

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW



Birth Control Clinic in London

MAY, 1921

Twenty-five Cents

BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Federation of Neo Malthusian Leagues—Dr Alice Drvsdale Vickery President

ENGLAND—Malthusian League % Victoria St. London S W 1
HOLLAND (1885)—De Nieuw Malthusiaansche Bond Secretary, Dr J Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag. Periodical, *He' Gelluklag Huisgezin*
GERMANY (1889)—Sozial Harmonische Verein. Secretary, Hen M Hausmeister Stuttgart Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*
FRANCE (1895)—G Hardy. 29 Rue Pixerecourt, Paris Pen odical, *Generation Consciente*
SPAIN (1904)—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana. Secretary, Senor Luis Buñfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral. la, Barcelona. Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*
BELGIUM (1906)—Ligue Neo Malthusienne. Secretary, Dr Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles.
SWITZERLAND (1908)—Groupe Malthusien Secretary Valentin Grandjean 106 Rue den Eaux Vives, Geneva Periodical, *La Vie Intime*
BOHEMIA AUSTRIA (1901)—Secretary, Michael Kacha, 1164 Zuzhov, Prague Periodical, *Zadruhy*
AUSTRIA—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Kloster

neuburg (bei Wien) Nied Ost Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*
PORTUGAL—E Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/e, Lisbon Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*
BRAZIL (1905)—Seccion Brasileira de Propaganda Secretaries, Manuel Moscosa, Rua d Bento Pires 29 San Pablo Antonio Dominiguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janeiro
CUBA (1907)—Seccion de Propaganda. Secretary, Jose Guardisla, Empedrado 14 Havana.
SWEDEN (1911)—Sallskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring President, Mr Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15, Stockholm, Va
ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22 Turin Periodical, *L Educazione Sessuale*
AFRICA—Ligue Neo Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta Alger
MEXICO (1918)—Mexican Birth Control League Secretaries, Mi and Mrs Linn A E Gale, P O Box 518, Mexico, D F Mexico Periodicals, *Gale's* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish)

IN THE UNITED STATES:

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Secretary, Mrs B E Page, 521 Longwood Ave, Glencoe, Ill
CLEVELAND, OH—League for Voluntary Parenthood Mrs A W Newman, Secretary, 1702 Belmar Road Cleveland Heights.
ELIZABETH CITY, N C—Mr and Mrs W O Saunders
HARRISBURG, PA—George A Herrng, 1804 Penn Street
LOS ANGELES CAL—Dr T Percival Gerson
NEW YORK
The Committee of One Thousand. Dr Ira S Wile, 264 W 73rd Street, chairman
International Birth Control League. Dr Wm J Robinson, president, 12 Mt Morris Park West.
The Woman's Committee of One Hundred Mrs. Amos Pinchot chairman, 9 East 81st Street.
Voluntary Parenthood League 49 East 59th Street. Mary Ware Dennett, director

BROOKLYN—Jessie A Dastre 673 Vanderbilt Ave
PITTSBURGH, PA—The *Birth Control League of Western Penn*sylvania, Rita F Stein, 924 Mellon Street, Pittsburgh, Pa
RADNOR, PA—Main Line Branch of the National Birth Control League Mrs. Walter M. Newkirk, secretary
ROCHESTER, N Y—A L Howser, 227 Parsells Avenue
ST LOUIS MO—Grace Anderson, Superintendent of Municipal Nurses, City Dispensary, 11th and Chestnut Streets
SEATTLE, WASH—The Seattle Birth Control League Minnie Parkhurst, 516 Third Ave., West, Seattle, Wash., secretary
SUMMIT N J—Rev Franklin C Doan
WASHINGTON, D C—The Birth Control League of the District of Columbia. Mrs. Anna Wexler, 1926 New Hampshire Ave president

Outline of Margaret Sanger's Work Since Her Return from England

Articles and Reviews

ARTICLES WRITTEN by Mrs Sanger for other magazines besides the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

One article for *Physical Culture*

An article for *Reconstruction* a Japanese magazine in three parts entitled 'Birth Control—Past Present and Future'

A review of 'Problems of Population and Parenthood' in New York Saturday Evening Post

A review of 'Control of Parenthood' in New York Saturday *Evening* Post

A review of 'Radiant Motherhood' for Putnam Publishing Co

A Sunday New York *American* interview on 'Clothes and Morality'

Lectures

Nov 18—League of Women Voters at Mrs Guggenheimers, N Y City	Jan 8—The Press Club New York City	Feb 7—Berks County Ass'n. Women's Workers Reading, Pa
Nov 23—Fine Arts Gudd, N Y City	Jan 11—Arts and Science Club, Browns ville	Feb 7—Overflow meeting of 500 women only Reading Pa
Nov 30—Fine Arts Guild N Y City	Jan 14—Literary Club, Bath Beach	Feb 13—Long Island Chiropractors' Assn Brooklyn, N Y
Dec 3—Berks Co Assn. Women's Workers Reading, Pa	Jan 17—Sorosus Club, N Y City	Feb 17—Headquarters of National Woman's Party, Washington, D C
Dec 7—Fine Arts Guild, N Y City	Jan 19—Arts and Science Club. Browns vdle	Feb 23—Residence of Mrs Marcus Mark
Dec 8—The Birth Control Review Luncheon of four hundred at Commodore Hotel N Y City	Jan 20—Portia Club, N Y City	Feb 28—Seven Ans Gudd
Dec 12—Debate with Winter Russell "Resolved That the Spreading of Birth Control Knowledge is Injurious to the Welfare of Humanity"	Jan 21—Literary Club, Bath Beach	March 7—Sociology Club, Columbia University N Y City
Dec 11—Fine Arts Guild, N Y City	Jan 24—Mrs Dexter Blagden's residence, N Y City	March 8—Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Cutters Local, N Y City
Dec 16—National Woman's Party Washington D C	Jan 26—Arts and Science Club, Browns ville	March 9—Lurcheon Bryn Mawr Club N Y City
Dec 17—Current Events Hotel Marquise N Y City at 2 30	Jan 28—Residence of Mrs Robert Malory, Rye, N Y	March 22—Broadway Casino, Brooklyn
Dec 17—Fine Arts Guild Harlem, at 8 30	Feb 2—Arts and Science Club. Browns vdle	March 29—Broadway Casino, Brooklyn
Dec 23—Fine Arts Gudd Harlem	Feb 3—Dinner Woman's Economic Club, Bellevue Stratford, Philadelphia Pa	April 12—Just Government Club Baltimore, Md
Dec 26—Fine Arts Guild, Bronx	Feb 4—Woman's Economic Club, at New Century Club, Philadelphia Pa	April 21—Lecture series at Mrs Dexter Blagden's residence N Y City
Dec 30—Fine Arts Guild Harlem	Feb 4—Overflow of 500 at New Century Gudd Philadelphia, Pa	April 25—Lecture series at Mrs Dexter Blagden's residence N Y City
Jan 5—Arts and Science Club Brown. ville	Feb 6—Group of prominent doctors at the residence of Mrs Juliet Barrett Rublee, N Y City	April 28—Lecture series at Mrs Dexter Blagden's residence, N Y City
Jan 7—Fine Arts Guild Harlem		

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL. V

MAY, 1921

No 5

Politicians vs. Birth Control

ADVOCATES OF Birth Control must possess the power to face facts and to analyze them. Only upon the basis of tested experience and actual **scientific** knowledge can we overcome the Ignorance, the **stupidity** and the prejudices **which** are the only **formidable** forces standing in our way. Our recent legislative campaign at Albany, an account of **which** may be found on another page of **this** number, has revealed in **striking fashion** the **antagonistic** attitude of the **typical** American **politician** to the **pivotal** problem of **society** today. To expect aid or even intelligent **understanding** of **Birth Control** from the **typical** Albany **politician**, to be **discouraged** because of their failure to remove the coercive and **criminally** obscene **insult** to **American** womanhood from the statute books—**this** would be to succumb to **emotion** rather than to profit by the knowledge, the **invaluable** knowledge, we have gained from our **experience** at Albany. The great fact **is** this: we can expect nothing of the politician of today. If we must use the weapon of **politics** to further the progress of **Birth Control**, it must be the **politics** created by ourselves.

