20 CENTS

RIL, 1923

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Edited by Margaret Sanger

The Law Must Be Changed

Hearing at Albany, April 10

The Case in the English Courts

Eminent Champions of Birth Control Testify

ir Arbuthnot Lane Sır Bryan Donkin Sır Archdall Reid H. G. Wells
[arold Cox Sır Loe Strachey John Maynard Keynes Mrs. Bertrand Russell

Official Organ of THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

BOOK J

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CONTENTS

Editorial
The English Birth Control Case84
News Notes85
PUBLICITY IN THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT,
By A G Porrutt88
Some Social Aspects of Birth Control,
By Norman Thomas90
Mothers' Letters 91
SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND BIRTH CONTROL,
By Helena Swanwick93
Press Clippings 94
BOOK REVIEW
Little Essays of Love and Virtue, by Havelock Ellis 95
Certain People of Importance, by Kathleen Norms 95
This Freedom, by A S M Hutchinson 96
Periodicals96
BOOKS RECEIVED 96
Our Contributors 99
THE BILL AT ALBANY104

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

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

MARGARET SANGER, Edutor

Vol VII

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Hail! Not Farewell!

OCTOR CHARLES V Drysdale and Mrs Bessie Drysdale have resigned their offices in the New Generation League of London This means a great deal. It means first of all that for the first time in seventy years the Birth Control movement in Great Britain has been deprived of the Drysdale leadership For approximately seventy years the great idea has been guarded, cultivated, tended with all the courage and bravery of unflinching devotion It has been mainly due to the disinterested, the loyal devotion of the Drysdales that the flame of our cause has been kept alive and not allowed to die out—a torch burning more brightly now than ever before From the early 'Fifties, when George Drysdale first published his epoch making gospel of Birth Control, "The Elements of Social Service," throughout the Victorian era, through the tempestuous days of the Great War, down to these chaotic days when the whole world has been desperately driven to a realization of the fundamental need for conscious control of populations, it has been these brave self-sacrificing Drysdales who have kept alive the idea. It has been a noble tradition of the Drysdale family—this quiet unceasing service, this loyalty to the idea

George Drysdale, the valuant author of the "Elements of Social Service" was the greatest nineteenth century prophet of Birth Control The founder of the Neo Malthusian (New Generation) league was not George, but his brother Charles R Drysdale, and the latter's wife, Dr Alice Vickery, pioneer of feminism and freedom, a woman of such unflinching and far-sighted vision that she remains today an example for all who seek the liberation of womankind and the human race. The League was organized as an outcome of the celebrated Bradlaugh Besant trial in 1877—the parent of all similar leagues existing in the world today. The advocate of Birth Control in those hyper respectable days was looked upon by shocked Victorian eyes as a monster of profligacy and wicked ness, one who was interested solely in the degradation of women For two physicians holdly and openly to champion such a cause was to entail great professional loss and even ostracism The Drysdales did not hesitate Today they would see the seed they so courageously planted and cultivated bear ing healthy fruits and grown into a world movement.

THE RETIRING PRESIDENT of the New Generation League is the son of Dr Charles Drysdale, a nephew of George Drysdale He has nobly carried on the Drysdale tradition, as has his wife Bessie Drysdale. The latter has indeed worked so

hard as administrative director of the movement in England at the sacrifice of her health, that a long rest is now impera tive When, after openly challenging the Birth Control laws of the United States, I went to study the European movement, the first people in England to open their arms to me were the Drysdales It was indicative of their breadth of vision, that while they themselves did not need to challenge the Eng lish laws, they realized at once the importance and the educa tional value of such a course of action in the United States Staunch and uncompromising has been their conviction through out their long years of service. They have ever made generous financial contribution to the cause. Seeking always to keep the movement on a scientific and dignified level, they have ever come to the defense of persons arrested for the cause of Birth Control, regardless of whether the victim was intellect ually in agreement with their personal opinions, whether he was Socialist or Anarchist, Democrat or Catholic.

The Drysdale school of thought stems directly from Malthus and the individualist Manchester school of economics It is a sturdy, rational, self respecting and unsentimental doctrine that they have promulgated They are opposed to current convictions concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ever increasing demands of labor. And so their retire ment, at the moment labor begins to awaken to the necessity of the conscious control of human procreation, exemplifies the same fine selflessness, the desire not to act as a hindrance, a check on the progress of the movement. Honesty, intel lectual integrity, firm conviction—these fine qualities are synonymous with the name of the Drysdales And their retirement from active leadership is one of the most eloquent expressions of this integrity of spirit. The younger genera tion bows in reverence and respect to the passing of the old. Hail! but not farewell MARGARET SANGER.

THE ENGLISH BIRTH CONTROL CASE

To WAS THE circulation of an American pamphlet, written by Dr Knowlton of Boston, that precipitated the famous trial of Bradlaugh and Besant in England in 1878. Out of this famous case was born the Neo-Malthusian League which has kept up its propaganda of education and agitation for forty five years. Today it is a pamphlet by an American, which has again concentrated attention in England on spreading Birth Control education among the poor. Margaret San ger's pamphlet "Family Limitation," published and circu

lated by Guy and Rose Aldred, has been ordered destroyed by a London police magistrate. But as usual in such at tempted suppressions, this dramatization of the case of Birth Control has aroused a widespread interest and crystallized in telligent public opinion into an indignant protest. Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, Bart., consulting physician to Guy's Hospital, gave the following evidence concerning Margaret Sanger's pamphlet.

"The pamphlet Family Limitation, in his opinion, set out decently and properly and in a clear manner the methods to be applied. It did not go further than was necessary, and he could not understand any sane people objecting. In his opinion limitation of families was not subversive of the morals of society. His life had been spent among the poor and the misery of these multiple pregnancy cases was untold and terrible."

Sir Bryan Donkin and Sir Archdall Reid sent in a written statement approving of the pamphlet and saying —

"We are unanimously of opinion that the charge of obscenity is with out any foundation."

Evidence in defence of the pamphlet was also tendered by such distinguished authorities as H G Wells, St Loe Strachey, (editor of the London Spectator), Harold Cox, (whose new book, "The Problem of Population," is just off the press), and Dr C V Drysdale. The case has been appealed, with John Maynard Keynes, the distinguished economist, and Mrs Bert rand Russell standing surety in the case. In the meantime, such weeklies as the Spectator and the Nation have been flooded with controversial letters concerning Birth Control in general and Mrs. Sanger's pamphlet in particular The case has the additional ment of lifting the problem out of the field of methods of education and distribution to that of the subject itself The appeal forces the issue of Birth Control upon the higher court, which must hand down a decision not so much concerning the Sanger pamphlet, as concerning the legitimacy of the doctrine of Birth Control itself But with such distinguished minds as Bertrand Russell, John May nard Keynes, Harold Cox and innumerable others, standing shoulder to shoulder with us, we feel our case has been im measurably strengthened and no matter what the decision in the Aldred appeal may be, we are convinced that English people, who have enjoyed legal access to Birth Control in formation since 1877, will not now submit to any curtailment M S of their liberty

WE READ in the New York Herald that half a million more dollars for the removal of snow from New York streets was granted to the Street Cleaning Department by the Board of Estimates last month. The total cost for this purpose, this winter has been no less than \$5,500,000 or approximately \$96,000 an inch for the removal of snow from the streets of New York City. Won't our Connecticut friend, Bishop Murray, come to the rescue of the New York taxpayer and stop this work on the ground that it is "against the laws of Nature!"

News Notes

MARCH 1—MRS SANGER spoke at a very interesting meeting called for the discussion of Birth Control, and held in the Library at 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York. The meeting was under the auspices of the Harlem Community Forum, and owing to the smallness of the hall was by invitation only About 250 guests were present, chiefly colored people. The chairman was Mr William Hu bert Mrs Sanger's address was followed by a free discussion in which both supporters and opponents were given a respectful hearing. The consensus of feeling was strongly in favor of Birth Control, which is becoming increasingly popular with enlightened and educated colored people.

