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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

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Official Organ of
THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

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IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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GERMANY (1889)—Sozial Harmonische Verein Secretary, Herr M Hausmeister, Stuttgart Periodical, *Die Soziale Harmonie*

FRANCE (1895)—G Hardy, 29 Rue Pixerecourt, Paris Periodical, *Generation Consciente*

SPAIN (1904)—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana Secretary, Senor Luis Bulffi, 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 des Eaux Vives, Geneva. Periodical, *La Vie Intime*

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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*

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Archbishop Hayes and who was
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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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VOL V

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No 12

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL V

DECEMBER, 1921

No 12

Birth Control To create a race of thoroughbreds

Church Control?

THE SUPPRESSION of the Town Hall meeting on November 13th by the New York Police, acting, according to our evidence, under the direct orders of Patrick J. Hayes, archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, has had the invaluable effect of revealing and exposing the source of the opposition to the Birth Control movement in this country. It has, to a certain extent at any rate, brought the battle into the open. It has shown up the sinister control of the Roman Catholic Church, which attempts—and to a great extent succeeds—to control all questions of public and private morality in these United States. This accusation has been made against the church thousands of times—but not until the eventful night of November 13, 1921, have these sinister and unscrupulous powers been “caught in the act.”

All who resent this sinister Church Control of life and conduct—this interference of the Roman Church in attempting to dictate the conduct and behavior of non Catholics, must now choose between Church Control or Birth Control. You can no longer remain neutral. You must make a declaration of independence, of self reliance, or submit to the dictatorship of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This is a dictatorship of celibates who presume to decide on the morality of a question upon which they professedly have had and cannot have any basis of experience.

The public of New York and of the whole country deeply resent this dictatorship, now exposed to the full light of day by the clumsy and stupid tactics of Hayes and Dineen. In so undignified and reprehensible a light did the distinguished archbishop find himself by the frank exposure of the news papers, by letters and editorial protest, that he was forced to make an open statement.

IT IS NOT mere conjecture, this underhand assumption of authority on the part of the church officials. In a news story printed after the collapse of the case against Mrs. Sanger and Miss Window, The New York Times made the flat and unqualified statement that Archbishop Hayes had instigated the disgraceful raid on the Town Hall.

“The police suppression of the Birth Control meeting at the Town Hall Sunday night, which culminated in the arrest of two of the speakers after they had refused to leave the stage, was brought about at the instance of Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes of this Roman Catholic diocese,” asserted the Times.

“The first complaint about the meeting, it was admitted at

the archepiscopal residence in Madison Avenue, was made at the Archbishop's direction to Police Headquarters by telephone some time before the meeting, and Mgr. Joseph P. Dineen, the Archbishop's secretary, went to the Town Hall before the meeting to meet Police Captain Thomas Donohue of the West Forty seventh Street station. Captain Donohue, it was learned, did not know why he had been sent to the Town Hall until he met the Monsignor there.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger and Mary Winsor, who were arrested at the meeting when they attempted to speak, by the order of Captain Donohue, were discharged by Magistrate Joseph E. Corrigan for lack of evidence.

When Mgr. Dineen was told by reporters that persons who had attended the meeting had recognized him he said: “I was present from the start. The Archbishop had received an invitation from Mrs. Margaret Sanger to attend the meeting and I went there as his representative. The Archbishop is delighted and pleased at the action of the police, as am I, because it was no meeting to be held publicly and without restrictions.”

“I need not tell you what the attitude of the Catholic Church is toward so called ‘Birth Control.’ What particularly aroused me, when I entered the hall, was the presence there of four children. I think any one will admit that a meeting of that character is no place for growing children.”

“Decent and clean minded people would not discuss a subject such as Birth Control in public before children or at all. The police had been informed in advance of the character of the meeting. They were told that this subject—this plan which attacks the very foundations of human society—was again being dragged before the public in a public hall. The presence of these four children at least was a reason for police action.”

Mgr. Dineen was asked whether or not the Archbishop would personally discuss his reasons for urging police intervention. He replied: “The Archbishop may make a statement setting forth his attitude in the near future. I repeat that the attitude of the Catholic Church is well known, through pamphlets and brochures made public when this matter came up before. These were written by eminent theologians, who set forth the age old doctrine of the Church, explaining fully that the Roman Catholic Church could have no sympathy with this so called movement, so similar as it is to a practice which is against the law of every civilized country.”

Asked whether representatives of the Archbishop had got in touch with Commissioner Enright direct, Mgr. Dineen said: “The proper police officials were informed.” The instructions from Police Headquarters to Captain Donohue, it was learned from another source, were merely to go to the Town Hall and “look for Mgr. Dineen, who had made a complaint about a Birth Control meeting.”

DESPITE MGR DINEEN'S statement that "decent and clean minded people" would not discuss Birth Control in public, Archbishop Hayes made a public statement for the press, a statement too stereotyped in its mildewed argument to bear repetition. Its weakness was pointed out in the *New York World*, which editorially added its voice to the universal protest against "Church Control" of morality.

Archbishop Hayes' protest against the discussion of Birth Control consists of two paragraphs of protest followed by a column long presentation of his own side of the case. This is as it should be in a democracy. Birth Control is an issue like any other issue and an Archbishop has the same right possessed by other citizens of the community to state his view of the matter. He has placed his opinions, his authorities and his arguments fairly before the people of the city, and it is the right of those who agree with him to say so, the right of those who disagree to reply.

"My protest," says Archbishop Hayes, "is made in the name of ten national organizations of women with a combined membership of nearly a million, as well as in the interest of thousands of other indignant women and distressed mothers who are alarmed at the daring of the advocates of Birth Control in bringing out into an open, unrestricted, free meeting a discussion of a subject that simple prudence and decency, if not the spirit of the law, should keep within the walls of a clinic or only for the ears of the mature and the experienced." But Archbishop Hayes is not a clinic, nor will his argument against Birth Control be read only by the mature and experienced. By making a public appeal he has himself recognized that the morality of Birth Control must be settled in the open.

In the long run there is but one way to settle any question of morality, and that is by public opinion formed through honest discussion. Birth Control will stand or fall not by the word of one man or one organization but by the consensus of belief at which the country arrives after threshing over the arguments of both sides.

It might be asked in the first place who ordered the raid. Somebody now in office has taken it upon himself to revoke the Constitution in this city. The act is sufficiently important to warrant a demand for his name.

"Free speech has its dangers," says an editorial in America, a leading Catholic review, "but its alternative is fraud, plunder and oppression." This does not mean free speech that can pass a censorship of patrolmen and municipal officers, but free speech as it comes from the mouths of people who have something to say. There are certain legal limits to what may be legally said in public. The police should know them and stick to them, or take the consequences of their own lawlessness.

THE THEOLOGICAL argument on sex made by this powerful Catholic celibate was answered immediately. Quoted by the *Tribune*, Mrs Sanger pointed out:

"I agree with the Archbishop that a clinic is the proper place to give information on Birth Control. I wish, however, to point out the fact that there are two sides to the subject under consideration—the practical information as distinct from a theoretical discussion. The latter rightly may be discussed on the public platform and in the press, as the Archbishop, himself, has taken the opportunity to do. The object of the American Birth Control League is twofold—to arouse public discussion on the theoretical issue as well as to establish clinics where practical information may be given to mothers through the medical profession.

"I agree with Archbishop Hayes when he states that the feeble minded and physically and mentally unfit should not be allowed to propagate their kind. The laws of this country do not permit of such restrictions. The enormous amount spent by private and public charities to take care of those unfit is a tremendous indorsement for Birth Control and the statement of the Archbishop.

"The inference is often made by our opponents that the genius is born at the end of a large family, usually the eleventh or twelfth, or, as quoted by the Archbishop, the fifteenth child (Franklin). If the Archbishop will recall his Bible history he will find that some of the most remarkable characters were the first children, and often the only child, as well. For instance:

"Isaac, in whose seed all the nations were to be blessed, was an only child, born after long years of preparation. Sarah, his mother, was a beautiful, talented woman, whose counsel was highly valued. Isaac's only children were twins—Jacob, the father of all Israel, and Esau. Isaac's wife, Rebecca, was also a lovely woman of fine character. Joseph, the child of Rachel, was born late in her life, and she had but one other child. Samuel, who judged Israel for forty years, was an only child, born after years of prayer and supplication on the part of Hannah. John the Baptist was an only child and his parents were well along in years when he was born."

Officers of the American Birth Control League said: "Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by church and state to produce large families. Many of the children thus begotten are diseased and feeble minded, many become criminals."

IN LETTERS published by the *Evening Post* and the *Globe*, Henry T. Price pointed out the insult offered to the entire American public by this insolent and arrogant dictatorship of the Roman Catholic Church.

New York newspapers seem to be almost a unit in the belief that freedom of speech is a myth in this city, and that constitutional safeguards are a delusion.

But why pick on the police? Every tree brings forth fruit after his kind. And is it not a bit inconsistent for a newspaper to deplore an effort to interfere with a free expression of opinion while carefully protecting by its silence the authority that applies the gag?

There is not a newspaper sanctum in New York the person in charge of which is so ignorant that it does not know Police Captain Donoghue acted Sunday night in response not to an order from the police authority of New York, but in response to a request from the Cathedral at Fiftieth Street and Fifth Avenue.

The archbishop of this archdiocese has become not only a volunteer administrator of civil law but a legislator as well, for that he had decreed an inhibition against the open discussion of a question of morals.

"The ecclesiastic himself from the very nature of his office discusses questions of morals without let or hindrance. Does the incident at the town hall indicate that there can no longer be a question when the Catholic Church has made a dogma of one end of the argument? And by what right is discussion limited only to those academic subjects which do not question one way or another the teachings of the church? This polyglot of many nationalities and many religions is shamed when it permits the representative of a particular sect to direct its social and civic activities.

