

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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OCTOBER

The population question is the true enigma of the Sphinx. In comparison with the ravages of that terrible monster, over-population, all other problems are effaced, insignificant.

— *Professor Huxley.*

Endowment of Motherhood

Katharine Anthony

Are All Frenchmen Criminals

World's Racial Problem

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARY KNOBLAUCH, *Acting Editor*

Vol IV

OCTOBER, 1920

No. 10

Editorial Comment

Honesty the Best Policy

AN ARTICLE BY Louise B. Thompson of the Woodward High School, Cincinnati, Ohio, in a recent number of the *Social Hygiene* is well worth the attention of every thoughtful person. The article is entitled "Opportunities for Sex Education in English Classes," and deals with that most important matter, the formation of right habits of thought in a child's mind. Miss Thompson says—"So analogous are the problems of the child's life with those of characters in books that most of us are agreed that a valuable opportunity is lost when the teacher ignores sex problems, or refuses to meet them squarely." "We teach our pupils that a book to be true, must portray real persons, that we do not expect to find absolutely perfect characters in fiction or biography any more than we do in school that we must not be more blind to the faults of our ideal character than to his virtues that ignorance of the facts of life does not constitute innocence, and that wilful blindness in the face of these facts is wicked." Candour and straight thinking at the very start, these are the new foundations upon which to build the education of the child of the future. He surely has a more rational start than those of us who went to school in the yesterday of jet black villains and snow white heroes, with no possible clue to why one was so bad and often so interesting and the other so good and such a horrible prig.

Miss Thompson adds that an English teacher was, in the composition classes a means of measuring the reaction of the pupil to the humanized method of instruction. The themes submitted by some of the pupils are very illuminating. One boy, for example says—"I think that we could attack moral problems more successfully if we knew more about them."

A girl says "I have heard people discuss what they call the double standard. Why should a girl try her best to be what she cannot find in her masculine friends?" Another girl "I read a book recently about a girl who was avoided because of the sin of her parents. Instead of being told about marriage and the sacredness of such a ceremony, she had a wrong impression. Not finding true friendship in woman, she put her faith in a man who abused it."

A BOY "SINCE READING this book, I have determined to abandon my friends whose thoughts are on vice and to seek friends who are clean minded. I realize that a clean mind will bring sincere friends. Even if I don't gain another thing in life, I will say I have had a great victory"

Still another boy "I have had the good fortune to read a book written for the benefit of girls. I found a book called 'The Little Lost Sister'. Being a boy without sisters, I felt a curiosity to read it. Now this story started me to thinking what I would do if I had a sister, and I came to the conclusion that I would try to take the greatest care of her, if only I had a sister." (The teacher added "And since you haven't, of course you will protect other boys' sisters")—We admit that we wish both the boy and his teacher had seen fit to emphasize the fact that knowledge of what there is in life would enable the sister to take care of herself, and that thus she would be better protected at all times than she could be by the most exemplary brother. However that point will come up in time and be met, we trust, in the same candid fashion.

We must also quote the editorial written by one of the boys in an agricultural class whose instructor teaches sex hygiene unobtrusively but none the less effectively. His students read "The Journal of Heredity," and Guyer's "Being Well Born" and what they think is shown in this impromptu editorial.

"Most of us are familiar with the old fable about the young man who worked for a terrible giant. It was his task to clean out the giant's stable. But the strange part about it was, as fast as the refuse was thrown out of one door, a corresponding amount came in another door. It can be seen that the stable was never cleaned. Cannot the moral of this fable be applied to the methods of our state institutions for the insane, feeble minded, and degenerate? Instead of allowing nature's law of the survival of the fittest to take its course we are fostering and protecting those who, by the very order of things, would perish if in competition with the fit. After being judged as cured, these unfit individuals are released, and are allowed to do as they wish, which in a large number of cases, is to marry and produce offspring which in time are thrown into the care of our institutions and so on unendingly. It is shown by statistics that in the State of Massachusetts the number of feeble-minded and unfit doubles every thirty years. Does not this sound the death knell of the race? Something must be done! We do not hesitate to send our stalwart, healthy young men off to war to be slaughtered by the thousands and tens of thousands, but it is regretful (sic) to say that when drastic measures are mentioned as a means of preventing the deterioration of the race, many of us are inclined to dodge the question sometimes on the basis that it is not nice to talk about.

It seems to me this question promises in the future, to be

one of the largest questions ever put before the American people"

Miss Thompson asks Can we refuse to meet this boy on his own grounds?" The answer is obvious, we cannot, and the sooner we do it the better It seems to us also that Miss Thompson has shown, by her examples, the great merit of approaching the sex question without blinders Simplicity and honesty are the best methods always The mock modest defeat their own ends Sex, Love, Marriage, the amelioration of the race by means of Eugenics, Birth Control, these are decent topics Let those who think they are not give their reasons If they cannot, there is only one other thing for them to do Let them do that.

WE ARE DEEPLY distressed not to be able to give our readers a review of Mrs Sanger's new book in this issue Our good friend Mr Williams was writing the review and was taken ill before he could complete it It would be an injustice to our readers and to Mrs Sanger's book to substitute a hastily written article for one of his thoughtful and masterly criticisms Therefore we must beg indulgence for this shortcoming and we hope that before the next number of this magazine goes to press we shall have the review and that Mr Williams himself will be fully restored to health

POVERTY, LIKE MOST social evils, exists because men follow their brute instincts without due consideration But society is possible, precisely because man is not necessarily a brute

Civilization in everyone of its aspects is a struggle against the animal instincts Over some, even the strongest of them, it has shown itself capable of acquiring abundant control If it has not brought the instinct of population under as much restraint as is needful, we must remember that it has never seriously tried What efforts it has made, have most been in the contrary direction Religious morality, and statesmanship have bred with one another as incitements to marriage, and to the multiplication of the species, so it be but in wedlock The rich, provided the consequences do not touch themselves, think it impugns the wisdom of Providence to suppose that misery can result from the operation of a natural propensity The poor think that "God never sends mouths but he sends meat." No one would guess from the language of either, that man had any voice or choice in the matter So complete is the confusion of ideas on the whole subject owing in a great degree to the mystery in which it is shrouded by a spurious delicacy, which prefers that right and wrong should be mis-measured and confounded on one of the subjects most momentous to human welfare, rather than that the subject should be freely spoken of and discussed People are little aware of the cost to mankind of this scrupulosity of speech The diseases of society can, no more than corporal maladies, be prevented or cured without being spoken about in plain language All experience shows that the mass of mankind never judge of moral questions for themselves, never see anything to be right or wrong until they have been frequently told it And who

tells them that they have any duties in the matter in question, while they keep within matrimonial limits? Who meets with the smallest condemnation, or rather who does not meet with sympathy and benevolence, for any amount of evil which he may have brought upon himself and those dependent on him, by this species of incontinence? While a man who is intemperate in drink, is discountenanced and despised by all who profess to be moral people, it is one of the chief grounds made use of in appeals to the benevolent, that the applicant has a large family and is unable to maintain them

One cannot wonder that silence on this great department of human duty should produce unconsciousness of moral obligations, when it produces oblivion of physical facts That it is possible to delay marriage and to live in abstinence while unmarried, most people are willing to allow but when persons are once married the idea, in this country, never seems to enter anyone's mind that having or not having a family, or the number of which it shall consist, is amenable to their own control One would imagine that children were rained down upon married people direct from heaven, without their being art or part in the matter, that it was really as the common phrases have it, God's will, and not their own, which decided the numbers of their off spring

J S MILL, *Principles of Political Economy*

WE MUST CONGRATULATE the Voluntary Parenthood League on the introduction of its bill Their full statement was too late for this issue but will appear next month

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The Endowment of Motherhood

Preface by Katharine Anthony

Courtesy of B W Huebsch

WHEN ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING'S baby was born, she received a maternity endowment of a hundred pounds a year. It was the gift of a well disposed cousin, an elderly bachelor. Though the Brownings were far from poor, the settlement was welcomed, no doubt, as meeting a reasonable need. Certainly it seems only fitting that a well to do bachelor should play the part of an economic "uncle" to the next generation. The generosity of childless people toward the children of near relatives and favorite friends strikes one as mere justice and propriety, after all, and such voluntary acts of evening up between one generation and the next are not at all uncommon among the families and classes who can afford to be kind.

