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VOL IX

APRIL, 1925

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

TO THE

Sixth International Neo-Malthusian & Birth Control Conference

By MARGARET SANGER

Mr President and Delegates

I N the name of the American Birth Control League I welcome you to America and to the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference I am proud of this privilege For the first time in the history of these United States men and women have come from other countries to these shores to consider the population problem Such a conference as we now inaugurate is unique in our experience and in our national his-It is, moreover, fitting that it should meet torv here in the center of our greatest city For almost a century ago-just ninety-five years, to be exact-Robert Dale Owen published in this city his brief and plain treatise on the population question and birth control, entitled "Moral Physiology" And only two years afterward, in 1832, Dr Charles Knowlton published in Boston his epoch-making "Fruits of Philosophy" His little book wandered for forty years around the world It was translated into several languages It was reprinted again and again Its circulation was at first unmolested In 1857, it was edited and revised Mr President, by your courageous uncle, George R Drysdale Its circulation in Great Britain led finally to the historic trial of Mrs Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh This was just a little less than half a century This little book, written by a courageous ago American, republished by courageous Englishmen, became internationally famous, and was instrumental in the founding of the first Neo-Malthusian league, by Charles R Drysdale and Alice Drysdale Vickery, our honorary president, and the illustrious, courageous parents of the president of this conference, whom we welcome here today

WE welcome you to the presidency of this Conference Dr Drysdale fully aware of the honor you confer upon us You come here as the living representative of a family of indomitable heroes and founders of the Neo-Malthusian and

Birth Control movement Your presence links this gathering with that great historic movement for racial salvation which began with Robert Malthus himself Without the unselfish, disinterested courage of your father and mother, and your selfeffacing uncle, we would not be gathered here tonight I wish to thank you for the honor you have conferred upon us, in crossing the Atlantic, to act as president of this Conference We look upon this act of generosity as a sign that you consider us worthy to keep alive and to carry on the torch of Neo-Malthusian truth, which for three-quarters of a century has so nobly been held aloft by the heroic Drysdale family May we in America show ourselves worthy of the Drysdale tradition!

To delegates from all foreign countries, I wish to extend a welcome no less grateful I want also to apologize-if I may do so without any disrespect -for the obstacles you have had to meet, the obstructions placed in your way by some of the rules and regulations of our American government Not being familiar with all our customs, perhaps you do not know that the government of the United States has enacted laws aiming to exclude from this country all "undesirable" foreigners These laws, like all such restrictive legislation, make it difficult for all foreigners to pass unmolested our famous Statue of Liberty There is a Quota restriction Only so many foreigners from each country are allowed to enter each month No, this is not Birth Control, though it is a crude method adopted by the United States to control our population It is the latest method adopted by our Government to solve the population problem And so you delegates from foreign countries have been made the innocent victims of an unsuccessful attempt of the American Government to cut down the number of "undesirable" citizens I am glad that you have overcome these obstacles As convinced Neo-Malthusians I knew you would I welcome you to this Conference

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While the United States shuts her gates to foreigners, and is less hospitable than other countries in welcoming visitors to this land no attempt whatever is made to discourage the rapid multiplication of undesirable aliens—*and natives*—within our own borders. On the contrary the Government of the United States deliberately encourages and even makes necessary by its laws the breeding with a breakneck rapidity—of idiots, defectives, diseased, feeble-minded and criminal classes

DILLIONS of dollars are expended by our B state and federal governments and by private charities and philanthropies for the care, the maintenance, and the *perpetuation* of these classes Year by year their numbers are mounting Year by year more money is expended The American public is taxed-heavily taxed-to maintain an increasing race of morons which threatens the very foundations of our civilization More than onequarter of the total incomes of our States is spent upon the maintenance of asylums, prisons and other institutions for the care of the defective, the diseased and the delinquent Do not conclude however, that all of our feeble-minded and mentally defective are segregated in institutions No, indeed This is a free country, a democratic country, a country of universal suffrage We can all vote, even the mentally arrested And so it is no surprise to find the moron's vote as good as the vote of the genius The outlook is not a cheerful one

You, friends from foreign countries who have come here to our greatest city, must have noticed the intricate system of signals which regulates the crowded traffic in our streets and thoroughfares By this system, the pedestrian is assured some degree of safety But while the congestion of American population in our cities has forced upon us a system to regulate traffic in city streets and country roads, America as a nation refuses to open her eyes to the problem of biological traffic and racial roads Biologically this country is "joyriding" with reckless carelessness to an inevitable smash-up Is it too late to prevent national destruction? This question we must face—and answer

FRANCE is making a vain attempt to increase her population by awarding bonuses to those parents who will produce large families The day is *here* when the Government of the United States should award bonuses to *discourage* large families If the United States government were to expend some of its vast appropriations on a system of bonuses to decrease or to restrict the incessant and uninterrupted advent of the hordes of the unfit, we might look forward to the future of this country with less pessimism If the millions upon millions of dollars which are now expended in the care and maintenance of those who in all kindness should never have been brought into this world were converted to a system of bonuses to unfit parents, paying them to refrain from further parenthood, and continuing to pay them while they controlled their procreative faculties, this would not only be a profitable investment, but the salvation of American civilization If we could, by such a system of awards or bribes or whatever you choose to call it, discourage the reproduction of the obviously unfit, we should be lightening the economic and social burden now hindering the progress of the fit, and taking the first sensible step toward the solution of one of the most menacing problems of the American democracy It is not too late to begin