THE NEW REPUBLIC likewise recognizes the sinister influence of the officials of the Roman Catholic Church in instigating the illegal raid on Town Hall

Once more the present administration of New York has arbitrarily withdrawn the right of assembly, affirms the *New Republic*. A group of citizens had engaged the Town Hall for the evening of November 13th, for the purpose of hearing a distinguished English publicist and others discuss the subject of Birth Control. Under orders from police headquarters the speakers were not allowed to enter the hall, and when after a considerable time it was opened to them they were forbidden to speak, hustled from the platform, and haled before a police magistrate on the charge of disorderly conduct. Such disorder as occurred was of course excited by the police themselves. Apparently the battle for free speech on Birth Control, so bravely won by Margaret Sanger, has to be fought over again. The New York papers generally attribute the present interference with civic rights to the Roman Catholic Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes. It is hoped that sponsors for the meeting will take steps to make public the secret influence in response to which the police acted, and further to make their behavior a case of civil suit for false arrest.

IS THIS CHURCH CONTROL to be extended in all directions? This is the suggestion that alarms another correspondent of the *Times*.

Upon what authority can the police come into a peaceable and orderly meeting and order it to disperse, when nothing, absolutely nothing, had been said or done against the law? Are we to be subject to the whims and fancies, to the arbitrary opinion of a policeman or an Archbishop's secretary as to what we may talk about or discuss? It seems some Monsignor telephoned to the police "to go and stop the meeting," and so they went. Does that mean that the opinions of New Yorkers

are to be censored by any church or by any group of people who are especially sensitive and positive about what's "right" and "wrong"?

Another protest, voicing the spirit of millions of citizens of a country founded upon the belief in religious, political and moral freedom, is printed by the *Times*.

I notice in this morning's *Times* that the police raid on the Birth Control meeting in the Town Hall was on the "Archbishop's order." I desire respectfully to protest against this reported action of the Roman Catholic Archbishop in using the city police to break up a meeting. I express no opinion of the merits of Birth Control or of its public discussion. I only know that before the meeting had come to order it was ruthlessly broken in upon by an ecclesiastical order. That it should be done by a Church authority is so subversive of the independence of Church and State in this country as to be absolutely intolerable.

This protest is not in any sense against any particular religious body. It would be the same if it had been a Presbyterian or a Methodist body.

AN OFFICIAL resolution of protest,—proposed by Robert McC. Marsh was only passed by the conference committee of the American Birth Control League.

"Resolved, That this meeting expresses, in the most emphatic terms, indignation at the outrageous action of the police in closing the mass meeting on Sunday night, especially in view of the statements that the action of the police was taken at the direction of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. It was the unanimous sentiment of the meeting that every possible step ought to be taken to obtain redress for what occurred and to insure against its repetition, so that lawful and proper discussion of the Birth Control movement may proceed unhampered."

An Explanation

By Arthur Guiterman

WHEN I WAS a boy and I went to school
They learned me the words of the Gilded Rule
"Remember your manners and always do
What People of Consequence tell you to"
A college professor has brains to spare
(Though hardly as much as a millionaire),
And sure, when his backing is good and strong,
A clergyman never would guide you wrong,
So what should I do when I'm just a cop
And he is a Reverend Archbishop?

Enough 'Tis the word of a Grand Bashaw,
You needn't to bother about the law
He knows what is black and he knows what's white,
Whatever he wants you to do is right
He told me they wasn't to speak at all

You don't need a warrant to clear a hall
He told me to tell them to stir their stumps,
When "Clubs!" is the order, then clubs is trumps
What else would it be when I'm just a cop
And he is a Reverend Archbishop?

And oh, 'tis a blessing to know the whim
Of wise and infallible folks like him!
And if he should tell me to take and go
And shut up a play or a movie show,
To break up a dance or perhaps a strike
Or burn a few books that he failed to like,
To lock a few lads in a dungeon cell
And smash a few heads in the bargain—well,
What else would I do when I'm just a cop
And he is a Reverend Archbishop?

—New York Tribune

Sex and Marriage

By Lord Bertrand Dawson

One of the most notable features of the Church Congress at Birmingham was a frank and emphatic address by Lord Dawson on the relationship of the sexes. Lord Dawson, who is the King's physician, analysed the grave problems arising out of love and marriage, and expressed his conviction that Birth Control had come to stay. He suggested that there should be added to the causes of marriage in the Prayer Book "the complete realisation of the love of this man and this woman one for another," and in support of his contention declared that sex love between husband and wife—apart from parenthood—was something to prize and cherish for its own sake. The Lambeth Conference, he remarked, "envisaged a love invertebrate and joyless," whereas, in his view, natural passion in wedlock was not a thing to be ashamed of, or unduly repressed. Lord Dawson's speech, which we publish in full below, proved to be the prevailing topic of discussion in the subsequent proceedings at the Congress. The Bishop of Birmingham, who, in addition to presiding over the Congress, is president of the National Council of Public Morals, stated, in an interview, that "there is in the physical union of the married couple who are one before God a spiritual side which should spring from the perfect oneness, and that perfect oneness is not only a spiritual oneness, it is a oneness also in the expression of a pure passion, which is quite distinct from sensuality. In these ways I think Lord Dawson and I have travelled on the same road and have worked together, and I could not find anything with which I was in conflict in the matter. The Church really, I think, feels the same thing as Lord Dawson, but what the Church is afraid of is making the marriage tie omit the consideration of the procreation of children, and simply living only for the other side. That is what the Church has been fighting against. It is a matter that is still considerably subjective, but the Church is quite satisfied that certain means are wrong, and ought not to be used"—Dr R. J. Campbell, the well known divine, also urged before the Congress the need for a revision of the marriage service, which, he declared, "contains expressions and things which are offensive to modern delicacy of feeling." These, he submitted, should be removed, and the Prayer Book thoroughly revised.

LORD DAWSON'S speech was as follows—May I make certain preliminary observations? Painters and poets depict Love to us in golden hues and arouse in us happy and sympathetic, and, I trust, reminiscent response, helping us to realise that life without the love of man and woman would be like the world without sunshine. Though therefore, the social student in his approach to the subject is not helped by the beauties of colour and song, it behooves him to avoid undue solemnity and still more an air of portentous foreboding. One of the difficulties of this subject is that those who are called upon to give counsel are apt to forget the strength of

the forces to be dealt with, for it is during youth especially that sex attractions are so powerful, and may I add, so delightful. Middle aged people may be divided into three classes

Those who were never young
Those who have forgotten they were young
Those who never were young

And it is with the first class before my eyes that I am privileged to address this audience. The real problems before us are those of sex love and child love, and by sex love I mean that love which involves intercourse or the desire for such. It is necessary to my argument to emphasize that sex love is one of the clamant dominating forces of the world. Not only does history show the destinies of nations and dynasties determined by its sway—but here in our every day life we see its influence, direct or indirect, forceful and ubiquitous beyond aught else. Any statesmanlike review, therefore, will recognize that here we have an instinct so fundamental, so imperious, that its influence is a fact which has to be accepted. Suppress it you cannot. You may guide it into healthy channels, but an outlet it will have, and if that outlet is inadequate or unduly obstructed irregular channels will be forced. We uphold the control of sex love outside marriage by the individual, and that we are right in so doing is incontestable. But let us realize that in practice self control has a breaking point, and that if in any community marriage is difficult or late of attainment, an increase of irregular unions will inevitably result. That the Church recognizes this is shown by the statement that marriage was instituted to prevent sin. In considering the problem of illicit intercourse and its attendant evils, the social conditions that make for a wholesome life are of more efficiency than Acts of Parliament to suppress vice. My desire, however, on this occasion is rather to consider sex love in relation to marriage.

THE FIRST POINT I wish to make is that people need more knowledge of the scientific bearings of sex relations and more clearly defined guidance of their rightful purport and practice. They are imperfectly provided with both. We talk about instructing the young when we are neither clear nor agreed amongst ourselves. All are agreed that union of body should be in association with union of mind and soul, all are agreed that the rearing of children is a pre eminent purpose. But what purport is there beyond these? Here there is a lack of precision. What does the Church service say? It says, 'Marriage was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body'. Now this is a very negative blessing. It implies that where unfortunately people cannot be continent that marriage gives the best way out—enables them to get relief within the pale of virtue. This attitude affords to sex love no positive purport or merit of its own, and is in striking conflict with the

facts of life through the ages—facts which carry social approval. The recent pronouncement of the Church as set forth in Resolution 68 of the Lambeth Conference seems to imply condemnation of sex love as such, and to imply sanction of sex love only as a means to an end—namely, procreation, though it must be admitted it lacks that clearness of direction which in so vital a matter one would have expected. It almost reminds me of one of those diplomatic formulæ which is not intended to be too clear. Allow me to quote from it —

In opposition to the teaching which under the name of science and religion encourages married people in the deliberate cultivation of sexual union as an end in itself, we steadfastly uphold what must always be regarded as the governing consideration of Christian marriage. One is the primary purpose for which marriage exists—namely, the continuation of the race through the gift and heritage of children; the other is the paramount importance in married life of deliberate and thoughtful self control.

Now the plain meaning of this statement is that sexual union should take place for the sole purpose of procreation, that sexual union as an end in itself—not, mind you, the only end—(there we should all agree), but sexual union as an end in itself is to be condemned. That means that sexual intercourse should rightly take place only for the purpose of procreation. Quite a large family could easily result from quite a few sexual unions. For the rest the couple should be celibate. Any intercourse not having procreation as its intention is 'sexual union as an end in itself,' and, therefore, by inference condemned by the Lambeth Conference.