It is commonplace among the rich that children increase expenses. But families who subsist on wages and salaries have no margin, or practically none, on which to draw in this emergency. For, though the birth of children is one of the most familiar facts in nature, it still figures as an emergency in family life and as a shock to the family budget. The children of wage earners regularly subtract from the standard of comfort in the home. They derive their sole income from the self denial of the parents. This has been proved over and over by the statistical experts and government investigators of the cost of living. Under the existing wage system, which makes no distinction between the married man and the bachelor, the needs of children are met by the sacrifices of the parents. The familiar argument that men are paid more than women because men have families to support is considerably weakened by the fact that unmarried men are paid the same as married men and the father of one child, the same as the father of ten.

EVERY INTELLIGENT PERSON knows the facts, yet the knowledge is counteracted by an emotional prejudice, amounting almost to a superstition, which tends to block all social reforms that would lighten the individual parent's burden. Parentage should be, as it is, a supremely chastening experience. Any effort to mitigate the punishment is "spoiling." Once I heard a parish priest denounce a neighboring day nursery, which took care of some laundry workers' children, as a device for "coddling" the mothers. If we went far enough back in history, we should find the prototype of this stern man, in all probability, opposing the public school as a device for "coddling" parents and an incentive to overbreeding. But now a day no one thinks of questioning the "funds to parents" which are dispensed in the form of a public school budget. At some time in the future it will seem amazing to ordinary people that children under six were not considered by the community as having any claim on the taxes. At present, the case for child welfare rests in this stage. Let the indi-

vidual parent take all the consequences of his parentage until the public school steps in at a comparatively advanced stage of the child's development. If the individual infant can survive the ordeal of dependancy on a low paid father, the public school will then educate him and even take a certain amount of interest in his health. Unfortunately, the average infant, at least up until his second summer, is not ambitious for the intellectual benefits of a public school. He craves material things like sunshine, fresh air, and milk, and emotional things, like an individual mother's attention, and, if he does not get these things, he is prone to give up the struggle altogether. The behavior of such unsatisfied infants is strikingly recorded in the vital statistics of every country.

MANY ECONOMISTS AND sociologists would like to encourage these non resistant babies to take a stronger hold on life by increasing the father's wages. For we know that infant mortality goes up as the father's wages go down. Yet it is not solely a question of sufficient income, but also of incidence of income. Some of those who are most zealous for the betterment of the family income are perfectly content that the father shall control it absolutely. They feel that the unity of the family is inseparably bound up with the masculine hegemony. They maintain—and with some truth—that the wife can usually trust her husband to hand over to her a due proportion of his earnings for herself and the children. A married man is the most suggestible of animals, he usually does what society expects of him. When one considers the awful load which he bears as the sole support of a numerous family and recalls the curious fact that he would be worth just as much if he were wifeless and childless, one can only wonder that so few, rather than so many, married men desert.

On the other hand a man is bound to feel that the money he has earned is his own. And, what is more to the point, his wife is bound to feel the same. The mother and her children are dependent, not only on the amount of the man's wages, but also on his indulgence, his fairness, or his selfishness. Such a relationship generates a sense of inferiority which is just as painful to a woman as to a man and which she will make just as great sacrifices to avoid. Society tells her that she will have to put up with it, because motherhood is a "handicap." But slowly, very slowly, women have learned to question this dictum. Whence comes this social opinion, they ask, which calls the most normal function of a woman's life and an essential service to Society a "handicap"? It comes, of course, from beings for whom childbearing is not a normal function and who are incapacitated by nature for the performance of this service to Society. Men once instituted the "couvade" in an attempt to imitate the child bearer, but when they found that they still remained sterile, they decided to invent the "handicap of motherhood."

THIS MIGHT NOT be so bad if it had not been accompanied by the stern reality of economic dependence. England has recently had a practical demonstration of the poor results of the latter. The separation allowances paid to the soldiers' wives improved the standard of living. The women made excellent custodians of the family income, English homes and English children actually showed improvement on an allowance which was usually about five dollars a week for the family. It was a grave commentary on the former state of affairs. There is little doubt that, if money intended for the maintenance of young children were given directly to the mother instead of being sifted first through the father's hands, more of it would reach its proper destination. As it is now, the upkeep of the children comes out of the mother chiefly. One does not need to be a feminist to believe this. The United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics says, "It is extremely interesting to study the changes in the percentage distribution of expenditures with changes in the size of the family. They show the influence of the babies upon expenditures. A wife, when she first marries according to the tabulations worked out, spends about as much for clothes as the husband, in the workingman's family. Some of you may be surprised to hear that the woman spends *almost* as much as the man. The accepted notion is quite to the contrary. But just as soon as the first baby comes, her expenditure for clothes drops. When the next baby comes, it drops again, so eventually the wife becomes absolutely—I do not like to say it but I do not know of any other terms in which to express it—a domestic slave."

THE GENERAL FALL in the birthrate is a matter of deep concern throughout the civilized world. Statesmen are beginning to declare that the economic difficulties will have to be abated. The old fashioned husband, who once carried on his solitary back an unrestricted family of children, can no longer accomplish the feat. Long ago, the European governments found it necessary to offer a helping hand to the extent of a small maternity insurance grant to working class mothers. But this is no longer adequate, and further economic measures tending toward the endowment of motherhood are now being pro-

posed by important groups of reformers, like the authors of the following pamphlet.

They conclude that the State will have to deal increasingly with the mother directly and less through the agency of the father of a middleman. They advance the proposition that the services of the mother in the home are worth a remuneration from the State, it should not be paid as a pension or bounty. And they argue, furthermore, that the economic independence of mothers is a thing to be striven for throughout all income classes. For this reason, their views should be equally interesting to the wives of the professors, of Plumb Planners, and Pittsburg day laborers. When we come to the cost of the scheme and the budget proposed, American readers will inevitably be disappointed in the small stipends named. The sum of five shillings a week would scarcely pay the milk bill of a New York child. Of course these sums are inadequate even under English standards. But if mothers are going to get on the payroll of Society at all, they will have to be willing to begin at the bottom. It is a great advance to have the principle established that motherhood should be entitled to any pay at all. Incidentally the English government has already found it necessary to increase the military pensions, from which the budgets in the following pamphlet were originally derived. Such readjustments are now more common than once.

At the present time a bill for civilian widows' pensions lies before the British Parliament—a challenge from the new women voters of the country. Since the English franchise law gave the vote to the married women and withheld it from the unmarried women under thirty, the government is now confronted by the logical consequences of this action. Among the feminist reforms demanded, those which affect wives and mothers will now naturally take the priority. If the arbitrary limitation of the franchise results in giving the mothers a chance to assert their claims effectively, no modern feminist will have any cause to complain. It is high time that the endowment of motherhood should be classed among the realizable ideals of practical politics.

Are Nearly All Frenchmen Criminals?

THE CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES of the Bloc National have found out how to translate in legal terms the announcements so pompously made in the district gazettes in the form of beautiful promises to the fathers of large families. It is scarcely necessary to be a prophet to predict that in the place of relief, supplies, premiums, and pensions these famous fathers will only receive a formidable increase of their burdens in the shape of indirect taxes. There was, however, besides the decoration for able progenitors, a decoration which will cost not a single sacrifice to the capitalists, another article in the repopulation

program which the chamber of merchants can vote. It is an increase of the chances, already numerous, which the French citizen had of catching a fine or a prison sentence, should he wish to exercise the right of expressing his opinion. That is what the Chamber did before adjourning—despite the eloquent protestations of our comrades, Berthon and Morucci. When the Senate ratifies this law there will be six months in prison granted to anyone who may have engaged in contraceptive propaganda or sought to lower the birth rate.

This attempt on the liberty of opinion was proposed by that funeral bird called Ignace. It was perpetrated as a surprise

before a report had been made. It was clearly understood, however, that this law altho it would seem to be aimed particularly at them, would not be supplied to the clergy, for the church imposes a vow of chastity on its priests.

One may say that it is not without reason that the church came to this decision, and that in making it she obeyed moral and social considerations of a very serious nature. Let us admit it. But if it is not the result, but the intention that is criminal, by what right do they ascribe criminal ends to the Neo Malthusian propaganda?

How can it be considered immoral, anti social, criminal to be pre occupied with diminishing the number of births in order to diminish the number of unfortunates? Let people think, if they choose to, that the Neo Malthusians deceive themselves and that will achieve only a detestable result, that is admissible. It has only to be proved to them. The Neo Malthusians do not demand the imprisonment of those who disagree with them.