From the moment this gathering was planned, it has been my deepest desire that this Sixth International Conference, brief as it must necessarily be, might be made a real turning point in the never ending battle for human emancipation Let us, all of us from other countries and from other fields, aim to convert these few crowded hours into an assembly of world importance Let us aim to carry on the great tradition of honesty, courage, and bravery which is so nobly personified for us in the figure of our president, Charles Vickery Drysdale Let us express our innermost convictions Let us not fear opposition, nor the sharp clash of opinion Apathy, not opposition, is the only real enemy of truth And it is truth that has brought all of us here together Let none of us be afraid to express his truth, to bring it into play in this Conference, for we must not forget that it is the truth which is going to set us free I hope we do arouse opposition For in arousing opposition, we are killing apathy and lethargy It is my hope that this Conference will be instrumental in lighting and spreading the fire of truths so illuminating they cannot be extinguished

YOU, Dr Drysdale, and you-delegates from older and wiser countries than this-you do not wear decorations or medals But I know that all of you hide the scars of wounds won in our neverending warfare for the emancipation of the human race I welcome you And to all of you, my fellowcitizens, who have so generously responded to our call and have co-operated with us in our effort to make this Conference of international as well as national significance, I extend the warmest welcome of the American Birth Control League And I know that all of you join me in welcoming to the presidency of the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference our President, Charles Vickery Drysdale

The Mother-Hygiene Office in Norway

A Report by KATTI ANKER MOLLER*

I N the Labour Party's woman clubs we had often spoken about the marned woman's deplorable position

In Norway formal prostitution is abolished and the unmarried mother and her child are now protected by better laws But the condition of the mairied woman and her children under the present marriage and the religious understanding prevailing over this institution is such that it gives the husband an unlimited right to sexual intercourse, without any regard to the wife's health, and to procure children in no proportion to the family's income Most wives have to endure incessant pregnancies and go through childbirth with ever diminishing physical strength and economic power to meet the growing difficulties For many of them marriage is felt as a permanent outrage and the birth of a new child is cause for serious grief

I had written two pamphlets, "The Emancipation of Motherhood" and some years afterwards, "The Birth-Politics of the Women" They had created much sensation and had been discussed in almost every newspaper in Norway So that pubhc opinion was prepared

I translated Mrs Stopes' little book, "Letter to the Over-worked Mother," and tried to get it sold We sent the book to the head of the medical department and said that if the medical authorities would not take necessary steps to stop the present violation of the mothers, we would

This compelled the medical faculty of the University of Oslo to discuss and resolve on the question. The faculty's resolution, which we published, said (1) that contraceptional measures were not injurious to health, (2) that it was desirable that the overworked mothers got this knowledge, (3) that in most cases it was the economical situation of the family which made a limitation necessary for conscientious parents, (4) that only doctors should give the wanted knowledge

This resolution has been of great help to us and has had great influence in changing public opinion on birth control in Norway We were very glad for it, though we did not agree to the doctor's monopolizing such a right over the families If this resolution should be supported no changes would take place

We opened our own office The Labour Party said it would stand with us and help us We started last April, 1924, in the center of the capital of Oslo We have no clinic We prepared to give verbal knowledge concerning the different contraceptional means and to be able at the same time and at the same place to *sell* all the necessary apparatus

We sell also books and pamphlets concerning sexrelation sand motherhood and the nursing of babies We give information about hygienic precautions during pregnancy and sell garments suitable for that condition We instruct the mothers in nursing babies and sell baby-garments This is a very much needed work as in Norway we have very few childwelfare centres

The deepest cause of the mother's subjection and the difficulty in helping them is their total lack of knowledge concerning themselves as mothers and concerning their most prominent work in life to create and rear children Our office is therefore also a sort of a shop

In eight out of ten cases the mothers help themselves by reading Dr Stopes' earlier mentioned brochure, which I have changed a little, by our instructing them and by an illustrated pamphlet of instructions If they do not feel that they can rely upon themselves concerning adjustment of contraceptive devices, we give them the addresses of several doctors, especially women doctors of the town who we know will help them But we supply them with a card of introduction from our office and with the apparatus they want before they leave In difficult cases we send them direct to the doctors

This way of combining an instruction office with a shop is an easy and inexpensive way of meeting the present difficulties The sales help pay for the office I am quite aware this is not the most perfect way, and we hope by experience to establish something better, but buying garments for the babies gives the mothers a clear pretext to visit our institution And we have a welcome opportunity to demonstrate that we are not against child-bearing per se On the contrary, that we will only try to protect the overburdened mother so that she may be the best possible mother for the family she already has

We do not give instructions to unmarried girls and we try not to make any fuss concerning our work, but we are obliged to advertise Both the office and especially the advertisement is on the border of the law But the authorities have lett us in peace This means, I dare say, that public opinion concerning an earnest and decent work for

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^{*}Report to the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, March, 1925