THINK OF THE FACTS of life. Let us recall our own love —our marriage, our honeymoon. Has not sexual union over and over again been the physical expression of our love without thought or intention of procreation? Have we all been wrong? Or is it that the Church lacks that vital contact with the realities of life which accounts for the gulf between her and the people? The love envisaged by the Lambeth Conference is an invertebrate, joyless thing—not worth the having. Fortunately, it is in contrast to the real thing as practised by clergy and laity. Fancy an ardent lover (and what respect have you for a lover who is not ardent)—the type you would like your daughter to marry—virile, ambitious, chivalrous—a man who means to work hard and love hard. Fancy putting before these lovers—eager and expectant of the joys before them—the Lambeth picture of marriage. Do you expect to gain their confidence? Authority, and I include under authority the Churches, will never gain the allegiance of the young unless their attitude is more frank, more courageous, and more in accordance with realities. And, to tell you the truth, I am not sure that too much prudent self restraint suits love and its purport.

Romance and deliberate self control do not, to my mind, rhyme very well together. A touch of madness to begin with does no harm. Heaven knows, life sobers it soon enough. If you don't start life with a head of steam you won't get far. Sex love has, apart from parenthood, a purport of its own. It is something to prize and to cherish for its own sake. It is an essential part of health and happiness in marriage. And now, if you will allow me, I will carry this argument a step further. If sexual union is a gift of God it is worth learning

how to use it. Within its own sphere it should be cultivated so as to bring physical satisfaction to both, not merely to one.

The attainment of mutual and reciprocal joy in their relations constitutes a firm bond between two people, and makes for durability of the Marriage tie. Reciprocity in sex love is the physical counterpart of sympathy. More marriages fail from inadequate and clumsy sex love than from too much sex love. The lack of proper understanding is in no small measure responsible for the unfulfilment of connubial happiness, and every degree of discontent and unhappiness may, from this cause, occur, leading to rupture of the marriage bond itself. How often do medical men have to deal with these difficulties, and how fortunate if such difficulties are disclosed early enough in married life to be rectified. Otherwise how tragic may be their consequences, and many a case in the Divorce Court has thus had its origin. To the foregoing contentions, it might be objected, you are encouraging passion. My reply would be, passion is a worthy possession—most men, who are any good, are capable of passion. You all enjoy ardent and passionate love in art and literature. Why not give it a place in real life? Why some people look askance at passion is because they are confusing it with sensuality. Sex love without passion is a poor, lifeless thing. Sensuality, on the other hand, is on a level with gluttony—a physical excess—detached from sentiment, chivalry, or tenderness. It is just as important to give sex love its place as to avoid its over emphasis. Its real and effective restraints are those imposed by a loving and sympathetic companionship, by the privileges of parenthood, the exacting claims of career and that civic sense which prompts men to do social service. Now that the revision of the Prayer Book is receiving consideration, I should like to suggest with great respect an addition made to the objects of marriage in the Marriage Service, in these terms 'The complete realization of the love of this man and this woman, the one for the other.'

And now, if you will permit, I will pass on to consider the all important question of Birth Control. First, I will put forward with confidence the view that Birth Control is here to stay. It is an established fact, and for good or evil has to be accepted. Although the extent of its application can be and is being modified, no denunciations will abolish it. Despite the influence and condemnations of the Church, it has been practised in France for well over half a century, and in Belgium and other Roman Catholic countries is extending. And if the Roman Catholic Church, with its compact organization, its power of authority, and its disciplines, cannot check this procedure, is it likely that Protestant Churches will be able to do so, for Protestant religions depend for their strength on the conviction and esteem they establish in the heads and hearts of their people. The reasons which lead parents to limit their offspring are sometimes selfish, but more often honorable and cogent.

The desire to marry and to rear children well equipped for life's struggle, limited incomes, the cost of living, burden some taxation, are forcible motives and further, amongst the educated classes there is the desire of women to take a part in life and their husbands' careers, which is incompatible with oft

recurring children. It is idle to decry illicit intercourse and interpose obstacles to marriage at one and the same time. But, say many whose opinions are entitled to our respect 'Yes—Birth Control may be necessary, but the only Birth Control which is justifiable is voluntary abstention from connubial relations.' Such abstention would be either ineffective, or, if effective, unpracticable, and harmful to health and happiness. To limit the size of a family to, say four children during a child bearing period of 20-25 years, would be to impose on a married couple an amount of abstention which, for long periods, would almost be equivalent to celibacy, and when one remembers that owing to economic reasons the abstention would have to be almost strict during the earlier years of married life, when desires are strongest, I maintain a demand is being made which, for the mass of people, it is impossible to meet, that the endeavors to meet it would impose a strain hostile to health and happiness, and carry with them grave dangers to morals.

Imagine a young married couple in love with each other—the parents, say, of one child, who feel they cannot afford another child, for, say, three years, being expected to occupy the same room and to abstain for two years. The thing is preposterous. You might as well put water by the side of a man suffering from thirst, and tell him not to drink it. And, further than that, if the efforts to abstain are seriously made, the strain involved is harmful to the health and temper—if the efforts do not succeed, the minds of husband and wife are troubled by doubts and anxieties, which are damaging to their intimate relationships.

NO—BIRTH CONTROL by abstention is either ineffective, or, if effective, is pernicious. I will next consider Artificial Control. The forces in modern life which make for Birth Control are so strong that only convincing reasons will make people desist from it. It is said to be unnatural and intrinsically immoral. This word unnatural perplexes me. Why? Civilisation involves the chaining of natural forces and their conversion to man's will and uses. Much of medicine and surgery consist of means to overcome nature. When anaesthetics were first used at childbirth there was an outcry on the part of many worthy and religious people that their use under such circumstances was unnatural and wicked, because God meant woman to suffer the struggles and pains of childbirth. Now we all admit it is right to control the process of childbirth, and to save the mother as much pains as possible. It is no more unnatural to control conception by artificial means than to control childbirth by artificial means. Surely the whole question turns on whether these artificial means are for the good or harm of the individual and the community. Generally speaking, Birth Control before the first child is in

advisable. On the other hand, the justifiable use of Birth Control would seem to be the limit the number of children when such is desirable, and to spread out their arrival in such a way as to serve their true interests and those of their home. Once more, careful distinction needs to be made between the use and the bad effect of the abuse of Birth Control. That its abuse produces grave harm I fully agree—harm to parents, to families, and to the nation. But abuse is not a just condemnation of legitimate use. Over eating, over drinking, over smoking, over sleeping, over work do not carry condemnation of eating, drinking, smoking, sleeping, work. But the evils of excessive Birth Control are very real. Maternity gives to woman her most beautiful attributes.

Fancy being made enough to suppress it. If one watches the woman with one child and all maternity finished before 30 and compare her at 40 with the woman of the same age who has had, say, four children at proper intervals, who usually has the advantage in preservation of youth and beauty? Not the former. On the other hand, it must be admitted that baby after baby every year or 18 months wears and often exhausts a woman's strength. The inference is that the use of Birth Control is good, its abuse bad. Next, the children. Is it even necessary to refer to the failure of the single child household? Poor little thing! Surrounded by over anxious parents, spoilt, no children to play with, bored stiff by adults. And then, perhaps, illness, and it may be death—and when it is too late to produce another. Of the many tragedies I met in the war none exceeded the attaching to the loss of only children. It often means the end of all things, nothing to live for—just blank despair. The parents and the home both need children of varying ages. That is the way of happiness and enduring youth. And, lastly, the national aspect may be stated very briefly. If England is not to lose her place in the world, her population must be maintained and increased. Unless fathers and mothers produce an average of over three children, that population will not be maintained. If you say to a young husband and wife with their one or two children, 'Do you like to contemplate that when you both leave life your country will, through your action, be worse off than when you entered life?' that is an appeal to patriotism, and likely to be a successful appeal. There are signs of a public opinion forming which will condemn the selfishness of marriages without their proper heritage of children, but such public opinion will not be strengthened by an indiscriminate condemnation of Birth Control. May I end my speech with an appeal that the Church approach this question, in common with certain others, in the light of modern knowledge and the needs of a new world, and unhampered by traditions which have outworn their usefulness.

NEXT MONTH. read Dean Inge's commentary on Lord Dawson's speech, which has created a controversy in Great Britain!

