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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger



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ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22, Turin. Periodical, *L'Educazione Sessuale*

AUSTRIA—Der Bund gegen den Mutterschaftszwang Johann Ferch, President. Wien, XV/1 Gablengasse 31 Periodical, *Sexual Reform*.

PORTUGAL—E. Silva, Junior, L. da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon. Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*

AFRICA—Ligue Neo-Malthusienne, Maison du Peuple 10 Rampe Magenta, Alger

JAPAN (1921)—Voluntary Parenthood League Baroness S. K. Ishimoto President. 10, Hinoki-cho Akasaka-ku, Tokyo

INDIA (1922)—Hindusthan Janamvash Sabha (Indian Birth Control Society), Delhi. Honorary Organizer, Professor Gopalji.

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THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

Four Steps to Our Goal—Agitation, Education, Organization, Legislation

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

VOL VI

DECEMBER, 1922

No 12

Our Fight in New York

THE VITALITY OF the Birth Control Movement in this country may be gauged not merely by the friends we have made, but even more emphatically by the fear shown by our enemies. To tell the truth, an honest, courageous, open enemy is often a greater help to a cause than a passive, spineless group of adherents. There are too many people in the United States who proclaim they "are for Birth Control" and let it go at that. Their indifference, their passivity, their timidity is of value neither to themselves nor to the cause of civilization. Better a thousand enemies who come out bravely in the open, challenge us, attack us fairly and thereby arouse new interest and further discussion, but such enemies, alas, are too few, and timid adherents are too numerous.

I wish to call your attention to another brand of enemy, far more dangerous, more dastardly, more insidious. These are those who, from time immemorial, have been too tricky to fight in the open. Calumny, falsehood have been and are to day their insidious weapons. Through the centuries these forces have attempted to check the progress of civilization. There is the underground root of fear and threat. They weave mysterious, intangible networks of influence. They place their intimidated henchmen in every sphere of public life. The respectable elements of our national community, on the other hand, sit good naturedly back, while these powers of darkness steadily spread their sphere of influence. Today they have centered their efforts on the Birth Control Movement. They have decided that they will crush out its life. They realize that the splendid youthful vitality of this movement is a symbol of the growing power of science, human intelligence, enlightenment and liberty. Crush this, and the clock of human progress will be set back, human society will stagger through centuries of darkening obscurity into new dark ages, for upon the ruins of civilization, upon lies and deceit and ignorance these sinister influences flourish. Today we have ample evidence of their machination. They have sought to terrorize our workers. They have sought to intimidate our supporters. Not only have they openly violated the laws they are sworn to uphold, but they have caused to be written—perhaps indelibly—into the records of the police and of the courts, dastardly lies concerning noble and disinterested adherents of our movement.

THIS IS A MATTER of importance not merely to the Birth Control Movement in itself, it is of the gravest importance to the national life—to every true citizen of these United States. Are we to sit supinely back and witness without protest this insolent domination of American life and morals, by a small sect which has, for centuries, been inimical to the true interests of civilization and obstructive to the finer flowering of human genius? Are we to permit these demagogues to batten on human misery, ignorance and stupidity?

The brave men and women who founded this Republic, did so to insure freedom of thought and religious opinion. They sought primarily to avoid the domination of the political structure by any sect or creed, yet through fear, intimidation and a deplorable blindness to the spiritual values that lie at the foundation of liberty today, we have lost the courage to fight for this glorious heritage handed down to us by our noble forefathers.

Peculiarly, the Birth Control Movement seems to be active enough, strong enough and vital enough to bring this enemy out into the open. Now let us, who stand for science, sanitation, hygiene and a cleaner world, expose the corrupt source of this sinister opposition. Let us unmask the enemy fearlessly and frankly and drive it out of the various avenues of our social and political structure, for no one can truly expect the benefits of freedom or liberty who is not willing to volunteer in this new and greater war of defense, who is not willingly active and aggressively ready to defend our ancestral freedom against the dogmas of superstition.

In the face of these undisputable facts and knowledge, we shall go undiscouraged to the Legislature at Albany this coming year. We want to bring the campaign against Birth Control into the open. It is the right of the people of this State to determine whether our politicians are really interested in the tragic sufferings of the mothers of New York State, or are dominated by the fear of a hierarchy.

In the meantime, of our more distant friends, we ask an active personal investigation of the dominating religious and educational forces which are determining the political and social life and conditions in your own community. Find out for yourself the source of the unsleeping opposition to the Birth Control Movement. Let us together watch, stand guard at the gate of liberty!

M. S.

THERE IS AN interest for the advocates of Birth Control in the decision of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, holding invalid the minimum wage law passed by Congress for the women of the District. That the reasoning of the judges was totally out of harmony with the facts of industrial life goes without saying. The United States Supreme Court has already decided, that the fact that women are voters does not deprive the States of power to afford them special protection, if this protection is in the interest of society. It is evident, under our present industrial system that women workers, on account of their youth, their impermanence in industry, and the general low level of their wages, are incapable of protecting themselves from exploitation through trades unions and the strike, and it is unlikely that the U S Supreme Court will reverse its decision and upset the whole system of protective legislation by sustaining the Court of Appeals in its decision. Nevertheless, the danger threatening these laws shows the vital need that women should be able to protect themselves, that they should be free to strike at the root of the discriminations against them, at the root of low wages due to over keen competition among the workers, at the root of the evil which forces married women into industry to help to keep alive a too numerous brood of children. If these working women had the choice, if they had access to knowledge already in existence, but carefully withheld from their reach, they would exercise such control over population as would make many of our protective laws—undoubtedly necessary at the present time—obsolete. Woman it was, who first set the feet of the race on the upward path. Women are the civilizers of mankind. They are the eugenicists. Give women the right to control their own bodies, give them the knowledge which will enable them to exercise that right, and they will wipe off the face of the earth those black stains of modern life—prostitution and the exploitation of the girl and woman worker.

A picture in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for November, illustrating an interview with Mary Anderson, Chief of the Woman's Bureau of the U S Department of Labor at Washington, carries the undercut "No matter how much she produces, nor how skillful her fingers, she may not be able to keep soul and body together." What an indictment of our present system! What a commentary on the need of limitation of population! The picture represents the weary women workers coming from their toil. But it is safe to say that the basal lesson to be learned from the picture will escape the attention of most of the readers of the *Journal*. It does matter—it matters exceedingly—how "much she produces." It is just the over production of woman's greatest creation—of babies—that brings about her bitter inability to keep soul and body together for herself and for the children that she has borne. In a single generation women could make human beings so precious that there would be an end to the exploitation of the workers. Freed from the millstone of families too large to support, the workman and the workwoman could stand erect and demand a fair share of their own product, and minimum wage laws, and eight hour working day laws would become a tradition of an evil past when they had been a pitiful necessity.

A. G. P

THE DOCTRINE OF over production has lost its terror for modern society." So says Mr Roy L. Garis, in his controversy with Professor Raymond Pearl in the *New York Times*. Professor Pearl had pointed out that the safety limit in the United States—200,000,000 people—would soon be reached and that if man continued to multiply according to natural laws—as the *Drosophila* flies bred in his experiment—"our children's children will have to face a standard of living much below that which we enjoy." There is not, however, any great difference between Mr Garis and Professor Pearl, because while Professor Pearl points out the inevitable results of leaving to "Nature" the whole question of breeding, Mr Garis points out that "If the fruit flies had human intelligence and foresight, and the ability to produce as well as consume, and if they had the conscious power to limit offspring, then the analogy might contain some elements of comparison worth while." "The conscious power to limit offspring" is what can save the world from the dire fate which our biologists and economists see in store for it. And yet this power of control is refused by our government to the very people who most need it—to the men and women who are already facing the lowering of standards which results from over crowding and from permitting nature to dominate mankind in the immensely important matter of breeding. The lesson to be learned from both Professor Pearl and Mr Garis is that man must show his superiority to flies or mice, and take control over his supreme function of procreation that it may be used for the welfare instead of for the destruction of humanity—in fact the lesson of Birth Control.

A. G. P

AN ENCOURAGING LETTER

To the Editor

I do not know whether I am doing the proper thing in writing to you or not. But there is something I would like well to know, so I am prompted to write.

What I want to know is: Can I do anything in November at the general election to help the cause of Birth Control? I mean in voting. I would like to be able to help win the victory. I will vote to help Birth Control if I can. If you should write to me, tell me how to vote, because at present I would not know how to vote down the obscenity laws.

M. T., Missouri

This letter shows vividly the extent of the task which the advocates of Birth Control face before the law can be liberalized in the various states. There is no direct way of voting down the obscenity laws—or rather of so amending them that prevention of conception shall no longer be classed as obscene. In most states people have not yet awakened to the need of such amendment, and until public opinion is created, no candidate is going to take any stand on this question. The whole process has to be gone through before Birth Control shall be included in the social moral standard. This process consists in Agitation, Education, Organization and Legislation, and in many states the very first step has still to be taken. Nevertheless it is hopeful and encouraging to receive such a letter.