When the first **Birth Control** clinic in America was declared a "public nuisance," by the courts, we were advised by well meaning friends that the legal way, the **political** way, the **legislative** way was the only safe and sane method of **propaganda**. **This** has now been put to the test. And we discover that the successful **politician** **is** not only mentally unable to understand the **aim** of **Birth Control**, but, moreover, he **himself** **is** the very product of those **sinister** forces we are **aiming** to eradicate from human society.

AS MANIFESTED in the United States today, current **politics** is the very outgrowth of **overcrowding** and underfeeding mental and **physical**. Your successful **politician** **is** the demagogue who knows the best **tricks** to catch the greatest number of votes. He is **the** hypnotist of great, docile, submissive, sheep like majorities. He is Interested in number, not intelligence. Therefore, to expect such masters who, by hook or crook, ride roughshod into **public office** or slide into seats of the state **legislature** to understand or **support** a program which **aims** at the **creation** of self reliant, self governing **independent** men and women, would be to neglect one of the most **important** factors among the resources of our opponents. But we **did** at least expect **something** more among men elected to **public office** than the **embarrassed** giggle of the adolescent,

the **cynical** Indecency of the gangster, in the **consideration** of a **serious** sexual and **social** problem.

Perhaps, moreover, we failed to take into **consideration** the vast power **wielded** today by the politician in the control and **administration** of the public charities, hospitals and "correctional" institutions. Politician and office holder **indirectly** benefit through these institutions for the support and maintenance of the **victims** of compulsory motherhood. Impartial **statistics** make this **evident**. Exclusive of privately supported industries and charities, New York City **alone** spends annually approximately sixteen million dollars to **maintain** its **various** departments of charities, hospitals and "corrections." In 146 of the largest **American** cities, the total expenditure for the support of the dependent **population** amounts annually to no less than fifty millions of dollars.

OUR POLITICIANS today profit from human misery. They have an **interest**, direct or indirect, in the production through **uncontrolled fecundity**, of the unfit, the underfed, the feeble-minded and the **incurably diseased**. Their interest, **financially**, is in the increase of our institution **populations**, with their **insistent** demands for appropriations from the city and state, as well as **their** **unending** appeals to public and private **sentimental generosity**. Most eugenicists dub the **victims** of our legal and social **barbarism** "the unfit." But as William Bateson has recently shown, we need to revise and re-interpret our definition of the "unfit." The **victims** are not the "unfit," but these blind leaders of the blind—the **politician**, the profiteer, the war making patriot, the **criminal** moralist who is **urging** men and women to "increase and multiply." "The crimes of the **prison** population," declared Professor Bateson in his recent Galton lecture, "are petty offences by comparison, and the **significance** we attach to them is a **survival** of other days. Felonies may be great offences locally, but they do not induce catastrophes. The **proclivities** of the war makers are **infinitely** more dangerous than those of the beings whom from **time to time** the law may dub as **criminals**. **Consistent** and **portentous** selfishness, combined with dullness **of imagination** are probably **just** as **transmissible** as want of self control, though **desert** of the **amiable qualities** not rarely associated **with** the **genetic** composition of persons of **unstable mind**."

IN DELEGATING important powers to near sighted, unimaginative, politicians and acquisitive office grabbers, the American public is **submitting**, with deplorable docility, to every sort of **injurious** and grossly **coercive** legislation. Laws

are passed as penalties for those who dare to disagree with us. Our passivity in this respect is in effect placing upon the shoulders of the next generation not merely the helpless victims of indiscriminate and uncontrolled breeding, but the political parasites who wax so fat on the public charities and "corrections," who, consciously or unconsciously, aim to foster and uphold this disastrous custom of compulsory motherhood.

How closely bound up with the enfranchisement of the mentally deficient is the deterioration of American politics and politicians is indicated in Alleyne Ireland's recent study of the situation, "Democracy and the Human Equation." Mr. Ireland is inevitably driven to the conclusion that there must be some improvement in the quality of the American voter and the American politician before we can expect anything of political action. The only hope he discovers on the horizon is eugenics. But eugenics is futile and impractical, a vague flapping of wings, unless it is allied and strengthened by Birth Control. Otherwise, eugenics can only suggest a cradle competition between the "fit" and the "unfit." In this mad race in over population, the fit would very soon become the unfit, and we would be on the road to a universal imbecility.

Thus we face the interesting possibility—a vision that should give us new strength and courage. If politicians can not and will not help Birth Control, Birth Control must and will improve politics.

THE MOST amazing aspect of the present situation is to be found in the great overwhelming fact that the women of America, especially the mothers of America, are demanding the sex hygiene and education which the practice of Birth Control would bring to them. Letters from the overburdened mothers reach us in thousands, typical examples are presented in issues of the REVIEW. Superficial critics often remark that it is impossible to carry the message of Birth Control to the women who need it most. This claim is belied in all the heartrending appeals from the victims of barbarous laws and outworn prejudices. If these indomitable and courageous mothers were finally freed from the bondage of compulsory maternity, we should witness the gradual but certain lifting of the curse of the "unfit" and the autnormal. It is the pressure, the ceaseless constant pressure upon American womanhood that is productive of the subnormal and mentally defective. This cursed section of humanity is not a matter of chance. It is the inevitable result of a pressure upon the normal and healthy, a pressure—or cramping restriction—that must somewhere find its outlet.

What the reactionary politicians fail to recognize is that human society possesses in itself, if it were not impeded by outworn customs and barbarous laws, the power of regeneration, of recreation. More and more evidence is coming to light that the number of enlightened and intelligent women is increasing. American women are realizing that first and foremost the problem of bringing children into this world is a personal and physical one. They are refusing to submit any longer to the self-appointed dictatorship of the politician, who, instead of clearing the way for the great march of civilization, is attempting to impede progress by defending decrepit statutes and writing into the laws of the land coercive measures.

When women awaken to the necessity of organizing a political method of their own, instead of relying upon or expecting understanding and help from the man-made brand, the politician as he expresses himself today will no longer be tolerated, and with the event of self-reliance and self-government, the race of politicians will, fortunately for humanity, become as extinct as that of the dinosaur.

MARGARET SANGER

The weekly Bulletin of the New York City Department of Health of December 25, 1920, states that during last year the infant mortality has increased considerably in this city. But the explanation of this fact can be inferred from the great increase in the number of births during the same year.

What is the use of having too many babies, if the situation is such that the more we have the more will die? And what waste of labor until they die! Of course, even then too many remain alive—because too many are born!—*Rational Living*

Alone

By ARMISTEAD NELSON-COLLIER

NO HUMAN HEART to heat in unison with mine,
No kindred soul to share the melodies divine
That sweep across me—
I am forlorn
A wanderer on earth as one possessed,
Enraptured with a Vision by mortal eyes unseen,
Not yet a living Dream,
Nor dead—but struggling
To be born—
I live—unknown, unloved, unblest

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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No. 5

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Birth Control Clinic in London

A NEW TYPE of clinic for mothers was opened recently at 61 Marlborough Road, Holloway, N, London, Eng

Founded by Dr Marie Stopes, the distinguished biologist, and her husband, it is intended to carry into practice the principles governing motherhood advocated in the former's popular book, "Married Love"

"Our object," said Dr Stopes to the "Dady News", 'is to give working class mothers the latest scientific knowledge of motherhood, in order to reduce the death rate among young children and to increase the survival rate

"At present there is an appalling ignorance among mothers as to the best means of contributing to the population the greatest number of healthy, happy children

"Owing to that ignorance thousands of mothers are reduced to a state of misery and poverty, and married life to them has become a mockery

"In far too many cases weak, sickly children follow each other, frequently year after year, and the result is seen in a heavy death rate, the shortening of the mother's life, and the wastage of millions of pounds by the State and municipalities on asylums, hospitals, homes, and work houses for dealing with the unfit