BUT, IF THE church is allowed to exact the suppression of the birth rate from many men and women, one does not see why other French citizens have not the right to say to other human beings—not as the church does, when it says, 'We insist that you have no children at all,' but more simply, 'We advise you to have only as many children as you can decently support.'

It is this wise council which the learned M. Bonneville has called to account before the tribunal of the Chamber and which is to be punished by six months in prison!

One asks by virtue of what authority the parliamentarians can decree such a measure. Laws can only, specially in a republic, be sanctioned by custom. The immense majority of Frenchmen practice Birth Control. How then can their mandatories be qualified, to decree as criminal and punishable the propaganda of a theory which nearly every one practices.

This truth is so self evident that Professor Charles Richet was unable to do anything but recognize it in the report which he presented on the 15th of May, 1917, at the Academy of Medicine. "The cause of the decreasing birth rate in France is due to a voluntary restriction of natural fecundity. This *Voluntion* affirmed almost unanimously cannot be combatted except by actually compensating the pecuniary liabilities which the birth and maintenance of a child involve."

M. Richet admits that 50 per cent of the families would be perfectly able physically to have the ten children which the physiological fecundity of the woman ordinarily permits. The number of families counting ten children is nevertheless insignificant. It follows consequently that the families numbering less than ten children have all of them, some sooner, others later arrested, for the most part voluntarily, the increase of their progeny. Can one seriously overwhelm with opprobrium those parents who have decided that two million were all they thought they could bring up decently, and glorify and subsidize those who have seen fit to produce three or four—when nature left to her own devices would have gratified them with ten?

MEANWHILE M. JACQUES BERTILLON proclaims in 500,000 pamphlets that "To save France and to be hap-

py, one must have children." This invitation is evidently not addressed to the impotent, but to the people who can have children, o the same people in fact, who could, as M. Richet has shown, have at least ten, and often twelve or fifteen children. And yet—the apostle of repopulation, M. Bertillon counsels them to stop at four! After the fourth child the moralist, M. Bertillon considers it right to practice the "dirty doctrine," of the Neo Malthusians! To prison with him, the infamous propagandist!

One of two things must be true. Either the voluntary restriction of the birth rate is criminal, or it is not. It can not be so only before a certain number of children have been generated and cease to be so after that number has been reached.

This restriction is a sin if it is a sin no matter how many children those who practice it may have. If it is also a crime, the propaganda should be suppressed, but then nine tenths of the people are criminals!

It is not, certainly, for their deputies to proclaim this. For, in default of authority to do so, which they certainly do not derive from their voters, they never can invoke authority from their personal activities. If the Parliamentarians really think that the question of the birth rate is of capital importance, they would not have confided for so many years, the destiny of their country to men like M. Poincaré, Clemenceau, Barthou, Viviani, Ribot, who either have no children at all or very few and who have thus offered the most disastrous of all propaganda, that of example.

This has not been the result of capricious chance. The truth is that if they had hunted up a father of thirteen children for a vice president, and one of nine for a questor, the deputies would be nearly at the end of their list of "good Frenchmen" to recompense.

Let us judge of this by the composition of the former Chamber. Of that Chamber 78 were bachelors, 92 deputies were without offspring, 84 were fathers of one child, 116 of two, 151 had from three to seven children, four had eight, two had ten, and one had thirteen children.

The numerous cures in the new chamber, it is evident, will not greatly modify the above figures, nor can they give the body the authority, incontestably lacking to their predecessors, to condemn in the name of the people the Neo Malthusian theory, which the people have long practised, and which the prison term suggested by M. Ignace will probably not cause them to abandon.

—SIXTE QUENTIN, in *L'Humanité*

[The fallacies and hypocrisies pointed out by Sixte Quentin in this article are diverting. We wish however that he had further confronted the crude apostles of repopulation by showing how vitally the appallingly high infant deathrate of France affects the population statistics. A year or so ago Paul Marguerita in an article entitled "Save the Children" pointed out that it was "this defile of little coffins" that more than the decreasing birth rate, bore to the churchyard the future and the strength of France. Let the repopulators look to conserving the health and strength of the children that are born before they call for more.—EDITOR'S NOTE.]

OBLIGATORY PROCREATION

To Replace the Soldiers Who Have Been Killed

THE ARTICLE OF Sixte Quentin (entitled "Are the French Nearly All Criminals?") relating to the new law of repression aimed at the Neo Malthusians and the vibrating words on the same subject by our friend Louise Bodin appear at the very moment when the government asserts its intention of enforcing these laws with implacable severity

In effect the keeper of the Seals has just addressed to the public prosecutor the following circular letter

The *Official Journal* of the 1st of August publishes the law of the 31st of July representing all incitement to abortion and contraceptive propaganda

This law permits of the rapid suppression of the crimes enumerated therein by giving authority for its enforcement to the (department) of judicial correction

I attach the greatest importance to the fact that the propaganda which is at present being carried on with vehemence especially on the frontiers shall no longer be allowed to go unfinished

You will be so kind as to recommend to your officers that they exercise the greatest vigilance. They must not hesitate to demand information as soon as an infringement shall come to their knowledge

Kindly acknowledge the receipt of this letter and inform me of the action that has been taken in your district

Ah! this time the matter is not the simple one of dealing with war profiteers and M L'hopiteau is in no joking humour!

—*L'Humanite*

REPOPULATION AND THE CLERGY

THE 12TH NATIONAL French Birth Rate Congress will be held at Rouen from the 23rd to 26th day of September. It will study the proper means to defend the Christian family against the propaganda of sterility. It is announced that a religious Commission, presided over by Cardinal Du Bois, Archbishop of Rouen, will participate in this Congress

There will be a long and (probably) piquant study made of the role to be played by the clergy in this matter of repopulation. This role has always been active than one would think. But please, Monseigneurs, have a little more modesty. You may think about the subject of repopulation. It is your right. Keep on thinking—but never talk about it. To preach by example would be to violate the clerical constitution. If you respect that constitution you violate your propaganda. You must choose between the two

—*L'Humanite*

THE JUSTICE OF MEN

This is the title of an admirable romance by the great Italian writer Grazia Deledda. The justice of men undergoes at her hands a sufficiently bad quarter of an hour, and we may believe that it is worth no more in Italy than it is in France. That, however, is no consolation. My neighbor's wound does not heal mine

The spectacle furnished by the French Chamber or rather the Chamber of *French Action*, has made of man's justice, like the misfortunes of Orestes, something that passes comprehension. The astuteness with which the government and its master valets have profited by the discussion of a law on amnesty to vote on the most iniquitous law of repression in the world has not been sufficiently commented on. I have not seen a single journal accord to this interlude in the patriotic judicial farce the importance which it merits. It is only in the official gazette that it can be seen and appreciated in all its details

IT IS A question of the law against abortion and the contraceptive propaganda. The law was brought forth by Monsieur Ignace in whose birth the Holy Spirit certainly had no share. This proposed law was surreptitiously introduced upon the scene on the 23rd of July and its accomplished godfather Ignace and his accomplices having resolved that there should be no discussion, undertook to boycott all those who tried to discuss it

Interruptions, stupid sneering ineptitude, scandalous exclamations marked the dialectic proceedings of these deputies of the Victory

For, it may be remarked, decency does not manifest itself among our professors of morals unless the discussion involves serious subject. Pornography has the floor and all the rights. The examination of social problems of the greatest importance has no right at all. Professor Pinard was pulled up short because he made some objections to taking an immediate vote on the Ignacian fantasy. Indeed the committee reporter treated him as if he were an idiot

Credit is due to the deputies Andre Berthou and Morucci who made praiseworthy and courageous attempts to make the madmen tainted with the delirium of persecution listen to reason. These men have the fixed idea of crowding all their contemporaries into prison cells. It would be well if they could be put there themselves for their own health and our repose

Of course the law was passed by 521 votes to 55. There were probably 89 deputies at the session

The senate which is already the father of a ferocious law against abortion, confirmed with uplifted hands this monster conceived by the Chamber. After that, all these gentlemen went off on their vacations

HERE IS THE first article in this law of love: "Whoever shall either in speeches made in public or private, or by the sale, the offering for sale, or the offer, even if not publicly made, or the exposure of a placard or the distribution on the public streets or in public places, or in the home, the mailing, whether in sealed or in open packages of such literature, as well as all agents, distributors or transporters of books, writings, prints, announcements, posters, designs, images, emblems or by the publicity of medical offices or so called medical offices incite to the crime of abortion even if said incitement has not been followed by results, shall be considered guilty of a crime of abortion and shall be punished by an imprisonment of from 6 months to 3 years and a fine of one hundred francs to three thousand francs"

IT IS NECESSARY to read this attentively

Every Frenchman who is a citizen of this free republic should know at what point liberty of opinion, of the press, freedom of speech, of correspondence and of conversation has arrived in our country. If I do not add all women citizens it is because in France there is no such thing as a woman citizen.