Editor

Birth Control in Ohio

State Conference Held at Cincinnati, November 21, 1922

AN IMPORTANT EVENT in the history of the Birth Control movement was the holding of a State Conference on Birth Control at Cincinnati. Arrangements for the Conference were made by Miss Clara Louise Rowe, and the list of patrons and patronesses, given below, contains the names of representative people from Cincinnati, Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown and Columbus

Judge and Mrs George S Addams	Rev and Mrs Dilworth Lupton
Mr and Mrs Edgar C Adams	Mrs W O McAfee
Mr and Mrs Charles E Adams	Mrs Sabina Marshall
Dr and Mrs Julian Benjamin	Mrs Philip R Mather
Dr Ruth Bernheim	Dr Gertrude K Meck
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Dr and Mrs Theodore P Herick	Mrs Carveth Wells
Mrs L J Hillhouse	Mrs William H Weir
Mrs. Charles W Hitchcock	Dr Eleanor Rowland Wembridge
Mrs Charles Iliff	Mr Henry Wembridge
Mrs Clarence Lauer	Mr and Mrs Arthur F Wheeler
Mr and Mrs Martin Low	Dr Harry L Wieman
	Mrs Warren P Williamson

The Conference opened at 12 noon, and the first brief session was followed by a luncheon. Among the speakers at the afternoon session were Dr David I Wolfstein, of Cincinnati, on "Some Psychological Factors in Birth Control," Dr Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, of Cleveland, on "The Social Values of a Controlled Population," and Mr Jerome Fisher, of the law firm of Thompson, Hine and Flory, Cleveland, on "The Ohio State Laws Concerning Birth Control." Mrs Juliet Barrett Rublee, of New York, Vice President of the American Birth Control League, addressed the Conference on "The Need of Birth Control in America." Mrs Margaret Sanger was the principal speaker at the evening meeting. She took as her topic her recent experiences in Japan and China and spoke of Birth Control as a world movement, which was about to usher in a new and better civilization.

On Friday evening, November 25th, in connection with the Conference, a meeting exclusively for doctors was held at the Literary Club. Dr Julian Benjamin, President of the Cincinnati Public Health Federation, took the chair and introduced Mrs Sanger, who presented the case for Birth Control.

News Notes

A WELCOME meeting to Mrs Sanger was held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on the evening of Monday, October 30th. The audience, which numbered about 2,000, was evidently in sympathy with the movement for Birth Control, and there was no indication of any dissent or opposition. The chair was taken by Mr Heywood Brown. In his opening remarks, he paid a high tribute to Margaret Sanger, and to her able leadership of the movement for Birth Control in the United States. An abridgement of Mrs Sanger's speech is given in this issue. There were also speeches by Dr Sidney E Goldstein, who spoke on the moral aspect of the question, and by Dr Lydia A De Vilbiss, who took as her subject the legal hindrances to Birth Control.

NOVEMBER 17—Mrs George H Day, Sr, and Mrs A G Porritt attended the Annual Convention of the Conn League of Women Voters in Bridgeport with the object of bringing before the League the bill to be introduced in the Conn Legislature, legalizing medical clinics for instruction in methods of preventing conception.

NOVEMBER 18—Mrs Sanger spoke on Birth Control at a luncheon at the Hotel Claypool, Indianapolis.

NOVEMBER 19—A meeting for Mrs Sanger, arranged by Miss Esther Griffen White, was held in the ball room of the Eagle Club, Richmond, Indiana.

MRS B H BARNETT of Jacksonville, Fla, spoke on Birth Control before the Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs on November 21. The invitation came from the President of the Federation, as a consequence of the meeting of the General Federation in Buffalo when the subject of Birth Control was considered and referred to the individual State Federations and Clubs.

NOVEMBER 28—Mrs Sanger spoke at a mass meeting at the Schenley Theater, Pittsburgh. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Western Pennsylvania Branch of the American Birth Control League.

IT IS ANNOUNCED that Mrs Margaret Sanger will speak at the monthly luncheon of the Women's Congress of Syracuse on December 7th. The luncheon will be held at the Onondaga Hotel, and has been arranged by Mrs L E Whittic.

A MOTHER'S CLINIC was established in November in Vienna, under the auspices of the League Against Compulsory Motherhood. Women too poor to pay are given free instructions and appliances for the prevention of conception.

THE LEGISLATIVE Committee, which will be in charge of work at Albany during the coming session of the N Y Legislature, is under the chairmanship of Mrs Richard Billings of New York. Mrs Dexter Blagden is Vice Chairman. It is planned to hold a conference in Albany to which all who are interested in the amendment of the laws of New York State which prohibit the giving of Birth Control information are invited.

World Aspects of Birth Control

Margaret Sanger's Speech at the Meeting of October 30

AT THE WELCOME Meeting held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on October 30, interest naturally centered in the speech by Margaret Sanger. It was her first appearance in America after her world tour, and in opening, she expressed once more her faith in her vision of a new world, a vision that she hoped, through the instrumentality of Birth Control, would become before long a beautiful reality. She paid a high tribute to the Chairman of the meeting, Mr Heywood Broun, whose presence on the platform she described as a new and distinct victory for the cause of Birth Control. "For years," she added, "I have been amazed at the timidity of our younger writing men. They say they are for Birth Control, but they are careful not to commit themselves publicly. How different is the situation in a country like England, when a great intellectual force like H. G. Wells throws the weight of his tremendous influence into the Birth Control movement, where a great churchman and mystic like Dean Inge of St Paul's Cathedral comes out boldly and fearlessly in favor of this new philosophy, where that inspired prophet and visionary, my dear friend Havelock Ellis, lifts the subject of sex into the realm of the spiritual and divine. Today the most popular and brilliantly representative of the younger generation has shown his open adherence to the movement, and I cannot adequately express my appreciation to Mr Broun for throwing great influence on the side of our movement."

Taking up the story of her tour of the world, Mrs Sanger told of the invitation from a group of young Japan intellectuals—the Kaizo—which had been extended to her. Similar invitations had been extended to Professor Einstein and H. G. Wells, and she herself immediately followed Mr Bertrand Russell—as she described it, "in good company." She was to give five addresses and had no idea of any opposition on the part of the Japanese Government when she booked her passage. Two days before the date of sailing the Japanese refused to visa the passport. Then followed the long interchange of communications, with a rising tide of protest from the Liberal elements in Japan, which ended with her being accorded permission to enter the country, to speak in public on War and Population, and to private groups freely on Birth Control. The whole incident reacted strongly in favor of the Birth Control movement, affording it a publicity which it could have received in no other way.

IN THE MEANTIME Mrs Sanger had sailed, nominally for China, and she told of the brief stop in Honolulu with crowded meeting, of addresses given on board ship that won over the Japanese representatives who were returning from the Washington Conference, and of the friendly intervention of one of them, Mr Hanihara. She also told of the many radio messages she received from Japan, while still uncertain whether she would be allowed to land, and of the long official preliminaries when harbor was reached at Yokohama. For

her final victory, she said, "I must thank intelligent, wide awake young Japan, expressing itself in agitation and protest, that showed the power of organized public opinion over official autocracy." The final ordeal was at the hands of the customs officials. "They must have thought," she declared, "that I possessed some magic wand to depopulate Japan. After confiscating most of my books, I was allowed to go."

Intelligent, wide awake young Japan was not limited to the upper classes. "Just as I was at last free," she remarked, "I was approached by several rickshaw men, who came as representatives of the Rickshaw Men's Union to welcome me to Japan. One spoke a little English and courteously apologized for the Home Office. 'You not mind,' he said. 'Sometime Japanese Government, he a little autocratic.'"

It was a remarkable picture of the new Japan that Mrs Sanger painted. "The old order has been swept away by modern industrialism. In Yokohama and Kobe one hears factory whistles and sees the tall smokestacks of industrial plants. There are great cranes in the new shipyards. The war quickened the transformation of Japanese society, and great changes are in making in the lives of the working millions. The industrial change has come with little preparation and sharp suddenness. Without warning, Japan has been thrust from a feudal system into an industrial system not unlike our own. The Japanese people have no background of experience in meeting these new conditions. The masses of the people, mostly peasants, had been ruled by feudal loyalty, by clan and guild bonds, by a religion of personal submission, by centuries old racial superstitions. Under the old order the power of money played practically no part. Long hours, low pay and the growing realization that a new class is springing up which is reaping the profits of industrialism are awakening the masses to the new order of life. The people are thirsting for education, aiming for higher standards of living and spurred on by the desire to get rich too."

MRS SANGER WENT on to describe the industrial unrest in Japan, and the great part taken in industry by girls and women. "These women factory workers," she told her audience, "forming seventy to seventy eight per cent of all factory workers, are sent out of the rural districts and villages, practically sold, to the factories for periods of two to three years. In most cases, the greater part of their wages is sent to their families by the employers. The economic value of girls is increasing, but at the same time they are undergoing the cruel education of modern industry."