"Investigation shows that at least two years should elapse between any two births in a family. Otherwise there is a drain on the mother's health and the child also suffers, or both find an early grave

"Another fact we shall emphasize to mothers is the undesirability of bringing into the world children likely to be tainted. A nurse will be in attendance at the clinic every day, and Dr Jane Lorimer Hawthorne will attend once a week to give medical advice"

THE MOTHERS' CLINIC HISTORY OF THE CLINIC

What it stands for

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell"

"The control of procreation by the prevention of conception has become a part of the morality of civilized peoples"

—HAVELOCK ELLIS

REVERENCE not only for the fruitful mother as such, but for her spirit as the creator of our race, reverence for the wife who is the centre of the united love and tenderness. In the home, reverence for the child, that it shall not be allowed to come unwanted and unloved to play a miserable part amongst us, reverence for the Race, that it shall be represented on this earth by the most perfect and God-like individuals that it is in our power to call forth in His Image'

This Clinic stands for all these reverences and maintains that they can only be obtained by knowledge

With all the Clinics already existing, with all the Schools for Mothers, Baby Welfare Centres, and other proofs of the interest now taken in children and their mothers, why is it that we find it necessary to originate still another

type of Clinic? Why is it that this new Clinic is not only to do a work hitherto neglected, but is also epoch making for our race?

It is because this Clinic is for Birth Control and for Beauty. Here mothers will be considered not only as the producers of mere babies, but as the creators of splendid babies. Only Motherhood which is in the control of the Mother can now truly advance our race

In this Clinic healthy mothers will obtain the key to personal security and development, to united happiness and success with their husbands in marriage and to voluntary and joyous motherhood. Birth Control

knowledge will be given not in the crude repressive form it is advocated in some quarters, but as the keystone in the arch of progress toward racial health and happiness

The poor woman who is driven into her motherhood blindly, involuntarily and rebelliously is not she who best serves our race. Slave mothers have produced in the past, and are producing today, myriads of weak, inefficient, diseased and miserable lives. With one puny infant hanging on her half-starved breast the mother carelessly and recklessly, or pitifully and ignorantly, or bitterly and rebelliously has conceived another to bear upon her womb's depleted strength. And of the

MATRIARCHY

Their dull democracies commence to wane
Cooped in their capitals of steel and stone,
The ape, the tiger and the hog have grown
Thick through the neck and atrophied of brain
So the wheel turns, and your day comes again
Magnificent in tyranny, alone,
You will loll back on your pomegranate throne
And teach man how an empress shows disdain

I shall make songs to greet you I shall bear
Roses and subtle perfumes for your hair,
I shall not fear that you will bid me go
For though you spurned all others, you would spare
Swinburne and Keats and Baudelaire and Poe,
Pan and his troop of fauns and poor Pierrot

—WALTER ADOLPHE ROBERTS

infants such as she produced, myriads have died before their lips could frame the word "Mother," taking in their tiny coffins back to mother earth the human strength for want of which their brothers and sisters went through life enfeebled

THE BISHOP of Birmingham and Dean Inge have pointed out how serious it is for our race that it is now the better and thriftier couples, those likely to make good parents and tram their children to be good citizens, who have to restrict their families, while those below the level of self respect, often even of decency, reproduce themselves innumerable. Thus, in recent years, there has been a proportionate increase in our population of the miserable with an ever decreasing percentage of those who originate in good homes

Once stem the onrush of those who enter life in such quick succession that they snatch the bread and milk from each other's mouths and do nothing but defeat each other's chances of life, or if they live, lead weakened, doomed or diseased lives—once stem the onrush of those who are a total loss to the State, an anguish and dram to their mothers and a misery to themselves, and then we shall find in each home only the joyous creators of children born in love and loved before their birth. Then only and at last will the sting of life be vanquished and victory over misery be achieved by humanity

Scientific investigation has shown that the percentage of infant deaths steadily decreases as the interval between births is increased. Dr Bluhm showed that more than twice as many infants die when they are born only one year after a previous birth than die if two or more years are left between births so that the mother has time to recover properly, and, moreover, that a much higher percentage of the children in large families die than of those in small families. In poor, crowded homes, the necessary security for mother and infant can only be secured by Birth Control knowledge on the part of the mother

WELL TO DO WOMEN, and those of the more thoughtful and intelligent artisan class, have acquired the necessary knowledge by the help of which they have controlled nature's inveterate desire for mere crude conception, and thus have been spared the loss and human agonies of the mother's heart torn by the sufferings of incessant pregnancies,* and the heart-rending pathos of puny and dying babies

It seems strange that England, so advanced and so considerate towards the manual laborers in many respects, should yet be so far behind Holland which started Birth Control Clinics in 1878. The Mothers' Clinic, in some respects on similar lines, differs from these in laying chief stress on the constructive side of other aspects of sex knowledge, in order to

*See the tragedies revealed in that little book 'Maternity Letters from Working Women'—Co-operative Guild 1915
increase the happiness of married life as well as decrease its miseries

It will also save the pitiful children from being unwanted

"I have learned the great lesson astounding to each in his turn life is not a thing to turn idly about in one's hands, to mould like putty, but something hard as rocks through which one has to fight his way, maddened by a dream"—Gestures in Ivory by H. H.

Have you ever looked deep into the heart of an unwanted child? It reflects all its mother's misery with an even tenderer, more helpless and incurable pathos

Right in their midst, open to all those who most sorely need it, the 'Mothers' Clinic' will bring to the unhappy not only knowledge of the power to quell nature's archaic fury of procreation, but also the knowledge of how to live in true love and happiness in marriage. This double work has a double blessing, both to every individual and to the race

HOW THE CLINIC CAME INTO BEING

THE TWO FOUNDERS of this Clinic, starting from positions so diverse as well could be, reached by very different routes the point where they clasped hands over their mission

Mr Humphrey Verdon Roe, after experience as a regular officer who went through the Siege of Ladysmith, left the army to control a business in one of the great industrial centres of the north. As an employer of labor he became increasingly aware that the pitiful miseries of the dwellers in the slum districts in which his factories were placed were, if examined critically, due with astonishing frequency to the broken strength of the poor involuntary parents, or to the feebleness of those who, as children, had been conceived when strength for their manhood was not in their mothers. The type of mind which made Mr Roe a pioneer in aviation made him ever inquire into fundamentals, and his inquiries swept aside one after another the superficial explanations, the false economics, the futile tinkering at the greatest of our racial and national problems. After attempts to rouse others whose duty and direct concern it seemed to be to open such clinics as the Mothers' Clinic, and meeting everywhere with lethargy, timidity or stupidity, Mr Roe offered a definite and guaranteed £1,000 a year for five years, and £12,000 in his will to one of the great northern Hospitals on condition that they would immediately found a Birth Control and Maternity Clinic. At the time Mr Roe was settling his affairs preparatory to active service in the Royal Flying Corps in France, so there was considerable possibility that the Hospital might have benefitted to the full extent at an early date. The Committee feared to embark on so novel a step, and the offer was therefore refused. Efforts to arouse other suitable bodies also failed to bring about any material result, and with deep regret Mr Roe had to leave the establishment of the Clinic in abeyance. In France he was wounded but not killed, and while thinking all the more of the subject was prevented from taking immediate action

DR MARIE CARMICHAEL STOPES (a doctor of Science, not Medicine) after a life devoted to scientific research and university lecturing in biology, had incidentally been prepared to take an interest in the social aspects of the biological problems of humanity by work in the collieries, and by much travel. Her conscious interest was aroused, and her eyes opened

(Concluded on page 15)



Drawing by Boardman Robinson

REST AT LAST!