And now for article three which is considered with the means to prevent pregnancy.

"Whoever shall, with the end in view of contraceptive propaganda, have, by any of the means specified in articles one and two (article two is relative to the sale, or distribution of 'remedies, substances, instruments or special objects') described, or divulged or offered to reveal the processes for the prevention of pregnancy or has even facilitated the employment of such processes, will be punished by one to six months of prison and a fine of one hundred to five thousand francs. The same penalties will be applicable to whosoever by any of the means enumerated in article twenty three, a law of the 29th of July, 1881, has spoken for contraceptive propaganda or a diminished birth rate."

You understand clearly now that the crime of abortion is only a pretext. It is only put in to make an impression. For the law is concerned much less with the crime of abortion than it is with the NeoMalthusian propaganda.

As there is not one of these aristocratic gentlemen, upper bourgeoisie, or gentlemen of the press and merchants who does not practice this doctrine conjugally or extra-conjugally, this article of the law can neither touch nor attain the companions of their pleasures.

AND IT IS, to tell the truth the wife of the working man whom they wish to reach. She will fret in ignorance over the impossibility of limiting the number of her children. The cabarets are open for her man, but the office of the physician is closed to her. She will stagnate in hovels without air, without light, without water, but,— what does it matter? She will bear children. She will be worn out by work in the shops, factories, household. What does it matter? She will bear children. She will go to the river to wash enormous bundles of linen, bundles so heavy that she is bent beneath their weight. She will carry pails of water which wrench out of her arms up to her 6th floor. What does it matter? She will bear children. They will die of tuberculosis, and hereditary syphilis in their barrows and hideous hospitals. What does it matter? She will bear children. They will be killed by the millions for Right and Civilization. They will be allowed to rot in convict cells if they revolt or become conscious human beings. What does it matter? She will bear children!

If she loses six, she will have twelve. She will die doing it, but she will bear children.

And thus it is apropos of a law of pardon—in which one does not find that a single woman who has been imprisoned, has been pardoned—that the social prison for women has been provided with one more bolt.

Such is the justice of men!

—LOUISE BODIN in *L'Humanite*

[It is interesting to note in connection with these articles that our own Anthony Comstock managed to get his law, for the repeal of which we are still fighting, surreptitiously passed at a hurried session and as a "joker" to quite another bill. Do all reformers wonder, resort to such methods?—EDITOR'S NOTE.]

IN CONNECTION WITH PROPOSED LEGISLATION IN FRANCE

Paris, Sept. 21—Infant mortality has reached an amazing figure in France since the war ended. In Paris it is 50 per cent.

Five hundred and nine die out of every thousand babies born in France, as contrasted with 9 per cent in New Zealand, which is said to have the best record.

—*N Y American*, Sept. 28

CONSUMPTIVE CHILDREN

MRS BRIDGES ADAMS, who has for some time interested herself on behalf of tuberculosis school children in London, said to a *Daily Herald* representative recently "No scheme, so far as I am aware, has yet been set forth as to what the Ministry of Health intends to do in the great work of combating the great 'white scourge'."

"A statement was made recently that 30,000 cases of consumption have developed among soldiers as a result of war conditions.

"It is well known also, that tuberculosis is alarmingly prevalent among children in elementary schools. In 1911 it was stated that from one to four per cent of the children in our elementary schools suffered from tuberculosis, which means that at least 60,000 children are suffering from a curable poverty disease.

"One wonders what the Ministry of Health is going to do for those children."

IN THIS COUNTRY

INVESTIGATORS OF THE Children's Bureau in Washington announced, in the polished language of the age, that "Herod was a piker compared with ignorance, when it comes to killing children." In one place, of eighty-nine babies born forty-five died before they were a month old. In another place twenty-two out of twenty-eight died in the first month.

Worst of all, twelve out of fifteen babies died less than thirty days after they were born. No doctors, not even a trained nurse, to help the mother or care for her.

If, as alleged, "the most accurate measure of a civilization is the death rate of children," there is something the matter with our civilization in spots.—*Boston American*

MOTHER OF 22 DEAD

COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 12—(A P)—The mother of 22 children, including six pairs of twins and one set of quadruplets, Mrs. Mary Durrington, aged 39, is dead at her home here following the birth of a child yesterday. Only five of her 22 children survive.

Clipping from *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, Tuesday morning, July 13th

Race Suicide in the United States

By Dr Warren S Thompson

University of Michigan and Cornell University

(Continued)

There is room for much criticism of the country home because of its poor ventilation, lack of adequate heating and methods of sewage disposal. In spite of these deficiencies, however, there are very few country homes as unhealthful as the great number of tenement homes in the cities. The crowding of people together in small poorly ventilated and poorly lighted apartments, which is common among the lower classes of people in the larger cities, has no counterpart in the country. In hot weather when the city tenement dwellers suffer most from crowding and unsanitary living conditions, country people can get out of doors where there is always an abundance of fresh air and plenty of room for recreation. From whatever standpoint we contrast urban and rural conditions—from that of conditions of work, from that of conditions of recreation and play, or from that of home conditions—we find that the out of doors, open air life of country people gives them a decided advantage over city people in the matter of health.

ANOTHER REASON FOR the lower death rate in the rural districts is that the country people are closer to the source of food and therefore have purer food than city people. In view of our present system of distribution it may seem to many that this is a relatively unimportant cause of better health in the country. It does not seem so to me, however. Country people have their own fresh vegetables in season and instead of buying canned vegetables for winter use put them up for themselves. They still raise much of their own meat—especially pork and poultry and veal. They also have eggs and milk and butter of the best and in abundance. Well-to-do people in the city can secure fresh and pure food, but the great majority of people have difficulty in doing so, as it is beyond their means. The very poor often use food which is entirely unfit for human consumption. The high death rate in this class is in part a result of this unhealthy diet.

In those classes in the city whose food is good there is a very large number of persons leading sedentary lives. These men are quite apt to overeat and underexercise, so that they do not use up their food and get rid of waste matter. The active life of the farmer, on the other hand, renders it unlikely that he will suffer from hearty eating. I have often been impressed by the fact that one sees many more soft, flabby men among those pursuing sedentary occupations in the cities than among the farmers.

The relative security of the farmer's position is another reason for the low death rate in the country. He is not harassed by the uncertainty of his job and his income, as a great proportion of the salaried and wage earning classes in the city. He does not need to fear that some machine will be invented to take his job, nor that he will be turned off in

hard times because of lack of work. There is no danger that his industry will move away from him, forcing him to take up some new work or spend all of his savings to move his family to a new home. Nor do strikes and lock outs affect the farmer in any appreciable degree. Besides, he does not have to compete with an ever renewed supply of immigrant laborers. The farmer has his "hard luck" as the city laborers, but it is not likely to force him into such dire straits as the former. If crops are a failure the whole neighborhood feels it, but no farmer is likely to lose his position as a farmer because of that. He receives a temporary setback and must curtail expenses, but he is in no danger of being in need of charity. This absence of worry on the part of the farmer no doubt helps to keep him healthy.

There is also very good reason to believe that the burden of accidents, industrial and other, falls more heavily on the city population than on the country population. Certain it is that a casual perusal of the daily papers leaves this impression. But more significant is the fact that it is the practice of insurance companies selling insurance to the lower classes in the cities, to charge them a much higher premium than they do farmers and those in other occupations. There seems to me to be no doubt that a part of the greater risk assumed in the case of hand laborers is due to the greater frequency of accident in this class.