The factors which make Birth Control of such enormous importance to Japan were then enumerated. The area of Japan is about equal to that of California but with five-sixths of it mountainous and untillable. The population, which is now about sixty millions, is increasing by seven or eight hundred thousand a year, and the density of population in the tillable

areas averages two thousand to a square mile. Every available inch of land is under cultivation. "There are few play grounds," added Mrs. Sanger, "there are fewer lawns and fields in which children can play. I never saw so many children, the babies are carried upon the backs of the older children, even in play, and while you see a country of one story homes, you see also a country of two story children."

"Such then," summed up Mrs. Sanger, "is the situation in Japan—a rapidly increasing population, a lack of tillable land. She is dependent more and more upon imports for food and clothing. She may increase her shipping and her foreign trade, but she cannot keep pace with her babies. There are two alternatives—expansion, emigration, imperialism, enforced by armaments and militarism on the one hand, on the other, a drastic national policy of Birth Control, limiting the numbers, improving living conditions, and aiming at the perpetuation of peace and the development of art and science. As for emigration and expansion, we must realize that Japan cannot imitate the older colonial policies of the European powers. She cannot send her surplus millions to foreign countries. If she could or did, it would be but temporary relief, and would complicate international problems tenfold."

FROM JAPAN, MRS. SANGER went to Korea, where she addressed a group of bankers, missionaries, physicians and business men. She was much impressed by the alertness of the Koreans and their readiness to accept the new thought of the Western world. After leaving Seoul, she proceeded to Peking, where she had the opportunity of addressing an audience of 2,500 at the Government University. She also spoke at the Rockefeller Institute of Peking, and at a luncheon of bankers, given in her honor. After the meeting in the University she was invited to dinner at the home of the Chancellor. The guests included a number of professors and others of the intelligentsia. The Chinese apparently act more quickly than we of the Western world realize, for that very evening a league was formed, Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet *Family Limitation* was taken in hand and translated, and the next morning five thousand pamphlets in Chinese were printed and ready for distribution.

If the need for Birth Control was great in Japan, Mrs. Sanger found it far greater in China, where the balance of population has been upset by Western humanitarian ideas and modern sanitation. "We cannot go into China," she told her audience, "with our sympathies and our moral codes, saving her babies from infanticide, without increasing her problems. We find that after we have rescued 200 infants from the river one year, 2,000 additional 'sing song girls' are in the ranks of the prostitutes the next year." "In China," she continued, "we witness the last act in the national tragedy of over population. Here is a great Empire prostrate in the dust. China, the mysterious fountain head of art, philosophy and the deepest wisdom of the world, has been brought down by the superabundant breeding of its worst elements. It is difficult for anyone who has not visited China to realize the situation. Here are masses of human beings who live below the level of animals

They eat, sleep and breed in the crowded streets and sunless alleys. Thousands have not even a foothold on the land. They are compelled to live in make shift boats on the crowded banks of the river. We have respect and reverence for the ancient culture of China. We bow before the ancient civilization of Asia, the original fountain head of human wisdom. Therefore all the greater is the tragedy of China. The flame of Asiatic civilization is flickering. It is threatened with extinction. There is a rising tide of famine, of wretchedness, of disease, a flood which because of the incessant fertility of those millions spreads like a plague. To contribute to famine funds and to the support of missions in China is like trying to sweep back the sea with a broom. But as long as the American public prefers sentimentality to science, this waste of funds, thrown into the bottomless pit of charities, will continue. The Chinese do not need our missions. They need our science, our sanitation, our hygiene, our Birth Control.

"YOU CANNOT MEASURE the greatness of a country by the numbers of its population. We cannot gauge civilization in terms of industrial expansion and growth. National greatness is not a matter of large standing armies and invincible navies. Is a country breeding great men? Will its sons and daughters leave for the generations to come a record of immortal poetry, art and philosophy? Then it is a great country, for it has attained the only immortality worth striving for. In holding this as our ideal as we strive upward, the human race should first be freed of the millstone of militarism, famine and the fatal burden of inherited disease. There are other hindrances in the long march toward our unknown goal, but we are not helping ourselves by adding to them bad breeding and blasted childhood.

"After my eight months' tour of the world, I have come to agree with H. G. Wells, when he says that the world at present is swarming with cramped, dreary, meaningless lives, lives which amount to nothing and which use up the resources and energies of mankind. Our world is overcrowded with masses who are merely the breeding ground of admitted misery and wretchedness. They do nothing to carry life forward. They are just the vain, defective, imperfect repetitions of all that has gone before. Our charity to them is in reality a crime against future generations, against the finest blossoming of the human spirit. Upon these docile, herdlike masses, the sinister demagogues of the churches and nations batten. To the best of our ability we must undo the work of these blind leaders of the blind who are urging the unfit full speed ahead in their mad spawning and swarming. The world is overpopulated in more ways than one. There are too many people for our limited intelligence. There are too many people for the social systems evolved. There are too many people for our present equipment—transportation, housing, schools—everything which should advance our civilization, and in the great majority of countries there are too many people for the means of subsistence.

(Continued on page 256)

The Joys of Controlled Parenthood

By Dr C Killick Mullan, M O H

A Speech Delivered at the Public Meeting of the Fifth International Birth Control Conference

I COME BEFORE YOU this evening as Medical Officer of Health of one of our great industrial centers. In connection with my official work I have been closely connected for many years with problems of maternity and child welfare, as they affect the lives of the poor. I speak also as an individual who has been married over twenty years and happily married. Like Mrs Sanger, I have a son. In fact, I am proud to be the father of two sons and two daughters. I mention these personal details, because I venture to suggest that in a question such as this they are by no means a negligible qualification.

It is a strange reflection that some of the most vehement condemnation of Birth Control comes from men who are themselves celibate, men who have had no personal experience of the joys of marriage and parenthood, men who, no matter how distinguished they may be, and no matter how good work they may be doing in their own sphere, in this matter, concerned as it is with the intimate details of marriage and parenthood, are mere laggards in the battle of life. Such men are not, and cannot be, in the nature of things, the best judges. There is, of course, a scientific explanation of the extreme hostility which some of these men manifest towards Birth Control. In the terms of psychology, it is one of the manifestations arising from an undue suppression of the sex complex.

We have heard of the hostility of the churches to Birth Control. Now I venture to suggest that it is not without significance that the oldest established of our churches, the one which has been most active in its hostility to Birth Control, which has set an example and influenced the teaching of other churches, requires all its priesthood to be celibates.

BEFORE I GO further, I want to emphasize how greatly I appreciate the value of children. People who have never had children have missed one of the supreme and most permanent of the joys of existence. Parenthood is one of those satisfactions of life which increase, instead of diminishing with advancing years. In a sense, our children and our children's children make us immortal. It is easier for us to reconcile ourselves to the waning of life's flame, when we have handed on the torch to others.

Childless marriages are generally to be deplored. Too often they represent a real domestic tragedy. It is not without good reason that we congratulate the young couple on the birth of their first child. So important do I feel it that every marriage should come to fruition that personally I can never recommend young couples at the outset of their married life, unless there are exceptional reasons, to practice Birth Control, until they have made sure of at least one child. We must remember that fertility is a very precious fountain, which in many cases it is much easier to turn off than to turn on.

Therefore, I say that, no matter how great the inconvenience

and the sacrifice which the advent of the first child within a year of marriage may entail, make sure of it. It is worth it, well worth it.

Then after an interval which I suggest ought not to be less than about two years, nor more than about three, there should be a second child. One child marriages are not in the same category as childless marriages, but still are very much to be deprecated. It is bad for the child, who too often becomes self-centered and spoiled. It is bad also for the parents. Besides, everyone knows it is foolish to put all your eggs into one basket. In the parish church of the town of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, there is a beautiful monument which represents a little girl lying asleep, marvellously sculptured in white marble. It bears this pathetic inscription:

To

Penelope

Only Child of Sir Brooks and Dame Susannah

Boothby,

Born, April 11th, 1785

Died, March 13th, 1791

She was in Form and Intellect Most Exquisite. The Unfortunate Parents Ventured Their All on this Frail Bark, and the Wreck was Total.

AFTER TWO CHILDREN have been born, many young couples will feel in serious doubt about incurring fresh responsibilities. Many circumstances have to be considered. There is a limit to what one woman, single handed and without assistance, can accomplish, if she is properly to attend to her home, her children and her husband, and retain her self respect. Then provision has to be made for the children's future, for it is right to encourage parents to do well by their children, using that term in its best sense. There may have to be a longer interval before further children arrive, but so greatly do I appreciate the value of children that I urge all healthy young couples who can see their way to it, not to be satisfied with less than three children. Personally, I regard four children, two of either sex, as the ideal family. It is well to have duplicates in case of contingencies.

I am aware that many people still hold the old idea that married people ought to have as many children as are sent to them. That extreme doctrine is dying out. Very few people hold that view today. My gardener tried it, and his wife presented him with eighteen babies in twenty five years, all born one at a birth.