"The State has no more right than the individual to ravish a woman against her will We are beginning to realize that if the State wants children it must make it agreeable to women to produce them"—HAVELOCK ELLIS

From Man to Superman

By Herman M Bernelot Moens

THE GREAT EVENTS of yesterday, the bloody wars whose manifold murders and mutilations were not only practiced but glorified in, should turn our thoughts to consider ways and means to end these terrible upheavals, caused by the ancient beast in man, and to restrain the brute force by wisdom and conscience

The way to make a permanent Improvement is through BROTHERHOOD AND BIRTH CONTROL

Humanity's salvation depends not on the quantity, but on the quality of those that are born into the world The ending of prejudices between races and nations, between creeds, casts and sects, can only be affected by the practice of universal brotherhood of humanity as the true religion

Anthropology, the study of mankind, can materially help us to attain this result and should serve a humanitarian end, as well as a scientific purpose

Though the majority of Anthropologists, in keeping with the scholastic teachings, have begun by assuming as an axiom the inequality of human races, they will have to evolutionize and adopt a more broadminded and many sided treatment of the subject

Now nation fights nation, and it seems inevitable that the struggle of race against race will follow, unless we develop a greater interest in each other, a fuller understanding, more friendly feelings, and a heartier co operation, to bring about the brotherhood of man, and render the conditions on our planet as favorable as possible and our earthly existence more worth while

WHEN A RACE thinks itself superior, it should make other races look up to it, but it should never demean its superiority by looking down upon the others The present conditions among the white race show that a superior race still has to be developed At any rate, at present where brute force, shot, shell, shrapnel, hypocrisy and injustice have to be more convincing than wisdom and conscience, the so called superiority of our white race makes but a poor impression on the philosophers of any race

The essence of natural philosophy will influence humanity with the result that men will become more Interested in all human beings, and shall all practice the Golden Rule "Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you"

In reality, we cannot draw a line at all between any of the races, neither does nature We should learn to understand the greatest and most serious truth, which is the oneness of all humanity Man is all men, and the future of humanity lies with men, who have the good physical and psychical qualities of all the human races

This 20th century does not show that the Caucasian race practices much philosophy and brotherhood neither among themselves, nor towards other races

A comparison of the average Caucasian conduct of the present day with the broad philanthropy and unselfishness of Buddha, who was born 2479 years ago, or with the doctrines about truth and justice of Confucius, who was born 2470 years ago, will award the palm of superiority to these Mongolians of nearly twenty five centuries ago

Besides the somatological classification of the Genus Homo, based solely on physical characteristics in the Etheopian race, the Mongolian race and the Caucasian race, with the numerous sub forms, we should accept also the classification based upon intelligence and character, as this gives especially those characteristics which are essentially human, namely

Uncivilized Man
Civilized man
Humanized Man
Cultured Man
Perfect Man

This classification offers the solution of the race problem in the United States and throughout the World

Lewd Thinkers

ACCORDING TO THE laws in 18 States as well as to Section 211 of the Criminal Code of the United States of America, the expressed views concerning Birth Control of the following thinkers would have been adjudged lewd, obscene, filthy, vile and indecent and would have been adjudged against the peace of the United States and their dignity

PLATO	JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN
ARISTOTLE	JOHN BURNS
ZENO	JOHN RUSKIN
BECCARIA	H G WELLS
VOLTAIRE	JOHN MORLEY
ROUSSEAU	AUGUSTE COMTE
MONTESQUIEU	EUGENE BRIEUX
JOHN STUART MILL	WM GRAHAM SUMNER
THOMAS HUXLEY	RÉMY DE GOURMONT
EMILE ZOLA	HELENE STOECKER
PAUL ADAM	ODA OLBERG
GUY DE MAUPASSANT	ELLEN KEY
GUSTAVE LE BON	IWAN BLOCH
ANATOLE FRANCE	HAVELOCK ELLIS
ROBERT G INGERSOLL	JOSEPH McCABE
RALPH WALDO EMERSON	GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

"The child of muery (is) baphzed in tears"—JOHN LANGHORNE

An American Woman's Visit to the League of Nations

By Florence Guertin Tuttle

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS is not dead, in spite of the United States Senate, "more feared by France than God," according to the recent utterance of a Frenchman, "and unfortunately nearer." The League of Nations is alive and functioning not only in a political sense, but also along humanitarian lines dear to the hearts of women.

This is the story of an American woman who went to visit the League of Nations to carry a great social message—a woman who had believed in the League principle and had worked for it even before the covenant became a reality. It is written now in the hope of bringing the League a little nearer to American women as a living actuality needing and challenging their co-operation.

The incentive of my visit came through the visit of another woman to the League. When I read, just before the departure of my husband and myself for Europe, that a woman had appeared before the Assembly of the League of Nations to present the subject of the international traffic in women for the League's consideration, and what is more, that she was granted a respectful hearing, I knew that I too must go to Geneva to present to the General Secretariat, Sir Eric Drummond, the subject that was uppermost in my mind as a fundamental of reconstruction—the subject of the control of expanding populations as one of the means of avoiding war. Everyone acknowledged that Germany's surplus population was one of the causes of the recent war. And now Japan was piling up just such another dangerous menace.

IT WAS AN EASY matter to obtain letters of introduction to Sir Eric Drummond, the League's General Secretariat. And I am sure that no letter from any other American could have insured for us a more cordial reception than the one from Mr. Raymond Fosdick, who had served as under secretary of the League, endearing himself to the entire Secretariat until the refusal of the Senate to ratify the treaty made it seem imperative for him to resign.

While we were resting at Nice, en route for Geneva, we read that Sir Eric Drummond and seventy secretaries had departed for Paris where the High Council was to sit in special session. We therefore changed our plans and our tickets and departed at once for Paris, anticipating our stay there by several days.

When we were able to get into touch with the League it was holding its closing session which we had the pleasure of attending. The Council convened in the Residence of the Senate, the Petit Luxembourg, through the courtesy of Mr. Leon Bourgeois, president of the Senate and representative member of the High Council from France.

The session was held in a small room with stately paneled walls and beautiful candelabras. When the members of the High Council filed in, taking their places simply at a long table, yet representing the mightiest nations of the world, as Americans we experienced a thrill but alas not one of pride. Article IV of the Covenant says that the Council shall be made up of nine members—the five great Powers and four smaller ones selected in rotation. Only eight men sat at this Council table. One country had left its altruism on the battlefield. America furnished the vacant chair.

THE PERSONNEL of the Council consisted of the allies of the war with the exception of the United States. Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium represented respectively by Arthur J. Balfour, Leon Bourgeois, Marquis and Paul Hymans, elected President of the League Assembly in Geneva. The other states were Japan, represented by Count Ishii, Spain a neutral, represented by Ambassador Quinones de Leon, Brazil, represented by da Cunha, and China, represented by Wellington Koo, the brilliant Chinaman, who has done so much to entrench his country in the League and who learned his political tactics in the United States.

There they were before us—men grown old in service each to his own country, men trained in the old devastating school of nationalism, yet willing to discard this outgrown principle for a new ideal—the compelling hes of internationalism—because there was nothing else in which to place faith, every bulwark of civilization having crashed in the collapse of 1914.

But if it was true that the Council was composed for the most part of elderly men trained in the old reliances, this was not true of the Secretariat—the "administrative nerve center" of the League. This is made up of 100 under secretaries drawn from over 20 nations whose purpose it is to do the research work and prepare the data for the Council and the Assembly. For the most part the Secretariat is composed of young men and women, full of faith and practical idealism, chosen for their work in the war, on the Peace Conference or in some international field. Nothing like this Secretariat has ever been known in history—a large body of different nationalities harmoniously working on entangling world problems—the Saar Valley, the free city of Dantzig, labor, economics, mandates, disarmament, typhus, the problem of international health and many other vital questions. It was inspiring to see these secretaries overflowing the rooms outside the Council Chamber, happily working at typewriters and desks, but never too busy to stop and be courteous. Thank God there were eager American faces in the company—college bred men and women, for the most part serving, not as representatives of their country, but

Go put your *creed into your deed, nor speak with double tongue*—EMERSON

unofficially as enthusiastic adherents of this new world ideal. This was one of the surprises of our visit—find America, not in her place at the head of the family of nations where she belonged but still represented unofficially by her brilliant children who realize as the gray beards in power cannot or will not realize, that the destiny of America is inseparable from the destiny of her fellow men.