First American Birth Control Conference

NOVEMBER 11TH—18TH, 1921

SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11

9 30 A M Registration of Delegates and Guests

10 00 A M Opening Session

Address of Welcome

Edith Houghton Hooker, *Chairman of the Sessions*

Opening Address

Margaret Sanger,

Chairman First American Birth Control Conference

PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Dr John C Vaughan, New York City—"Birth Control Not Abortion"

Dr A B Wolfe, University of Texas, Austin, Texas—"Sources of Opposition to Birth Control"

Dr Reynold A Spaeth, School of Hygiene and Public Health, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland—"Birth Control as a Public Health Measure"

Dr S Adolphus Knopf, University of New York and University of Paris, New York City—"Eugenics and Birth Control in Their Relation to Tuberculosis and Other Medical Diseases"

Dr Alice Butler, Cleveland, Ohio—"Individual Woman's Need of Birth Control"

Dr Frederick C Haeckel, New York City—"Evil Results to Motherhood Through Lack of Birth Control Information"

Dr Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, Washington, D C—"Medical Aspects of Birth Control"

Dr Abraham Myerson, 483 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass—"The Inheritance of Mental Disease"

Discussion

2 30 P M PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Dr Aaron J Rosanoff, Chemical Director, Kings Park State Hospital, Kings Park, Long Island, New York—"The Question of Birth Control Discussed from a Psychiatric Standpoint"

Dr Roswell H Johnson, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa—"The Eugenic Aspect of Birth Control"

Dr C C Little, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N Y—"Order of Birth and the Sex Ratio"

Miss Virginia C Young, 17 Beekman Place, Inc, New York City—"The Problem of the Delinquent Girl"

Prof E C Lindeman, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina—"Birth Control and Rural Social Progress"

Dr Harriette A Dilla, Smith College, Northampton, Mass—"The Greater Freedom by Birth Control"

Mr J O P Bland, London, England—"The Population Question as Illustrated by Asia"

Discussion

8 00 P M Private Session on Contraceptives for Members of the Medical Profession by invitation only

Dr Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, *Chairman*

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12

9 30 A M PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

Dr Lothrop Stoddard, Brookline, Mass—"The Population Problem in Asia"

Mr James Maurer, President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa—"Birth Control and Infant Mortality an Economic Problem"

Mr Harold Cox, London, England—"War and Population"

Discussion

2 30 P M PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

C V Drysdale, O B E, S C, F R S E, London, England, President of the Malthusian League—"National Security and Peace"

Dr W F Robie, Baldwinville, Mass—"Some Thoughts on the Medical Aspects of Birth Control"

Dr William J Robinson, New York City—"Infanticide, Abortion and Birth Control, the Three Stages in the Limitation of Offspring and Control of Population"

Mr Andre Tridon, New York City—"Birth Control and Psychoanalysis"

Professor Herman M Bernelot Moens, Holland—"Dutch Opinions"

Miss Mary Winsor, Haverford, Pa—"The Birth Control Movement in Europe"

Discussion

Reports and Resolutions—American Birth Control League

Adjournment

7 30 P M Dinner—Hotel Plaza Ball Room

NOVEMBER 13

5 00 P M Tea at the home of Mrs Ernest R Adey, 161 East 70th Street, for Delegates and Guests

8 00 P M Public Mass Meeting, Town Hall

"BIRTH CONTROL—IS IT MORAL?"

NOVEMBER 18 PARK THEATRE

(Meeting held, after raid on Town Hall by police)

SPECIAL EXHIBITS OF THE CONFERENCE

Hotel Plaza, Room 134

Pictorial Appeal for the Motherhood of America

By Lewis W Hine, New York City

Preliminary Exhibit showing Biological, Economic, Sociological Foundations of Birth Control

Harriette A Dilla, Ph D, L L B, *Chairman of Exhibits*

Dr Stoddard's and Dr De Vilbiss' papers read at the Conference are published in full in this number Others will appear in subsequent numbers of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Population Problems in Asia

By Lothrop Stoddard

(Contributed to the First American Birth Control Conference)

OF ALL EARTH'S regions cursed by the blight of over population, Asia stands forth as the "horrible example" For ages the teeming populations of the East have been proverbial Today Asia contains not less than 900,000,000 people, while China and India are the two greatest human hives the world has ever known These Asiatic societies display the melancholy corollaries of over population congestion, low living standards, and the prevalence of cruel "natural" checks on increase like famine and disease

However, these stern lessons of Mother Nature seem thus far to have taught the Asiatic nothing Generation after generation he has gone on blindly breeding beyond the limits of available subsistence Save for a very few and very recent pioneer efforts (to be discussed later) Asia has not considered even the idea of Birth Control In fact, the whole social and religious atmosphere of the Orient favors reckless procreation and is hostile to the concept of voluntary limitation of births It would be a mistake to ascribe Oriental fecundity solely to climate or strong sexual appetites These, of course, play their part, but they are powerfully reinforced by economic reasons like the harsh exploitation of women and children, by social reasons like female subjection, and perhaps most of all by religious doctrines enjoining early marriage and the begetting of numerous sons The upshot has been, as already stated, chronic over population

IN THE PAST, to be sure, Asia's over population was more or less a local issue, its evil consequences, however painful, being confined to the Asiatic peoples themselves Indeed, these evils never went beyond a certain intensity, because population pressure was continually and automatically lightened by factors like war, misgovernment, pestilence, and famine, which constantly swept off such multitudes of people that, despite high birth rates, population remained at substantially a fixed level

During the past century, however, the situation has radically altered Most of Asia has fallen under European political control, and Western colonial government has meant the putting down of internal war, the diminution of governmental abuses, the decrease of disease, and the lessening of the blight of famine In other words, those "natural" checks which previously kept down Asiatic populations have been diminished or abolished, and in response to the life saving activities of the West, the enormous death rate which in the past has kept Oriental populations from excessive multiplication is falling to proportions comparable with the low death rate of Western nations But to lower the Orient's prodigious birth rate is quite another matter As a matter of fact, that birth rate keeps up with undiminished vigor, and the consequence has been a portentous increase of population in nearly every portion of the Orient under Western political control In fact, even those

Oriental countries which have maintained their independence have more or less adopted Western life conserving methods, and have experienced in greater or less degree an accelerated increase of population This is notably true of Japan

JAPAN AND INDIA are, in fact the two countries where Asia's problem of increasing congestion are best exemplified China, the greatest human ganglion of them all, is still so much affected by natural checks (famine, pestilence, misgovernment, etc.) that her teeming population, estimated at from 325,000,000 to 450,000,000, seems to keep at about a stationary level That China's population would, however, shoot upward by leaps and bounds if those natural checks were removed cannot be doubted For example, one of China's provinces was almost depopulated during the great Taiping Rebellion of half a century ago Yet within twenty years the gaps had been practically filled, and in the recent famine this province was so over populated that it was one of the worst sufferers

The story of Japan's recent growth in population is most significant During the long centuries of her isolation from the outer world, Japan's population remained at a virtually constant level The limits of subsistence under the then existing conditions having been reached, further increase was prevented by natural checks such as internecine war, the prevalence of epidemics, and, in certain sections, by the practice of infanticide When Japan emerged from her isolation about the middle of the last century, her population was about 27,000,000—only 900,000 in excess of what it had been a century and a half before But no sooner had modern ideas like momentous increase of population ensued By 1872, the population had risen to 33,000,000, in 1898 it had risen to 44,000,000, while the census of 1920 gave approximately 56,000,000 Thus, in about half a century, Japan's population had more than doubled, while an analysis of the various censuses shows that this increase has been cumulative, the birth rate rising steadily, the death rate falling rapidly, and the net increase showing no signs of decline

THE RESULT HAS been, of course, acute congestion Japan is a poor country Her total area is less than that of the state of California, while most of her territory is mountainous and unfit for cultivation So great is the congestion in the relatively small productive areas that therein the density of population has been recently estimated at 2,688 per square mile—more than four times the density of Belgium, the most densely populated country of Europe

As for India, the story is strikingly similar At the beginning of the Nineteenth century, the population of India is roughly estimated to have been 100,000,000 Even at that

time the country was considered to have been over populated. Yet the result of a century of British rule has been a further increase (in 1911) to 315,000,000. In other words, the Indian people have employed the material benefits of British rule, not to raise their living standards, but to breed right up to new margin of subsistence until they are as badly off (perhaps worse off) than before. And the most discouraging feature of the situation is that Indian public opinion shows virtually no recognition of the matter, ascribing their misfortunes almost exclusively to political factors, especially European political control. In fact, the only case that I know of where an Indian thinker has boldly faced the problem and has courageously advocated Birth Control is in the book published five years ago by P. K. Wattal, a native official of the Indian Finance Department, entitled *The Population Problem in India*. This pioneer volume is written with such ability and is of such apparent significance as an indication of the awakening of at least a few Indians to a more rational attitude, that it merits special attention.

MR WATTAL BEGINS his book by a plea to his fellow countrymen to look at the problem rationally and without prejudice. "This essay," he says, "should not be construed into an attack on the spiritual civilization of our country, or even indirectly into a glorification of the materialism of the West. The object in view is that we should take a somewhat more matter of fact view of the main problem of life, viz., how to live in this world. We are a poor people, the fact is indisputable. Our poverty, is, perhaps, due to a great many causes. But I put it to every one of us whether he has not at some of the most momentous periods of his life been handicapped by having to support a large family, and whether this encumbrance has not seriously affected the chances of advancement warranted by early promise and exceptional endowment. This question should be viewed by itself. It is a physical fact, and has nothing to do with political environment or religious obligation. If we have suffered from the consequences of that mistake, is it not a duty that we owe ourselves and to our progeny that its evil effects shall be mitigated as far as possible? There is no greater curse than poverty—I say this with due respect to our spiritualism."

After this appeal to reason in his readers, Mr Wattal develops his thesis. The first prime cause of over population in India, he asserts, is early marriage. Contrary to Western lands, where population is kept down by prudential marriages and by Birth Control, "for the Hindus marriage is a sacrament which must be performed, regardless of the fitness of the parties to bear the responsibilities of a mated existence. A Hindu male must marry and beget children—sons if you please—to perform his funeral rites lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. The very name of son "putra," means one who saves his father's soul from the hell called Puta. A Hindu maiden unmarried at puberty is a source of social obloquy to her family and of damnation to her ancestors. Among the Mohammedans, who are not handicapped by such penalties, the married state is equally common, partly owing to Hindu example and partly to the general conditions

of primitive society, where a wife is almost a necessity both as a domestic drudge and as a helpmate in field work." The worst of the matter is that, despite the efforts of social reformers, child marriage seems to be increasing. The census of 1911 showed that during the decade 1901-10 the numbers of married females per 1,000 of ages 0-5 years rose from 13 to 14, of ages 5-10 years from 102 to 105, of 10-15 years from 423 to 430, and of 15-20 years from 770 to 800. In other words, in the year 1911, out of every 1,000 Indian girls, over one tenth were married before then were 10 years old, nearly one half before they were 15, and four fifths before they were 20.