In place of that old fashioned doctrine, the view that most people hold now is that the begetting of new life—the most important and sacred function we human beings are called upon to perform—should no longer be undertaken recklessly, but be brought within the sphere of reason and forethought. I have to admit that at the present time young couples of the A1 class tend perhaps to err on the side of excessive caution,

but I believe that is a reaction from the excessive families of half a century ago. I have little fear but that it will right itself. I am more concerned with the reckless lack of caution of the C3 class. The disastrous fertility of the C3 class has now become recognized as a world wide danger. There is no gainsaying the fact that people who in all human judgment are least fitted in character or constitution to be parents, who are least able to support a large family, are just the very ones who have the largest families. That cannot be good, either for the individual, the nation, or the race. I sometimes think that the short and simple annals of the poor can be expressed in four words—"bearing babies, burying babies."

IF WE BELIEVE in the laws of heredity, we must realize that the children of C3 parents today tend themselves to become C3 tomorrow, and will be parents of C3 children a few years hence.

Let me close by quoting from an American writer. "The improvement of the human race, if not the future evolution of man, will depend in part on conscious human endeavor. To

us it is given to cooperate in this greatest work of all time and to have a part in the triumphs of future ages, not only by improving the conditions of individual life and development and education, but much more by improving the ideals of society, and by breeding a better race of men who will mould things nearer to the heart's desire."

"Men at some time are masters of their fates

"The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,

"But in ourselves, if we are underlings."

If men are really to be masters of their fate and not always underlings, if they are to rise to the greatest heights of which, through the divine attribute of reason, they are potentially capable, then, I say, it means learning to free themselves from the handicap of constant toil for the bare necessities of life, which is so largely the outcome of the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, and learning to control that strange fertility which throughout the whole of nature tends to become excessive. If mankind is effectively to control fertility, we believe it is necessary and desirable that they should adopt and put into practise the principles of Birth Control.

British Eugenists and Birth Control

Statement from Professor E. W. MacBride, Vice Chairman, Eugenics Education Society

I THINK THAT THE best answer to your letter of October 9th and to the request contained in it, would be to give you a brief account of what occurred in the Eugenics Education Society with regard to Birth Control.

Under the wise and moderate presidency of Major Leonard Darwin, the majority of the Council of the Society were gradually brought to see that some form of Birth Control was a most urgent and necessary measure of practical Eugenics in Great Britain—The situation as it presented itself to us was as follows:

Great Britain is, relatively speaking, an over crowded country with an increasing population. The increase is relatively greatest amongst the lowest and most incompetent strata of the population. This increase in former times was balanced by a large infant death rate, but in recent times owing to the adoption of humanitarian measures at the public expense, the infant mortality has been brought down from about 150 to about 75 per 1,000, and the death rate among children has been much lessened. The support for these measures has been provided by greater taxation of the more thrifty and competent members of the community, and Birth Control amongst the middle and upper classes of Great Britain is an almost universal practice, so that the birth rate has been reduced to a fraction over two per family.

The Council was formerly reluctant to commit itself to the support of Birth Control owing to the fear that a wide spread practice of this control would prejudice the production of sufficient babies by the competent and far seeing section of the community. They feel, however, that the damage which might have been apprehended from this source is already done, and whilst they feel that the logical remedy is the sterilization of the unfit, they recognize that public opinion in this country is not yet ready for such a measure.

THEREFORE THEY ARE ready to listen to the arguments of the Malthusian (New Generation) League and to view with sympathy the efforts of this society to spread a knowledge of the means of Birth Control amongst the poor. They invited Dr. Drysdale, the president of the Malthusian League, to address one of their meetings on the subject. A resolution was drafted by Lady Chambers, secretary of the Eugenics Education Society, requesting the Ministry of Health to determine the best form of Birth Control and to arrange to have this method taught at public health centers, such as, dispensaries, workhouses, hospitals, etc. This motion received the support of the president and of the majority of the Council, but a minority objected on the following grounds:

- (a) That to prevent a woman having children injured her health and made her neurotic. (This, if true, would lead to the conclusion that the married women of the middle and upper classes are neurotic.)
- (b) That the business of the Eugenics Education Society was to collect data, not to inculcate practical measures. (This, if true, would make it a Society for the Theoretical Study of Heredity, which is not in accordance with our constitution.)

Ultimately it was decided for the sake of unity to send the petition to the Ministry, not as from the Council, but as from the individual signatories.

As you are aware, however, the Council, to mark its sympathy with the International Congress on Birth Control, appointed me as a delegate to the same.

"Children Troop Down from Heaven"

Letters from Mothers Who Dread Their Coming

IF IT IS TRUE, as the poet Wordsworth sang many years ago, and as we have recently been told by an eminent ecclesiastic, that "children troop down from Heaven," that they come "with clouds of glory trailing from God who is their home," it is a fearful responsibility that society assumes when it forbids parents to exercise any responsibility for their birth. Surely the first requisite should be that these celestial visitors should have a sincere and hearty invitation and that a royal welcome should await them when they arrive. The home should be fit to receive the new comer and everything should be prepared to be worthy of it. There can be no hurry for the child to leave Heaven and come to earth, and no injustice will be done by allowing the little soul to dwell longer with God. Better let it stay until there is a fit place for it. In hundreds of thousands of homes, babies come to find no welcome, no place prepared for them. This must be so, as long as motherhood is forced upon women against their will, or as it occurs by chance—parents running the risk but hoping to escape the consequences. How can those who devoutly believe in the Heavenly origin of the babies approve of a state of things that permits their birth under circumstances described in the following letters? Can they justify transplanting babies from Heaven into homes like these? What is there to make such treatment of babies moral, and Birth Control immoral? Is not Birth Control far nobler than such trampling on the rights of human beings?

Four Children and Four Miscarriages in Eight Years

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am writing you as I obtained a book of yours, "Woman and the New Race." I have read it, and now feel in hopes I have found some one that has a heart for a poor woman that has to suffer with children being born—isn't the terrible thing ever was?

I was married when I was a girl of only seventeen, as there were thirteen children of us, and my father always drank, so we had to go to work very young—myself when I was eleven years, caring for boarders in a large boarding house. I have been married eight years. My first child was only a six months baby. She only lived three days, and had to be taken. She was born in July and about January 1st, a miscarriage of another. The next January a little girl was born. In about four months time another miscarriage, then the next January 27 another girl, then twenty one months and a boy, who is now two years old, and I have had two miscarriages since that. I have never had a chance to gain my real strength, and every one of the children had to be taken, and I did not get chloroform on account of my heart being so weak. When my second little girl was born, I suffered almost a week, almost paralysed. I said that if ever I was that way again I would commit suicide, but in twenty one months again, I

had the baby boy. I have tried every means to save myself from getting that way, but all seems useless. I many a time sit and cry to think of it, and ask myself what shall I do. I had a sister, 26 years old, left three little children through miscarriage and blood poisoning, and I have thought many times that if I did keep on I would be of something similar. Besides caring for my children, I have to do about a man's work to help support what I have, and if I could now only have the three living ones, I could probably bring them up as they ought to be. If there is anything you can do for me I do not know how to express the thanks in words, it will be to me, and now a doctor wants forty five dollars, and then have to go to get him and take him back, it keeps a poor person trying to pay these bills. I do hope there is something you can do for me.

Mothers Should Not Bear More Children Than They Can Care For

Dear Madam

We have just received a copy of your wonderful book, "Woman and the New Race." I was married at the age of 18. We have been married just 8 years. We have had five children, the first born dead a boy, and in fifteen months a girl, and in nineteen months another boy and in twenty three months a pair of twins, a boy and girl, the girl just being with us seven months. And now we are expecting the stork next month again. We have all we can properly care for and clothe and educate.

My health is not very good, and the doctor tells us we ought not to have any more, but that is all the advice he gave us, and I would like to gain my health back before we have any more. I think every married couple should have the knowledge of Birth Control and not bring more children in the world than they can care for.

Refuses to Bear Defective Children

Nebraska

Dear Madam

I have recently read a book of which you are the author, entitled, "Woman and the New Race."

I am very much interested and as I read your book I wondered if you could help me.

In your book you mention a number of times preventives that are sure and are not injurious to one's health. Can you explain or tell me what they are that I may be safe from pregnancy again?

I feel it is no more than right since I have a little boy 9 years old who is defective in every way. I have lived these 9 years in constant fear of this happening again, and at times it almost causes trouble between my husband and I.

Although his father has never drank at all, his grandfather was a drunkard, and I am told by physicians that is what caused our boy's trouble. Can you help me out? Please, I cannot go through this again with perhaps the same results.

and bring into this world another defective for someone to care for. For I am nearly all in myself. This child is such a care, more than an infant. Doctors tell me to not get that way again, but that's as far as their advice goes.

Your work will be blessed and I will surely be grateful to you for any information you can give me.