March 5—Mrs Sanger addressed the Council of Jewish Women of Bridgeport, Conn., and urged them to support the bill pending in the Connecticut Jegislature Mrs. F Capitman, President of the Council took the chair

March 5—Mrs Robertson Jones spoke on Birth Control to the New York Women's City Club The Birth Control bill now before the New York legislature had already been en dorsed by the Welfare Committee of the Club

March 6-Mrs Porritt presented the case for the New York Birth Control bill to the Legislative Committee of the Society for Ethical Culture

March 10—It was reported that the New York City League of Women Voters had unanimously endorsed the New York Birth Control bill

March 16—Mrs Anne Kennedy left New York for a two weeks tour of Western New York undertaken on behalf of the New York Birth Control hill

March 24—Birth Control was debated at a dinner given by the Ninth Assembly District of the New York League of Women Voters The question propounded was "Will Birth Control legislation promote national welfare" Mrs Sanger took the affirmative side, and Canon William Sheafe Chase took the negative

March 26—Mrs Sanger spoke before the Open Forum of Erie, Pennsylvania

March 29—Dorothy Bocker, M D, spoke on Birth Control before the Women's Trade Union League of New York City The League, in considering this question acted in accordance with the Resolution passed at the Eighth Biennial Convention of the National League, at Waukegan last June, which read

"Whereas, The effect of certain laws of the United States both State and Federal, is to withhold contraceptive information from the women of the working classes, while it is in most cases readily available to the well to-do, and,

"Whereas, It is important that in this, as in other matters, the best scientific information should be available to the people's need, regardless of their financial standing therefore be it,

"Resolved That we the National Women's Trade Union League, in convention assembled go on record as opposed to all laws, State and Federal, which in effect establish censorship over knowledge which, if open to one should be open to all who care to secure it."

During March the New York bill was endorsed by the New York Woman's City Party, The Citizens' Union and the Women's Municipal League 86 Buth Control Review

April 3—A luncheon at the Hotel Rochester, Rochester, at which Margaret Sanger will speak for the N Y bill has been arranged by the Legislative Committee

April 4—The New York Birth Control bill, having been endorsed by the Legislative Committee of the Woman's Municipal League of New York City, is to be presented to the League at its regular meeting

April 10—The hearing on the New York bill will be held before the Committee on Codes in the Assembly Hall at the Capitol at Albany A special car will go from New York City on the train leaving the Grand Central Station at 8 30 a m

April 23—Mrs. Sanger will speak before the Women's City Club of Boston, Mass

NEWS FROM ENGLAND

TN OUR JANUARY issue we gave the story, as related by Miss Ettie A Rout and Mr R B Kerr, of the raiding of the book shop of Guy and Rose Witcop Aldred, the finding of some hundreds of copies of Mrs Sanger's pamphlet Family Limitation, the trial of the Aldreds, the ordered destruction of the pamphlet and the appeal to a higher court The appeal was heard at the London sessions on February 9, before a Judge, A. J Lawrie, the Recorder of London and a bench of magistrates, described, in a personal letter from London, as "elderly gentlemen, who looked for the most part portentously stupid." The result of the appeal was unsatisfactory The order for the destruction of the pamphlets was upheld, but the Aldreds were exonerated by the court as having "acted honestly and innocently and with the best intentions" The de cision of the Judge seems therefore to have been directed against the pamphlet and to have definitely raised the question of the right of the poor to obtain knowledge published at a low price, which is always accessible to the rich who can afford to pay for an expensive book.

Testimony in favor of the pamphlet was given by Sir Arbuth not Lane, England's leading gynecololgist, and two other physicians, Sir Bryan Donkin and Sir Archdall Reid, sent in written statements approving it. In his evidence Sir Arbuthnot Lane made the following statement, as reported in the press —

"The pamphlet, 'Family Limitation,' in his opinion set out decently and properly and in a clear manner the methods to be applied. It did not go further than was necessary, and he could not understand any sane people objecting. In his opinion limitation of families was not subversive of the morals of society. His life had been spent among the poor, and the misery of these multiple pregnancy cases was untold and terrible."

A number of witnesses, who were ready to testify to the need for the pamphlet, were refused permission to appear These included Mr H G Wells Mr St. Loe Strachev (Editor of the London Spectator), Mr Harold Cox, Dr C V Drys dale, President of the Malthusian League, and Miss Ettie A. Rout. Miss Rout is the author of a book which contains very similar information to that in Mrs Sanger's pamphlet. It is, however, published by Heinemann (Medical Books) Ltd., and sold at a much higher price. The evidence of all these per

sons as to the necessity for the precise and graphic information given in the pamphlet and the bitter need of Birth Control among the poor was excluded as irrevelant

The case is not yet ended Recorder Lawrie allowed an appeal to be taken on points of law, and this appeal is still to be tried. But the friends of the pamphlet are not satisfied for the appeal will be only on points of law, not on the facts of the case, and there will be no review of the decision of the magistrates that a book written for poor women in clear, clean and definite language is obscene, whereas the same in formation wrapped up in more scientific phraseology may freely be sold, if only the price is high enough to put it out of reach of the poor

Concerning the next step, Miss Rout writes -

"If in time the Public Prosecutor should decide to indict, rather than to summon the publishers and sellers of Birth Control books, and the cases should go before a jury of mar ried women, I am advised that a verdict reversing the present ruling would easily be obtained. As this would not only create confusion in the public mind, but would actually bring the law into disrepute, I am asking the unheard witnesses (named above) to form a small committee to raise sufficient funds to get these very grave questions settled in an authoritative and dignified manner in the courts and in Parliament. In this matter Mr John Lort Williams, K. C. (counsel for the defense in the Aldred case) has promised his advice and assistance

"But I wish to emphasize that this is essentially a woman's question and cannot be decided by men alone. And above all, as Sir Arbuthnot Lane stated emphatically in his evidence, POOR WOMEN MUST NOT BE DEPRIVED OF THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH RICHER WOMEN UNDOUBTEDLY POSSESS."

Hardly had the excitement died down over the case of Mrs Sanger's pamphlet when another case affecting Birth Control came up in the courts. This was the libel action brought by Dr Marie Stopes against Dr H G Sutherland. This case came before Lord Chief Justice Hewart and was based on statements contained in Dr Sutherland's book against Birth Control which reflected on the character and ability of Dr Stopes. The trial occupied several days, and the teaching of Birth Control was defended by the Rt Hon G H Roberts, former Minister of Labor in the British Cabinet, by Sir James Barr, ex President of the British Medical Association, Dr Meredith Young, Medical Officer of Health for Cheshire, and a number of other medical men and women.

The jury brought in a verdict for Dr Stopes with damages of £100 In detail they found (1) that the words complained of were defamatory to the plaintiff, (2) that statements of fact in the libel were true in substance and in fact, (3) that the expressions of opinion in the libel were not fair comment. The Lord Chief Justice, however, decided that the second finding was at variance with the other two findings, and therefore set aside the verdict and found for the defendant, with costs against Dr Stopes. In this case also an appeal was allowed, so the battle over Birth Control has still to be fought in the courts.

Birth Control Review 87

Since these decisions were rendered, there have been three rather startling by elections which have gone in favor of Labor and against the Government, and there is a general feeling that the revelation of these trials, as regards the differentiation between the rich and poor in the obtaining of Birth Control information, had much to do with turning over the women's votes to the Labor candidates

NEWS FROM AUSTRIA

From a Letter from Johann Ferch

T THE BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE held in London A in the beginning of July, 1922, I explained the organ zation of the movement in Austria We put forward our cause in newspapers, pamphlets, novels, in a play written by me, at meetings in works and factories (after working hours) and in numerous articles in daily papers. The introduction in Parliament of an amendment to the law, as proposed by us, had the result that our aims have entered deeply into the minds of the mass of the people After over 400 lectures, given by me to public meetings, the agitation for our cause was checked owing to an inflammation of my throat Medical advice to nurse my throat matured the idea in me of making use of a lantern slide lecture The first lecture of this kind was publicly shown on October 25 of last year under the title "The Control of Birth" and since that date many thousands have been made familiar with our effort at overflowing meet ings held in theatres and picture houses. At the lecture 120 lantern slides, accompanied by words of explanation, show miserable and happy homes, ailing and healthy children, the effect of liquor and spirits and of venereal diseases, charming pictures and dreadful pictures of rachitis and malnutrition There was however a miscalculation on my part, as I have had to speak more than before, as the public demanded that I speak at the lantern slide lectures