THE RESULT OF all this is a tremendous birth rate, but is "no matter for congratulation. We have heard so often of our high death rate and the means for combating it, but can it be seriously believed that with a birth rate of 30 per 1,000 it is possible to go on with the death rate brought down to the level of England or Scotland? Is there room enough in the country for the population to increase as fast as 20 per 1,000 every year? We are paying the inevitable penalty of bringing into this world more persons than can be properly cared for, and therefore if we wish fewer deaths to occur in this country the births must be reduced to the level of the countries where the death rate is low. It is, therefore, our high birth rate that is the social danger, the high death rate, however regrettable, is merely an incident of our high birth rate."

Mr Wattal then describes the cruel items in India's death rate: the tremendous female mortality due largely to too early childbirth, and the equally terrible infant mortality, nearly 50 per cent of infant deaths being due to premature birth or debility at birth. These are the inevitable penalties of early and universal marriage. For, in India, "everybody marries, fit or unfit, and is a parent at the earliest possible age permitted by nature." This process is highly disgenic, it is plainly lowering the quality and sapping the vigor of the race. It is the lower elements of the population, the negroid aboriginal tribes and the Pariahs or Outcasts, who are gaining the fastest. Also the vitality of the whole population seems to be lowering. The census figures show that the number of elderly persons is decreasing, and that the average statistical expectation of life is falling. And unless Indian public opinion speedily awakens to the situations, the evils just described will go on with ever increasing intensity.

SUCH IS THE warning thesis of Mr Wattal's book. It should be remarked that he does note a few dim fore shadowings of Birth Control in India. For example, he quotes from the census report for 1901 this official explanation of a slight drop in the birth rate of Bengal: "The deliberate avoidance of child bearing must be partly responsible. It is a matter of common belief that among the tea garden coolies of Assam means are frequently taken to prevent conception, or to procure abortion." And the report of the Sanitary Commissioner of Assam for 1913 states: "An important factor in

producing the defective birth rate appears to be due to voluntary limitation of births"

However, these beginnings of Birth Control are too local and partial to afford any immediate relief to India's growing over population, and Mr Wattal himself is not very hopeful of a rapid breaking down of the traditional factors favoring reckless procreation

In Japan, as in India, the beginnings of a Birth Control movement have appeared. In fact, the Japanese Government is investigating the problem, and within the past year a number of representatives of the Ministry of the Interior have been travelling through America and Europe, studying conditions and formulating reports on how Birth Control may be applied to Japan. In Japan, however, the Birth Control movement is bitterly opposed by the militarist and imperialist elements who still sway Japan's political life. To them increasing congestion is the best argument for their policies. A vast human surplus is the ideal material for rapid colonization, for a desperate nationalism ready for risky ventures, and for abundant cannon fodder in the wars which aggressive foreign policies may bring about.

THUS THROUGHOUT THE vast continent of Asia, there is occurring a race between procreation and Birth Control—a race momentous, not merely for Asia, but for the whole world, since upon its outcome world peace or world ruin may depend. And let us face facts bravely—the omens for world peace are not bright. It is true that a conscious Birth Control movement has started in Asia's most advanced portions—India and Japan,—and that we may hope for its rapid spread in the near future. It is true that the rapid rise in living costs and living standards throughout the East must involve conscious or unconscious checks on the growth of population. Lastly, the industrialization of many parts of the Orient will afford a livelihood to many millions of persons.

But these limiting factors, however potent they may ultimately become, cannot at once counteract the factors making for excessive multiplication. Apparently, for the next generation at least, Asia is going to keep on piling up excess people. And this, in turn, means an increasingly prodigious outward

thrust of surplus Asiatics from congested centers toward regions emptier, richer, or with higher standards of living. But will these emigrants be admitted? To the emptier parts of Asia, perhaps. To Western lands like America, Australia and Canada, assuredly no.

Here is a problem which only Asia can solve, by raising her living standards and by rational Birth Control. Asia can not expect any Western nation to jeopardize its whole social and racial future by becoming a dumping ground for Asia's boundless spawning. Some Asiatics, alive to the realities of the situation, recognize the truth of this. Mr Wattal, for example, warns his fellow countrymen that they cannot hope to shift their human surplus to other lands, while only a fortnight ago the well known Japanese liberal, Yukio Ozaki, said in a public address "Some Japanese insist upon the open door principle in the Pacific generally, including the other side of the ocean, to facilitate the solution of the emigration question. They must be reminded that this policy during twenty years has been advocated in a commercial sense alone. The emigration question is serious, no doubt, but it should not outweigh consideration for other nations' convenience and rights—circumstances which could easily be realized by assuming an influx, for instance, of Indians into this country. Japan ought to be grateful to the Powers for their sympathy in the matter of surplus population, but we should not forget that this requires solution from within. There is nothing to be proud of in causing a nuisance to others through failure to control population."

SOME ASIATICS THUS see things clearly. Theirs is the spirit which, if it prevails, will get Asia peacefully over the critical period, now upon her, the critical period between the advent of a civilized death rate and a civilized birth rate, between the laying of drain pipes and the practice of Birth Control.

But will this spirit prevail? Will the voice of liberal understanding persuade hungry myriads or silence the sinister harangues of designing militarists and ignorant demagogues? On the answer to that question hangs peace or war. As Professor Ross well says "The real enemy of the dove of peace is not the eagle of pride nor the vulture of greed but the stork!"

Medical Aspects of Birth Control

By Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, M. D.

Washington, D. C.

A SHORT TIME AGO an unusual article appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association in which the writer stated in substance that "when it was discovered that a little crude oil properly applied to the surface of stagnant water prevented the development of the malarial and the yellow fever mosquitoes, the etiology and pathology of these diseases, for all practical purposes become subjects of mere academic interest."

Those who love mankind must hope for the time when

horticulturists cut it off. When an animal exhibits atavistic contraceptive prophylactics which will reduce the appearance of the syphilitic foetus, now so common that they do not excite our interest, until they will be sought after as specimens for the scientific museums. And along with the syphilitic foetus we hope will go into the category of rare specimens of human physical life, the diseased, deformed and ill begotten offspring of diseased, deformed and ill begotten ancestors.

When a limb of a tree becomes diseased and withers, the

horticulturists cut it off. When an animal exhibits atavistic tendencies, the stockman sends it to market. When a human family breeds diseased, feeble-minded or otherwise defective offspring, society feeds, houses, clothes and provides free medical succor for them with the result that their offspring continues to reproduce themselves indisputably and interminably.

It should not be inferred that there is any disposition to find fault with society for any kindly consideration it may sow its unfortunate members. If society should surround them with every convenience, every luxury, every environment conducive to human happiness that wealth, intelligence and imagination can conceive, society has not then paid back these unfortunate the debt it owes them for having permitted them to be born.

NOT ONE OF US would care to accept all the wealth of the world and exchange places with the congenital idiot, or the congenital incurably physical and moral defective. Few of us would want to come into the world into a family in which our coming was regarded as a tragedy, few of us would want to be born of a woman already depleted with too frequent child bearing and consequently not able to furnish us with the sinews of a good physical body, few of us would want even to be born into a family where our coming meant partial starvation for the other already too many mouths to be fed and where our life would be condemned to one long struggle for the merest physical existence. We cannot of course altogether judge what another might want or be happy with according to our own standard. However, the Golden Rule is still the highest known standard of ethical conduct.

An this much we know. That if America is appreciably to raise the standard of human physical and mental fitness then it is essential that every child born on her soil shall be born of parents at least free from serious inheritable and communicable diseases who are essentially sound in mind and body, and for whose children the necessary creature requirements may be procured. When children are born into families deprived of one or more of these essentials, it is America who must pay the penalty along with the unfortunate ones. It is not, therefore, merely in the interests of the unborn that we give this subject our consideration—however highly commendable that altruistic impulse might be—but it is of paramount importance in the interests of our own self protection and preservation.

In America in spite of severe laws and penalties for infanticide and abortion, and for the dissemination of information concerning the prevention of conception, a considerable practice of family limitation has developed as is evidenced by the indisputably large number of abortions and the steadily declining birth rate over a considerable period of time. This reduction of the birth rate has been illegal, undirected and unintelligent. It has been severely selective, operating chiefly in the best American stock resulting in the so called American family. At the same time there has been no such appreciable decline in the birth rate among those living in extreme poverty, which is likely to be closely associated with degeneracy,

and among the feeble-minded and other undesirable strains which are increasing at a rate faster than it is possible to build asylums, institutions and jails for them. In other words *in America, there has been Birth Control with a vengeance*.

THIS BIRTH CONTROL is bound up with medical, sociological, religious, racial, ethical and almost every other division of human thought and activities. It is a matter which concerns every human being as he develops into adult life. It shapes human destinies and the destinies of nations. Handled rightly, it can be the one greatest factor in the alleviation of human misery. Abused or handled wrongly it precedes destruction. It is therefore highly important that we assume a scientific study of the principles underlying the control of the birth rate and apply these principles for the improvement of instead of for the destruction of humanity.

The most sensitive index we possess to the social welfare of a community is the infant mortality rate. The analysis of the causes of death of babies under one year of age shows that one third of the deaths occur at about the first month of life and are directly chargeable to influences operating before birth. Another third of these deaths occur in the first three months of life and are due to causes to which parental influences are responsible or are largely contributory. In other words the deaths of two thirds of the babies who die under one year of age are due generally to prenatal causes and one third only to *all other causes combined*. Infant mortality rates generally do not include the deaths from abortions and stillbirths. If these were added, it might be easily assumed that half or more than half of the babies who die under one year of age *never had a chance to live*.