THE COUNCIL was presided over by Da Cunha, of Brazil, who sat at the center of the table occupying the presidential chair through the principle of rotation by which this office is filled. He was clean cut, well groomed and looked like a bank president at a formal reception. On his right sat Leon Bourgeois, seventy years old, white haired and leonine. On the President's left sat Sir Eric Drummond, slim, athletic looking and astonishingly youthful, a fair haired more mature Prince of Wales.

We had presented our letters to Sir Eric Drummond and at the close of the session had the pleasure of meeting him. He greeted us cordially but regretted that as he was leaving for Geneva that afternoon he would be unable to appoint an hour for a conference. He invited us to go to Geneva where we could talk at leisure, but as we were starting for home in a few days, this was impossible. So I told him that I would put my errand in writing. I also expressed my great pleasure at having had the privilege of attending a session of the League of Nations and regretted that as the speeches had been made in French I had been unable to follow them confidently. He said that he would have an English translation made of the morning's activities and sent to our hotel. I demurred at putting even his secretaries to the performance of so great a task and thought that perhaps, in the hurry of departure, the suggestion might be overlooked. But when we returned to our hotel, later in the day, a generous, Leagueal looking envelope greeted me, a complete English translation of the morning's session.

The speech of Da Cunha, the Brazilian President of the Council is especially interesting. It took the form of a review of the work of the League since the first meeting of the Council, January, 1920, one year previously and breathes the spirit of international co operation.

BUT TWO REFERENCES were made in the address to the United States. The first was to the lonely man whom the people enthroned and then crucified, as they crucified Admiral Dewey and other one time idols.

"The Treaty of Versailles provided the League with an admirable constitution under the inspiration of the noble American President whose ideal, which superficial or reactionary critics have described as Utopian, is in my opinion, solidly based upon the most living realities of our time."

The second reference is found in his closing paragraph: "Perhaps you will allow your President to say in conclusion

that those of our friends who on the other side of the Atlantic, still hesitate to join our endeavors, will soon mingle with ours, not only their thoughts—which we well know are inspired by the same ideal—but also their powerful and generous action."

At this session we also had the pleasure of meeting Mr Arthur Sweetser, member of the American Peace Conference and of the Provisional Secretariat of the League, author of a fascinating little book called "The League of Nations at Work."

To Mr Sweetser we put the question "What was the greatest difficulty you found in establishing the League in Europe?"

His answer was immediate.

"To convince the nations that the League is not a super state—that it does not abrogate sovereignty. All decisions of the League must be unanimous and ever then may take the form only of recommendations to their countries. Congress alone of course may declare war."

AT THE END of this article will be found a letter from Mr Sweetser, received after my return to the United States and written in answer to my inquiry, "What is the League's greatest weakness?" It should be read by every American woman who loves her country and believes that its moral obligation to her allies did not end with the war.

After receiving such courteous treatment from members of the Council and Secretariat and realizing that here at least was the humanitarian Instrument for which women and social workers had been longing, an instrument designed to be the servant of all, it was not difficult for me to put into words the motive of my visit.

In the historic Hotel Crillon where the American Peace Conference had been housed, I wrote my message to Sir Eric Drummond. I told him that the group of women representing the Roman's Publishing Company of New York believed that the control and improvement of populations was the paramount subject of importance today, that expanding populations—"explosive populations," as Margaret Sanger calls them—had become a modern menace, that Japan on her tight little island, with a population increasing at the rate of 400,000 per year, was placing herself in Germany's condition which meant expansion or war, that what Japan needed was Birth Control, not battleships, that her people, except perhaps a few jingoes, did not wish war but desired a scientific control of the birth rate as was demonstrated by the great number of educated Japanese who visit our office, and by the fact that they had engaged Mrs. Sanger to write a series of articles for the Japanese newspapers.

I ASKED Sir Eric if there was a commission in the League to study populations and their control and pouted out Roland and New Zealand as examples of nations that have by a system of scientific Birth Control, eliminated many of their

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"But as he gazed on truth his aching eyes grew dim"—BYRON

Outline of Legislative Work at Albany

A LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE was formed by the Margaret Sanger group to push a measure or amendment effecting the present Birth Control laws in the State of New York

Professor McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University had drawn up an amendment to Section 1145. This was taken to him and his associates for confirmation and revision, and with the following draft the campaign work began

1145 Physicians instruments and information An article or instrument used or applied by physicians lawfully practicing or by their direction or prescription, for the cure or prevention of disease is not an article of indecent or immoral nature or use within this article. The supplying of such articles to such physicians or by their direction or prescription is not an offense under this article. The giving by a physician or registered nurse lawfully practicing of information or advice in regard to or the supplying to any person of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception, is not a violation of any provision of this article

Mrs. Kennedy of the Review staff, went to Albany early in January to interview the Assemblymen and find out their interest and information on the subject

THE CHAIRMAN of the Health Committee seemed the most logical and best informed man to approach and he was also a member of the medical profession. He stated his absolute opposition to the repeal or amendment of Birth Control laws and his determination to fight any such measure. His judgment was based on his country practice, naturally limited and disclaimed any experience with the congested districts of large cities

Several of the important men of the Assembly assured us of their approval of this class of legislation, but did not care to introduce the amendment

On a second visit to Albany, W. F. Clayton, of Brooklyn, expressed his approval and belief in the great benefit of such a measure and was thoroughly conversant with the desperate condition of increasing families, in the housing problem of Brooklyn. He would sponsor the amendment he said and wished to consult with Prof. Lindsay about the drafting of the Bill, which on revision the amendment read as follows

The giving by a physician licensed to practice to any person applying to him or her of information or advice in regard to or the supplying by such physician to any person applying to him or her, of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception, is not a violation of any provision of this article

After three weeks' delay and two more visits to Albany, on the same day Mr. Clayton said he would introduce the measure, a letter was received from him saying

I very much regret, but after consulting with some of the leaders of the Assembly, I have been strongly advised not to offer your bill

"I am told it would do me an injury that I could not overcome for some time. Now, while I am more or less in favor of your bill and if you can get someone else to favor it and they are able to get the bill out of committee, I am strongly inclined to think that I would be one to vote for it, providing it had a ghost of a show. I regret that I have had this bill so long, but I sincerely hope that my keeping the bill this length of time will not in any way prevent you from finding someone to introduce it."

THE REACTION from this was a return trip to Albany to find the intelligent and courageous man who would not be moved by party policies

Our next effort was to get sufficient and important backing from the medical profession of the State to influence Dr. Smith of the Assembly to sponsor the amendment. We did get the Health Board of the Academy of Medicine of New York City to endorse it. Doctors of national reputation wrote urging Dr. Smith to introduce it. Thousands of slips were signed urging the measure. The amendment, in the form of petitions, was signed by doctors, judges, economists, editors, department of health officials, nurses, settlement workers, prominent philanthropists, clubs and club women and many hundreds of voters in the State of New York. All this data was collected and presented as a background to the lawmakers. Dr. Smith refused on the ground of levity from his associates

Mrs. Sanger and the Committee approached Mr. Jesse, of New York, a very able and prominent member of the Assembly and also conversant with the righteous and urgent need of such legislation. He considered the question and finally decided that he could not sponsor the amendment. This decision was given to the Committee after he had consulted party leaders in New York.

Personally many of these law makers believe the measure of great benefit, but the party whip cuts too deeply for courageous action. The Session drew to a close without the introduction of this amendment. Many trips have been made to Albany by a number of individuals who gave their time and money to this effort. Effort has been continuous for three months. Every means has been used to get an introduction of this Bill at this Session.

Next year we feel assured there will be a man or woman courageous enough to place this measure for consideration before the Legislature. We will still strive and feel deeply grateful for the support we have had individually and collectively from the friends of this movement.

"This man's perdition to be safe, when for the truth he ought to die"—EMERSON

Book Reviews

A Review by Edw G Puke, A M

Assistant and Fellow Depr of Sociology, University of Michigan,
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WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE —By Margaret Sanger

"The most serious evil of our times," says Mrs Margaret Sanger in her book "Woman and the New Race," is that of uncouraging the bringing into the world of large families. The most immoral practice of the day is breeding too many children. And again, "Family limitation will always be practiced as it is now being practiced—either by birth control or by abortion. Contraceptives or Abortion—which shall it be?"