The lantern slide lectures do not serve solely for educa tional purposes, although copies of this lecture have been pre pared and placed at the disposal of our provincial organiza tions, free of charge, which continually show them to the public They have also for their object the maintenance of mother clinics In consequence of the opposition of some medical men, the establishment of a hospital is impossible, not for moral or ideal, but for monetary reasons Consulting places for contraceptive devices have been opened-eight more will be opened shortly, where destitute and poor women and girls receive free advice. These places are maintained by the League Against Compulsory Motherhood of Vienna necessary money for them is supplied by the lantern slide lectures During the lecture a collection is taken, the public being assured that the work connected with the league, with the preparation of the lecture and with the giving of the lec ture is all given free of charge. This unselfish work results in incredibly large collections which have guaranteed the con tinuance of work for the next three months We hope to be permitted to start the lantern slide lectures also in other coun tries The effect is most telling

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR An Example Worth Following

New Jersey

As you well know, Margaret Sanger, the distress of his fellows makes unhappy a sensitive friendly person

After thoughtful consideration I have come to believe that the wise practice of Birth Control is a sure way to eliminate a large part of this distress

A person who cannot appreciate the great and permanent effect Birth Control may have in decreasing poverty, vice and crime seems to me woefully short sighted

Compulsion is quite distasteful to me, but I wish to acquaint interested persons with the Birth Control movenmet

I have therefore set aside a dollar each week from my not princely salary and I am quite pleased to send you herewith my first quarterly contribution, twelve dollars, to be used as you think best for the accomplishment of this purpose

HENRY WESTON

[The foregoing letter, accompanied by twelve crisp one dollar bills, was received at Headquarters of the American Birth Control League some months ago. Since then it has been followed by other letters with similar enclosures, all attesting to the generosity and devotion of the donor. It would, perhaps, be too much to hope that all our friends would follow his example and set aside a dollar a week to rid the country of the poverty and suffering due to the lack of Birth Control, but if every one who cares for the accomplishment of this great work would, according to their means, follow Mr Weston's example, we should be relieved from our heavy financial anxieties and would be free to carry the message of Birth Control into every State and city of the land Margaret Sancer.]

Milwaukee.

Editor, Birth Control Review

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed Mrs Sanger's lecture on January 30 I am most interested in the Birth Control movement, and indeed am an advocate Her lecture has made me do a little more thinking on the subject, and I certainly do feel that Birth Control is the way to a better, healthier, happier normal life So many times I have heard it said, "Birth Control would tend only to make more prostitutes" Yet I believe that, if a woman desires to lead a promiscuous sex life, she should not be allowed to make an untold number of innocent children suffer and pay for her sins

Yesterday I called at the hospital to visit eight diseased girls, some with their babies, in whom I am interested. All the work, time and money spent! And yet we are only doing surface work, whereas Birth Control would strike at the root of the evil. One girl was in the hospital having her fifth illegitimate child. One seventeen year old white girl, with both syphilis and gonorrhea, gave birth to a colored baby—and so it goes.

88 Buth Control Review

Publicity in the Birth Control Movement

A Paper Presented at the International Birth Control Conference

By Annie G Porrutt

PVERY MOVEMENT WHICH aims at a change in public opinion is necessarily dependent on publicity for its progress and success. The object of any such movement is to force men and women to think, to take stock of the ideas that they have held on some particular subject, to revise these ideas in the light of new knowledge, and to change their beliefs and consequently their conduct. This much will generally be conceded, but in the practical conduct of many movements the psychology of publicity has not been sufficiently studied, and movements have been hindered by the use of ineffective methods

A favorite plan, and one adopted by many reformers, is to devote their whole strength to appeals to the intelligence of the people. Pamphlets and treatises are written and spread broadcast, in the belief that through a mere reading of them the nation will embrace the new ideas. The reasoning seems so clear and unanswerable to the writers that they cannot im agine that it should fail to convince the readers. Yet a move ment can drag along for decades and even for centuries, and if no more effective methods of publicity are employed, the numbers of the converted will remain few, and the propaganda as a whole will be futile.

It is a curious fact that in very many movements, the advocates utterly fail to secure effective publicity until their opponents practically thrust the weapon into their hands. Thomas Malthus lived and wrote over seventy years before his arguments touched the people of Great Britain or aroused them to vital interest in the subject of Birth Control. It was the prosecution in 1878 of Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant that brought the Malthusian movement out of the study and the closet and flung it into every home, made it the subject of conversation at every street corner, and forced people to revise their ideas concerning the responsibility of parents for the existence of their children.

A SIMILAR SERVICE—though less inconvenient to the sufferers—was done to the Birth Control Movement in the United States, when, last November just after the formation of the American Birth Control League, the New York police undertook to break up a meeting called for the consideration of the question "Is Birth Control Moral?" Lest I should appear to be overlooking the fact, I must here recall that Margaret Sanger's movement was not started last November. It had been under way for several years, and in 1916 she had shown her readiness to use this martyr publicity by courting arrest while carrying on a clinic in Brooklyn for the instruction of mothers who needed Birth Control information. In fact it was her prison sentence that had aroused the interest of hundreds of men and women, and had set in movement the forces that converged in New York in November 1921, when

the First American Birth Control Conference came together to take counsel as regards the next steps forward.

Persecution furnishes perhaps the very best publicity It touches people's sympathy and arouses their indignation, as they cannot be aroused by cold reasoning, however marvellous ly presented. It forces the discussion of the questions involved and compels people to take a stand in regard to them. But the time comes when this form of publicity is no longer available—the movement gets beyond the stage of persecution. It is then necessary to study and utilize the same psychology in order to keep the movement alive and not to allow the interest of the public to flag. This psychology was grasped and utilized by the Suffragists both in England and America, and their understanding of it enabled them to keep the movement for votes for women before the public night and day, month in and month out, until success crowned their efforts

TO TAKE THE examples most familiar to me, I would re-Eall the activities of the National Woman's Party—the party that concentrated its efforts on the Federal Suffrage Amendment to the United States Constitution, that took this amendment out of the limbo of forgotten and neglected politics, held it on high before the nation, and finally, after bring ing into line even the Suffrage organizations most opposed to itself, passed it through Congress and secured its ratification by the necessary thirty six State Legislatures.

The whole secret of the success of the National Woman's Party was publicity. They used every means of interesting people and making the amendment a subject of discussion Pageantry was employed with such skill that no newspaper could overlook the displays. Congresses and conferences were organized, and when all other ordinary and extraordinary means failed, Alice Paul deliberately courted a conflict with the authorities by nagging the Administration and insulting the President until patience wore out, and the police delivered victory into her hands through persecution.

I wish I had time to trace out the publicity campaigns of the National Woman's Party. They are worthy of the closest study by any group of earnest men and women who desire to "put over" some new idea, or to bring about some change in public opinion. The point I want to make here is that while hundreds of women have deprecated the conduct of the Suf fragists, it has never been sufficiently recognized that this conduct was guided by a profound understanding of national psychology, and that it was throughout—not an emotional out burst or series of outbursts, as many people seem to think—but a calm, well calculated publicity campaign waged with full knowledge that the most important thing for the success of any movement is to make the idea thoroughly familiar to every man and woman in the country

WITH THIS PSYCHOLOGY of propaganda in mind, the great value of the name that Mrs Sanger has given to the movement in the United States will be recognized. Many of her best friends were opposed to the adoption of this name. They felt that people were not ready for such strong meat, and that the name would antagonize men and women who might otherwise support the movement. But looking back over the few months that have elapsed since the American Birth Control League was organized and the few years since the Birth Control Review was founded, it is possible to form an estimate of gains and losses and to show the enormous value that the name has been to the progress of the Birth Control Movement.

The name when first adopted, unoubtedly produced a feel ing of shock in the minds even of those who were thoroughly convinced friends of the cause. On the indifferent the shock was vastly greater, and since the communications of the League have gone out with the name of the organization on the outside of the envelope, many have been the protests against sending such indecent matter into homes and offices. If a plebiscite of the League had at any time been taken on the subject, it is doubtful whether the name would have been allowed to stand. Fortunately the leaders had more courage and vision than the rank and file, and the banner of the movement was raised high whenever its name was even mentioned.

What have been the results? The newspapers, at the time of the police raid on the Town Hall, were obliged to print the news, and the name of the organization was a necessary and unavoidable part of this news In fact the name had its pub licity value for the public press-it made their news interest ing The public was galvanized into keen attention churches-especially the Roman Catholic Church-came to the aid of the movement through vigorous attacks on it Long drawn out controversies were carried on in some of the most widely read-although not the most highly respected-news papers of the country Articles for and against Birth Control were solicited from anyone whose name was sufficiently known to attract attention, and these signed articles appeared in papers, under the same proprietorship in New York, Chicago and in San Francisco-thus accomplishing for the movement without expense to itself what would have cost the League hundreds of thousands of dollars if it had undertaken it on its own account.