No Crops But a Baby Every Year

North Dakota

Such damnable laws we have on the books. Is this question coming to a vote? I hope so, I for one, if I had ten votes, would cast them all in favor of Birth Control.

Am a homesteader's wife in this dried out district. No crops, but a baby every year for four years. If I have an other right away I'll be a fit subject for Jamestown, as we are not able to feed these poor darlings, and no one but a mother knows what it means to see them want.

May God bless you and your noble work. You are surely a redeemer to the working mother.

Wants More for Her Children Than She Had Herself

Kentucky

I read your book "Woman and the New Race" a short time ago, and I became so interested in it, I read it over twice and I just felt like I had become acquainted with a dear friend when I was through.

I am 24 years of age, have been married 5 years, and have three babies which I love very dearly, but I do not want any more. I think it one of the greatest sins we can commit to bring large families here to suffer, and I do not feel that we could possibly take care of one more, as it will be a great cost and responsibility to raise and educate three as they should be, and that is my greatest desire for them to have an education, even if I was refused it myself. We are only renters, do not even own a home, but expect to try and be able to in the near future, and the thought of another baby just worries me to death, as more babies mean more ex-

penses and never a chance to own a home. I wanted two children when I married, and I first had a boy and then a girl, just as I wanted them, and did not want any more. I began to inquire on preventives and my husband went to our family doctor and he would not tell us anything, so I did things that other women told me were safe remedies, and three days before my little girl was a year old I had another little girl. Then I began to lose heart. Please pardon me for writing such a long story, but I just feel like I am talking to a friend and can't help it.

Please, Mrs. Sanger, send me help. Please pardon my long letter and answer me.

Looking for a New Era for Women

Dear Mrs. Sanger

I am a mother of two children, my oldest 21 months and my youngest 6 months. My oldest baby was only 6 months old when I realized I was again pregnant. I didn't have the strength, nor finance to carry another young life so soon, and as a result my health has suffered for it. My husband and I are real pals and are eagerly looking forward to the good times we are going to have together with our kiddies. But, dear Mrs. Sanger, if babies keep coming and coming, we'll fall in the same nervous, tired out rut that all parents before us have bitterly experienced, who have their babies so fast that they have no time to enjoy their children or joy in educating them properly.

I have just finished reading your book, "Woman and the New Race." It's great and, believe me, after reading it, I glowed all over with the warmth of the conviction that a New Era is coming (and I hope quickly) for woman.

Now Mrs. Sanger, my mother had ten children and only six lived and besides she suffered so much (premature births and abortion) physically and financially that I'd do almost anything to escape her trials and she asks me to solicit your help. Will you help? Oh please do. I just can't go through what she did.

Whys and Wherefores

By Noel Leslie

AS THESE WORDS are being written* the first reports of the Disarmament Conference are coming in. They are better reports than most of us dared hope for, and go to prove that the world is more than ever sick of the need less burdens laid upon her by ignorant or selfish governments. Once more we find cause for hope and encouragement as we read of this more than usually sincere effort of a group of statesmen to declare war, not on fellow men but upon the deep rooted evils from which all types of war spring.

Those who appreciate the true meaning of the words *Birth Control* know that these same statesmen would be infinitely nearer success were they to advocate and adopt the principles

and aims of the American Birth Control League of which Margaret Sanger is head. For what is it that these statesmen are doing? They are endeavoring better to govern or control life—life which at this moment is more uncontrolled and uncontrollable than ever before. But, since without birth there can be no life, it follows that the best means of controlling life is to govern its origin, in other words, to control birth. Not only is this likely to be the best means to secure happiness and peace for present and future generations, but it is the surest, for it starts at the very beginning.

Those who are opposed to the doctrine of family limitation have either jumped to a hasty conclusion from religious or sentimental prejudices, or else, after a brief but not careful study of its principles and practice, are so thoroughly

*November, 1921

unconventional—though the term will surprise them—as to believe that this vital question must be treated in an exactly opposite fashion to all other customs of modern civilization. Haphazard, accidental and unpremeditated birth is a custom, doubtless beneficial in earlier and less crowded stages of human existence. But when a custom ceases to be useful and becomes not merely antiquated but positively dangerous, then we have to deal not with a custom to be tolerated but with a *bad habit which should be, and eventually must be, eradicated*.

RIGHT OR WRONG? LOGICAL OR ILLOGICAL? Either Birth Control is right or it is wrong, there is no middle course. Control, in some form or another, being applicable and applied to every other phase of our existence save birth, it follows that those who oppose such control act, by so doing, in direct contradiction to all other rules which govern their earthly life.

Before any of us can enter a business or profession it is necessary to study its nature and procedure. It is necessary before we are qualified to practice our chosen profession or trade to pass certain tests or examinations, sometimes very difficult ones. Does it never occur to us that Motherhood, the most sacred of all professions, has, and should have according to these opponents, no qualifying examination? A large percentage of mothers today are physically, mentally and spiritually unqualified to bring children into the world. The same, of course, applies to the fathers who pass on some taint to their offspring owing to the lack of proper knowledge to prevent such contamination.

To be logical we must accept and advocate Birth Control or cease to submit to qualifications and restrictions in other walks of life. The most successful businesses are built up by specialization. The most successful families are reared by specialization. Rash speculation in business spells disaster just as unpremeditated gambling with life leads to ruin. To propagate by chance is to gamble with life.

ORDER OR CHAOS? Without control, which means government, life would be chaos. Our Federal, State, City and Municipal forms of government are still far from perfect but there is a constant striving for improvement. They at least give some semblance of order to the conduct of the individual and the nation, preserving us from the chaos which would ensue were there no system of government at all. Similarly, Reproductivity at present conducted recklessly, might be fashioned toward the perfecting of the race, granted that a control of life's origin were enforced.

It is true that Nature makes provisions for controlling life's haphazard tide by means of War, Famine and Disease—drastic remedies involving untold suffering for humanity which has "civilized" itself into conditions demanding such "natural" outlets. The control of birth provides a more humanitarian relief which in time will limit the peoples of the earth to numbers ensuring an equitable and contented enjoyment of the world's resources, as opposed to the present unequal and miserable struggle for what, for most of us, is becoming a mere existence.

It may be argued that it is unwise and even wrong to oppose or circumvent Nature in this way. Since when has man grown so squeamish? Has he not from the very beginning controlled Nature for his own ends? Long ago primitive man dammed the streams, diverting their courses to water his dry lands. Today he harnesses Niagara, by whose power light is generated for his cities. Mark it well, man can not live without controlling Nature.

THE WISDOM OF BIRTH CONTROL. Since the more educated and intelligent classes practise Birth Control its wisdom would seem to be apparent. Is it that they fear to share their knowledge with the mass, lest by so doing these same lower classes, by whose labors they subsist, awake to the realization of the true cause of their intolerable burden? Is it from fear of punishment deserved? He who is not self-supporting is unfit for life. Each man must bear his share. Those of us who are mere parasites deserve death, for we thrive only on the blood and sweat of those who work. But the mass of workers cannot be other than unintelligent, while indiscriminate breeding demands a constant struggle for existence that takes up every moment, saps their whole strength. Given some respite, the mass will evolve an intelligent, efficient class of workers which will merge with those worthy of survival in the present governing class. We live in a selfish age, but the dawn of brotherhood and selflessness is at hand. Ethically, then, Birth Control is wise.

A good farmer does not sow seed on unprepared ground. He cultivates the soil until it is ready for the seed's reception. Neither does he sow any seed that has not been carefully selected from many samples. Good seed in good soil brings forth a fine harvest, with its resultant benefit to mankind. Bad seed and poor soil produce bad crops, choked with weeds. The labor of the sower goes for naught, the farmer faces failure.

How much more important is the seed of human life? It is our duty to see to it that only those who are fit and worthy are permitted to hand on the torch.

A BLANK WALL. How shall such benefit be gained? How shall this all important knowledge reach the masses? Too often, in striving to free themselves from the toils of custom and ignorance, they find themselves faced by a blank wall. The very ones who should first proffer aid are likely to be the last, for despite the fine example of the more cultured members of the profession of medicine, too many doctors are apt to treat the subject of Birth Control in a spirit of levity that can only be poorly excused by their possible ignorance.

Is it not amazing that medical practitioners pay so little attention to, and evince but small concern for this very vital matter? One thing is certain, that so surely as they ignore this essential condition of life, so surely will there come into being another professional class of men and women—particularly women—who will devote their lives to the science of reproductivity, a science the culture of which will eventually bring life to a state of perfection where there will be few

(Continued on page 256)

What the Birth Control Movement Stands For

By H G Wells

From His Address as Chairman of Public Meeting, Fifth International Birth Control Conference, London

THE FOLLOWING extracts from the speech of Mr H G Wells, the famous English novelist, are of especial interest in connection with his candidacy for Parliament on the Socialist ticket. In introducing Mrs Sanger, he said

"Essentially, the Birth Control movement stands for frankness. It is for telling plainly and simply to the people, who are likely to be the willing or unwilling fathers and mothers of the next generation, the plain facts about birth and population, and about the separation of desire from procreation, so that the next generation, or as much of it as we can affect, shall not be begotten in ignorance and heedlessness, shall not be by products of blind desire and thoughtless passion, and shall not be unwanted children in an unsympathetic world, but that they shall be born well and graciously, as acts of will, out of a deliberate and honorable desire for parentage."