Thus Mrs Sanger sets the issue sharply. Overpopulation is an immoral practice. Mankind or rather womankind has always limited the size of the family when it became too large either by infanticide, abortion, or birth control. Infanticide is gone with savagery and barbarism, abortion is soon to follow, while in their wake advances scientific contraception, she declares.

'Woman and the New Race' is a far flung battle cry to newly enfranchised woman to use her political power to emancipate herself from the curse of unwanted children. "Birth Control," remarks its author, 'is a woman's problem. She thus accepts the challenge of the world that having been given political privileges woman use them for the betterment of humanity.'

All socially minded people of enlightenment, all those interested in the improvement of mankind and the progress of humanity will welcome "Woman and the New Race." It is an important contribution to the literature on the question of voluntary motherhood by one of its foremost American champions. It is written in a brilliant, interesting style. For so small a volume it is packed with vital facts. It cannot be read too widely.

The facts set forth in chapter II, Woman's Struggle for Freedom, are especially valuable in laying the foundation for the authors final question "Abortion or Contraceptives—Which Shall It Be?" It shows clearly that some form or other of family limitation is as old as the human race. Chapter IX, Continence—Is It Practicable or Desirable? is also of vital interest. Here Mrs Sanger masterfully disposes of that class of moralists who preach birth control thru conjugal abstinence. Her statement 'Few who advocate the doctrine of absolute continence live up to it strictly' is surcharged with truth. While the sentence 'Enforced continence is injurious—often highly so' should act as an extremely healthful tonic for the sex psychologists who laud sexual continence to the seventh heaven. The chapters on 'Will Birth Control Help the Cause of Labor?' and 'The Cause of War' should prove provocative of serious thought to Labor Leaders and those interested in world peace. The chapter 'New Morality' is very stimulating, while that on 'Legislation' gives a brief review of the legal status of Birth Control in this country. Finally the chapter 'Birth Control Clinics' sets forth clearly the need of such clinics to make birth restriction really effective.

As mentioned before, Mrs Sanger has made a valuable contribution to the literature on family limitation. We cannot but feel, however, that she overstates some points and overlooks others. For instance it is extremely doubtful if the removal of legal obstacles to the free dissemination of voluntary motherhood information would result in the same degree of family limitation by the poor and defective classes as is now practiced by the upper ones. This is indicated by the conditions in England where since 1876 there have been no hindering legal barriers. The lower classes are the very ones most needing family limitation. To obtain a salutary restriction of children in the poor and defective groups

actual instruction in contraceptive methods and the creation of a social atmosphere frosty to reckless child bearing will be required. The word proletarian means the "maker of children" and it seems that function, being one much used, has acquired a much stronger hold upon the proletarian mass than upon the other strata of society.

Moreover, two other points should be mentioned in this connection—child labor and compulsory education. If children are kept from gainful labor until they are sixteen years old and if they are compelled to attend school up to that age, the chief economic value of offsprings to their parents is abolished. Children then become an economic loss rather than a gain. Heretofore and yet today children are economically valuable to the poorer classes in the cities and to the farmers in the rural districts. With offsprings expensive beings, their number will decrease and their care and opportunities increase.

The increase of individual opportunity within the social whole is one of the best criteria of a progressive civilization. In the United States today one of the most urgent needs is the curtailment of the size of families by the poor and working classes. In many ways this is a prerequisite to the raising of the standard of living of those classes. It becomes the duty of all persons desiring social progress and advancement to get behind the movement for scientific Birth Control and see that it is brought into effective use among the foregoing classes. Unfortunately, heretofore, sociologists, social workers, economists and those interested in social progress have been lukewarm in their advocacy of family limitation. They can wipe out that had record only by lending their full support to this movement in the future.

A Review by Harold Hersey

'WOMEN AND CHILDREN'—by Hugh de Selincourt London
Leonard Parsons Publisher, February, 1921

I have always felt that there are various planes of feeling that bridge time. Certain minds, creative or otherwise, reach these planes through the laws of natural selection. There is no power in heaven or on earth that will place a mind on a plane where it does not belong. True for a brief hour it may dance perilously near the higher ones—even along the edge—but sooner or later it will only be a maniac dancing in the sun and a bored world will turn away disillusioned. Needless to say, these planes are governed by their own laws, their own backgrounds, their own possibilities as creative makers. The lower ones being within reach of the mass undergo affected changes. Alien hands reach in and have their effects. The higher one goes, the less able are these strange paws to mess about. A few elementals standing on tiptoe, so to speak, are able to do damage.

These lower planes change with the times. As we go up the scale however, we find ourselves in clarifying atmospheres that are only affected by the individuals that walk there in loneliness and power. As with the attributes of a Spinoza, so with these planes—we are only conscious of a few. We put Goethe, Dante and Shakespeare, in the highest because so far as we know they are unalterable through the ages. They have obeyed standards of aesthetics and lived up to them with such amazing facility that no age, no century or series of centuries can govern or control. The generations to come will meet them, eye to eye, and understand. And in the meanwhile, it is a sign of life and vitality that the lower planes are swerving and changing and moving. Their very malleability is a sign that the lower strata is furnishing rough material from whence rare manifestations of the higher will blossom forth. It is all interesting as a theory. At any rate, it serves as an explanation of certain things.

"Is not marriage an open question, when it is alleged, from the beginning of the world, that such as are in the institution wish to get out, and such as are out wish to get in?" — EMERSON

It is only uttering truth to say that a mind like that of de Selincourt could only occupy one of the highest of these planes. To feel anything else, to believe anything else, would only be denial of facts. The very material of his intellectual sympathies is woven out of the purest form of beauty—and we can never get away from the fact that beauty is always truth. This man could no more handle an unbeautiful idea than he could be false to an ideal. This is not denying as a natural corollary that his understanding of beauty exists parallel to his ability to interpret it. And we are admitting a great deal. In this case the writer of the review has not only had the privilege of reading much of his published matter but a number of manuscripts as well. He has yet to find a moment where loyalty to truth and beauty is not triumphantly in evidence.

Women and Children is a novel that opens on one of these higher planes of creative value, and closes on a still higher one. It is as though his first use of a tuning fork of aesthetics golden clear in itself, only half satisfied his sensitive ear. He must needs find a sweeter, a clearer note and he does find it.

One does not approach a hook of this kind with an outline of the story. The four or five characters that make it a living work of art require no story to link them together except in a conventional mind—they are life itself. Henry Charlote, Agnes Renan, Hubert Bonner Augusta and then the pathetic Jenkins—that instrument of fate that links these four destinies into one complete aesthetic whole. I shall not attempt in these few words to weigh them as I would like to. I can only say that a reading of Women and Children is like a journey through sunlight and flowers after wading through darkness in the barest of human emotions. We meet these people in their innermost hearts. We understand how Henry could be given the glory of Agnes and then turn with the gift in his open hands to bequeath it to Hubert—poor Hubert who in this novel at least but only half understood the golden light that spread around him in a flame. We can visualize the attack that Jenkins made and the near approach to death that Agnes suffered at his murderous hands. Henry's saving her at the psychological time is only a moment in time but the night that follows is a dream of eternity. There can be nothing so beautiful as where Agnes drops her cloak like a suddenly opened flower that its sweetness might bring color and life into the heart of Henry Charlote. And then the amusing backwardness of Hubert and superb understanding of Agnes when she takes her gift at Henry's bidding to another's life. Would that more men who returned from the carnage, bruised and beaten, could have made the discovery that Hubert made in that final chapter. And we close the book with the feeling that in the arms of Agnes he will learn love at its source. But lying in those arms of hers one finds it difficult to detach the personality of Henry.