THE WHOLE OF the United States has in the few months since last November become equilibrated to the idea of Birth Control. Even the most conservative and reactionary people now speak the words without self consciousness, and the words so fully express the idea that they cannot be spoken without their meaning being present in mind. Suppose that the League had adopted some such name as the League for Responsible Parenthood. Such a name could be spoken and written without any of the shock produced by "Birth Control" But would it have got the idea over to the people? Certainly it would not Some would have understood what was meant by it, but by far the greater number of people who heard

it would have allowed it to slip by without attention and with out interest

Arguments are necessary in presenting a new idea. But it must always be remembered that the truest converts are those who convert themselves. Among the thousands of active work ers for Woman Suffrage, there were few who acknowledged definite conversion from a former attitude of antagonism Many had been indifferent until their minds were turned to the question through the publicity of the movement, when they at once, for themselves, realized the justice of the cause. Many—perhaps the majority of the leaders—had always been suffragists in heart and needed only the shock of publicity to draw them actively into the movement.

It is much the same with Birth Control We shall make real converts as we go on-that is, through our arguments we shall make men and women who have been actually opposed to the idea, revise their opinions and accept it. We shall arouse hundreds of people who would always have been in favor had they thought about it, and we shall bring to our banners the thousands who have thought about it and believed in it, but have been isolated and have not known that others were thinking on the same lines and working towards the same end These last two classes are the fruitful field for our endeavors—the people of the first class who are as yet con vinced opponents are for the present negligible—they are not worth the tremendous expenditure of time and trouble necessary for their conversion, while these expenditures can be utilized so much more profitably in arousing interest among our potential friends.

ONE OF THE great values of the name "Birth Control" is that it automatically acts as a reagent for the recognition of these classes. It has been acknowledged that it shocks, or has shocked, many of the friends of the movement, but while it temporarily shocks them it does not alienate them from the cause. Under its influence the real opponents separate themselves out and begin to aid us by violent attacks upon us. These attacks arouse our friends, especially those who are temporarily suffering from shock. They come to our aid and by the time they have defended the cause against one or two of these rabid opponents, their antagonism to the name has disappeared—they have got used to it.

I have gone in some detail into the publicity value of the name assumed by the movement in the United States, because it is an excellent illustration of the psychology of publicity which ought to be studied by the leaders of the movement. It may be that in some of the countries where Birth Control propaganda is going on the popular reaction to the name would be different. Not every country has so strong a puritanical strain in its popular thought and opinions, and not every nation would be shocked into alert attention by something so straight forward and simple as a name which expresses just what an organization stands for But whatever the conditions may be, the same general principle holds. Any movement to succeed must have publicity which arouses warm attention. The attention may be hot with resentment or fervid in advocacy.

(Continued on page 99)

Some Social Aspects of Birth Control

By Norman Thomas

Synopsis of an Address at the New York State Legislative Conference, Albany, January 23, 1923

TTHE CONCRETE THING which we are asking of the Legislature is very simple. It is an amendment of the penal code to permit regularly licensed physicians to give information on Birth Control by contraceptive measures This measure might be urged on the sole ground of a sound anderstanding of the function of penal law. It is not the function of the law of the State to enforce the religious or ethical beliefs of certain groups of the citizens in the State upon other citizens who do not accept those ethical or re ligious standards as valid, unless it can be proved that such standards are necessary to the health and moral well being of society It has by no means been proved that the law against Birth Control is necessary to the health or well being of society—rather the contrary, it is evident that the law does not conform to the ethical convictions of great numbers of honorable citizens. Large numbers of citizens, mostly of the better to do classes, regularly avail themselves of knowledge that the State of New York declares illegal for doctors to impart Under these circumstances the law makes Birth Control knowledge a kind of class privilege It promotes hypocrisy and evasion at the same time that it makes the average physician afraid freely to follow his own conscience or professional judgment in giving informa tion on the subject. This condition of affairs is so injurious to sound public policy that an honest man, himself opposed to Birth Control, might well admit that no good end was served by our present legislation

As a clergyman for many years active in parish work, I am familiar with the ethical and religious arguments usually advanced against Birth Control I respect the men who advance them They ought to be permitted to make their case and to appeal to the conscience of their hearers church has a right, if it desires, to make objection to Birth Control an article of faith But no church nor any group of individuals has a right to enforce its religious or ethical convictions by State law on those who reject them. To be concrete, there are, I suppose, few more useful American citizens than John F Ryan of the National Catholic Wel fare Conference I respect him, and I respect his printed argument against Birth Control because I respect him But that argument, which is philosophical in the main, does not carry conviction to me, or to thousands of others Rather it confirms our faith in the truth of our own posi Surely it is not the business of the law to enforce a philosophical or ethical argument on those who cannot accept it

BUT THERE IS SOMETHING far more positive to be said for the amendment which we advocate. How can anyone see what physicians, clergymen, nurses and social workers see continually of the misery of unwanted children

in families where ill health or poverty makes the addition of one more child a terrible responsibility—when it is not an actual tragedy—without crying out against the law which imposes such suffering upon families and especially upon mothers! The opponents of permissive Birth Control legis lation usually retort that in such cases the remedy is abstention. It is hopeless to preach that remedy as a general social cure, however sincerely certain individuals may believe in it and may practise it. It will not be practised on any wide scale. It is, we are fully persuaded, not the moral or healthy thing to practice if scientific contraceptive means are available.

It is sometimes argued that the general practise of Birth Control will interfere with progress in industrial arts and in social justice, that limitation of population will be sub stituted for economic reform. The argument is not sound Pressure of population does not automatically favor in dustrial progress or social justice. If it did, India and China would be advanced countries. Economic conditions tend to determine population, rather than population eco nomic conditions This fact is made quite clear by the most authoritative modern study of the problem-A M Carr Saunders' work on "The Population Problem" author establishes by an exhaustive inquiry into history the falsity of a popular and unscientific Malthusianism Popu lation does not increase by a geometrical progression, while food supplies increase by arithmetical progression is an "optimum density of population" under any given eco nomic system, to which population tends to approach Society in the nomadic stage, agricultural stage and in various forms of industrical development tends to keep population down to the number which can best be supported in view of the prevailing standards of knowledge and desire say, society always has and always will tend to regulate It has heretofore done it cruelly and unin telligently

THE QUESTIONS BEFORE US are two (1) What is the best method by which population can be regulated? and (2) How can population be regulated more in telligently than in the past? (1) Through former centuries population has been regulated by disease, war and by a variety of customs connected with sexual relations, marriage and the birth of children. These customs include some very cruel and injurious practices. Abortion and infanticide have been and are now among the means by which population has been controlled. No one can consider the dreadful suffering involved in these methods without welcoming modern scientific Birth Control as a godsend. (2) The other social aspect of Birth Control is that it makes possible the more

(Continued on page 98)

Out of the Depths of Bitter Experience

More Letters from Harrassed Mothers

RUGMENTS against Birth Control might carry weight if A they came from the men and women—especially the women—who are actually carrying the burden of too many chil dren, of financial pressure of small wages and big families, of ill health due to child bearing, of defectives born against the will of the mother who was powerless to prevent their con ception, of heart breaking grief over children suffering from want of adequate care But these are the people who are never to be found among those who write and speak against Birth Control The opponents are found chiefly among menespecially unmarried men-and among women who have never felt the need of Birth Control Prosperous women with one or two children urge their less fortunate sisters to go on bearing their eight or ten, and kindly offer charitable assistance when the task becomes impossible The women who write to Mrs Sanger do not want charity They want to live, to be healthy, to have healthy children and to be able to care for these children. The majority of the letters show that the mothers are anxious to do their best for the children they already have Their demand is to be enabled to avoid the buth of more babies, of babies whose coming is regarded as an enemy invasion threatening the welfare, and even the life, of the elder children and of the parents Only those who understand their circumstances are competent to pass on their demand

"Utter Folly"—But No Remedy

New York.

Dear Mrs Sanger

We have just read your book, "Woman and the New Race," and think it truly wonderful, nothing short of marvelous If there were more women like you, who dared publish that which would enlighten the people in regard to this vital problem, the next generation could indeed look forward to ideal conditions for mankind

I am going to give you a little of my history I am 32 years old, have one child, six months old. For four years I fought T B in a sanatorium in the mountains, received what is known as an arrested case. Now all physicians are agreed upon the point that it would be utter folly to even have another child, yet that is where they foolishly stop.