Moreover, accidents in the city have more indirect effects contributing to a high death rate than they have in the country. Even with compensation from the employer, the city man's family is more likely to become destitute than the farmer's if he is injured. The farmer has more resources to fall back upon. For one thing the farmer's family is still an economic unit, in which each member, from a very early age, contributes something to the welfare of the whole, while in the city the workingman's family is very largely dependent upon him alone until the children are old enough to escape the provisions of the child labor laws. Besides even when the city boy can go to work, he can not at once take the place of his father, except in the unskilled occupations in which it is practically impossible for a man, single-handed, to make a living for himself and family. The farmer boy, on the other hand, can do his father's work in a pinch, and thus hold the fort until his father gets better. Even the wife and daughters can help in case of necessity and they often do. Then, too, neighborliness is more common in the country and can render greater assistance without savoring of charity than in the city. I would not imply that country people are naturally more kindly than city people, only that they live in such intimate daily relations that personal friendly aid of great value can be rendered in which there is no

thought of condescension in the givers and no feeling of self abasement in the recipients. Friendly aid of his neighbors has saved many a farmer from the worry of wondering how he was to care for his family during the coming winter. The city worker in the same situation would almost certainly have to look to charity to help him through. The different conditions of life make it almost inevitable that accidents should entail more hardship and suffering on the workingman's family in the city than on the farmer's in the country.

STILL ANOTHER CAUSE of the lower death rate in the country is what may be called the lower tension of competition in the rural districts. At whatever point one undertakes a comparison of urban and rural life with respect to the nature of their competitive processes, one finds a lower tension in the country.

For one thing, there is not the intense competition for place among men in the country that there is in the city. In the industrial and commercial world positions are graded so that there is always a more desirable one just ahead. This keeps the ambitious man continually striving for a better place and, since there are always more men who want the places just ahead than are needed to fill them, there is a constant struggle to secure them. There is no place one can stop to take a breath without fear that some one will step in ahead of him.

Among laboring men there is a somewhat similar process going on. Perhaps not quite so strenuous as among those in executive positions and the professions, but nevertheless quite strenuous enough to take a great deal of one's energies. There is the never-ending conflict of the skilled artisan with the machine designed to do his work, there is the constant change in methods and processes to which the man who has become settled in his habits finds it difficult to adjust himself, there is the competition between the immigrant and the unskilled worker, and today there is also the competition between men and women in numerous lines of work. All this striving for better places and to keep one's place is almost unknown in the country. The farmer may become old fashioned and yet make a good living. He has very little need to fear that some one else can crowd him out if he does not want to go. And yet in many farming communities there is enough emulation to keep the farmer truly progressive.

Another way in which the difference between the country and the city in respect to competition manifests itself is in the attitude of the women toward dress. The continuous incitement to dress well and to vie with one's neighbors to which the city woman is subject is very largely lacking in the country. The city woman is forever seeing the new styles in the stores or on the streets, and she very soon comes to feel that she might just as well be out of the world as out of date. Besides in the city the success of the husband and the social position of the family are judged very largely by the outward show the family makes. So "good dressing," by the women is more than the satisfaction of personal vanity, it is the assertion of the right to a certain social position in the community. It is quite natural that this should be so in our modern cities, where

people only know their neighbors by the clothes they wear and the automobiles they drive.

The country woman, on the other hand, does not need to assert her claims to a social position for the family by the way she and her daughters dress. Her neighbors know whether her husband owns his farm and whether he loans or borrows money. She can not impress her neighbors with outward show. In addition, the security of her position and in many cases the substantial prosperity of the family probably render her more or less indifferent to the outward show of things. When people have back of them a secure and definite position in the community, they can afford to be less careful about the passing impressions they make. For this reason a majority of the farmers' wives care little about any luster they may add to the position of the family through the kind of competition for social position ordinarily practised by city people.

So it seems to me that from whatever angle we compare competition in the city and country, we find that the country requires less of its dwellers than the city and is therefore more favorable to good health.

THE RICH AND POOR

AN INQUIRY BY Dr. Milligan into the health of school children at Bath showed that in one area of casual labor, the older part of the city, 23.3 per cent of the children were not properly fed, while in an artisan area in the new part of the city the percentage was only 14.2.

"School inspection does great good," writes Dr. Hector Cameron, of Guy's Hospital, in an official report, "but in a sense, it comes too late. The five years of home life have already done their work."

He then attributes the beginnings of that "work" to "life in crowded, airless rooms, with exposure to contract infections with lowered powers of resistance, and with a diet of faulty construction"—exactly what the Labor movement was struggling against long before the Ministry of Health was started.

WHAT TRAINING CAN DO

A MOST REVOLTING case of cruelty to children has been brought to light in Council Bluffs, Iowa. A woman 22 years old, and a mother of four children, is charged with beating her two-year old nephew with a strand of telephone wire, a rope and a switch "to make him mind and to teach my own children an example." It was brought out at the trial that the boy frequently went for days without proper nourishment, that he had no sleeping quarters, was left unprotected in cold rooms and that his face had been scratched repeatedly by this brutal and inhuman woman. The woman said in her own defence "he got just as good care as my own children." The woman is the product of an orphanage.

When the judge heard the evidence he characterized her "as the most fiendish woman I have ever heard of." She was sentenced to 30 days in jail, which was the maximum sentence that the law would permit.

—Humane Review

The Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance

By Leslie Ford

THIS EIGHTH CONGRESS was held at Geneva from June 6—12th. One of the most inspiring aspects of the Woman Question of today is this striking proof of the solidarity of women all around the globe and their determination to help heal the wounds that men with their unfortunate secret diplomatic methods tending always to War—have dealt each other, driving nations apart in the antiquated method of 'fighting a wrong'.

Thirty two countries were represented. Not only did allied and neutral countries send delegates, but also ex enemy countries Germany, Austria, even Turkey being represented. It was borne in upon us that these countries had proved themselves more democratic than our western "civilized" countries by giving women not only the vote, but by electing them in larger numbers to the Parliaments.

The Congress was held at Geneva, the home and cradle of humane "movements" since the founding of the Red Cross. Everything conspired to make this a record week for the visitors to this beauty spot with its blue lake, its sparkling swan dotted waters, its clean streets such cleanliness as can only be found in Switzerland—convenient trains, whose conductors vied with the population in helpful courtesy, and spontaneous as well as organized hospitality.

These manifestations made the visit of the International delegates a very real enjoyment.

Some of the delegates were therefore rather startled when they learned that these enlightened capable Swiss women who had planned so efficient and complete a programme for this world congress—were still unenfranchised and that a long, hard way lay before the pioneer Mlle Emilie Gourd, the founder of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Switzerland.

It was a distinct shock to the optimists! But while there is life there is hope—and growth.

The opening ceremony was a most fitting one. Miss Royden of London whose social work and writings added to her eloquent preaching have paved the way to an enlightened opinion on woman's position in the Social State, was invited by the Geneva consistorium to preach the sermon of welcome to the delegates assembled from all the corners of the earth, in the Cathedral of St Pierre, from the pulpit of Calvin.

THERE IS HARDLY room here to dwell on that epoch making moment in the history of modern Woman, when this frail, slender woman gave her inspired message, to her sisters in that historic church.

One thing that is noteworthy today, and that will be worth pondering in these days of Church congresses and Parliaments, discussing now the question of women preaching in the Church of England, is the significant fact that with a distinct 'call' gives her message in halls and in churches, freed from

prejudice, to crowded assemblies of women and men when many churches are frequently nearly empty.

Once more observation that forced itself upon one here was a large assembly of all creeds and races, but yet able to worship God in the same service. Geneva did not say "None but followers of Calvin shall enter here."

So here in Geneva during that week of long business sessions, in a babel of tongues, necessitating interpretations which prolonged all sessions, these international delegates got nearer to each other by discussing the "common causes" that drew them together. A solidarity made itself felt and a series of resolutions were passed that would spread dismay into the serried ranks of ambassadors, hedged in by secret methods of negotiations among their chancelleries. The moment has come when the women of all countries mean to insist on the redeeming of the pledge "A War to End War."

The League of Nations and women's right to sit among its delegates, and the discussion as to the advisability of a "Woman's Bureau" took hours of discussion. The president displayed masterly patience and rare ingenuity in numerous instances, when *Procedure* showed divergencies in so many different countries, and when more than once shipwreck or dead lock seemed imminent. Mrs Catt always found a way life is one compromise!

The evenings were devoted to large mass meetings, a huge Swiss public availed itself of these opportunities when Government delegates, among them Lady Astor, M P from the British Parliament, and Mrs Josephus Daniels from the U S Government besides ex senators, members of Parliaments, town councillors—gave their experiences in public office in short three minute speeches.