I cannot recommend more heartily a recent English hook. This one stands forth because it dares to deal with people and their love lives—a rare manifestation in the welter of Anglo-Saxon morality. It stands forth because in the most sacred moments one is conscious of the deft tender hands of the creative spirit behind them—as though he has transplanted them bodily into his book from life. And this must be so, if I may be allowed a surmise. These people are living in the world—whether in his book, alone, or outside as well, I do not know—but living they are and vitally. The hook stands out again for its simplicity of style—its delicacy of vision—its clearness of manner. This book is born a grande dame as an Austrian princess at the Tuileries once remarked to the Countess of Montijo then the wife of the Little Napoleon (as rumor has it). It is of the blood royal because it becomes of a long ancestry of living close to beauty and truth. And I must be pardoned by a hard case-hardened public for slipping into a mad Victorian style as I write of a truly big book—I can only answer that it is saying something for any book that with the rush of work now before me, I can fall into any form of style at all.

A Visit to the League of Nations

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unfit, decreased poverty and unproved the individual standard, and that the draft during the late war showed that both those countries had more men fit to fight than any other countries in the conflict.

I also sent him scientific literature which I had taken with me and offered to cooperate with the League by republishing anything the League had published on the subject of population in our Birth Control Magazine which has a circulation of 10,000 and goes to China, India and Japan.

Since my return I have had an acknowledgement from Sir Eric Drummond as follows:

League of Nations,
Geneva, 9th March. 1921

Societe des Nations

Dear Mrs Tuttle

I beg to thank you for your two letters and am grateful to you for the two publications which you sent me, which I look forward to reading with a great interest.

I am so sorry that my engagements in Paris prevented our having a talk. I need not say that I shall not forget your kind offer, on behalf of the Woman's Publishing Company, of cooperation with the League. We have no information here to send you with regard to the subject of expanding populations, but I am interested in what you tell me.

Hoping that I may have the pleasure of seeing you at a later date I am,

Yours very truly,

Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle
14 East 60th Street
New York City

ERIC DRUMMOND

AND NOW, finally, what was accomplished by this little international visit, humbly impersonal on one side, that makes it worthy of recording?

First, I believe a great subject—Birth Control—has been placed before the General Secretariat of a great body and an entering wedge for the introduction of other data has been effected into the very heart of the League itself. Already Mrs Sanger's book, "Woman and the New Race," has been dispatched to Sir Eric Drummond, with a note saying that 25,000 copies have been sold here within three months—a phenomenal record. This book should be followed, I feel, by the appearance of Mrs Sanger herself, before the Assembly meeting next September in Geneva, since no one else could present this subject of the need of watching the birth rate with so much beauty, dignity and conviction.

To send Margaret Sanger to Geneva to speak before the League of Nations I believe would have two very definite results. First it should lead to the formation of a Commission to study the question of populations and Mrs Sanger might well be asked to serve on this commission which must naturally be made up of experts, and in the second place, the effect upon public opinion in this country of such a visit to the League would be exceedingly salutary.

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"The faith that stands on authority is not faith"—EMERSON

"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God"—From President Jefferson's papers, found after his death

Again, the little visit to the League proves, I believe that the League needs the **interest** and **cooperation** of women even as women need a **vehicle** of endeavor like the League to promote **their humanitarian aims**. As I said in the beginning, the League is not merely a **political instrument**, a world court, a well oiled legal mechanism. It is a humane **viaduct** possessing untold possibilities for carrying remedial social measures. It cannot function, however, unless **behind it is the urge**, the strong support of an **Interested public opinion**. And for this urge and for this support, the League must largely depend upon the staunch loyalty of women.

THAT WOMEN may accomplish large humanitarian ends through an appeal to the League is proved by the fact that the League has already scheduled a conference on the **International Traffic in women** for June, largely because women have asked for it. It should be a matter of **pride** also to **American women** to know that an **American woman**—Miss M. F. Wilson—has been chosen librarian of the League, and that Miss Sara Wambaugh of Cambridge, author of an **important work on Plebesutes**, had the distinction of being one of the four under **secretaries** of the League during an absence of some months of Mr. Gilchrist. Also that a **Swedish woman**—Madame Bugge Micksell—has been included in the Mandates Commission of eight at the request of various women's organizations from all parts of the world.

It would seem to be true, therefore, that women are needed in the realm of **international politics** and that the League of Nations offers them a **practical bridge of opportunity**. What are the **American women** going to do to span this bridge? The **negative position** is no longer tenable. A **positive plan** for foreign relationships must be formulated with the **ethical aspirations** of women—one half the **enfranchised people**—included.

To say that **America will have nothing to do with** the League of Nations is like **Jupiter** saying that **it will have nothing to do with** the solar system, or the heart **telling** the adjacent **organs** that **it will not be a part of the human organism**. We are in the great world system of nations whether we **acknowledge it** or not and acted upon by the same inexorable laws. And at present we are the heart of the world **organism** because we happen to hold in our **possession** the wealth and the health of nations. The **veins** of the world body are **sagging, emasculated with the long drain of war**. Only **America can revivify this weary organism** by sending her own red blood coursing through these old world **arteries**, giving them new life and health. Until **American women** see this truth and work to have their country accept her solemn **responsibility** at the Council table of nations, a **Council** already **laboriously organized**, already **humanely functioning**, they must prepare to live in world chaos. To delay is to play like children at **Blindman's Bluff**—to flirt merely with world stability while the forces of **disintegration** eat at the **nation's vitals**.

The danger to America lies not in going into the League of Nations. The danger lies entirely in staying out.

Societe des Nations
MY DEAR MRS TUTTLE

League of Nations
Geneva, March 14 1921

It was most kind of you to send flowers to Mrs Sweetser at the Crillon and to ante me your kind note of March 5th. I am sorry that it was necessary for us to leave Paris so immediately after the Council meeting as a matter of fact I had a great deal of work to do in Geneva and felt it essential to return.

As regards your question as to the greatest weakness of the League there can be no doubt in the world as to what it is namely the attitude of the United States and this attitude must be interpreted from two points of view first negative, and second positive.

The negative viewpoint is what you might call the mere result of America's abstention. Of course the United States is at the moment the richest and the most powerful nation in the world, and by favor of geographical circumstances the most able to be disinterested. She has achieved through the war a reputation for idealism which is perfectly tremendous so that her voice counts to an even greater degree than her power would indicate.

It was always thought that America would be the great balance wheel of the League or indeed of any Association of Nations. She is full of life and is free from the petty racial disputes and difficulties which face the European countries is untouched by the war and can afford to be broadly disinterested. Consequently, her mere moral power uns looked upon as a great regulator in the difficult affairs that would come up.

But owing to the political dispute at home the United States has withdrawn lock stock, and barrel. We are off every commission, and out of every conference. We take no part in any decisions that are being made, yet in some of them such as mandates and reparations, we still claim or possess a power of veto. The situation, as you can imagine is almost impossible and cannot I believe last very long, especially as I do not think the American people either have the desire or can afford to see Europe continue drifting on into chaos.

The second result, namely what might be called the positive result is that the opposition of the United States to the League has been used by all the forces working against international cooperation as their strongest weapon. They can say with the best of reason that if a great Democracy like the United States refuses to go into the League, that in itself is a condemnation which should make all other nations wary. Whenever League action is proposed, whether it be a project like the Permanent Court, or relief of typhus in Poland or anything of that nature, the various reactionary elements in the different countries always seek to find some other way of encompassing it than through the League largely on the ground that any kind of League of Nations is impossible without the United States. As you can appreciate, this means that there is a certain disintegrating force eating into the theory of international cooperation which will have the most disastrous effect even if Senator Harding's Association of Nations were called into being. For such cooperation is a thing of the spirit as much as of politics and if the spirit is shaken by constant narrow attacks by interested parties on this side of the water, it is going to be a very difficult thing to restore, short of the stimulating influence of another war.

As regards admitting Germany and Russia, I think that every one agrees that that is absolutely essential to the future of the League. The League indeed is not so much a League opposed to something as an all inclusive society. So long as two great states remain outside, it will always be merely partial. But the time of admission of Germany

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"Give us men to do the deeds of dreams" — H. H.