Is there any way by which you can give me advice, and I assure you such advice will be kept sacred

Five Children in Seven Years

Tennessee.

Dear Friend

I have just got thru reading your great book, and I am writing to you in regard to birth control I wish you would send me a sure remedy to stop so many child births to me For I have as many children as I can care for, as I am not very strong

My husband and myself have only been married 7 years and we have five children My husband is a loco fireman on the T C R. R. and he does not make enough money to support these children like they should be supported

I feel that your work is true and harmless and I hope you will not give it up

Doctors' Fees, Debts, Insufficient Earnings

Minnesota

My dear Mrs Sanger

Have received your book, "Woman and the New Race," and am writing you for help

I am twenty-eight years of age, have been married seven years and have five children. Have just given birth to my youngest child. I shudder to think of giving birth to more children, as I am in such poor health. Have been suffering from kidney trouble ever since my first child was born

I was a school teacher before I was married, and was a healthy blooming girl. I was very popular among the young people, but now have no time for social pleasures, nor have any energy to entertain my friends. I married a young man in moderate circumstances, and all went well until the children came and I was obliged to hire help to do my work. That combined with the doctor's fees has taken all our savings, so that we are now in debt. My husband's health is also failing, so that he cannot earn enough to meet the many demands.

Mrs Sanger, I am writing you for some ways to prevent me from having more children, as there must be some way and just think of the misery and want I and the children would be saved from. Please inform me concerning this matter, as surely yours is the most humane and noble work of any Your book is the best I have ever read on this subject. I hope you will respond to this appeal from a suffer ing weman.

"My Puny Babies"

California

Dear Mrs. Sanger

I am appealing to you, as hundreds of other overworked mothers. I am the mother of five and expecting another in three months, and how are we going to feed and clothe what we have is a sickening thought. My husband works in a chair factory and makes \$3.75 per day, and he has no education for better work. I am now 28 and my husband 30, and was married at 19 years and all I have known in my married life is one baby after another. I love them now that they are here, but I believe I'll go insane before this one arrives.

I have begged the doctors to tell me something, but they give me some offhand answer. Is it a sin for me to pray God to take my puny babies? They are under nourished Only help me Mrs. Sanger and I know God will reward.

"They Laugh at Me"

Connecticut.

Dear Mrs Sanger

I don't just know how to begin this letter to you, but I am a woman of 39 yrs have had 13 children and of them all I have only five living and none of them are any too well. One is being treated for asthma—he is only 2 yrs old. I have a healed lung. My father sisters and brothers all died of tuberculosis. There are only three living out of eleven.

I have a baby just five months old and do you know that just the thought of getting that way again makes me hate my husband. I hate to have him touch me on account of it and it surely makes a lot of trouble. Every time I get that way I always take every thing I can to get out of it and it never helps me any only hurts my health. Now don't you think that a woman in my case ought to know something to prevent getting that way. I think most rich women know what to do because they can buy the information, it is poor things like myself that has to bear it all and then have sickly children

I only hope and pray that the bill passes here so that I won't have any more children Do you tell any one If so, won't you please let me know what it costs and if it isn't too much maybe I can know

Every time I have a baby the Dr and nurse tell me I have had enough but when I ask them what I can do not to have any more, they laugh at me, and say they don't know

Separation or Birth Control?

Maryland

Dear Mrs Sanger

I have read your book, "Woman and the New Race" and am very much interested in birth control

I am nineteen years old and the mother of three children I love my children dearly, but before they wore borned I prayed they would be borned dead, for the reason I am not strong, and I need someone to help me with my children all the time. I have had a lot of sickness and it is impossible to care for a sick child with so many little ones to wait on My little boy is just getting over an attack of double pneumonia, and I know if it had not been for kind friends' help he would of died. The doctor says to take this child to the country for his health

Now Mrs Sanger, here is where I ask you to help me My husband has a farm in West Virginia and he is there now doing for himself simply for the sake of our unborned babies. We love one another but we are both very young, and we stay separated on this account. But for our boy's sake we will have to be together this summer. Could you please tell me something I can do to protect me from bearing any more children? I know if someone does not help me there will soon be another. You know what I am up against on a farm with three babies, the oldest four, one two years old and a baby of five months.

I think you are a wonderful woman to take up such wonder ful work, and I cannot see why the laboring class has to have all the children, and the rich none The poor people need your advice.

Mother Has to Work for a Living

Illinois

Dear Mrs Sanger

I have received your book, "Woman and the New Race," which I have read, and am very much interested.

I am the mother of two children and have to work for a living to help keep the home, as my husband is in poor health. My husband underwent an operation a year ago and we are quite a bit in debt and he still takes treatments twice a week. He earns only a small salary and is some times unable to work at all

I beg you to help me so we can prevent from having a larger family that we cannot take care of

California

Dear Mrs Sanger

My case is not very tragic, but all the same I badly need Birth Control My husband is a good fellow and very con siderate over these matters. But we have now four children and they are more than enough—bless 'em I would like to have more, but I want time to elapse while these get bigger and more able to help each other. At the same time I want my husband and he wants me, but we certainly do not want more babies yet for awhile

Minnesota.

Dear Friend

I sent for a copy of your book and feel I must write to you for advice We have 5 children living, one died,—he was so defective that he could not live, and we have only a small income Chances are that there will be some more children coming, unless you could tell me what to do to prevent it.

A Man Who Wants Ten Children

Dear Friends

I am not in favor of Birth Control I call it murder to stop Birth Control but I am in favor of closing up all houses where immoral women are kept that is sapping the strength of the nation of today in the U S and making the strongest prohibition laws and enforcing them and prohibit the sale of cigarettes to boys and women Run all the women that are working in guise as housekeepers, in tobacco stores and clerks that are immoral and then you have done something that is worth while and I would willingly give two dollars to help that cause but not Birth Control There is enough stuff to support many millions more in the good old U S A if the money is used intelegently I am against Birth Control, as it is a dangerous for this nation to allow it and let the American die out all together and the foreign imigrant to come in I say, pay the man enough money that he can support his children not rob him of privilege of raising 8 to 12 children The only pleasure that a man has is a nice family of children, eight to twelve sitting round the table Women that are not able to have children should not be allowed to get married under any condition. I want to have at least ten children

Social Revolution and Birth Control

Speech made at Public Meeting, Kingsway Hall, London, Fifth International Birth Control Conference

By Helena Swanwick

MALTHUSIANS FROM THE days of that courageous clergyman—courageous because he was a clergyman partly, and I would there were more of his kind now—Mal thusians from that day to this have been brave people, brave men and brave women, because they said what most of us dis like to hear said. They have told us to stop and think, and to think at the moment when we perhaps most likely to be carried away. It was an unpopular thing to say, it was a difficult thing to say, and the lady who has spoken to us so mag anticently from this platform tonight (Mrs Margaret Sanger) has carried on that tradition with the same courage that was exhibited when Malthus wrote his book

It is never popular, until the lesson has been learned, to tell us poor members of humanity that things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be, and that if men will breed as if they were of the fishes—if they will do this with the same disregard of consequences—they will have their numbers reduced in exactly the same brutal ways as the numbers of the fishes are reduced

We have to realize, some of us believe, that we are on the eve of a great tendency towards social revolution. I know the Malthusians generally agree that we are on the eve of a socialization of the dependents of the world. We have to realize that this question is not only a question for the individual, and that it is wrong counsel for the individual, while we live in a system of individualism, to produce more young creatures than he can rear properly. We have also to realize that it is wrong to produce more than the nation can support as they should be supported.

THERE HAS ALWAYS been a tendency to breed up to the limit of subsistence under favorable conditions. When there is a boom in prosperity the birth rate goes up, and peo ple tend to breed up to the very limit of possibility in time of prosperity, leaving nothing for any possible change, for any possible risk, for the expansion and contraction of national prosperity.