From this analysis it will be easily seen that the usual and popular methods of reducing the infant mortality rates, baby weeks, health centers, milk stations, etc., etc., are devoted almost exclusively to the one third who have survived the period of adverse prenatal conditions. The exceptions to this are the comparatively few maternal health clinics where proper prenatal and obstetrical supervision is available, and these are still for a large part limited to the out patient departments of charity clinics, medical college hospitals and to that class of society which are better adapted for teaching purposes than for strong and intelligent parenthood.

THE GREAT WASTAGE of human life recorded by the infant mortality rates cannot be computed in terms of the suffering, misery and ill health caused the mothers, but its relation to the maternal death rate may be approximately known. The deaths of women from diseases and accidents of pregnancy and labor, if computed for the numbers of women of child bearing age, is found to be several times greater than death from any other cause. The tragedy of this high maternal mortality rate is that diseases and accidents of pregnancy and labor are classed as preventable causes of death, and that their rate has not shown any appreciable decrease in the last several decades. So that for every thousand women who give birth to a child, a certain number which may be computed die from causes which are classed as preventable—and those who

give birth to a child only to have it die before it reaches its first birthday—have faced this risk wholly unnecessarily

With a reasonable degree of certainty, it can be predicted that the offspring of certain parents are likely to be born dead or die soon thereafter, or living they will not increase the healthy population, but are born to join the ranks of the incurables. And of the maternal deaths from diseases and accidents of pregnancy and labor, there is a certain percentage of women, so far as medical science is able to prognosticate, for whom pregnancy and labor means certain death. In fact, so dangerous are certain diseased conditions to the life of the pregnant woman and her baby that obstetric authorities unhesitatingly recommend that an abortion be performed, but these same authorities do not discuss the desirability of preventing the conception.

In addition to the list of undoubted causes of great danger to the life of the pregnant woman and her baby, there is a much larger list of diseases and disorders of function where pregnancy is undesirable until the immediate condition is remedied, or the danger removed. The soldier is not permitted to go into battle if his physical and mental conditions do not seem likely to withstand the strain. *But the woman goes into the valley of the shadow to produce the soldier without regard to the life or health of either.*

RACES ARE NOT improved, humanity is not uplifted, great changes are not effected *en masse*. It has to be a matter of reaching the individual units of the race and through improving them, the mass is leavened. And in anything which so peculiarly and intimately concerns the most private personal matters of an individual, as the limitation of procreation, he must be approached by someone in whom he would most naturally repose his confidence in such matters—his family physician, the public health doctor and nurse, his minister, the social workers, his druggist, and maybe his friend and benefactor. And for conveying personal information and obtaining response from a national population, large organizations, national in their scope and already possessing the avenue of approach to the individual are essential for continued operation.

It is a common occurrence for a couple to consult their doctor, the public health nurse, or social worker when they are aware that a pregnancy is existing. Sometimes the consultation is regarding the health of the mother and child that the best conditions for the life and health of both may be maintained. Ofttimes it is for the purpose of finding a physician whom they may request to produce an environment in which the already fecundated cell may not further develop—in other words perform an abortion. If the exigencies of the situation warrant, the physician may do so with considerable cost of suffering to the mother and even the risk of her life and health, and at considerable professional risk to himself. From this consultation in a pregnancy already existing it is but a step further to a consultation of their physician by potential parents before rather than after the die of a future human being is cast. And it is to the credit of the intelligence and awakening conscience of increasing numbers of parents

that they are questioning their physician as to their physical and mental fitness for becoming responsible ancestors. And for those who lack the mental capacity or the conscience so to question for themselves, society for its own preservation must do it for them.

FOR THIS NEXT step in the progress of human society, the medical and the public health professions must prepare themselves. The young men and women in many colleges will not likely get preparation. They will likely learn no further than how most skilfully to perform abortion. Of the possibilities and methods of preventing conception, the students will likely continue to be kept in blissful ignorance by their professors. In fact the subject seems about as taboo in many medical colleges elsewhere. That physicians do obtain contraceptive information would seem to be a warranted conclusion which may be drawn from the small numbers of children that are customary in doctor's families. The next step is to free this information from harmful legal restrictions so that the doctor may make it freely available for his patients.

There is no panacea for Birth Control. There is no one simple safe infallible preventive. Those agents which under given conditions may act as contraceptives are likely to fail when the necessary conditions are not met. In other words contraceptive agents require an intelligent selection for their use and a common sense understanding of their application in order to be efficacious.

These factors are likely to prove constant and constitute the chief reason why contraceptive agents as such are not likely ever to be advertised and sold openly as are some simple remedies, but are likely to have placed about them the same kind of restrictions as are now placed about certain other so called cures and preventives whose advertisements and open sale are prohibited by law because they delude the public into a safety which is not warranted. If there has not yet been discovered a safe, simple, reliable, contraceptive which may be successfully depended upon under widely varying conditions, any advertisement which conveyed such statement, and purported that such agent be efficacious for the purpose so stated would be fraud and deceit, and by creating a false sense of security would lead their victim to tragedy and misery and even to their destruction.

THE PUBLIC MUST then perforce look largely to the medical and the public health profession to take the lead in the discovery and the application of contraceptive information. This is at once a big responsibility and a big opportunity which a few most courageous of both professions are trying to discharge quietly, unobtrusively and to the best of their ability—but not nearly so efficaciously as though they were permitted to do it openly. In only a few states are there laws which would prevent a physician from prescribing for his patient. But so long as the whole subject matter is under the ban of federal statutes relating to obscenity and criminal abortion, the average physician will hesitate to become associated with what may be construed as an illegal or an unclean thing.

The medical and the public health professions cannot be

(Continued on page 19)

Messages to the Conference

From Havelock Ellis

IT SEEMS to me that Birth Control is now itself becoming a part of our morality, an element in our moral ideal, capable, as has been well said, "of being found with us at each moment of our moral life, concentrated and fully felt in every beat and rhythm of desire and action"

It is, therefore, idle to discuss whether or not it sometimes produces minor evils. No doubt it does. The moral ideal always does. Every line of moral action sometimes produces minor evils. It would be unreasonable to expect that Birth Control should be an exception to this universal rule. No one can look at the matter in a calm, broad and unprejudiced manner, and fail to see that the reckless disregard of Birth Control produces evils that are vastly greater than those produced by its observance.

Only those persons who hold we should always strain at gnats but try to swallow camels, can venture to maintain that Birth Control is immoral.

From Edward Carpenter

I FEEL NO DOUBT that the Birth Control movement is one of the most important of the present day. If Humanity is ever to rise out of the swamp of unlimited race propagation in which it wallows at present, it must be by deliberate control of its powers of breeding. This control may reasonably be effected in two ways: (1) by wise abstinence and choice of times and seasons for intercourse, or (2) by artificial (but sanitary) devices to prevent conception.

It may fairly be said that *either* of these methods is better than that of leaving the question of population to chance and the arbitrary decrees of lust. To interfere, even in an artificial way, with an age-long animal habit, is surely less harmful and immoral than to produce unwanted children, destined in most cases to poverty and neglect.

But granted so much as that, there still remain certain questions, indicated in your circular as likely to be discussed in the New York Conference of November 11, 12 and 13, and which I may for a moment consider here.

(1) *Does the spread of Birth Control involve a loss to the youth of the country of a valuable safeguard?* It is clear, I think that Birth Control methods, by guarding against the arrival of unwanted children, may and will in some degree diminish the sense of responsibility attaching to sexual intercourse. At the same time it should be said that either of the above methods brings in and encourages forethought, which is better than a mere casual subjection to chance, and by the first method, the sense of responsibility is decidedly increased.

(2) *Would the knowledge of the methods of Birth Control lead to the reign of promiscuity?* Personally, I do not think that promiscuity would by any means necessarily follow. At the same time, I think that a certain increase of latitude in sex relations *would* be likely to follow—but this on the whole (and in view of the evils and falsity of the present system), I regard as not such a very great evil, perhaps in some respects a gain, rather than a loss.

(3) *Would it encourage the husband to impose himself on the wife?* For answer to this, we have to look to the growing power of woman which necessarily will come, and is coming with Birth Control. Under the new order of things, it will daily become more unusual and more inadmissible for the man to impose himself on the woman, and Woman will therefore enter into a state of freedom and self-determination hitherto unknown to and inexperienced by her sex. Millthorpe, Holmesfield, Derbyshire.

From Dean Inge

YOU ARE KIND enough to ask me to send a message in view of the approaching Birth Control Conference in New York.

There can be no doubt that if the world is to be saved from devastating wars and revolutions, with their accompaniments of pestilence and famine, the natural increase of population must be held in check by prudential restrictions. The old countries are for the most part fully peopled, and any discoveries which may in the future increase food production, ought to be applied to raising the standard of living, not to augmenting the population.

Already far too large a part of the population lives in large industrial centres, under conditions which are neither natural nor wholesome, and these centres are everywhere foci of anti-social and destructive propaganda.

Emigration is only a palliative, and the new countries will not in the future be willing to admit the overflow of the teeming population of the old world.

The tendency is at present for the better stocks to restrict their numbers, while the half-civilized proletariat, especially in countries like Russia and Ireland, multiply unrestrained. The evil effects of this tendency are nowhere more manifest than in the New England states, formerly the home of a singularly fine and virile stock.

America and Europe are both threatened with progressive barbarisation.

It is useless to preach either celibacy or abstinence in marriage. These counsels will never be acted on by those whose fecundity it is desired to restrain.

The only remedy is to legalize and popularize those methods of control which are medically unobjectionable, and which do not involve the destruction of life which has begun to exist.

Experience shows that abortion is rife precisely in those countries where the prevention is condemned by law or public opinion.