The differences among the advocates of Birth Control on all other questions are extraordinary. As Mr Wells pointed out at the public meeting, the men and women who made speeches or read papers during the Fifth International Birth Control Conference included Liberals and high and crusted Tories

They included intense individualists and thorough going Socialists. Among them were representatives of the Rational Press, leaders of the Free Thought movement, and ordained priests of protestant churches—and, he might have added, Jewish Rabbis.

"What is it," he asked, "that we have in common? We have this, that we believe in knowledge, we believe in openness, we believe in cleanness. We distrust emotional darkness, we distrust base excitements, suppression and shame faced ways, for in these matters that we discuss here, there is a paradox. In these matters concealment is more indecent than plain knowledge. Things may be shouted from the housetop, and said from the platform with perfect decency and dignity, that become shameful when they are whispered in the ear, for rest assured, that in these matters people will have knowledge."

"The choice before us is not a choice between innocence and knowledge. It is a choice between whispering, leering, red eared and furtive eyed knowledge on the one hand, and candid, straightforward knowledge on the other. We stand in this movement for the open ways, for the scientific method and for light."

Press Clippings

ALFRED E SMITH, Democratic candidate for Governor, in reply to a query from H J D Colladay, of No 259 West 92nd street, yesterday told of his accomplishments toward alleviating the crowded condition in the State hospitals for the insane. In his letter to Mr Colladay, he said, in part

"I had pointed out in my inaugural address that the task of providing more adequately for the mentally sick was one of the most humane duties which confronts the State."

"With this in mind I signed appropriations for institutions for the insane, feeble minded and epileptic amounting to \$7,278,233, out of which \$4,175,900 was for new construction."

"I approved a bill for constructing a psychopathic hospital for early treatment of mild cases of insanity in New York City."

"I approved a bill increasing the wages of State Hospital employees, especially those actually engaged in the care of patients in wards, so that the hospitals could get more employees and get men and women of a better grade."

"At the end of my term the hospitals were over crowded 18.2 per cent. Now, under Governor Miller, the over crowding is 23.8 per cent.—*N Y American*, Oct 25

AGAIN John S Sumner and his Comstock organization have met a well deserved rebuke. In a comprehensive and scholarly statement on the complaint of Mr Sumner made against the limited edition of "Satyricon" offered by Boni & Liveright, Magistrate Oberwager expressed the sound opinion

that

"The Legislature did not intend to confer upon any individual or society general power of censorship over literary works."

This was well said.

Boni & Liveright intend to institute a counter suit for damages against Sumner and the Comstockers, but in the meantime they are under unjustifiable expense for defending an entirely lawful procedure.

When the Vice Society has so weak a case as it had against the classical "Satyricon," it should be the rule that loss of the case would mean legal fees and damages for the aggrieved publisher without need for further court action.—*Evening World*, September 29

ROMAN CATHOLIC priests implore the Pope to relieve them from "the impossible observance of ecclesiastical celibacy" in a memorandum signed by cardinals and bishops, says the newspaper *Epoca*.

"Purity of life, the highest aim of the Church, is reached through the free working of man's nature, not by coercion and the imposition of laws against nature," says the memorandum, which describes its authors as victims struggling desperately against a martyrdom worse than death, and prays the Pope to consider relieving their cruel position.—*London Daily Mail*, July 15, 1922

Cannon Fodder

By Cicely Hamilton

(Address to the International Birth Control Conference)

IN THE SHORT time allotted to me I shall permit myself the impertinence of dealing with military matters—that is to say, I shall endeavor to refute what I call the “cannon fodder” argument against Birth Control and restriction

That argument appeals to many honest and admirable persons, who believe—some regretfully—that it is necessary to produce big battalions of children that the country may be saved from its enemies. I propose this morning to point out to you that, in the changed conditions of modern scientific warfare, that argument no longer carries weight, I suggest, on the contrary, that in war as we shall know it—air warfare developed—a teeming population will be a real handicap to a belligerent nation, and that military strategy and tactics in the future will be directed less towards the destruction of armies in the field than towards the terrorizing and stampeding of large masses of disorganized civilians. I put it to you that the stampeding of London, Paris or Berlin—the flight *en masse* of the inhabitants of industrial Westphalia or the Black Country—would inflict more damage on the nation affected than an enemy in occupation. Cities and industrial districts stampeded will resolve themselves into hordes of famished nomads—men and women who are dangerous as well as useless because deprived of their means of livelihood. If sufficiently panic stricken when they take to flight, they will avoid railways and roads—which are likely to be targets from the air—and not only devour the countryside, but trample it beneath their feet—in a day or two a vagrant and millionfold starvation—grown reckless. A widespread invasion by famished plunderers, more terrible, far, than invasion by an army that is fed and disciplined.

A very little consideration should convince you that I do not speak without warrant, there is nothing new in the idea of using the non combatant as a weapon against his own side. It was the root idea of blockade and submarine warfare, and, long before the World War, inspired the strategy of Labor. A strike on a large scale is usually an effort to inflict so much hardship upon the non combatant—the consumer of coal or the user of railways—that he insists, in self defense, on concessions to the striking party, while the whole idea of a general strike must inevitably fall to the ground unless there is a large non combatant population who will suffer acutely from the lack of their daily necessities. What we have to point out to advocates of the cannon fodder policy is this in the type of warfare in which the civilian—the non combatant—is used as an auxiliary destructive force, the larger the population the more efficient the weapon of destruction.

If you are under the impression that orthodox military leadership will decline to follow the example of Labor in using the civilian as a weapon, I can only refer you to the report of Air Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard on the British

Independent Air Force. Having read it, I suggest that you try to visualize the results of such a plan of campaign as is there outlined—the daily and nightly bombing of industrial centres, with the avowed object of making them impossible for industry. That plan of campaign, sufficiently intensified, means starvation on the run—nomadic anarchy.

It is not necessary to be an expert in military matters to realize that starvation on the run is the military objective of the future, that the aim and object of the “scientific” soldier of the future will be to produce nomadic anarchy and break an enemy Government by burdening it with useless mouths. Neither is it necessary to be an expert to realize that the thickly populated country where masses of men can be stampeded at once will be at a real disadvantage compared to the country whose population is less vulnerable, because more scattered. The advantage, in war as we shall know it, will lie with that people which is not hampered with over flowing millions, which, living comparatively scattered, can reduce an enemy to famine and anarchy by the agency of panic stricken hordes.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Cox, Harold, *Economist*, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, ex Member of Parliament, Expert on Indian affairs

East, E M Biologist, special field, Genetics Professor, Harvard University Author of papers and monographs on physiological chemistry, plant physiology and plant genetics

Hamilton, Cicely, English playwright, actor and public speaker Prominent in English feminist movements

Hardy, G, well known French novelist and writer

Leslie, Noel, playwright, actor and author

MacBride, E W, Professor of Zoology, Imperial Coll of Science, South Kensington, prominent in Eugenics movement

Mullard, Dr C Killick, Medical Officer of Health for Borough of Leicester, England

Wells, H G, well known English novelist and historian

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Book Reviews

MARGARET SANGER'S PIVOT OF CIVILIZATION

Reviewed by Professor E M East

This book is a distinct surprise a delightful surprise. It is even tempered and analytical, it shows a background of detailed knowledge which instead of unbalancing the picture, brings out both breadth and perspective, and it has style, a vivacious style shifting from the boldly didactic to the subtly persuasive yet always clear and to the point. One does not expect to find all these qualities in doctrinal preachments which indict social custom at least after the first score of samples. The odds are in favor of uncovering emotional appeals to prejudice, which, no matter how well written, serve usually to arouse the passions of those who are already of the same mind rather than to win the wavering.

But Mrs Sanger despite her original approach to the subject of Birth Control through personal contact in the hospital and in the home with the distressing effects of enforced maternity, has never been deluded into abandoning herself to the feverish ardour of the moment, though at times the temptation must have been strong. Her zeal and enthusiasm have carried her through trying times at the cost of much personal discomfort but she has always remained impressively rational in her point of view. And what is more she is able to carry this sane, judicious intellectual quality to the printed page without overlooking any justifiable appeal to the inmost sympathies of the readers.