The Birth Control Movement in Japan

By Iso ABE*

BIRTH CONTROL had begun to be discussed in Japan about two years before Mrs Margaret Sanger made a visit to the country in 1922 At first the subject was handled in Japan under the name of New Malthusianism, because the words "Birth Control" seemed to convey something offensive to the delicate sense of those who did not understand what they meant Several magazines in Tokyo published the opinions of specialists, pedagogues, representatives of religion and statesmen on the subject When Mrs Sanger came to Japan, the discussion was still going on with so much vigor that the people were very eager to listen to what she would say on this problem

While the public was broad-minded enough to welcome Mrs Sanger with open arms, the government looked on her arrival rather with suspicious eyes The officers might, perhaps, have gone as far as to prevent her from giving her lectures anywhere in Japan, had not the younger officers stood firmly against this unwise policy But it is a fact that Mrs Sanger could not enjoy as much freedom as she desired She was not allowed to speak to a public audience on birth control When she spoke on the subject it was only to a small circle in a private room As she traveled, however, in many important places in the country, no one can doubt that she rendered a great service for the cause of birth control It is not exaggeration at all if I say that her name is better known in Japan than that of any other American or English woman

Since 1912, the movement became very active Dr T Kaji, who has his own hospital in the business district of Tokyo, is one of the champions for the cause and any one who feels the need of birth control may get advice from him The Japanese Federation of Labor, which has more than thirty thousand members, sees the need of propagating the cause among working men Now the Federation has its own "Consultation Bureau" in three large cities—Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe—where any one may get proper information on birth control

One of the books written by Mrs Sanger had been translated and published in Japan just before she made a visit to the country Soon after, my book on birth control was published and had a comparatively good sale Then the translation of Mrs Sanger's "Pivot of Civilization" came out February this year, we saw for the first time the appearance of a periodical the organ of the movement The editor is Senji Yamamoto, Professor of Biol-

ogy in Doshisha University, Kyoto He is one of the ardent advocates of the cause Perhaps no one excells him in the number of lectures delivered for the cause

However, it would be a great mistake for any one of you to infer from what I have said in the foregoing that we have much freedom in Japan in making propaganda for the cause of birth control On the contrary, we are always struggling under great disadvantages Although we are not so badly oppressed by drastic laws as Americans, yet we are by no means enjoying the perfect freedom of the Hollanders or Australians While we are perfectly free in discussing birth control either on a platform or in a book from a purely theoretical standpoint, we are strictly forbidden to inform the public of practical methods However, the law does not interfere if we give to others any information by mail relating to birth control From this you can infer what attitude the Japanese government is taking toward the movement To talk on the practical side of birth control in a public meeting is considered by the government as injurious to the law of decencv

For a few years our movement went on "underground," so to speak, because the government has not been so inquisitive as to punish us even for what we do in secret Thousands of inquiring letters came to our hands and all of them were properly answered Several months ago one of our members by the name of Ogawa, became so enthusiastic for the cause that he determined to devote his life to announcing this beneficial message to his countrymen While staying in the United States with his wife and children several years ago, he had acquired the knowledge of the most effective method of birth control As he was convinced that birth control might be the only way to rescue Japan from the approaching danger of overpopulation, he felt it his duty to sacrifice every thing for the cause The first thing he did was the opening of a consultation bureau in his own home in a suburb of Tokyo Fortunately he obtained the co-operation of a midwife who lived next door Just at that time two or three influential women's magazines began to be interested in the movement and discussing the subject favorably, announced the whereabouts of the consultation bureau From sixty to one hundred letters poured into the office every day Ogawa soon moved his office to the business district of the city and obtained the services of a midwife, a nurse and a pharmacist A little pamphlet which describes

(Continued on page 125)

[•] Report to the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, March, 1925

De Cuniculis-An Allegory

By J SWINBURNE, F R S

NCE there was an island full of rabbits It does not matter how they came there The island was overrun with them Each pair had several htters a year, but as the food they could raise on the island was limited, they died as fast as they were born In time they had developed some rude sort of civilization, which made it a little more difficult to follow the effects of their fecundity But the number that died directly and especially indirectly from starvation was very nearly equal to the number born, as their means of raising food improved very slowly in comparison The numbers were kept down by direct starvation, by deaths, especially of the newly born, insufficient food, through disease, by vice engendered by misery and dispair, and by fighting The island was divided up into patches, coloured differently on the maps, and they cultivated patch pride as a virtue, and the inhabitants of each patch were always trying to extend their patches at the expense of the neighbouring patches, and this caused many deaths They had short and miserable lives, and they knew something was wrong, but having the brains only of rabbits, they did not know what it was

The Priests said "You shall give us predominance and food, and we will control you, for we know all about God We have created him in your image He is a big rabbit, and he likes rabbits, so you must breed as many as you can He is so fond of rabbits that he metes out eternal punishment to most of them, and those alone escape who kow-tow to us and believe what we tell them, and obey their spiritual pastors and masters" Having the minds of rabbits, they gave the priests predominance, and they had their brains warped in their childhood, and were kept in special darkness and misery for thousands of years

W HEN a King would be appointed over each patch by the more influential, the ordinary rabbit having no say in the matter, and the kings robbed, murdered and oppressed, and led their patches to slaughter, and the working of their sordid and contemptible ambitions was called history