THE MOST INTERESTING evening was that of Thursday, in the huge Salle de la Reformation when the Oriental delegates from India whose Eastern draperies made brilliant splashes of color, spoke in English, also their sisters from Japan and Turkey who explained the woman movement in their respective countries and told what women had accomplished. Swiss men and women were deeply interested and impressed and we all hope that the Swiss women will be speedily enfranchised.

Yet, in all this rejoicing of the twenty two enfranchised countries one can not help remembering that Vermont has not yet expressed itself and that Susan B Anthony's work is not yet complete.

The darker side of the "medal" was kept well in view. Though the franchise was on, not one of these experienced women, grown wise and often grey in the struggle for the vote—but know that the economic enfranchisement was far from being won. The discussions and resolutions on the demands

for complete equality of rights of mother as well as father over their children, the equal status of the wife, significant of the true enfranchisement of woman, the right of the wife to retain her nationality and all further logical demands, were carried with hardly a dissentient voice

This brings one face to face with the logical outcome of the contention of "equal rights" in married life. It means, at last, the right of the wife, to decide on voluntary motherhood and not imposed motherhood

Will it bring about once more, as in earlier stages of development of the races, the matriarchate, still existent in some parts of the world, vesting in the "conservator," woman, the property of the family and making for a higher tone and quality in her offspring, rather than for large numbers?

Perhaps Professor Lester Ward's Gynaecocentric theory of life will yet prove true? It is a curious and telling fact that almost all the books on Woman and her role in civilization and progress have been written by men such as John Stuart Mill, Henry Thomas Buckle, Herbert Spencer, Havelock Ellis, that this has been until today a man made world

PROF WARD SPEAKING of the evolution of man power says "He began to learn the economic value of woman, and, in proportion to his realization of his physical strength, making him the master of creature, he used her to contribute to the pleasure and to his wants." The economic subjection is by no means over. But the day has gone when hypocrisy and camouflage of words hid the true cause of woman's subjection and often utter enslavement

One has but to recall the evidence given before the royal divorce commission sitting in London long before the war, and to recall the momentous rejoinder to the evidence given by that fearless Bayard, the champion and friend of women, Mr M T Stead—to realize how little legal right the wife in England has to decide the number of children she will bear. And if truth be told, perhaps elsewhere in this world?

The status of woman as wife and mother is a humiliating one

The beautiful words before the altar "Will all my earthly goods I thee endow"—have a hollow ring, for in the working out she has a definite claim to all his misfortune but none but what *he chooses* to give—to his prosperity? And yet she helps build up—as a partner does, his fortunes by making his home, caring for his health, his cloths, his children?

His children? Her children?

Who gives nearly a year of her life and pre natal care to the advent of the child? And who gives every moment, day and night, for its going months and years, while watching over her other children—in weal and woe? And does an increase in the flock always mean added revenue as it assuredly does entail added expense?

It is mainly through such conditions of enforced and continuous child bearing imposed on an army of hard working, exhausted mothers unable to provide proper food and living conditions for their children that a "3C" population can be explained

The enfranchisement of the woman not only politically and

economically, but also socially, and a deliverance from the chains of ignorance will make for an enlightened birth control

In so cursory an article on so vast a subject as the Congress—it is impossible to go into more detail and yet one can not omit to mention the afternoon devoted to the discussion of the State Regulation of Vice and the unanimously expressed determination of the delegates to work for its complete abolition and that of the white slave traffic

THE LONG YEARS of study of this subject by Dr Aletta Jacobs of Holland, of Dr Rutgers, of Dr Luisi of Montevideo have all brought valuable evidence on this subject

State regulated prostitution has not succeeded in protecting against venereal diseases, and has few convinced defenders left. In any case it is doomed as prostitution is punishable by law, must entail henceforth punishment for both offenders—or it must be put under the same category as private vices

Both offenders are citizens with whose liberty no police shall be able to interfere hereafter, unless both offenders are arrested

It was an omen of progress to see the generous elan with which the question of bastardy and the status of illegitimate children was treated

We are still far from the goal and shall be until we arrive at a higher vision than that of allowing children to be born into this world with a brand on the forehead. Some day this will be unknown. Should not parents of such children be "branded" and pilloried together and deprived of civic rights? In one generation illegitimacy will probably be non-existent. One can not help thinking of one of Guy de Maupassant's stories in which the illegitimate son grown to manhood, brought up by peasant folk, learns who is his father and vents this burning rankling sense of wrong in murdering the author of his being. Perhaps Maupassant throws out a hint of what the impending attitude of the wronged child will be—accusatory and avenging?

The universal desire to create a better social system and better conditions for the child was the ultimate end and aim of all the deliberations in Geneva

A WAVE OF EMOTION has come into the world during and since the War which culminated in the formulating of the "Fourteen Points." These, alas! have dwindled away and become almost untraceable since the Peace Conference opened—or rather *shut* its doors to an expectant hopeful, trembling world that hoped for a new maxim to supersede the old and time worn one "To the victor the spoils"

Women's rights to be sent as delegates to the League of Nations was discussed for it has become patent to all the thinking women, the mothers of men, that wars are man made. If she bears children she will bring them up early to know other nationalities and so promote international good fellowship instead of fostering greed, envy and ill feeling, ending in war instead of peaceful arbitration

This subject of Birth Control which is, in the last analysis, the most important factor in conjugal, civic and national happiness, and lastly in international amicable relations—is the

one subject from which the ordinary man and woman shies in affright.

It was so even among a number of the emancipated delegates at Geneva, even among some of whom the subject was not new and who held rather a smiling sceptical attitude towards a subject which most of them have known was important.

Of course the attitude of the Church is sufficient for those who are guided by its dictates.

But has not the recent war shown the vanquished and the victor how great the advantage in the military scale is that of numbers?

Had the League of Nations been at the time of the Congress, more of an effective reality and less a vision of utopia—perhaps their attitude towards limitation of birth and ideal of an A population instead of the 3 C level, would have been really positive and not negative?

WHEN THE SUBJECT is first broached frankly and fearlessly among an Anglo Saxon audience there is a sudden silence, a pause, a scene of fear. This is easily explained. Does not the whole attitude of secretiveness prudery and false interpretation, or complete silence as to sex questions lead to produce such a lamentable attitude with all its consequences?

Those in the favored walks of life—the privileged classes who practice limitation of birth to secure their inheritance to their limited offspring—deny this knowledge to the masses on whose productive labor depends their wealth and position and who require armies to 'protect' their investments in dis-

tant lands as well as in places at home where property must be protected from revolution, strikes and riots.

The colossal lack of logic on the part of those who refuse the right to disseminate the knowledge of which they make use—is proved by the fact that they legalize the *manufacture* (always anonymous?) of those appliances securing to them the possibility of birth control.

The manufacture is permitted. The knowledge to put such manufactured appliances to effective use—is forbidden.

What is one to say for such camouflage of the modern slogan of Democracy and "Equal Opportunity"?

It is a right which every true father and mother claims passionately "equal opportunity" for the children.

Never will this "equality of the sexes" be more than an empty shout, insincere to the extreme—a mockery in every sense, until the "law," a travesty of the name, no longer bars the way to a nobler expression of the human instinct in parenthood.

The time is ripe to protest fully and frankly and equalize the numbers of men legislators with women legislators. Let there be no delay.

Those who fear "Romance" and foresee her death, let them read and ponder such chapters as Dr. Marie Stopes has written with a message of hope for "married love."

It is proving a beacon light to many young people setting out bravely on that difficult path bristling with problems. They are hailing the advent of the "welcome Child."

The World's Racial Problem

By Havelock Ellis

THE EXPANSION OF the White race during the period between the discovery of America and the Russo Japanese War is the leading fact in the recorded history of Man. At first mainly confined to a small corner of the continental earth mass, his call now occupies four tenths of the entire habitable land area of the globe, while nearly nine-tenths of the whole area are under the political control, almost one third of the human beings of the earth today are whites, they have become the most numerous branch of the human species. Such a situation—impossible even to conceive five hundred years ago—has so far as we know never occurred before.

Had the wisdom of the white race been equal to its strength and to its extravagant procreative activity, this situation, how ever extraordinary, would still not have involved any crucial race problem for the world. It would have been a problem for individual peoples here and there, a problem of which they would no doubt sometimes have died, as now happens, while yet the main change of balance might have been effected without great upheavals or permanent friction. But the White race has not been conspicuous for wisdom in the sphere of world politics: its civilization has been too materialistic—"one sided, abnormal, unhealthy," in the words of Dr. Stod-

dard—and hence it is that in this twentieth century the world is faced by what the author of this book calls the "Crisis of the Ages."