I think we can have no better example of this kind of thing than the history of Russia during the last few decades. Mr Keynes points out in his article on Russia in the Manchester Guardian supplement that in 1870 the population of Russia was 100,000,000, while in 1914 it was 150,000,000. That is an increase of over half a million a year. No doubt the potential wealth of Russia could support a vastly larger population than that, but the development of Russia, especially Czar ist Russia, was not adequate to that tremendous increase of population. We might have foretold, with an increase of that kind, and a Russia politically and economically of that kind, that that would befall which did befall, and that would happen which is happening now, that we should see Russia, a tragic

country of illimitable potential wealth, producing people that had to be killed by millions and inviting all the disasters that have befallen that country

It is for us to try to bring the actual facts before the people at large, whether or not they are really yet fit for the kind of world that we are hoping will be made for them. They talk lightly and gaily of the possibilities of emigration from the Old Country. Among the many follies that have been the result of war, one of the greatest follies has been the growth of nationalism, which makes every country close its doors to every other country, so that emigration, which we thought so tremendously of a little while ago, in mid Victorian England, is going to be taken away. It is only a mirage

WANT TO SAY that I believe in the socialization of the The children, until they can dependents of the world earn their living, the old people and the invalids should, I believe, be dependent upon the community I do not believe for one moment that would tend to increase the recklessness of the birth rate I believe on the contrary that-just as we find now that the birth rate is lower among the prosperous classes—if all classes were more prosperous, then there would be a tendency to lower the birth rate. We find now that the more miserable people are, the more certain they are to have reckless breeding as the one pleasure they can have in life. I believe that if we could make people more prosperous, we should lower the birth rate, and I believe those who are terror stricken at the idea of supporting all the children, do not reckon with enfranchised and liberated womanhood I be lieve when women are free and have the knowledge, they will choose those methods of Birth Control which are consonant with the dignity of motherhood

When you have given them that knowledge, every individual couple must settle for themselves how they will make the restriction. It is not one of the things of which I should be in clined to say, "So shall you do it." Each one of you must do it according to the inner movement you have between yourselves. Each married couple and each pair of lovers must settle for themselves how they desire this restriction to be made. I believe that when they have the knowledge you can trust the women not to have more children than they can do good by

I HAVE MET SOME HUNDREDS of mothers and I have never heard of a woman of the working class saying, when she knew she was about to become a mother, that she was glad They dreaded it as they would dread the lash

Miss Vance,

Member, St Pancras Borough Council

Press Clippings

THE BILL RECENTLY introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly, with a view to raising the age of consent of a married girl from 12 to 14 has met with strong opposition from the orthodox Hindus Advocates of the bill point out the evil results of child marriages, and say the proposed change is a moderate one Those who claim that Hinduism would perish if the bill became a law, are asked by the month ly, Prabuddha Bharata, if religious and social welfare can be insured by making a girl a mother at the age of twelve. In addition to the passage of the bill this publication urges parents and educators to emphasize Bramacharya (self control and discipline), and abolition of child marriage measures "will stop premature child bearing, which is greatly responsible for the physical degeneration of the Indian people. and will check the high mortality of young mothers and their weak and undeveloped children They will also check child widowhood which is one of the greatest curses prevalent in the Hindu society, and will conduce to increased social purity and greater wellbeing of society in general -Social Hygiene Bulletin, September, 1922

STERILIZATION OF MEN and women who may be the parents of "socially inadequate" children is advocated in a volume issued by the psychopathic laboratory of the Municipal Court of Chicago. A model law to accomplish this purpose, which is to be presented to the Illinois General Assembly, defines the socially inadequate classes as including paupers, ne'er do wells, orphans, cripples, the blind, and those suffering from such chronic and infectious disease as tuberculosis, as well as criminals, feeble-minded, inebriates and drug edicts—New York Times

A S NEWSPAPER FEATURING of Buffalo's "fifty needlest families"—with their histories of insanity, tuberculosis, epilepsy, etc, etc,—continues, the crying need for the services of Mrs Sanger, high priestess of birth control, to point the way to relief becomes increasingly apparent. What Buffalo needs more than a home bureau is one for the restraint of the feeble minded from starting families

-Truth, Buffalo, N Y

DR. FLORENCE BROWN SHERBON of the Kansas State
University at Lawrence was in charge of "Department
S—Eugenics" of the Kansas Free Fair which was held at
Topeka from September 11 to 16, 1922 In this work Dr Sher
bon was assisted by Mrs Mary T Watts of Audubon, Iowa,
who originated the movement of examining children of the
pre-school age at the Iowa State Fair in 1911 The Kansas
classification of human exhibits is as follows

Division 366—Human Stock

Class

3681 Single adults, 17 years and above

3682 Pair, man, wife, no children

3683 Small family, man, wife, one child

3684 Average family, man wife, two to four children 3685 Large families, man, wife, five or more children

The following notes of explanation were issued by "Department S" in a circular prepared by the Free Fair

"OBJECT To apply the well known principles of heredity and scientific care which have revolutionized agriculture and stock breeding to the next higher order of creation—the human family

"METHOD An examination form has been worked out by a group of experts This covers inheritance, individual health history, mental, nervous and psychological examination, atructural examination including posture, development and strength, general physical examination, special examination of eyes, ears, nose, throat and teeth, laboratory examination of urine and blood

"CLASSIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS (1) Pre school children, including children up to 6 years of age (2) School children, including children from 6 years to 17 years (3) Adults, in cluding those 17 and above

"CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES Young adults of marriage able age will be given a eugenic examination to determine their fitness to marry Childless married couples will also be examined. These individuals will receive medals and certificates according to merits. Competing families will be classified as small, average or large, as described below. Individual children will not be examined without the other members of the family

"ADVICE No medical advice or treatment will be given and no one obviously ill will be admitted. This is in no sense a clinic. However, each individual will be informed as to his condition and advised as to how to improve his health."

"RECULATIONS The members of the competing families will be given individual examinations and scored separately. The family score will be made by averaging the individual scores Examinations will be private and winning scores only will be announced. The examinations will be held in the Eugenics Building from 9 to 12 A M, and 2 to 5 P M daily. Entries will be received up to and including September 13. Entrants must be punctual or lose their turn.

"AWARDS All entrants will be scored A, B, C or below

"There is no entry fee for this examination. This service is being offered as a demonstration of its value to the families themselves. The examinations will be made in a series of hooths in the Eugenics Building.

"It is the intention to make this an annual affair Every county in Kansas should send its best families to try for the trophy"—Eugenical News, Oct, 1922

A FOREIGN POLICY, involving any form of expansion, has its origin in the ambition of rulers, over-population, or the necessity of defense. Of these the ambition of rulers has never been recognized as legitimate nor openly proclaimed, unless supported by an unwitting populace. Over population and defense have everywhere been acknowedged to be sufficient excuse for setting out to War—Anna Harbottle Wittic, in The Woman Citizen, New York, October

Book Reviews

A Review by Margaret Sanger
LITTLE ESSAYS OF LOVE AND VIRTUE, by Havelock Ellis,
George H Doran & Co., New York (\$150)

It is with characteristic modesty that Havelock Ellis gives to the present volume the title of 'Little Essays" They deserve to be named Great Essays, and every husband and wife every father and mother, should be compelled to read them They reveal their author in all the deepened ripeness of his wisdom. To the readers of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW some of them may be familiar as we have published them in pamphlet form But they are worthy of more than one reading They should be studied and read over and over again, for each new reading will throw fresh light on life's fundamental and unchanging problems For, as Havelock Ellis points out in his preface "the art of making love and the art of being virtuous remain indeed, when we cease to misunderstand them, essentially the same in all ages and among all peoples If we are really alive, he also says, we flexibly adjust our selves to the world in which we find ourselves, and, in so doing simul taneously adjust to ourselves that ever-changing world, ever changing, though its changes are within such narrow limits that it yet remains substantially the same

The first essay is entitled "Children and Parents," and in it, as al ways Havelock Ellis brings new and suggestive light to an eternal problem. Invigorating is his fine absence of sentimentality and pretty platitude, in dealing with a problem that has been almost lost in the maze of the irrelevant. His conclusion may give a hint of the rest "Childhood is simply a preparation for the free activities of later life Parents exist in order to equip children for life, not to shelter and protect them from the world into which they must sooner or later be cast." Whatever else it should or should not be, he warns us, education must be an inoculation against the poisons of life, and an adequate equipment in knowledge and skill for meeting the chances of life. Beyond that, and no doubt in the largest part, it is a natural growth and takes place of itself. How refreshing these words in a day when unbased theories and illusions are almost universally prevalent!