The Politician said "Give us predominence and food, and we will talk and flatter your ignorant prejudices, and you shall listen to us, and read about us, and we will give you food, and everything you can want" So the rabbits gave power to the politicians who had the minds of rabbits, the tongues of serpents, and a mendacity not possessed by any of the other lower animals

The Militarist said "Our patch is rich, but so

is the blue patch next us Let us attack it and take it, and we will be twice as rich and twice as large as we are now When our glorious Empire is twice as rich and twice as large with twice the commerce, you will all be twice as rich, and there will be no poverty They are thinking of attacking us, so our invasion will be a defensive war To arms! You go and kill as many as you can Many of you will die glorious deaths anonymously, more of you will be crippled for life, all of you will have a foretaste of hell, and we will inflict as much misery on our neighbours, or I hope much more I will stay at home and make patriotic speeches, and my name will go down as one who made history But I will not keep all the credit, those of you whom I select will receive the order of the Golden Eagle or the Zinc Carrion Crow"

THE Political Economist said "I do not want anything from you, but I have spun out an interesting and complicated study of wealth on the assumption that population is fixed, so that better organization will put things right Though I sometimes admit in a foot note that your extreme fecundity upsets my schemes, I generally prefer to deny or ignore its existence But if you will do without middlemen, adopt free trade, and alter the relations of capital and labour, it will be all right," and he went off to finish a book on the "Double, or Scalp-and-Wife Money Standards in the Bungo Islands"

Then it occurred to someone that emigration would ease the stress, so they sent six rabbits to a continent where there was none before In a few years the six had multiplied into several thousand million, and they had overrun half the continent The rabbits on the island thought their population pressure had been eased by several thousand million, instead of six Most of the several thousand million were dying like the rabbits on the island, yet only half the continent was occupied by It was said that while one-half of the conthem tinent was vacant and full of rabbit food, it was impossible that the other half should be full of starving rabbits and, indeed, it is true that if the rabbits could have been suddenly distributed over the whole continent, they would have been well off, but only for the few months necessary for them to multiply up to the new limit

The Socialists said "Some of you are not starving at all, but are rich This is unfair Give us front place, and we will divide up and have no rich, so there will be no poor We will then settle what little work each of you shall do, and you shall have plenty to eat Instead of each pair bringing up its litters in poverty and difficulty, we will all combine to bring up all the litters collectively, in plenty, ease and comfort, and the more litters there are the more happy rabbits there will be "

THE Labour Leader said "We all do too much work and get too little food for it All we have got to do is to work much less and eat much more food, and make the rich pay for it"

The Syndicalist said "Let us all refuse to work, then the rich will get poor We are miserable, and we envy and hate the rich Let us ruin them, and somehow we will be all right The rich have, in fact, collected all the food somewhere for themselves, and we will get it out of them "

The Philanthropist said "I will organize a fund to be called after me You will all subscribe, so that a large portion of you will be kept in demoralizing idleness The more rabbits we support in idleness the less starvation there will be Carry philanthropy far enough, and you will all be supported by charity, and no one will have to work, and food can always be bought "

The Anarchist remarked—and he had some show of reason "Some governments say they come from God for our good, others are elected, and none ever softens our misery They all say they can and will, so our misery must be their fault, and we would be much better without them" He threw a bomb anonymously and blew the government up, he dissipated himself, too

O NE rabbit said "You are poor because you are prolific" They would not have this at any price, so they reviled him and refused to listen, and said his theory had been disproved, for his explanation made out that the misery was really their own fault, and it is impossible to get an animal with the brain of a rabbit to realize that its troubles are due to its own faults *

*Reprinted by the courtesy of The Macmillan Company from "Population and the Social Problem," by J Swinburne

Neo-Malthusian India

First Steps Toward Marriage Reform and Birth Control

By BASANTA KOOMAR ROY

S IDE by side with those who are trying to loosen the destructive political and economic grip of England on India, an ardent group of social workers are working for social reform through various organizations scattered all over India Through the efforts of these organizations child marriages with all their evil results are fast disappearing even in the most orthodox sections of Hindu society Widow marriages are becoming quite a fashionable thing During 1924, more than 1,600 widows married

A group of social reformers are virtually inteiesting themselves in conscious birth control It makes very little difference after all as to what may be the density of population per square mile in the country as a whole, the poverty of the farmers and workers (who constitute the vast majority of the population) is so excruciating that immediate relief by a positive check on large families in poor circles has become imperatively necessary An increase in population over a period of almost a hundred vears, in spite of chronic famine and plague, from 100,-000,000 to over 300,000,000 is in itself causing alarm in certain circles

As long ago as 1901 Mahatma Asvini Kumar Datta, the illustrious educator and philanthropist of Barisal, told me that India's problem of population was oppressively threatening, and he strongly advocated birth control by continence But in

view of the fact that even saintly men like Mahatma Gandhi could not avoid the causes of fatherhood, it is idle, if not futile, to expect absolute continence from ordinary mortals made of flesh and blood and living in a world so full of a number of interesting things

Under the present system of ruthless economic exploitation and consequent crushing poverty, growth of families must be stopped by all means, if India is to live And when absolute continence is impossible, conscious birth control is the other alternative