DR STODDARD IS an American, a graduate of Harvard and a citizen of New York, and like many Americans, aware that they have to attract the attention of a vast hustling audience absorbed in its activities over an enormous area, he is inclined to address it through a megaphone, in the strong, simple, emphatic language that that instrument demands. His message has thus to be a little discounted, but even when that allowance is made it remains a message it concerns us to hear, and it is delivered with force and knowledge. It is well to remember that his conclusions are, after all, fundamentally in harmony with those of sober and judicial observers in Europe, it is enough to mention Professor Demangeon's recent book *Le Declin de l'Europe*. Dr. Stoddard makes no claim to be a man of science, and on that account, on the Introduction to his book, he calls on Mr. Madison Grant, who is closely in touch with biology, geography, and anthropology, but here

*The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy. By Lathrop Stoddard, A.M. Ph.D. With an introduction by Madison Grant, New York. Scribners.

makes some rather disputable statements. The author of the book regards himself simply as a student of world politics. In that capacity he has already published some notable writings on the wider aspects of the Great War as well as a purely historical study of "The French Revolution in San Domingo" which he regards as a prologue to the mighty drama of our own day, the first real shock between the ideals of White supremacy and race equality. His weakness, as has already been hinted, is a tendency to over statement, a tendency which will unduly imperil the success of his thesis in the judgement of many. It is thus that he lays so much stress on the Nordic peoples of Europe that he would seem at times to regard them as the only valuable element in Europe. That would be a shallow and even false view. The Nordic peoples, or fair long heads, are widely regarded as simply an early offshoot of the Mediterranean peoples, the dark long heads, while the third remaining element in Europe, the Alpine round heads, is so closely associated and blended with the other two, that we need not view with too much alarm any forecasts of the fate of the unmixed Nordics, who are likely at all events to survive in combinations which, on the Mendelian principles our author accepts, will preserve their qualities intact. In the same way Dr Stoddard makes here and there considerable play with the bogey of Bolshevism. That also may be premature, for we do not yet know whether the Bolshevik impulse will survive, and we do not know whether if it survives it will be altogether transmuted or continue in its original form, nor do we know, in the last case, whether it will mean regress or a new fruitful progress. To describe it as "the arch enemy of civilization and the race" is, at the present stage, merely the vanity of ignorance.

DR STODDARD'S STRENGTH lies, however, in a department where most of us are weak. He has a close grip of world politics, his outlook is wide, he has a detailed knowledge of racial problems and racial propaganda all over the world. He is one of the first to realize comprehensively the fateful bearing of the Great War on the larger problems of the world. He became convinced more than ten years ago that it is upon the *quality* of human life that all else depends, and that the key note of twentieth century world politics would be the relation between the primary human races, White and Colored, so that he comes before us well prepared to analyze the various aspects of that relation, "whose importance for the future of mankind," he declares, "far transcends the questions which engross its attention today."

The War, and still more the "Peace," have been potent in stirring these problems into acute activity, but it would be a mistake to suppose that either the one or the other generated them. They were bound to arise sooner or later and were becoming active years before the War. There had indeed for a long time been a slow educational process at work among the colored races of the world, a process in part imitative of the white world and in part critical, but in both aspects leading to an unrest which was further stimulated by the white world's attitude of haughty and domineering superiority. The reality of that superiority was, however sullenly, still accepted even

as recently as 1904. Then it was that the Russo Japanese War effected a complete revolution in the colored mind, primarily in Asia and secondarily everywhere. Its momentous character, Dr Stoddard believes, is not even now fully appreciated. Before that war ideas of revolt had been seething half unconsciously in millions of colored minds. But henceforth these ideas were clarified and dramatized, a new joy and hope thrilled through colored veins, and the legend of white invincibility lay henceforth, a shattered idol, in the dust. Yet it was still possible, and even imperative, to feel high respect for white power and white civilization. But then, ten years later, came the Great War and the work of destruction was completed. The white race was exhibited before the whole world engaged in a fratricidal conflict of the most ruthless and inhuman kind that could be conceived, and the lesson was not lost on the colored spectators. It was the less likely to be lost since they were themselves in part forced to take a hand in it by their maddened and blinded white masters. They were trained and encouraged to conquer and destroy the White man by his own methods, they were brought wholesale over to Europe into the closest contact with white civilization and shown its hollowness and its shams. No wonder that the seeds have all been sown which are now germinating, and promising a sad harvest for the white man to be the reaper of, or rather, our author suggests to be, the reaped.

THE COLORED WORLD has missed nothing of the spectacle but has followed it all with the most intelligent interest. A large part of this volume is given up to detailed exposition of the racial situation today among the four great main divisions of the colored population of the world—Yellow, Brown, Red and Black. These four chapters are full of instruction regarding the present attitude and aspirations of the peoples in question as witnessed by their most conspicuous spokesmen. Everywhere we see the same Renaissance, the outcome of the pregnant events of the past fifteen years, in energetic reaction against white domination. It is the yellow race, led by Japan, already master of all the scientific secrets of the West and the Brown race of the Nearer East, in which ferments the forceful and ever expanding leaven of Islam, that are the protagonists of this Renaissance. The black people, however restless and discontented, are comparatively inoffensive and in any case easy to placate, while the American Indians are a small and diminishing race. But the Yellow and Brown peoples are not only by far the most capable, they are also by far the most numerous. They already outnumber the whites by nearly two to one and, at the present time they are expanding at a more rapid rate. This result has been largely brought about by white domination, pulling down local wars, combatting epidemic disease, and improving the food supply. "That this profound Asiatic renaissance will eventually result in the substantial elimination of white political control from Anatolia to the Philippines is as natural as it is inevitable."

Looking at the matter, as Dr Stoddard looks at it, from the white and more especially the Nordic standpoint, which is that of England even more than America, the danger that menaces our position is the immediate future, and our very

existence in the more remote future, is threefold the peril of arms, the peril of markets, and the peril of migrations. The colored military peril, the author thinks, is often exaggerated, though he is careful to add that exact forecast is impossible. The Japanese has become the approved match of a Western power alike on land and sea, and though the Chinese are pacific they have had their bellicose moments and might easily again, especially under the leadership of Japan, which would then become by far the mightiest military power in the world. The industrial menace to the white world, already foreseen by Pearson thirty years ago, is a more certain danger, likely to act partly by the development of the world's natural resources, destroying the white man's chief present source of prosperity, and partly by a deliberate resolve of the exasperated colored peoples to boycott white industrial activities. Most potent of all these dangers, however, is migration. For a long time past the colored world has been pressing on the domains held, but by no means always utilized, by the white world, which is frequently even constitutionally incapable of utilizing them. Natural expansion and human justice imperatively demand such migration. The white barriers built to hold them back are completely artificial. The white laborer can nowhere, *absolutely nowhere*—Dr Stoddard is here even more than usually emphatic—compete with the colored laborer. The more we approach to democracy, to the supremacy of Labor, to the directorate of the proletariat, the more inevitable we are rending the dictatorship of the colored man and his right to settle where he will. Yet "such migrations upset standards, sterilize better stocks, increase low types, and compromise national future more than war, revolutions, or native deterioration." The author brings forward the examples of Naal, Mauritius, and Hawaii, new outposts of Asia which indicate the directions in which the rising tide of color is flowing.

DR. STODDARD POSSESSES, however, all the temperamental optimism and self confidence of the white Nordic man whose champion he remains throughout. He refuses even to consider whether it is reasonable to expect that a race which has only risen to prominence during the past four centuries—a minute fragment of the world's history—should henceforth predominate for ever, he seems unable even to conceive that the impartial whirling of time may quite easily dispense with the white man and bring younger, fresher races to the top. He is content to concern himself mainly with the measures which may contribute to the maintenance of white supremacy, if not for ever, at all events a little longer. Since by the prejudice of color, we must mostly be on his side in this matter, we may profitably meditate on the reasonable considerations he brings forward.

There are three points in Dr Stoddard's irreducible minimum of immediate action: (1) the "wretched Versailles business must be thoroughly revised, before the dragon's teeth it has sown all over Europe and Asia have had time to take root and produce a crop of cataclysm which will assuredly seal the white man's doom, (2) an amicable understanding must be arrived at between the white world and nascent Asia, we abandoning our tacit assumption of permanent domi-

nation over Asia and the Asiatics foregoing their dream of occupying white lands and penetrating Africa and Latin America, for in the absence of such agreement, the world will drift into a gigantic race war, (3) migrations of lower types, even within the white world, such as those which have worked havoc in the United States, must be rigorously curtailed.