Birth Control Clinic in London*(Continued from page 6)*

to the urgency of the proper dissemination of sound Birth Control knowledge by an incident which, never to be forgotten, flamed through her heart early in her academic career. One of her own students had been assisting the doctor in dealing with out patients at a hospital, and a woman had brought in a miserable little baby, which wailed all the time and which the mother explained wouldn't put on any flesh or grow into a nice, healthy baby whatever she did with it. The mother, with tears in her eyes, made an intensely earnest appeal to the doctor to tell her what was, to her, unaccountably wrong with the infant. She said this was her fourth, and the others had all died when they were very little. The doctor put her off with some soothing platitudes, but the woman driven to despair said "I believe there's something wrong with my man. If there's something wrong with my man I won't have babies no more—it's just cruel to see them miserable like this and have them dying one after the other. Won't you, for God's sake, tell me whether there's anything wrong with my man or not?" This appeal was met by the assurance that there was nothing wrong, and she should go on having babies and do her duty by her husband. The medical woman student said that it was glaringly obvious that the baby was syphilitic.

THAT NOT ONLY such ill-fated mothers, but that all mothers, should be freed from the appalling slavery of unwilling and undesired motherhood, became a conviction so intense as to necessitate action. Dr Stopes realized with the astonishment that youth always feels towards the cruelty of its elders, that although the knowledge of Birth Control has been freely circulating in our country for very many years, it has been available chiefly for the educated and the well-to-do. The really poor, the utterly thriftless, the Ignorant and miserable have been shut out from such knowledge. They, of all others, most need it, and, as they know not where to go for it, Dr Stopes determined that it should be brought to them. But she did not rush into action unpreparedly. The incident leading to what might almost be called her "conversion" happened in 1906. By 1914 her now famous book "Married Love" was written, although she did not wish it to be published then, and it was not given to the Press till 1918.

In 1915 Mrs Margaret Sanger, who had by this time taken strenuous action for the foundation of Birth Control Clinics in America, came to England seeking the help of Europeans in her fight against the reactionaries in America. She met Dr Stopes, who, as a result of the friendship then formed, prepared and sent the following letter to President Wilson, signed by several distinguished persons—

To The President of the United States
White House,
Washington D C

September, 1915

SIR

We understand that Mrs Margaret Sanger is in danger of criminal prosecution for circulating a pamphlet on birth problems. We, therefore, beg to draw your attention to the fact that such work as that of Mrs Sanger receives appreciation and circulation in every civilized country except the United States of America, where it is still counted as a criminal offence.

We in England passed, a generation ago, through the phase of prohibiting the expressions of serious and disinterested opinion on a subject of such grave importance to humanity and in our new to suppress any such treatment of vital subjects is detrimental to human progress.

Hence not only for the benefit of Mrs Sanger, but of humanity, we respectfully beg you to exert your powerful influence in the interests of free speech and the betterment of the race.

We beg to remain Sir

Your humble servants,

(Signed by) PERCY AMES LL.D., F.S.A. Sec., Roy Soc. Liter. London
WILLIAM ARCHER Dramatic Critic and Author
LENA ASHWELL Actress Manager
ARNOLD BENNETT Author and Dramatist
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MARIE C STOPES D.Sc. Ph.D. Fellow and Lecturer U
Coll., London
H. G. WELLS B.Sc. J.P., Novelist

IN THE COVERING letter to President Wilson, Dr Stopes said—

Have you, Sir, visualized what it means to be a woman whose every fibre whose every muscle, and blood capillary is subtly poisoned by the secret ever growing horror more penetrating more long drawn than any nightmare of an unwanted embryo developing beneath her heart? White men stand proudly and face the sun boasting that they have quenched the wickedness of slavery. What chains of slavery are, have been or ever could be so intimate a horror as the shackles on every limb on every thought on the very soul of an unwillingly pregnant woman? And you have thousands of such slaves in your free United States many of them honored wives, forced to stumble through nine months of nightmare for want of the scientific knowledge which every grown man and woman has a right to have. And does the State benefit by the numerous births of the poor and ignorant classes? In the slums women often have nine or ten or more births or still births, and yet of these only two or three offspring reach a feeble maturity. The State therefore not only loses the four or five healthy children the woman might have had but also suffers the costly drain of her ill health and weakness and the reduction of her working power due to the useless births. The only people who benefit are the undertakers.

'I pray that you, Sir, may be instrumental, not only in rescuing Mrs. Sanger a tender and sensitive mother from injustice but also that you will hasten the establishment of a new era for the white race when it may escape the sapping of its strength and the diseases which are the results of too frequent child birth by over worn or horror stricken mothers.'

Early in 1918 Mr H. V. Roe and Dr Marie Stopes were introduced, and, discovering this mission and other deep

"Against stupidity the very gods themselves contend in vain"—SCHILLER

mutual interests, joined forces in this, as in all other of life's undertakings

IMMEDIATELY THE WAR was over, recognizing that novel enterprises are the proper work of individuals and not of established bodies, they decided to waste no more time in urging others to start the first Birth Control Clinic, but to establish one immediately themselves, in order that its success might make it easy for others to arise all over the country. The unexpected difficulty of housing accommodation hindered the immediate materialization of their Clinic, but at last, at the close of 1920, a suitable house was obtained at No 61, Marlborough Road, Holloway, London, N, and on Thursday, 17th March, 1921, the Clinic was first opened.

Some distinguished people have kindly lent their names as Patrons to indicate the deep interest felt in very various quarters in a scheme of such racial moment, but no one has been asked for any financial aid. The two founders feel privileged to take entirely upon themselves the initiation of a work so calculated ultimately to save untold expense to the whole Community as well as untellable misery to individuals.

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State of New York County of New York ss

Before me a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Margaret Sanger who having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that she is the Editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership management etc of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of August 24 1912 embodied in section 443 Postal Laws and Regulations printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

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MARGARET H SANGER Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of March 1921

[SEAL]

JACK G KARPF

(My commission expires March 30 1923)

A Visit to the League of Nations

(Concluded from page 14)

and Russia a more difficult problem. The former is having a very hard time at the moment, and the latter is still considered by the majority of people as outside the pale. However I think that the League of Nations in so far as it has a distinct personality is more in favor of the admission of Germany and Russia than any of the bigger nations today.

I should be very glad indeed to hear from you at any time on any question about the League. There are a great many people in the United States now who are writing me occasionally as to difficulties arising out of their discussions of the League, and if I can be of service to you in this matter, I shall be more than happy to do so.

Meantime I am sending you a little Summary I have just prepared of the last session of the Council at Paris which I think will give you a little idea of the general work of the League which seems to me to divide into the two elements of building up a cooperative Association of Nations and of carrying out some of the major humanitarian tasks of the world of today.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR SWEETSER

Mrs Tuttle,
14 East 60th Street
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Of course, we hoped for good results from our special announcements in various periodicals like *The Liberator*, *The Natzon*, *The New Republic*, *The New York Call*, *The Survey*, *Reconstruction*, and *The Appeal to Reason*. But we never even dreamed that the orders would simply pour in. In the language of our office boy, it has been a "knock out." Every train that went through the little town of Girard, Kansas, had to stop for ten or even fifteen minutes to take on our outgoing parcel post mail. (Oh, how the mail clerks did grumble!) We feel so encouraged over the reception accorded our books that we have decided to let the readers of other magazines have a chance to purchase these fine little volumes at only 10 cents per copy.

We have arranged to have the announcement printed to the right on this page appear in mediums like *Current Opinion*, *Nautilus*, *Leslie's*, *St Louis Post Dispatch*, *Boycott's Weekly*, *The Chicago Ledger*, *Kansas City Star*, *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*, *New York Times*, *The Forum*, and many other publications of national circulation. The best we could do was to arrange for insertions late in April or early in May. For that reason we have decided to extend our sale only 30 days more—up to June 1—in order to give a greater public a chance to find out what a wonderful hook buy the *Appeal* has waiting for lovers of genuine literature. And that being the case we decided it was only fair to let the readers of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW* have a chance at this amazingly popular offer. This is positively your last chance. When we get through with this sale we will have so many new customers that we will have all we can do to fill their orders. Meanwhile, we are proud to say that our staff of 52 workers get all books in the mails 24 hours after orders get on our files.

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