According to eminent authorities birth control was known in India of old They hold that ancient Hindu literature contains instructions in contraceptive measures It has been in the minds of the young for some time Recently birth control organizations have been started in different parts of India to solve India's pressing problem of population And it is quite natural that this movement be first formally inaugurated in Bombay, the leading center of India The Bombay Birth Control League has recently been founded under the auspices of such men as Prof N S Phadke, Prof R D Karve, Mr R B Lotvala, Dr A J Mehta and others

Prof Phadke is secretary of the Bombay Birth Control League and edits *Birth Control* He is an ardent worker in this cause, and is making, like all pioneers, considerable sacrifice, to make his plea thoroughly understood throughout the length and breadth of India In the course of a paper on "The Necessity of Birth Control in India," Prof Phadke writes "It is a pity that no vigorous attempt has yet been made to arouse the people of this country to a sense of the dire consequences of excessive procreation and of their duty to arrest it

"Today if we bring forth children whom we cannot abundantly feed, cloth and educate, we only create a race of slaves who will too readily fall a prey to the designs of the foreign rulers and exploiters It is high time, therefore, that we awaken ourselves to the urgent need of Birth Control in our land

"Let us assure the reader that the motives behind the Birth Control movement in India are sacred Those who choose may charge it with tampering with God's design, gross indecency, immorality, sin or whatever ugly counts they can invent But they can never make people blind to the fact that behind the principle and practice of voluntary control of progeny, he, not the selfish ends of individual lust, but the highest and purest motives of humanitarianism and national efficiency. It is for extinguishing misery, limiting human disease, raising the general level of humanity by substituting the ideal of quality for a vulgar ideal of quantity, driving away the monster of poverty and making a strong and sturdy nation of ourselves, that we want to accept and work out the principle of voluntary Birth Control Thus our attitude is straight and simple We want to take our vast stock of human wealth in hand "

The people of India are deeply religious, and they practice harmlessness to the point of absurdity The vast majority of the Hindus are vegetarians Not to speak of animal and sea food, they are loath to break the shell of an egg lest they kill a chicken or a duck Even at times of famine they would rather gladly die of starvation than kill a goat or a duck to eat It is this supreme reverence for life that lies at the bottom of their continued subjection to their alien conquerors

Somehow or other the orthodox Hindusthanees believe that birth control is equal to killing Hence it is most difficult to convince even the vast majority of the most highly educated men and women that one cannot kill a thing that was not born Just think of it! A woman like Sarojini Naidu is in a precarious state of health on account of excessive child-bearing There are countless other similar tragic cases to be found in all walks of life and all over India In spite of the untold human sorrows, sufferings and miseries that exist throughout India, the birth control movement is meeting with tremendous opposition from the orthodox But like all humanitarian movements, opposition is only strengthening it and making it more widespread Here and there highly educated women like Mrs Lila Singh of Bhagalpur are doing splendid work by their open advocacy of the cause of birth control for the birth of a new race in India

Both directly and indirectly the feminist movement that is sweeping over the country is helping the progress of birth control in India The women of India, like the women of Europe and America, are up in arms against man-made laws While the women of India are growingly invading offices and factories, schools and colleges, bars and councils, it is quite proper that they should have equal say and equal pay in the administration of society A leader of the feminist movement in India, told me that in all their attempts to win women's rights they encountered no opposition whatsoever from the men of India

Woman represents the "Divine Mother of Energy" (Shakti) Without her help and co-operation man is utterly helpless—hopelessly helpless Just a short while ago Mrs Sudangsu Bala Hazra, an attorney of the Patna High Court, was elected a member of the Patna University Senate by the votes of men university graduates Still more recently Mrs Poonen Lukhose, MD, was made State Physician and head of the Women's and Children's Hospital at Trivandrum, Trivancore, a position which gives her ideal opportunities to work for the relief of mothers

India's expert economists, however, contend that if the present system of exploitation continues to exist in that country, it is nothing short of arrant stupidity to expect the least abatement of human miseries even though all births, not only of human beings, but also of animals, birds, reptiles and insects, be totally stopped for the next twenty-five years

Whatever may be said for or against birth control, it cannot but be admitted that it is a movement that has come to stay in India for the good of 320,000,000 of the people of Asoka and Akbar, of Kalidasa and Tagore, of Buddha and Gandhi

Early Neo-Malthusian International Conference

By BESSIE I DRYSDALE

T IIE "grun of musturd seed" of the New Testament comes to one's mind when one contemplates the small beginnings and growth of knowledge and appreciation of the Birth Control Movement To the crowds who will assemble to "hear the word" in Muich, 1925, it may be interesting to rend a little of the early International Conferences of the movement

M Paul Robin convened the first in Paris on August 4th, 5th and 6th, 1900, at the offices of the Ligue de la Regeneration Humaine At that time four Leagues were in existence, viz, Great Britain (1877), the founder of the Neo-Malthusian Movement, Holland (1879), Germany and France

The FIRST INTERNATIONAL was a small meeting and Herr Max Hausmeister of Stuttgart, still Editor of *Die Sozial Harmonie*, who represented the German movement, was unable to be present Holland gave a splendid account of the work done there during the eleven years of the League's existence, and during the meeting M Paul Robin proposed that a "free and friendly federation of all existing Leagues of Europe and any future Leagues be established "