How courageous—the quiet calm courage of one who is speaking eternal truth-are these lines from the essay on "The Meaning of Purity " 'When Love is suppressed Hate takes its place. The least regulated orgies of Love grow innocent beside the orgies of Hate When nations that might well worship one another cut one another's throats when Cruelty and Self Righteousness and Lying and all the Powers of Destruction rule the human heart, the world is devastated, the fiber of the whole organization of society grows flaccid, and all the ideals of civilization are debased ' And the cure for the present un dying orgy of Hatred? Here is the answer - 'It is more passion and ever more that we need if we are to undo the work of Hate, if we are to add to the gasety and splendor of life to the sum of human achieve ment, to the aspiration of human ecstasy. The things that fill men and women with beauty and exhilaration and spur them to actions beyond themselves are the things that are now needed It is only in the passion of facing the naked beauty of the world and its naked truth that we can win intrinsic beauty It is only the metals that can be welded in the fire of passion to finer services that the world needs It would be well that the rest should be lost in these flames That indeed would be a world fit to perish wherein the moralist had set up the ignoble maxim Safety first

One is tempted to go on quoting and quoting, so many illuminating truths strike the eyes as one turns the pages of this book which is small only in material size. Birth Control is ably defended in a number of the essays, and in what is perhaps the most challenging, arresting and valuable contribution—the essay entitled "The Play Function of Sex,"—upon the highest ethical and aesthetic basis. There is never anything materialistic nor prosaic in Havelock Ellis's conception of sex. Yet as he points out, we nowhere enter the realm of the spiritual save through the material. And so "eye glasses and contraceptives alike

are a portal to the spiritual world for many who without them would find that world largely a closed book." And not the least gain from the practice of Birth Control, as we cannot too often reiterate and emphasize, is that it effects finally the complete liberation of the spiritual object of marriage. Lovers—he speaks here with a wisdom that is deeply and divinely inspired—pass to each other "the sacramental chalice of that wine which imparts the deepest joy that men and women can know. They are subtly weaving the invisible cords that bind husband and wife together more truly and more firmly than the priest of any church. And if in the end—as may be or may not be—they attain the climax of free and complete union then their human play has become one with that divine play of creation in which the old poets fabled that, out of the dust of the ground and in his own image, some God of Chaos once created man.

And so finally and fittingly Havelock Ellis permits us to share with him his vision of the Future quoting that noble fore runner who en visaged the world as the quarry stretching out before some master-builder. Everything that lies outside of us is only the material on which we may and must exercise our creative and constructive powers. And everything inside of us is also the material out of which we must create the Future of our world. "Deep within lies the creative force which is able to form what it will and gives us no rest until without us or within us, in one or the other way, we have given it representation."

The vistas that are opened up, comments Havelock Ellis, when we realize the direction in which the human race is traveling, may seem to be endless. Man has found that he is himself a God who him self created the world as he sees it, and now has even acquired the power of creating himself, or, rather, of recreating himself

No book published in recent years can do more towards educating the general American public in the philosophic and spiritual background of Birth Control than these 'Little Essays of Love and Virtue' Every cultivated person, especially every active friend of the movement must arm himself or herself with this illuminating, courageous and inspiring book. Widely read it will increase the army of our adherents manyfold

A Review by Nalbro Bartley

CERTAIN PEOPLE OF IMPORTANCE, by Kathleen Norris Doubleday Page & Co, Garden City, N Y

Not only the valuable history of an American family, the Crabtrees beginning in New England in 1760 and moving west via Illinois to San Francisco in 1849 where they settled, but an equally valuable history of overbred and underrated wives is this Certain People of Importance

The first of these 18 Hannah Crabtree who bore seven children, several of whom died Incidentally, her sister Eliza, the fourth wife of 'an extremely severe and orthodox clergyman" added three children to his family of thirteen and then returned to her sister to die of cancer

In 1811 Annie Crabtree not nineteen bears her second child. Her first was stillborn after three days of labor and only her husband's company for comfort." Mrs. Norris aptly says "Wifehood in Annie's day and class meant cooking, washing, hurrying, apologizing pacifying it meant terrified defence of whimpering babyhood. It meant physical weakness and helplessness and under it always and forever, ran the burdens and agonies of incessant childbearing."

Miss May Crabtree of San Francisco marries Stephen Brewer who enters the Crabtree business of tea coffee and spices. The Crabtrees have progressed financially and socially—then comes an illuminating sentence. There were five Brewer children born between 1860 and 1868."

With the extreme of mid Victorian hypocrisy the Brewer children were educated "Mama's little girls must not talk about so and so" and Papa knows best" being stock phrases. The son, Albert is his mother's idol. Their love affairs are guided or misguided according to papa and mama" who believe girls must not be strong minded or

96 Burth Control Review

do bizarre things such as train for a nurse, and that a boy can do—and know—anything The beautiful facts of love and birth are strictly taboo. After "papa's little girls are married—everything is different!" Meanwhile, papa and mama have a keen and appraising eye as to the financial status of anyone who is attracted to their children. With these false standards, the young people mismarry or don't marry and the eldest girl dies. Victoria Brewer alone, develops into a frank, greated visioned girl who marries a man of almost equal stamp. One feels their son will understand that ignorance and innocence are not synonymous and his wife will be considered a comrade not a child bearing, inferior drudge

In addition to this, Mrs Norris portrays the financial, social and climatic (†) conditions in northern California and in the stories of Harry Crabtree and his ego-centric wife, Lucy, his stepdaughter, Nelly, and his own child Alice, are admirably drawn characters. Nelly mar ried a worthless and eventually drunken near rancher, Rudy Sessions, and bears him five children in the years 1888 to 1895. As Mrs. Norris says "Nelly sometimes vaguely questioned her destiny Women bore children, cooked and were patient. Men had their pleasure, ate well and worked off what tempers they would upon wives and habies

She had wanted to marry, all girls did, whatever they said. But she had not understood what marriage meant. Was there no way—no nice way—in which girls might be told

Another victim of misnamed purity of girlhood is Grace Yelland, wife of Reverend Vernon Yelland, who dies at twenty seven, leaving three small children—and a husband who marries Tina Brewer within the year!

The local coloring of the peninsula, San Francisco and the bay region will linger long with the reader. Each of the many characters is distinctly individualistic, from old Carra, the negress, the unacknowledged second wife of Reuben Crabtree to the quaint Senoritas and their cloistered, disorderly existance on the hacienda near Stephen Brewer's home. An excellent word portrait is that of the unmarried Fanny Crabtree whose mercenary greed and constant allusions to past offers of marriage, are never over-emphasized yet cleverly portrayed.

One hopes Mrs Norris will give us a sequel to "Certain People of Importance'—it would be of much interest to see if the modern Crabtrees remain sluggishly ignorant or indifferent to the wrongs their mothers and sisters suffered

A Review by Mildred I Prince

THIS FREEDOM By A S M Hutchinson. Little, Brown and Company, New York.

"This Freedom" presents a character-study of a girl whose outlook on life is the result of her early environment. A thoughtful, observant child (of a weary, incompetent, disheartened mother—who is the embodyment of futile self-sacrifice) she grows to regard men as lords of creation, but depises them She grows up determined that her life will not be submerged in subservience to men. She will be self-reliant, self-respecting, non parasitic

The early part of the book is replete with the author's philosophic observances on the universal tragedy of women's lives—self-sacrificing lives whose self-sacrifice accomplishes nothing. He has deep insight into the soul of woman and points out the pathos of her position with the fervor of the propagandist. Then—he pushes her deeper into the mire and tells her to stay there.

He shows his heroine through twelve years of happiest marriage im aginable shows three model children brought up perfectly by joyous loving parents who never speak an unkind word and are never angry or unhappy, shows that, in spite of her career as the first English woman banker, their mother fulfills every obligation. Then he proceeds to show that all this intelligence and high purpose can lead only to calamity. Having created perfection the author wearies of it. His book is not long enough to end, but he has said all he has to say. What can he do now with his happy family?

The husband (ideally happy for twelve years) is unexpectedly dis

satisfied Just then the eleven year-old son expresses disbelief in the stories of old Testament Rosalie gives up her work. After several restless years returns to bank War comes. Son and daughter run wild Boy begins by drinking, ends in penitentiary Girl becomes flapper, gets into trouble, is going to have baby, dies, "foul play" Younger brother attempts to strangle man arrested in connection with this horror, prevented by police from doing murder, flings himself under subway train (Here is stuff that movies are made of!) Reader is supposed to weep. Those who feed on movie melodrama will

All the mother's fault. Career has hardened her disqualified her for children's confidence and love "Life is sacrifice" she concludes and gives up banking to bring up grandchild by lessons-at mother's knee method. Back to the dear old inefficient methods! Moral Advancement for women is ruinous. Self respect, economic independence self expression outside the home, can be had by a mother only at price of sheer disaster. Maudlin sentimentality. Rot. Drivel This is not literature.