At the same time we have to face the fact that we are threatened with a great outbreak of sexual license, and that acquaintance with means of preventing conception has already increased these irregularities, and is likely to increase them still more in the future. Those who accept the Christian law of purity must watch with grave anxiety the progress of doctrines which cut at the root of morality, as they understood it.

(Continued on page 17)

The Press Protests

NEVER BEFORE in the history of the Birth Control movement has the issue been more clearly cut than in the dramatic raiding by the police, at the instigation of concealed and illegal orders, of the mass meeting at the New York Town Hall, on Sunday evening, November 13, 1921. This date will become celebrated in history as the great turning point of public opinion. It was a case of American citizens gathering legally and peaceably to listen to a discussion of the morality of Birth Control, a subject of the most tremendous private and public importance. It was a case of the representatives of a great and powerful organization, the Roman Catholic church, assuming the sinister and entirely criminal authority of giving orders to the police to prevent this meeting. It was a case of New York "officers of the law" casting all regard for public duty to the winds cravenly and servilely following these orders that emanated from this mysterious source. They broke up the meeting. But in taking this rash and criminal step, they let loose a furious tempest of protest. It was brought home to the American public, that certain reactionary forces were attempting to settle in advance what they should discuss and what they should not. It was made clear once and for all, that the Roman Catholic Church could with intolerable insolence and arrogance, command the police of New York City to break up with their clubs and under the cloak of authority any peaceable assembly which disagreed with the tenets of its code.

The outrage was the more dastardly in view of the fact that courteous invitations to attend the mass meeting had been sent to representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and to present the views of the church upon this all important question. The only answer was the action of the policeman's club. But even the good natured, patient American public cannot stand for this infamy. Even the New York newspapers, to which no intelligent student could possibly attribute any bias in favor of Birth Control, could not ignore this sinister, this menacing disregard of constitutional right, this violation of all public decency, this exposure of dynastic and unscrupulous power. As we hurry to press, we are flooded with indignant protests from the American press which indicate that the current of public opinion in our country is at last recognizing the necessity of free speech and open discussion of a subject of such vital importance to American as to world civilization as Birth Control.

ONE OF THE first newspapers to protest against the criminal and outrageous action of the police was the New York *Evening Post*, which in an editorial the day after the historic event, declared

The action of the police last night in breaking up a meeting at the Town Hall must make every liberty loving citizen of New York hot with indignation. The meeting was called to discuss the question "Birth Control. Is It Moral?" There is nothing in this question to warrant Police Headquarters in

prohibiting its discussion. If people cannot come together in a perfectly orderly and open way to debate whether or not a matter is moral, then our boasted freedom of speech is a mockery. What was there in the question to be discussed at the Town Hall or in any circumstance connected with the discussion which so aroused the apprehensions of "one of the Commissioners" that he could not allow a single speech to be delivered, even though a hundred bluecoats were on hand to suppress any violation of law?

Last night's action is not an isolated instance of police interference with citizens who were acting within their well established rights. The refusal a few months ago to permit Mr. Ledoux to hold a meeting for the unemployed in a hall which he had hired is still fresh in the public mind. The only serious disorder upon that occasion was the disorder created by the police in their impatient and awkward efforts to avert a riot of which there was not the slightest sign. Is this sort of thing to become a regular part of our civic liberties?

It would be interesting to know the reason for the giving of last night's order. No citizen, of course, will be so impudent as to ask for the reason. Anybody who was guilty of such disrespect would deserve to be gagged for the rest of his life. Let it be understood that any Police Commissioner in New York may prohibit any public meeting which he does not fancy. That at least tells us where we are.

THE NEW YORK *Tribune*, in a strong condemnation of the raid, described the stupid action of the authorities as "Police Prussianism." The editorial follows

Police interference with the meeting of members of the American Birth Control Conference at the Town Hall on Sunday evening raises the question whether or not freedom of speech and assembly exists any longer in this city. Police Captain Donohue entered the hall before the meeting had begun and announced that it could not be held. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, who arrived later with the speaker of the evening, a former member of the British Parliament, attempted to make a statement from the platform. She and Miss Mary Windsor, a writer and lecturer of Haverford, Penn., were subsequently arrested for "disorderly conduct." They were discharged in the Magistrates' Court because there was no material whatever to make a case against them.

The police broke up the meeting without waiting for any expressions of opinion which would warrant repression. They had earlier tried to intimidate the lesser into closing the hall. Their attitude was one of persecution, not of orderly vindication of any local ordinances which might in their opinion be infringed. It was arbitrary and Prussian to the last degree.

Free speech within the limitations of public order and propriety is supposed to be the right of every American citizen. Censorship may be exercised under the police power, but there is no warrant for censorship of utterances still undelivered. People may differ about the questions raised by the advocates of Birth Control. The subject is one, however, for serious public discussion. It is discussed in books. If it is conducted within the spirit and letter of the law it is wrong to try to shut it off. If the police deny even the right of assemblage to one group of citizens, what is to stop them from denying it to any other group against which they or their advisers have a personal prejudice?

The doings of the police at the Town Hall were a clear violation of recognized civil rights.

THE NEW YORK Herald, in an editorial entitled "Wholly Inexcusable," pointed out the violation of the constitution by the police

The incident of Sunday night at Town Hall is best described as an illegal raid by a police mob

A mass meeting had gathered in the hall to listen to a discussion. The subject happened to be "Birth Control." But the meeting heard no speeches, for the police seized the speakers and prevented them from uttering a word

By what mental process, we venture to ask Mayor Hylan's Mr. Enright, did the police arrive at the conclusion that the law had been violated? Or, if they merely suspected that the law was going to be violated, what was their justification for raiding the meeting? The Constitution of the State of New York is perfectly plain

"Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press"

Even Congress is forbidden by the Federal Constitution from making a law to abridge freedom of speech. Are the police above the constitutions of the nation and the State?

We wonder what Mr. Harold Cox, the distinguished editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who was in the swirl of the riot made by the raiders and was to speak, thought of the police methods in the Land of the Free

PRAISING THE undaunted courage of the committee in losing no time in arranging the second meeting at the Park Theatre (Friday, November 18th) the *Evening World* asserted in an editorial

The Birth Control advocates have taken precisely the right course in arranging another meeting similar to that raided by the police last Sunday

For all the public has been privileged to learn, the suppression of the meeting and the arrest of the speakers at the Town Hall Sunday was a thoroughly disgraceful and lawless affair

At the hearing yesterday the police made no serious effort to establish a case. Officials in the department passed the buck and the Police Commissioner was "out of town"

Who in the Police Department is responsible for this breach of the law and the invasion of the Constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly in a lawful manner?

If the Police Department is not responsible, who is? Any citizen may make a complaint or cause an arrest. If the police acted on this sort of authority, why did they not make sure that the complaining witness was at the trial to press the case, thereby becoming responsible for the false arrest?

The police did not wait until the speakers had made a fair start. The latter had no opportunity to disseminate unlawful information. The police seem to have banned the meeting and arrested the speakers on the suspicion that something unlawful might occur if the meeting proceeded

This is an intolerable doctrine. One need not indorse the cause for which this meeting was held to condemn most vigorously the unwarranted action of the police

The issue Sunday evening was bigger than the right to advocate Birth Control. It is a part of the eternal fight for free speech, free assembly and democratic government. It is a principle which must always find defenders if democracy is to survive

THE TRIBUNE, THE EVENING POST, and other papers, published numerous letters protesting against the sinister assumption of authority by those who attempted to break upon our meeting. There was no question in the mind of the intelligent public to determine the source of the mysterious "higher ups" who gave orders to stop the mass meeting "G. H.," for instance, writes in the *Evening Post*

Has all sense of civil liberty and freedom of speech died out in New York? I am referring to the meeting at the Town Hall on Sunday, November 13th, with which the police so wantonly interfered. Upon what authority can the police come into a peaceful and orderly meeting and order it to disperse, when nothing absolutely nothing, had been said or done against the law? Are we to be subject to the whims and fancies, to the arbitrary opinion of a policeman or an archbishop's secretary as to what we may talk about or discuss?

It seems Mgr. "Somebody" telephoned to the police to "go and stop the meeting," and so they went. Does that mean that the opinions of New Yorkers are to be censored by the Catholic Church or by any church or by any group of people who are especially sensitive and positive about what's "right" and "wrong"?

ANOTHER PHASE of the question of Church Control is brought out in still another letter. That is the inert passivity of the American public toward every vital problem of the day. It is this dull apathy, this fear of "what will people say," that makes possible the arrogant seizure of authority by the wily politician-theologians of the church. Says this writer in the *Globe*

The arrest of Mrs. Sanger for attempting to discuss in public the question of Birth Control involves not only "a question of civil rights," as claimed in your editorial of Nov. 14, but reveals a chronic attitude of stupidity on the part of the Police Department toward all enlightened and orderly protests against laws which no longer represent the community sense of justice

This latest assault on free speech is only one in a long and cumulative series of super-Prussian atrocities against our constitutional guarantees in a country made safe for democracy. And the most deplorable aspect of the situation is the spiritual callousness of the American people. There is no such thing as public opinion in this country and no encouraging signs of any organized and sustained protest against the flagrant abuses and misinterpretations of the law by its appointed guardians. The polite, pale pink liberals make a feeble and timid gesture of protest, while the disagreeable radical who dares to act upon his beliefs is soon crushed under the patriotic steam roller of the 100 per centers. And so proceeds the merry round of invasions against the sovereign rights of a people too grossly steeped in material pursuits to give a thought to the vital social problems of the day

Messages to the Conference

(Continued from page 15)

The advocacy of Birth Control, which I consider to be absolutely necessary, must go hand in hand with increased insistence on the sanctity of the marriage vow, and on the obligation of continence which Christianity imposes on all unmarried persons

My hope is that the new knowledge may encourage early marriages, and so diminish the temptation to form irregular connections

The American Birth Control League

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 AND OFFICERS OF LEAGUE

Speakers Will be announced later

Headquarters 104 FIFTH AVENUE

PRINCIPLES

The complex problems now confronting America as the result of the practice of reckless procreation are fast threatening to grow beyond human control

Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by Church and State to produce large families. Many of the children thus begotten are diseased or feeble minded, many become criminals. The burden of supporting these unwanted types has to be borne by the healthy elements of the nation. Funds that should be used to raise the standard of our civilization are diverted to the maintenance of those who should never have been born.