THESE STEPS, THE author believes, if taken in time, will give our wounds a chance to heal, and permit the operation of larger measures which must necessarily be gradual. They will allow time for the biological revelations of modern times to penetrate the popular consciousness and transfuse our materialism with a new idealism. Slowly we may expect that the supreme importance of heredity, and the immensely greater weight that belongs to quality over quantity in the production of stock, will generate a true race consciousness, to bridge political gulfs, remedy social abuses, and purify the impulses of race mixture. It will also allow time—though on this point the author is less emphatic than his sense of the immense dangers of excessive fertility would lead us to expect—for the extension of Birth Control. The old checks on the increase of population have largely fallen away, that is why we see today the excessive fertility which threatens to drown the whole world in blood. "The real enemy of the dove of peace," as Dr Stoddard put it, "is not the eagle of pride or the vulture of greed, but the stork." The new interest which today Japan and China and India are taking in Birth Control is the most significant movement of our time. We are about to witness not merely in Europe but in Asia, a fateful race between the brute instinct of unchecked procreation and the reasoned and deliberate impulse of Birth Control, and on the issue of that race, the existence of our civilization will depend.

Dr Stoddard is sanguine. Yet, in spite of his enthusiasm for the white race and his willingness to fight to the last ditch for its defence, he admits a doubt. Everything has to be paid for, and the white world has not been conspicuous for reasonableness, or justice, or humanity. We have failed to adapt ourselves to the radically new conditions which modern science has produced. The mysteries of heredity are being revealed to us, but we are still content to tinker at the environment, we remain simply enthusiasts instead of eugenicists. Our whole urban and industrial life is avowedly dysgenic. The diminishing value of our racial stocks is reflected in the folly of our statesmen, heedless that the crisis we approach is of their own creation, reckless that if they make possible another white civil war our whole civilization will collapse by the sheer weight of its imbecility. We may find such consolation as we can in the likelihood that the white world will last our time. For, as they said of old time, in a clumsy metaphor that was yet a true intuition of the facts of heredity, when the fathers eat sour grapes it is their children's teeth that are set on edge.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER THE BASTARDY BILL

TO THE EDITOR of the *Daily Herald*
Sir—On May 7th, the Bastardy Bill, 1920, comes up for second reading in Parliament, and all lovers of liberty,

it there are any left in this D O R A ridden country, will do well to raise a protest to their respective MP's against clause 2 (3), by which the mother of an illegitimate child is forced, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, to give the name of the putative father for registration. Such compulsion will not always be a guarantee of truth, nor will an unwilling or protesting parent, even if a few shillings a week are taken from him, be of any real value to the 'putative' child, he will remain a sort of "paper" father registered merely.

Under the Children Act, 1918, and even in the Victorian Age, municipal authorities have had power to adopt children in cases of neglect or cruelty and protect them up to the age of 18. That these lawful guardians generally consign them to the tender mercies of the workhouse school and would hardly know their wards if they met them in the street gives us little faith in such step mothering of the State, we prefer the mother, with all her shortcomings.

MARGARET WYNNE NEVINSON

PRACTICAL EUGENICS

[It gives us pleasure to print the following article which one of our readers was kind enough to write for us, while on his summer vacation. EDITOR'S NOTE]

EVERY ordinary man or woman realizes that certain physical, mental, and moral traits are transmissible, such as the color of the hair, eyes, etc., and certain peculiarities of character and temperament, and they also have a vague idea that a knowledge of this should influence to a large extent their selection of a partner for life. This is the limit to the average person's knowledge of the science of Eugenics, and to make a close study of the subject from standard works is by no means easy, because these volumes are generally so full of technicalities as to confuse the ordinary reader. But I think, that with a little knowledge of the principles of Eugenics, and by doing a little reasoning ourselves we can gain a practical knowledge of the science of Eugenics. Sir Francis Galton, who has been called the founder of it, defines Eugenics as the study of those agencies under social control which may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations.

The nucleus of all theories in Eugenics is Selection, by which is meant, the differentiation of the living species by both a selective birth rate, and a selective death rate. The former applying to the human species, and the latter to all other forms of life. It is now an established fact, that without Selection there can be no intrinsic progress.

The two important factors which form the basis of all individuality are heredity and environment. In fact modern Eugenics is based on the scientific study of heredity, and it gives us two outstanding facts in connection therewith, first, like tends to beget like, or the principle of continuity, secondly, each new individual exhibits a new departure which marks him as an individual entity, or the principle of divergence. With reference to the first, Weismann claims that in embryonic development a residue of unaltered germinal substance contained in the fertilized ovum is reserved at conception to form reproductive cells to form the second generation. In other words, he means, that the germ plasma is continuous, and that the child is contemporaneous with his father. We are all guardians of this essential germ plasma, and modern science proves that it can be carried unimpaired through life. The problem that confronts us is arrested progress, or Reversed Selection.

The Great War was an obvious instrument in reversed Selection any who have considered the increased widowhood, and the unnatural disparity between the male and female population, as the direct result of the War will readily admit this. And in addition, consider how the flower of the world's manhood were mown down in thousands while the

unfit were left at home to enjoy their immunity and to propagate their infirmities. Venereal disease, and alcohol also tend to arrest human progress.

It will be seen that Eugenics stands for world peace and racial betterment. Physical Culture includes this subject in its scope, and all ardent Physical Culturists should be interested in it practically. This means to instruct the young in hygiene and life principles, to demand more radical treatment of venereal disease, and do all that is possible to protect the future life from the hereditary and environmental curse of alcohol. All young persons should devote a little study to Eugenics at least before marriage, by reading the works of such authorities as Galton, Saleeby and Havelock Ellis. The value of a knowledge of its principles lies in the fact, that it encourages worthy parenthood, and also seeks to circumvent the actuality of unworthy parenthood. Thus, ennobling and exalting the high privilege of fatherhood, and protecting and safeguarding the sacred function of motherhood, and providing the helplessness of childhood with the best possible environment for the furtherance of its inborn heritage.

BOOK REVIEW

THE BURNING QUESTION, by Stephen Brauch (Stefan Zweig)

Published by Scott and Seltzer, 1919

A simple narrative of things that happen. A bored, wealthy woman just about to plunge into the middle years. A foolish, egotistical baron who needed companionship especially that of women to be himself and at that did not amount to much. He was a match as the author says, that could not light except upon a box. A phrase that is decidedly the best bit in the book. A young boy who had been sick and who was left so much to himself that his spirit was starved as much as his body was stunted. His father was a business man and assumes no other part in the story.

The mother, baron and boy meet in a summer resort in the spring. The spring is a restless season. The clouds were restless, the horses were restless and the people were restless too.

The baron picked an acquaintance with the boy, his object of course being to have an affair with the mother, who was willing but timid and respectable. The boy was entranced and gave all his affection to his new companion. The baron having attained his object forgot about the boy. His mother would have liked to do the same for the boy having had a sudden taste of being treated as if he were grown up and an equal could not resign himself to being just as suddenly relegated to his childhood regime. He rebelled. His love for the baron changed to a bitter hatred mingled with contempt for his mother and suspicion of them both.

Having spoiled the baron's coup, embarrassed his mother and broken his own heart, he resolved to run away to his grandmother.

He did. His adventures while tame in reality, harrowed him sufficiently. At his grandmother's he met his father and realized with admirable precision that his proper role was to shield his mother. His plans for revenge were all swept away. He took all the blame for his escapade in the best style. He explained that he had run away because he had been naughty and a nuisance. His mother was relieved and grateful. She came and kissed him good night. He was shocked to find that he was sleepy. Great care has been taken to show that he always was sleepy in an emergency. This probably was meant to show his youth and return of normal health. At any rate, it was only in after years that he realized that his mother's good night kiss upon this occasion was quite an epoch making affair. It expressed gratitude to him for his handsome conduct and also a farewell to romanticism, and the determination, very sensible and middle-aged, to devote herself thereafter to her child. He knew sleepy as he was however, that he liked to be kissed, and hoped that it would happen to him often again. From which it is to be inferred in quite an unobjectionable way, that he was growing up.

And there we leave him with a business man for his father and a middle aged woman of practically no intelligence for a mother. His family life was conducive to slumber.

MARY KNOBLAUCH

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