conspicuous in any unpopular movements), much quiet work has been done in securing a hearing for our objects

We have had members visit the editors of the local newspapers and from time to time statements of our purposes have been printed An effort has been made to combine with our business meetings some discussion of our principles for the benefit of non-members

The members of the league feel that there is a peculiar field for our activity in this city It is our plan, when a federation of leagues is organized, to act as a lobbying organization for the birth control leagues of the country in the interest of a modification of the federal law, so that physicians and registered nurses may send birth control advice through the mails

ANNA WEXLER

## Birth Control and Prostitution

It is sometimes claimed that the dissemination of contraceptive information would cause an increase in prostitution Abraham Flexner, who made an exhaustive study of prostitution in European countries, declares that Holland, where birth control has been systematically and openly taught for more than a generation, is singularly free from the evil of prostitution

"The streets of Amsterdam," he says, "were, at the time of my visit, the cleanest I had anywhere observed"

In this city, having a population of nearly 600,000, there were in 1910 only 370 arrests for soliciting on the streets —*Prostitution in Europe*

## PRUDES, PRIESTS, POLITICIANS

The intelligent fairmindedness and high moral purpose of the opposition to birth control, as well as its ecclesiastical inspiration, were well brought out at a public hearing held in Albany, March 6th, on two bills to legalize birth control in New York State.

"This is the most disgraceful and disgusting subject ever taken up in the halls of a legislature," exclaimed one irate opponent "The state should lower its head in shame to give these bills even the dignity of a public hearing. It is an insult to the morality and good character of the people you represent."

Charles J. Tobin, speaking, he said, for the Catholics of the state, advanced the intelligent argument that "amending the Penal Code in the manner intended would unquestionably afford an opportunity for the more widespread practice of the professional abortionist."

"This bill is a crime against the commonwealth, was the impassioned plea of Dr. James Rooney, representing the State Medical Society. "The propaganda for birth control is exclusively financial. Certain people have been making money from the poor and want to continue it," concluded the doctor, who doubtless has grown poor himself through serving humanity without pay.

Among others appearing in opposition to the bills were Father Patrick Livingstone, Father John McKeough, Father Michael Looney and Mrs. George A. Wheelock, representing the United Real Estate Owners of New York.\*

The last named charged the birth control leaders with having instigated the recent food riots in New York City and said that, instead of teaching the poor how to limit the size of their families, they should instruct them in the use of cornmeal mush. "The people who are disseminating this rotten information should be put in jail," she screamed, doubtless having in mind how the infamous practice of birth control might lower rents in the tenement district.

A letter was read from the Oracle of Oyster Bay—the stalwart Christian leader who summons American manhood to "deeds of blood"—expressing the wish that the legislature would "condemn the gentleman who introduced this bill."

Still more Christlike was the argument of Canon William Sheafe Chase, a high dignitary in the Episcopal Church, that, when war is demanding sturdy soldiers, it would not do to allow birth control to "empty the cradles."

Drs. A. L. Goldwater, W. J. Robinson and S. A. Tannenbaum and Attorney Harry Weinberger, Mrs. Owen Kildare and others spoke in favor of the proposed measure.

The committee, headed by Fred Ahearn, who declared himself opposed to birth control "as a good Catholic," killed both bills.

\* It has been calculated that each baby born in New York City adds one thousand dollars to real estate values.

*In our next issue*

**WOMAN AND WAR, by Margaret Sanger**

**BIRTH CONTROL AND THE REVOLUTION, by Walter Adolphe Roberts**

**CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND BIRTH CONTROL, by Arturo Giovannitti**

## TO A JAILBIRD

One would almost be willing to go to jail for a month to be welcomed as Margaret Sanger was on her return from Queens County Penitentiary to the partially civilized community that had sent her there for the crime of the Brownsville clinic for poor mothers.

The series of tributes began with "Margaret's coming out party" on March 6th, when a band of loyal workers froze steadfastly for two hours outside the jail, while the woman they had come to greet was successfully resisting the keepers inside in their repeated attempts to "finger print" her.

A small breakfast of the inner circle that morning was followed by a public luncheon at the Plaza Hotel on March 15th. On the following day came the *grand finale* in the form of a testimonial dinner to Margaret Sanger and Ethel Byrne at Terrace Garden, under the auspices of the Birth Control League of New York.

Three hundred and fifty men and women gathered to pay their tribute to these two women. Messages of congratulation were read from birth control leagues in different parts of the country, and a dozen short speeches were delivered by representatives of various liberal organizations, two Brownsville mothers, clergymen, physicians and active workers in the cause.

Elizabeth Stuyvesant, one of Margaret Sanger's assistants in the Brownsville clinic, struck the keynote of the evening in calling on the men and women of the country to "cease exploiting Margaret Sanger" and to get into the fight and themselves do the hard work that they had been allowing her to do alone. "We have been sitting by, sympathetic, admiring spectators of the work of one brave woman," she said. "The time has now come for us to have the courage to do our share, as she has done hers."

Rev. Waldo Adams Amos, of St. Paul's Church, Hoboken, who was the first clergyman to show an interest in Margaret Sanger's early work for birth control, delivered what the chairman called "the papal benediction."

"I am convinced," he said, "that birth control will make for quality rather than quantity in the generations to come, and it is quality, physical, mental, spiritual, that nature is groaning and travailling for. I believe that, in standing for this movement and in saying so frankly and fearlessly, I am a true friend of the church, a true worker for the ideal society of my vision. And so I tender my respect and honor to Margaret Sanger, a brave woman who fights a good fight in behalf of humanity's onward march."

The reunion was a fitting close to one phase of the battle for birth control and an inspiring prelude to the next campaign.

*"Spread the word and together we will work for a world which shall be free from censors, poverty and stupidity"—  
Leonard D. Abbott*