When one closes the covers of the volume, it is with the feeling that it justifies its title. Man's physical evolution up to a certain point may have required a slavish competition for numbers. No one knows. Twentieth century civilization makes no such demands. Man has become the captain of his soul. His future lies in his own hands. If he is to develop he must use his powers to their fullest extent. If he does not he is doomed to a fall which never threatened his predecessors. The world has become a little neighborhood house where even the whispers are public property. No unknown aliens can arise out of the mist to smite him down. No new garden spots remain to be discovered and exploited when he has made the old unlivable. He is chained to what he has and the time approaches speedily when his possessions become small. Certainly no more than a century of grace remains until population pressure will no longer be a local matter, or a national matter, it will be world wide—if Nature takes her course. Is it then strange that Mrs Sanger should maintain that a sane solution of the population problem is the pivot upon which civilization moves either to higher things or to decay? And has man a better solution of this problem than to change the Love instinct from a wild ungoverned inheritance from a simian past which heeds not a mother's strength and offers her sons no comfort but an unending ferocity of struggle for mere existence, and to transform it into a means of giving every human soul an opportunity to rise to what heights it may?

The truth is, our race has been bound by chains which it has allowed to be forged by its primal instincts, Love and Hunger, and these chains become more grievous as the years go by, so grievous that many are only heartened by belief in a better life to come. But the twentieth century has come to realize that hope for a Heaven above forms no excuse for the sin of being accessories in the production of a Hell on earth below. And the twentieth century has found the means of lightening these chains. It remains to use them. As the author says so forcibly 'Not by denying the central and basic biological facts of our nature not by subscribing to the glittering but false values of any philosophy or program of escape, not by wild Utopian dreams of the brotherhood of man not by any sanctimonious debauch of sentimentalism or religiosity, may we accomplish the first feeble step toward liberation. On the contrary, only by firmly planting our feet on the solid ground of scientific fact may we ever stand erect—may we even rise from the servile stooping posture of the slave borne down by the weight of age old oppression.'

Mr Wells, in his thoughtful introduction, says these essays have lifted the subject of Birth Control "from out the warm atmosphere of troubled domesticity in which it has hitherto been discussed, to its proper level of a predominantly important human affair." To the reviewer, the point seems well taken. The author modestly disclaims an objective approach to her subject, appearing to regard conclusions formed by personal observation and experience as a subjective—or feminine—mode of approach. Fortunately, this is not true. The subjective argument, the black beast of science is an argument from an ideal which exists only in the mind, as opposed to the objective which is supported by what really exists in nature. Mrs Sanger is wholly objective, and being so, has made her book a real contribution. There is not a plethora of facts tumbling over each other, to the great perplexity of the reader, but there are sufficient concrete illustrations to enforce the argument.

The sickness of society is diagnosed with medical precision and the remedy supplied. Other specifics are then considered and their weaknesses pointed out. Perhaps the best chapter is where the pale pink pills of Marxism are given a thorough chemical analysis. Such euthenical patent medicines come in for a just exposure. And eugenic measures do not escape. Of course Birth Control itself is a eugenic measure as the author realizes, but she cannot conceal her contempt for the biologist who sees clearly where the facts point and yet has the audacity to say that all will go well with society if it segregates the *feeble minded* and preaches birth release to the *high minded* because he is so frozen with Victorian prudery that he cannot bring himself to use the words "Birth Control" much less to recommend it. As pointed out here without mincing matters, diminishing the reproductivity of the parasites of society will not even eliminate them in the future. They will continue to appear from most respectable quarters. And "cradle competition" with them by those of social worth is not only impracticable, but leaves the problem of population where it was before.

An Appreciation by Harold Cox

I was asked to write a review of Mrs Sanger's "Pivot of Civilization." Unfortunately other engagements rendered it impossible for me to do this by the date required. But I hope that the managing editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW may still be able to find room for what I will not call a review but an appreciation, of the latest and unquestionably the best of those excellent little books in which Margaret Sanger has helped to make known to the world the importance of Birth Control.

Her new book would deserve appreciation if only for its courageous title. Boldly she claims that Birth Control is the pivot of civilization. And she is right. For until the production of children becomes universally a matter of conscious volition, instead of a matter of chance the human race will have no adequate control over its own development. This is the keynote of her book. Again and again in striking phrase she insists on the fact that hunger is not the only driving force in primitive human nature. Sex is also a force from which human beings cannot escape, and little progress can be made towards the true civilization of the world as long as we attempt to ignore the existence and power of that force.

In this book Margaret Sanger discusses the position taken by the various groups of people who for one reason or another imagine the power of sex can safely be ignored. She refers to the "idealists and reformers who think that by the ballot society may be led to an earthly paradise." She deals faithfully with the Marxian socialists who flatter the labourer with the comforting doctrine that all the fault is with someone else that he is the victim of circumstances, and not even a partner in the creation of his own and his children's misery." She

criticises the eugenists who, instead of frankly demanding that steps shall be taken to check the fertility of the mentally and physically defective urge that the better educated and better equipped classes should imitate this fertility in the apparent hope that the race can be saved from decline by 'a cradle competition between these two classes'. She also replies effectively to the Catholics who profess to believe that 'children troop down from heaven' and to the sentimentalists who talk as if all the ills of the world would be cured by extended systems of public and private charity.

The book is full of good phrases which emphasize sound arguments. For example: "Today we are living in a world which is like a forest of trees too thickly planted—hence the fierceness of the struggle for existence. Again in dealing with the problem of child labor she happily says: "Cheap childhood is the inevitable result of chance parent hood."

Specially valuable are Mrs Sanger's criticisms of the attitude of the socialists to the problem of Birth Control. She points out that the Marxians attack Birth Control because by relieving the sufferings of the poor it would diminish their desire to wage war against private capital. The socialists are in effect adopting exactly the same attitude as the German imperialists who demanded that the women of Germany should produce sons to fill the German armies. In summing up her criticism of Marx, she says:

'In rejecting the Marxian hypothesis as superficial and fragmentary we do so not because of its so called revolutionary character, its threat to the existing order of things, but rather because of its superficial emotional and religious character and its deleterious effect upon the life of reason. Like other schemes advanced by the alarmed and the indignant, it relies too much upon moral fervor and enthusiasm. To build any social program upon the shifting sands of sentiment and feeling of indignation or enthusiasm is a dangerous and foolish task.

This wholesome warning against the danger of attempting to rely upon sentimental solutions of hard practical problems equally applies to the teachings of the charitably minded who directly they see any evil begin to clamour that something must be done, without pausing to think whether that something may not do more harm than good. As Mrs Sanger will say: "The warm heart needs the balance of the cool head." Her criticisms of the charitable sentimentalist and of the mischievous chief which he is capable of doing cannot be too strongly emphasized.

There is, she writes, a point at which philanthropy may become positively dysgenic when charity is converted into injustice to the self-supporting citizen into positive injury to the future of the race. Such a point it seems obvious is reached when the incurably defective are permitted to procreate and thus increase their numbers. "In particular the maternity centres often do much mischief by encouraging women to bring into the world children whom they have no adequate means to provide for. The poor woman is taught how to have her seventh child when what she wants to know is how to avoid bringing into the world her eighth."

I cannot better conclude this brief appreciation of an admirable little book than by referring to the emphasis which Mrs Sanger rightly lays on the social and human value of Birth Control. To quote her words:

Birth Control is no negative philosophy concerned solely with the number of children brought into this world. It is not merely a question of population. Primarily it is the instrument of liberation and of human development.

This is an absolutely sound doctrine on which the advocates of Birth Control cannot too strongly insist. Even if there were limitless space on the surface of the earth for an unlimited population, Birth Control would still be needed to liberate women from the terrors of compulsory maternity and to ensure that children shall be brought into the world through the conscious desire of their parents and not as the result of mere chance.

A French Estimate

Paris 3 Novembre, 1922

Chere et grande amie

Je suis, avec l'admiration enthousiaste de ceux qui savent l'importance de la question, vos merveilleux efforts. Et c'est avec la plus vive attention et la plus vive joie que j'ai lu votre nouveau livre. Je souhaite vivement qu'il ait dans les pays de langue anglaise tout le succès qu'il mérite. Il contribuerait à modifier par le monde les idées écoulées sur la natalité, il amènerait une mentalité nouvelle capable de régénérer notre si malheureuse humanité.

Merci pour votre bonne dédicace

Croyez à mes sentiments bien cordiaux de sympathie et d'admiration
G Hardy

(Dear and great friend, I follow, with the enthusiastic admiration of those who know the importance of the question, your marvellous efforts. And it is with the most lively attention and the most vivid joy that I have read your new book. I wish vehemently that it may have in English speaking countries all the success that it merits. It would contribute to modify among people the narrow ideas on birth, it would bring about a new mentality capable of regenerating our so unhappy humanity. Thanks for your kind inscription. Believe in my very cordial sentiments of sympathy and admiration—G Hardy.)

PERIODICALS

It is a curious fact that *The World Tomorrow* in its November number omits all mention of the influence of over population as a cause of war. The issue is devoted to the "Search for Peace." The failure of socialism, the churches, philosophy and economics to prevent war are noted, and influences on the side of peace are commented upon by various writers. But the impossibility of preserving peace when populations outstrip means of subsistence is not noted and the work for peace that is being done by the advocates of Birth Control is given no place among the efforts for a peaceful reorganization of the world.