Thus was the Federation born and every succeeding Conference has seen its vigorous growth and progress Many of the pioneers who were present at that time have now passed away—Dr C R Drvsdale, Dr Rutgers M Paul Robin but Dr Alice Vickery is still with us, and also Mme Rutgers, though both unable longer to take an active part To our American friends it may be interesting to note that Madame Emma Goldman, of San Francisco, was present, and told the meeting that "anyone giving information on this matter in the U S A, was liable to imprisonment for five years"

The SECOND INTERNATIONAL CON-FERENCE took place at Liege in September, 1905 convened by Dr Mascaux, President of The Belgian League There was a much larger gathering this time, France Belgium and Holland being well represented while Dr C R Drysdale, Dr Alice Vickery, Dr C V, and Mrs Bessie Drysdale and Mr A P Busch represented England A large number of letters from earnest workers in many parts regretting unavoidable absence were read The Presidents of the German and Spanish Leagues could not attend, Mme Nelly Roussel, Mme Rutgers and Mme Kramers were also specially missed M Robin informed the gathering that Moses Harman, at this time the Neo-Malthusian representative of the U S A (Chicago) "had lately been imprisoned for sending a well-written pamphlet through the post office of the U S A"

Indignation was expressed at the infamous conduct of the postal authorities in the States for daring to violate the liberty of the press by such disgraceful conduct, which was quite as bad as the Russian censorship in Europe, and the deepest sympathy was expressed for Mr Harman and his family, and it was suggested that subscriptions for him should be sent to Chicago and protests against the government of the United States for acting in such a high-handed manner The Malthusian, that splendid pioneer will not be with you in the great Sixth International Congress

At this second conference which commenced on Sunday, the great Continental holiday, an evening public meeting was held in the big hall where the Conference took place, and the hall was "well filled by a most well conducted audience of the citizens of Liege " The question of language was a difficult one, but where the speakers were French or Flemish they were, of course, perfectly understood An amusing little scene at the end of the meeting somewhat startled us The Chairman, a Deputy of Liege—who announced at the commencement that he was a "disciple of Marx, and in favor of a rapid increase of the people, in order to put a stop to the unfair division of property now existing by means of a social revolution," but explained that he was anxious to hear what the Neo-Malthusians had to bring forward" was so enraged at the speeches that at the end he rose and "washed his hands" of such "libertaires" A tremendous uproar followed, which was somewhat alarming to us as strangers, till one discovered that it was almost universally directed against the Chairman's views! This Deputy had asked to be allowed to take the chair This Conference was wonderfully stimulating to the various pioneers An exchange of views as to methods of propaganda, the reading of papers and a discussion on practical methods took up the whole of the Sunday and Monday, and on parting, after a friendly dinner gathering everyone returned to his country the better for this interchange-humble though the whole Conference was

The THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFER-ENCE was held at the Hague Holland, in July, 1910, under the Presidency of Dr Alice Drysdale Vickery (Dr C R Drysdale having died in 1907)

April, 1925

The Hon President was Dr Juris Van Honten, a former minister of the Netherlands, and one of the greatest filends of the movement in Holland, privately and publicly Mme Rutgers described him as the spiritual father of the Neo-Malthusian League in Holland, and the most skillful defender of their cause The organization and direction of this Conference were in the hands of Dr and Mme Rutgers, who carried it through brilliantly

There were many representatives from Great Britain, Holland, France, Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, Hungary and Spain, while reports were sent from Portugal and Italv Specially interesting members were Dr C W Saleeby (not present), Dr Aletta Jacobs, the pioneer woman doctor of the movement in Holland, Dr Helene Stocker and Frau Stritt, representing large women's movements in Germany, Professor Knut Wicksell, the eminent Swedish economist, and Professor August Forel, from Switzerland, the famous psychologist At this Conference D C V Drysdale showed a large number of his charts, which indicated very clearly the corelation between birth rates and death rates Since his father's death, my husband and I had become joint honorary secretaries and editors of The Malthusian, and so he had given a great deal more time to the proofs of the Malthusian doctrine

Much earnest work was got through at this Conference The following gives an idea of the scope of one afternoon's lectures-a public meeting Professor Forel lectured on "Eugenics, Rational Procreation or Humane Selection", Dr Helene Stocker on "The Experiences of the Mutterschutz Society among poor mothers", M G Hardy upon his latest work on "The relation of population to subsistence", Prof Knut Wicksell (Lund University) on "The Optimum of Popula-tion", Dr C V Drysdale on "The Progress and Results of the Neo-Malthusian Movement", Frau Marie Stritt (Dresden) "The Relation of Neo-Malthusianism to the Emancipation of Women" Frau Furth rectified some of the criticisms of Karl Kautsky and Mrs Bessie Drysdale spoke on "Some Ideals Concerning Marriage as Influenced by Neo-Malthusianism"

The proceedings concluded with a few remarks from the Hon President, Dr S Van Honten, who thanked those present for attending, and stated that "in his long ministerial career he had attended a great number of Conferences, but nevei one in which the proceedings were of such a uniformly high character" Dr E B Foote, of New York, was at this time one of the warm supporters of the movement and contributed generously to its expenses