In addition to this grave evil we witness the appalling waste of women's health and women's lives by too frequent pregnancies. These unwanted pregnancies often provoke the crime of abortion, or alternatively multiply the number of child workers and lower the standard of living.

To create a race of well born children it is essential that the function of motherhood should be elevated to a position of dignity and this is impossible as long as conception remains a matter of chance.

We hold that children should be

1. Conceived in love,
2. Born of the mother's conscious desire
3. And only begotten under conditions which render possible the heritage of health.

Therefore we hold that every woman must possess the power and freedom to prevent conception except when these conditions can be satisfied.

Every mother must realize her basic position in human society. She must be conscious of her responsibility to the race in bringing children into the world.

Instead of being a blind and haphazard consequence of uncontrolled instinct, motherhood must be made the responsible and self-directed means of human expression and regeneration.

These purposes which are of fundamental importance to the whole of our nation and to the future of mankind can only be attained if women first receive practical scientific education in the means of Birth Control. That, therefore, is the first object to which the efforts of this League will be directed.

AIMS

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE aims to enlighten and educate all sections of the American public in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation and the imperative necessity of a world program of Birth Control.

The League aims to correlate the findings of scientists, statisticians, investigators and social agencies in all fields. To make this possible, it is necessary to organize various departments.

RESEARCH To collect the findings of scientists, concerning the relation of reckless breeding to delinquency, defect and dependence.

INVESTIGATION To derive from these scientifically ascertained facts and figures, conclusions which may aid all public health and social agencies in the study of problems of maternal and infant mortality, child labor, mental and physical defects and delinquency in relation to the practice of reckless parentage.

HYGIENIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL instruction by the Medical pro-

fession to mothers and potential mothers in harmless and reliable methods of Birth Control in answer to their requests for such knowledge.

STERILIZATION of the insane and feeble minded and the encouragement of this operation upon those afflicted with inherited or transmissible diseases, with the understanding that sterilization does not deprive the individual of his or her sex expression but merely renders him incapable of producing children.

EDUCATIONAL The program of education includes the enlightenment of the public at large mainly through the education of leaders of thought and opinion—teachers, ministers, editors and writers—to the moral and scientific soundness of the principles of Birth Control and the imperative necessity of its adoption as the basis of national and racial progress.

POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE To enlist the support and cooperation of legal advisors, statesmen and legislators in effecting the removal of state and federal statutes which encourage dysgenic breeding, increase the sum total of disease, misery and poverty and prevent the establishment of a policy of national health and strength.

ORGANIZATION To send into the various States of the Union field workers to enlist the support and arouse the interest of the masses to the importance of Birth Control so that laws may be changed and the establishment of clinics made possible in every State.

INTERNATIONAL This department aims to cooperate with similar organizations in other countries to study Birth Control in its relations to the world population problem, food supplies, national and racial conflicts and to urge upon all international bodies organized to promote world peace the consideration of these aspects of international amity.

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE proposes to publish in its official organ THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, reports and studies on the relationship of controlled and uncontrolled populations to National and world problems.

The American Birth Control League also proposes to hold an annual Conference to bring together the workers of the various departments so that each worker may realize the interrelationship of all the various phases of the problem to the end that National education will tend to encourage and develop the powers of self direction, self reliance, and independence in the individuals of the community instead of dependence upon public or private relief of charities.

WHAT YOU CAN DO IN YOUR STATE TODAY

TENTATIVE COMPILATION of the Laws in the United States and Canada relative to imparting information on prevention of Conception (Birth Control) compiled and prepared by Hon J C Ruppenthal, Russel Kansas, brought up to date October, 1921 for the First American Birth Control Conference.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given by physicians lawfully practicing for the cure or prevention of disease: Minnesota, Mississippi, New York.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given by regular practitioners of medicine: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Nevada, Ohio, Wyoming.

States which forbid the circulation or publishing of printed or written contraceptive information, oral information not expressly mentioned: Arizona, California, Canal Zone, Connecticut*, Idaho, Massachusetts, Montana, Ontario, Can., Porto Rico.

States in which the words "prevention of conception" are not included in the obscenity laws: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

State in which the laws forbid the dissemination either orally, or

(Continued on page 19)

*Connecticut is the one state in which the laws make it a crime to use any article or instrument, drug or medicine to prevent conception.

Order of Birth and the Sex Ratio

By C C Little

Carnegie Institution, Washington, D C

(Contributed to First American Birth Control Conference)

IN ANY biological problem dealing with population, the ratio of males to females at birth is a matter of considerable interest. Many statistical investigations of this question have been made and it will not, at this time, be profitable to attempt to discuss most of them. I shall try to bring out only three points. Data unless otherwise stated, are from the Sloane Maternity Hospital Records, and I am glad to acknowledge at this time, my indebtedness to the officers of that institution.

1 When both parents are of the same nationality the ratio of males to 100 females at birth is 104.54 ± 0.97 (6,000 individuals). When one parent is of one nationality and the other from another, the sex ratio is 122.86 ± 2.14 . The difference is significant, and when thousands of cases are summed up would be economically of interest. For reference the first category may be called "pure," and the second "hybrid." It will be noted that the latter gives a higher proportion of males.

2 The above ratios result when *all* births are massed, but when first births are considered separately and are contrasted in each group with subsequent births and interesting fact is brought out.

In the "pure" matings, the sex ratio of first births is 115.5 ± 1.5 and of subsequent births is 97.3 ± 1.2 . The difference is significant. In the "hybrid" matings, however, no such difference exists.

IT APPEARS that in any selected population where a higher number of one child families exists than in a normal population, a greater *excess of males* should be born than in a population where the "subsequent" children are a higher proportion of the total number. The economic application of this question is obvious.

3 The work of King with white rats shows that the sex ratio of first litters differs clearly from that of subsequent litters. The case is closely parallel to that in man and the difference is qualitatively similar to that given above.

This brings us to the all important conclusion that experimental studies with laboratory mammals are the most rapid and economical means by which a body of evidence can be built up to provide adequate information concerning matters of the greatest interest and importance to man.

One has but to read the recent work on Population by Pearl of John Hopkins to see how well evidence obtained from the fruit fly *Drosophila* has been applied to the problems of human increase. In a similar way today we are attacking the cancer problem from a new angle that offers great opportunity. In no less a degree may we expect that investigation of the effects of Birth Control on rats, rabbits, and other laboratory mammals, might do much to determine the merits or demerits of a somewhat similar situation in man.

The biologist has come to demand this experimental method in his own problems and his support to any viewpoint or issue is more readily obtained, after these methods have been critically and extensively applied to the problems under consideration.

What You Can Do In Your State Today

(Continued from page 18)

printed of information to prevent conception. Under the laws in this state there is no exception made for physicians. New Jersey.

States which seem to have no obscenity laws: Alaska, New Mexico, Canada, all except Ontario.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given in chartered medical colleges: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wyoming.

States in which information to prevent conception may be given in the standard medical works: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wyoming.

United States mails—United States Territories and the District of Columbia. (U S Statutes sec 10485. Compact edition West Publishing Company.) Federal law prohibits the MAILING of printed or written matter which gives information to prevent conception; this also refers to express companies and common carriers.

Medical Aspects of Birth Control

(Continued from page 14)

held wholly accountable for the condition of affairs. They are dependent on the public, not alone for the appropriation and the income for the support of their activities, but quite as much on the public for that cooperation and assistance which will make their activities effective. When the public makes it possible for the medical and the public health professions to carry out what they know so well should be done, and indeed when they *demand* that the profession do what they know how to do, the whole question will be satisfactorily in process of solution in a decade.

"Why should men and women have children that they cannot take care of, children that are burdens and curses? Because they have more passion than intelligence, more passion than conscience, more passion than reason. You cannot reform these people with tracts and talk. Religion is helpless. There is but one hope. Ignorance, poverty and vice must stop populating the world. This cannot be done by moral suasion. This cannot be done by talk or example. To accomplish this there is but one way. Science must make woman the owner, the master of herself. Science, the only possible savior of mankind, must put it in the power of a woman to decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother. This is the solution of the whole question. This frees woman. The babes that are born will then be welcome."—ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

Birth Control is the most vital problem of the hour. In England Lord Dawson's challenging speech has aroused a great controversy. In America the public raid on the Town Hall meeting has exposed the sinister forces fighting the movement.

Every intelligent man and woman should follow the events of this great historical movement.

The Birth Control Review during 1922 will publish papers and essays on various aspects of the subject from its most distinguished advocates in Europe and America.

The Birth Control Review should be read today, as it must be read in years to come.

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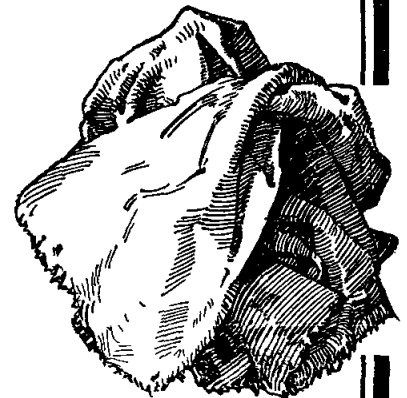
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