PERIODICALS

The Socialist (Bombay) for January 13 contains an almost despair ing article by Professor Gopalji on the economic condition of India—its bitter poverty, its enormously high birth and death rates and its low survival rate. He lays these evils largely to the very early marriage of Indians, and to the dense ignorance of sex hygiene. He looks for improvement in better education and in the spread of knowledge and ideals of Birth Control. Professor Gopalji is president of the Indian Birth Control Society, whose headquarters are at Delhi.

American Medicine, (New York) for February, contains an editorial article on "Birth Control and Free Speech." In it the treatment of Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control meeting in Albany by Mayor Hackett are contrasted with Governor Smith's pronouncement on the occasion of his pardon of Jim Larkin

Scribner's Magazine, (New York) for March contains an article by Seth K. Humphrey of Boston, entitled "Men and Half Men." In it he severely criticizes our national policy, or rather lack of policy, in deal ing with the feeble minded and unfit, who are now contributing so much more than their due share of the coming generation. At the most con servative estimate, the one-fourth of the population which is distinctly inferior mentally to the other three-fourths, is producing half of the children born into the world, while of the actually feeble-minded, the most progressive state does not segregate or otherwise prevent parentage by more than one fifth. Massachusetts has at least 40,000 of these feeble-minded, and only 3 000 are restrained from reproducing their kind. No amount of effort or expenditure can develop these subnormal intelligences into bright upstanding men and women, and nothing can prevent their children from being like unto themselves. Mr Humphrey is chiefly concerned with the effect of these people on the electorate, and appears to think that the worst of the problem would be solved by adopting an intelligence test for voters. But the problem is greater than this, and only by adopting means to check the birth rate of the unfit is there any way out. And the first step in this direction is surely to liberate women who are bearing unwanted and often defective chil dren by giving legal access to Birth Control information.

BOOKS RECEIVED

From the Macmillan Company, New York. Insanity and the Crimi nal Law, by William A White M D

From Richard G Badger Boston Sex and Dreams, by William Stekel, M.D., The Homosexual Neurosis by William Stekel, M.D., and The Laws of Life, by William M Goldsmith, M.D.

From Alfred A Knopf New York In Defense of Women, by H L. Mencken

From Longmans, Green & Co, New York THE PHYSIOLOGY OF REPRODUCTION, by F H A Marshall, M D (Second Edition)

From Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal The Goose Step, by Upton Sinclair

BIRTH CONTROL, yes, but how about

Marriage?

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Is divorce a way out?

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SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

(Contraued from page 90)

intelligent control of numbers and perhaps a more intelli gent selection of quality than we now have While it is true that population tends to be kept within limits, there are certain countries which are for longer or shorter periods over populated, and the pressure of that over population may be a disturbing factor in the preservation of world peace Moreover, under our present system it is the better to-do classes, who could best care for children, who know most about Birth Control, while knowledge is denied to the poor It might be better for American society, if the birth rate were increased among the well to do and decreased among the poor This I say, not because I believe in the gospel of the superiority of the Nordic race which has been preached to us, but simply because of economic reasons Knowledge of scientific Birth Control will not automatically regulate this question of proportionate increase of population as be tween nations, races and classes, but it will make possible such regulation without the practice of cruelty and without the appeal to a restraint that will not be widely practised

THERE REMAINS THE QUESTION of the relation of Birth Control to Eugenics. I suspect popular Eugenics of being a pseudo science, rather than a science. What can be done along eugenic lines is comparatively modest, but very important. Eugenics cannot produce supermen, it can eliminate a certain manifestly unfit type, and improve the general physical standard. Such a result will not auto matically follow permissive knowledge of Birth Control. Yet Birth Control will make probable a considerable improve ment along this line by eliminating unwanted children from families where the parents' health is bad and the heredity clearly unfavorable. It will, at least, make possible an easier application of the gospel of selection. I leave that for more competent authorities to discuss.

To sum up the present situation is from a social stand point wholly unsatisfactory. The law does not prohibit Birth Control in practice. It encourages hypocrisy and eva sion. It bestows a form of class privilege. It is an attempt to force an ethical or religious standard upon all of society, which, we believe, is not only unsound but contrary to the finest and purest conception of the relation of the sexes, to the happiness of the home and of the individuals in it. There has always been a regulation of population, usually of a cruel and bungling type. To regulate population wisely is among the greatest tasks of civilization. We seek to legalize scientific Birth Control in order to make possible a wise, merciful and intelligent form of the regulation of population, as well as to abolish incalculable individual suffering

To endow poor and bad class motherhood and leave other people severely alone would be a proceeding so supremely idiotic, so harmful to our national quality, as to be highly probable in the present state of our public intelligence

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PUBLICITY IN THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT

(Continued from page 89)

—in the first place it does not much matter which. If the movement is good and is in the end intellectually acceptable, it will succeed whenever enough interest is aroused to get the idea into the minds not of the intellectuals alone, but of the men and women who make up the bulk of the nation

For successful publicity three principles must be adhered to —

- 1 The publicity must arouse emotion. The Birth Control movement is especially favored in regard to this element. Anything that touches parenthood and the sex relations of men and women calls out the strongest feelings of which human beings are capable. Pity and sympathy for the women and children victims of the present system, glowing hopes of family and race regeneration on the one hand and resentment and hatred of change or criticism of moral standards on the other, furnish a gamut of emotions which can hardly be equaled
- 2. The publicity must be challenging to the indifference of the average man and woman engrossed in other interests. It must not be addressed to those who are already strongly for or against the propaganda. It must be a trumpet call to the unawakened, and must address them through any channel of interest that can lead to their attention.
- 3 It must be intelligent, well based, accurate and capable of withstanding hostile criticism. Although this is demanding a high standard, I am convinced that the publicity of the Birth Control movement measures more closely up to the mark in regard to this condition, than in regard to principles one and two. It is however no use to be scientific, accurate and exact if no one is listening to us, and I assert without hesitation that our propaganda profits more from the words of the un learned that are heard, than from the wisest counsels of the most learned when these do not reach the ears, the minds and the hearts of the people

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Nalbro Bartley, American novelist

Johann Ferch, Novelist and playwright, President of Austrian League Against Compulsory Motherhood

Mildred I Prince, writer of short stories.

Helena Swanwick, one of the leaders of the English Suffrage movement, President of Woman's International League

Norman Thomas, Director of League for Industrial Democracy, formerly Associate Pastor of Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, Editor of "The World Tomorrow," and Associate Editor of "The Nation," New York.

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BIRTH CONTROL HEARING

Albany, April 10, 2 P M., Assembly Hall, State Capitol

[Special Car Will Leave Grand Central Station, New York, on 8 30 A M Train]

THE hearing is on a bill amending the present law. The bill is sponsored by the American Birth Control League. It reads—

"The giving by a physician licensed to practice, to any person applying to him or her, of information or advice in regard to, or the supplying by such physician, or on a prescription signed legibly by him or her, to any person applying to him or her of any article or medicine for the prevention of conception is not an offense under this article"

WHAT YOU CAN DO

If you live in New York State-

Attend the Hearing on April 10th.

Write to the Members of the Committee on Codes, Which is in Charge of the Bill. They are:

Hon William Duke, Jr Hon William W Campbell	Hon James R Robinson Hon Henry W Hutt	Hon Edward J Walsh Hon Frank R Galgano
Hon Burton D Esmond	Hon Horace M Stone	Hon William Lyman
Hon Russell B Livermore	Hon Edwin J Carpenter	Hon Francis Cronin

[Address them at The Capitol, Albany, N Y]

Write to your own Assemblyman and Senator, asking them to vote for the Bill if it comes before them.

Write to your local newspaper, telling the editor that you favor Birth Control and calling his attention to the Hearing and the Bill.

If you live in any other State—

Think over your friends and acquaintance. Do you know anyone in New York If you do, write to them; tell them about this Bill, tell them of your interest and urge them to give the Bill their support.

Success in One State Will Forward the Movement Everywhere