The great success of the Third International Conference led to a most cordial invitation from the Administration of the International Hygiene Exhibition, to be held in Dresden in September, 1911, to hold an International Neo-Malthusian Conference in connection with it This invitation was largely due to the efforts of Dr Stocker (Berlin) and Frau Marie Stritt (Dresden), who had attended the Conference at the Hague This brilliant Hygiene Conference was the outcome of great efforts by the King of Saxony, the Chancellor and other leading men of Germany Every facility and courtesy was given us, and free accommodation provided for our meeting All our former friends and many new ones sent promises of support

The FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CON-FERENCE occupied four days and was represented by thirteen countries, Dr William Robinson representing the United States and Dr T Belfield, U S A, also attended this Conference and gave a paper on "How the Reproduction of Criminals and Degenerates May be Prevented" One afternoon was given to Women's questions when Dr Stocker, Frau Rosika Schwimmer (the noted lecturer on women's questions), Frau Stritt and Mrs Bessie Drysdale gave papers The interest shown in this Conference was evidenced in the press reports A pile of cuttings more than an inch thick came from German, Austrian and Hungarian papers, and articles and notices of our invitation to the Conference came in from places as far apart as Holland, India and Australia The Congress closed with the following resolution

"The Fourth International Neo-Malthusian Conference in Dresden desires to call the attention of all governments to the evil results arising from the great pressure of population in all civilized countries as regards Poverty, Unemployment, Over-crowding and Race Deterioration, and hopes they will give the most earnest attention to this matter with a view to reducing the birth rate, especially among the poorer and less capable classes "

All this took place nearly fourteen years ago and we have not yet arrived at such a consummation by any government in the world * May the SIXTH INTERNATIONAL in the powerful and cultured United States of America, bring that consummation markedly nearer

[•] The story of the largest of the International Conferences-the Fifth which was held in London in July, 1922, is to be found in the files of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW and in the volume of Proceedings and Papers

The Workers Birth Control Group in England

Report of its founding and work and the attitude of the English Labour Party towards Birth Control*

By DORA RUSSELL,

Hon Secretary Workers' Birth Control Group

PART I

THE Workers' Birth Control Group was founded as the result of two events early in 1924, first, a deputation to the Minister of Health, and second, a resolution passed at the Labour Women's Conference at the Holborn Empire

Requests and resolutions asking that birth control information should be given by public authorities had reached the Ministry of Health from time to time, but it was on May 9th, 1924, that the first deputation on the subject approached the Ministry A small group of young women, all mothers, and all members of the Labour Party or Independent Labour Party, had on the eve of the 1923 election set up an informal committee to put forward birth control propaganda in the Labour ranks The formation of the Labour Government gave them the opportunity to organize an immediate deputation to Mr Wheatley This deputation was headed by Mr H G Wells, Mr F A Broad, M P, Dr Frances Huxley, and the following were also present Dr Muriel Radford, Dr Raymond Streatfield, Dr J B Howell, Miss Dorothy Jewson, Mr H V Roe, representing the Constructive Birth Control Society, Sister Roberts, representing the Marie Stopes' Clinic, The Hon Mrs Graham Murray and Mrs Fuller, representing the Walworth Clinic, Miss Stella Browne, representing the New Generation League, Alderman Edward C Reed, Mrs Ganley, JP, Ballerbee Maternity Committee, Mr Lewis, Mrs Lewis, Croyon Maternity Committee, Mrs Jenny Baker, Mrs Duncan, and a number of Labour M P 's and delegates of Labour Women's Sections Mr H G Wells represented to the Minister that to refuse to give scientific information about birth control at the Welfare Centres to the poorer mothers was, in effect, to make a class distinction, since the advice was readily obtainable in England by the woman with money who could afford to pay a good doctor for it It was pointed out that referring hard cases to the hospitals would not solve the problem, because the hospitals, as voluntary institutions, could not be compelled to give information and advice and did in fact almost invariably refuse it Further, the overwork and congestion of the out-patient departments in hospitals was already terrible As a

minimum demand the deputation pleaded that doctors should be free to give such advice when in their opinion it was medically advisable

Mr Wheatley replied on familiar lines, explaining that this was a controversial subject and that therefore clinics on which public money was expended could not give the information, as certain sections of the community might raise objections This is the stock argument in use in this country and those who advance it seem to forget that Quakers pay income tax which is spent on armaments, and Christian Scientists are taxed equally with other citizens to provide the state medical service

The deputation was much disappointed, not only by Mr Wheatley's reply, which they expected, but by his unsympathetic attitude Many of them became convinced that a right understanding of the claims and rights of mothers would never be reached until a feminist agitation on their behalf was conducted