The North American Review (New York) for October, contains a notable article on *The Forgotten Woman*, by John Corbin. In it he defends the educated woman from the charge of race suicide. Or at any rate shows that the race suicide is not of her own choosing, but is thrust upon her. "Those who still have a child or two," he writes, "do so, not as an act of happy normal functioning but as a deed of rare personal heroism. And confronted by a vanishing birth rate among the well born and well bred, we scold our women because they do not do their duty by the future." Mr Corbin finds the reasons for the difficulties under which our most desirable potential parents labor to be partly economic partly political. Our system of taxation weighs most heavily on this class. "The more they do for their children," he states "in short the greater their service to the State the more severely they are penalized. Birth Control for the well to do not balanced by Birth Control for the poor and those who are a charge upon the State is resulting in rapid deterioration of the race. The remedy lies in the immediate application of Birth Control where it is most urgently needed."

BOOKS RECEIVED

From the Macmillan Company, New York. *THE THEORY OF ETHICS* by Arthur Kenyon Rogers and

ACUTE CASES IN MORAL MEDICINE, by Edward F. Burke, M.A., Ph.D.

From Health and Life Publications, Chicago. *SEX CONDUCT IN MARRIAGE*, by Bernard Bernard.

From the Crucible Publishing Co. Seattle, Wash. *DIANA OR THE SECRET OF A HAPPY MARRIED LIFE*, by Henry M. Parkhurst. New edition.

From Longmans, Green and Co. New York. *OUTSPOKEN ESSAYS* (Second Series), by Dean Inge.

THE PIVOT OF CIVILIZATION

By Margaret Sanger



WHAT THE PRESS IS SAYING:

"To read 'The Pivot of Civilization' is to bring the blush of shame to every sane minded woman's face, shame because she has not given her help to Margaret Sanger in her noble crusade against the injustice done her own sex. Almost alone, Mrs. Sanger has fought the evil of enforced motherhood. But unjust opposition and cruel persecution have only strengthened her in her purpose and now she has gathered around her many of the greatest minds of the day. This is not a long book considering the enormous subject it so ably deals with. The style of writing is vivid, the facts horrifying—were it not that Mrs. Sanger has a solution of the problem."—MAUD DAVIS WALKER in *The New York Call*

"She sees in voluntary motherhood the only way in which a better civilization can be started and to the reader she gives most vividly her reasons for this belief."—*Bookman*

"Mrs. Sanger's book is a clear and impressive statement of the case for Birth Control."—*N Y Herald*

"Mrs. Sanger does not reveal herself as a professional feminist carried away by the emotional thrill of reform, but as a practical seer unhampered by any sentimental glamour."—NABRO BARTLY in *Philadelphia Ledger*

"The Pivot of Civilization is an intelligent courageous expression uttered with the breadth of the modern

spirit and on the plane of a rational understanding of the complexity of social problems."—HARRY L. LURIE in *Detroit Free Press*

"Steel-cold in its assembly and analysis of the facts accentuating the discords in modern life, yet white-hot in its conviction that a new answer must be had for our social riddle, Mrs. Sanger's book is perhaps the most important, because the most challenging of the year.

"Mrs. Sanger is wholly convincing as to the urgent need of Birth Control especially as to its greater promise than the program of the eugenists for the improvement of the race. To whatever extent one agrees or disagrees, this is one of the books that should be read."—*Coast Artillery Journal*

"A stimulating, moving, and genuinely valuable study of Birth Control viewed from the standpoint of its effect upon the race at large and upon the current confusion. Mrs. Sanger has done much and is doing much to make it clear that life can be better if women are more free and children are less cheap than they now are."—*N Y Nation*

"Mrs. Sanger's book deserves a wide reading because it sets forth sanely and dispassionately a cause that has been much misunderstood, much of the misunderstanding being due to intentional misrepresentation."—*Boston Herald*

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WORLD ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 245)

"I COME BACK FROM my eight months' trip around the world more convinced than ever that the people of the world are ready and eager for the practice of Birth Control. The officials of all Governments seem blind to its importance. The leaders of the churches are opposed to Birth Control. But the masses are looking to it for deliverance. Birth Control is not merely a problem of the individual woman. It is not merely a national problem. As John Maynard Keynes stated at the time of our London Conference, the problem of population is going to become in the near future the greatest of all political questions. Already the very mention of Birth Control arouses some of the deepest instincts and emotions. Feelings are running, as Mr. Keynes suggested, as passionately as in the earlier struggles between religions. We stand today at one of the great transition points in human history. If civilization is to survive, men and women must wrest control from the blind instinct of Nature, and they must develop the intelligence and the wisdom to direct the energies of life into the realms of the spirit.

"This is a problem that requires every ounce of courage and constancy of which we are capable. Our enemies are not sleeping. They are aggressive, bold, insulting. We look to you to have the courage to back us up. Above all, have the courage of your convictions. It is the duty of every one of us not merely to give a passive assent to this new vision, this new morality, but to do everything in our power to extend and strengthen the growing current of public opinion in favor of Birth Control for the individual, for the nation and for the world. We are fighting for the women and children of the present generation. We are fighting for the children, the women and the men of the next generation. We want a world freer, happier, cleaner. We want a race of thoroughbreds. Do not be discouraged. Remember that no great movement in history ever attained its maturity in one generation. Remember that it took two hundred and eighty years for Christianity to be accepted in the Roman Empire. Remember that one hundred and fifteen years elapsed after the discovery of the New World before the first English colony was planted here. No one who saw the beginning of these great historical movements could grasp their full import. Nor shall we, who are advocating the cause of Birth Control, ever witness its culmination. But it is good to remember that the first step towards international peace has been taken, for the idea of Birth Control has already triumphantly girdled the globe.

WHYS AND WHEREFORES

(Continued from page 250)

patients in need of medical care. After all, the practice of medicine only thrives on conditions brought about by ignorance, on the cure of disease which proper Birth Control will largely eradicate.

Perhaps this is, unconsciously, the chief reason for the amused, indifferent and even callous attitude of so many doctors toward fearful motherhood. They need not fear the loss of their own livelihood. Perfection is not attained in a day, nor in a century, but the time has come for them to face the truth, to look into the heart, to get at the root, of a problem whose solution will lift a load of misery from a weary world.

IS LIFE A LOTTERY? Life is often referred to as a gamble, and usually in terms of regret. The wise man eliminates the possibilities of chance and accident by means of insurance. He insures not only his worldly goods but his life—life being a supreme importance. Birth, the beginning of life, demands equal consideration with life itself. Should we not insure our children not merely a bearable existence, but as happy a life as a well governed earth can afford? Should we not agitate, organize and legislate—through those officers whom we ourselves elect—until we are assured that the least fortunate and intelligent of these our brethren has, with us, the knowledge and power to give to his offspring the true benefits of a healthful and happy mortal span?

Here are we indeed our brothers' keepers if we by withholding such knowledge are, perhaps not consciously but yet deliberately, storing up misery for generations that are to come.

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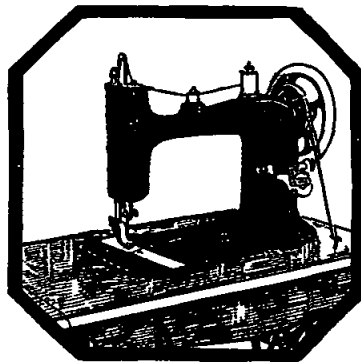
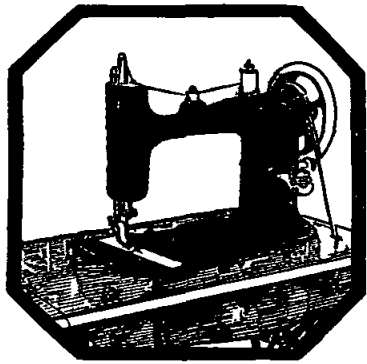
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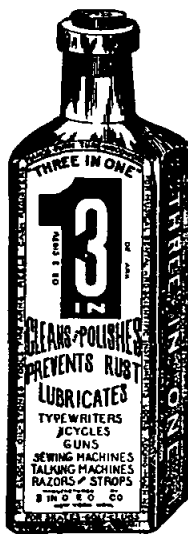
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I believe that the readers of Clinical Medicine for whom I have written for twenty years will be glad to have their attention called to a book of more than ordinary merit that they will be glad to recommend to their patients especially to women married and unmarried—Sex Conduct in Marriage by Bernard Bernard Phys B M P C (Lond).

Of the scores of books on Sex that I have read I regard this as the best for the married or for those who expect to have that misfortune thrust upon them. It is written in the most dignified and chaste language gives much valuable information that any lay reader may readily understand and must have a large influence in ameliorating the unfortunate conditions that are so sadly common in wedlock as a result of ignorance and of the absence of the high ideals inculcated by the author.

I am glad to recommend the book to all my readers.
Sincerely and fraternally

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