The (at that time) informal committee of women then turned their attention to testing opinion among Labour women at their forthcoming Conference Circulars were sent to all Women's Sections of the Labour Party of which the addresses could be obtained, the lack of sympathy at headquarters having led to the refusal of an official list As a result of these circulars and the publicity accorded to the deputation, no less than fourteen resolutions on the subject (the largest number on any one topic) came in from sections all over the country The Standing Joint Committee of Women's Organizations (representing the view of the Party Executive) had, as a result of a determined attempt to pass birth control resolutions at the previous Conference, tabled a resolution of their own recommending an enquiry In arranging the final Agenda, an attempt was made to rule out of order the resolutions demanding birth control information in favor of the one resolution asking for an enquiry This was defeated by watchful and energetic tactics on the part of delegates on the floor of the house, and in the end a special time was given for the maternity resolutions coupled with birth control The officers of the party defended their attitude on the grounds, first that a resolution demanding action by the Minister of Health implied a vote of censure on Mr Wheatley, a Minister of our own

^{*} Report to the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, March, 1925

April, 1925

party, and second, that we should split the Conference from top to bottom on such a controversial question

Believing they had a majority backing, however, the birth control advocates went forward, agreed to pass the enquiry resolution, since they did not fear an enquiry, but insisted that a demand for the giving of such information as now exists, should be put to the Conference The following resolution, proposed by Mrs Jenny Baker of Finchley, and seconded by Mrs Dora Russell of Chelsea, was put to the Conference and debated amid an atmosphere of great excitement on the part of platform, delegates and press "That this Conference, while in no way criticizing the views of those who, for scientific or moral reasons, are opposed to the practice of Birth Control, expresses its opinion that the Ministry of Health should permit health authorities to provide, for those who desire it, information on the subject of Birth Control, and that in cases where local health authorities desire to give such information, the Ministry of Health should not, on that account, withhold the usual grants "

Only one voice and that a plucky one, from the mother of eleven children, was raised against this resolution among over a thousand delegates and it was carried by a show of about one thousand hands to eight The press gave a good deal of publicity about the "Menace of Mothrehood," but the publicity assisted the movement rather than otherwise And certainly the resolution did not split the Labour movement On the contrary it united the feeling of the women On no other subject was so much eagerness displayed On the last day of the Conference a meeting of about a hundred and fifty to two hundred delegates was held and the Workers' Birth Control Group formally and officially formed It was realized that to obtain effective action would mean a great deal of propaganda and organization, as it was necessary to tackle the big Conferences of the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and the London Labour Party The Group was formed definitely as a political organization seeking political action through its party and the Trade Unions and Co-operative Guilds Though the Minister of Health had full power to do what the deputation asked and did not need parliamentary sanction or legislation, it was obvious that without pressure from Parliament and public opinion no action would be taken The Group did not wish to work in antagonism to existing birth control organizations but distinguished itself from them in its political aim, its emphasis on propaganda to obtain public action, rather than on the attempt to establish separate clinics and give information in that manner and through pamphlets

A committee of twelve people in the London area was elected, Miss Dorothy Jewson, then in the House of Commons, became President, and Mr Adamson, Mr F A Broad, Major Church, Mr H G Romeril, Mr E Thurtle, Mr S P Viant, all of whom were then Labour Members of the House of Commons, became Vice-Presidents

(Part II of Mrs Russell's report will appear in the May Review)

The Stork and the Wolf

By FLORENCE WAYNE HICKEY

The stork is at my chimney And the wolf is at my door, Hush, my wailing one' My hungry brood is huddled In a corner of the floor, God's will, and man's, be done'

November winds are shivering Against the window pane And the gray wolf is howling In the black night rain, And his red eyes are gleaming And his red jaws drip And a snarl curls back His fang-lined lip, And the rain is driving To a sleet like snow, The stork is at my chimney And the stork brings woe I can give no bread To the brood about me pressed, I can give no milk To the yearling at my breast But sleep will banish hunger, Little cold ones on the floor, So sleep while the wolf Is howling at the door, Sleep forgets the cold, Little hungry ones of mine, So sleep while the stork Adds another to your mine

The stork is at my chimney And the wolf is at my door, Hush, my wailing one! My hungry brood is huddled In a corner of the floor, God's will, and man's, be done!

"TALES OF MEAN STREETS"

Poverty, Drudgery, Suffering, Fear and Death is the Lot of the Mothers and Children Who Live on These Streets

On the better streets of a city small families, healthy mothers, well cared-for children, to whom is promised a good start in life On the poor streets crowded tenements, families short of everything except their own numbers, mothers without health, without leisure, without social life, old before their time These mothers see nothing ahead of them but more children, whose barest needs they can hardly supply There is no promise of a start in life for these children On the better streets, whatever the law may say, the prosperous know how to limit their families Only the helpless poor are forced to obey a law which means their own destruction and, in the long run, the destruction of the state

"God Knows I Can Hardly Keep Them"

Florida

I have a copy of your magazine and feel that you can help me My poor mother having ten living children and five dead could hardly keep them all So I married when I was fifteen, have been married only four years and have three children already I was married in July, 1920, and in April, 1921, my first child was born, just eight days before my birthday when I would be only sixteen Then in December, 1922, my second one came and March, 1924, my third Now I don't want any more God knows I don't I think I could raise these to be good Christian women if I didn't have any more I get weaker every time Before I was married I was always called so healthy but now I am just a nervous wreck We do not own a roof over our heads and to my notion we never will if we keep having children this close always We are able only to have help three weeks after one is born, and one time we couldn't get any at all My husband did what little cooking there was to be done He is only getting \$2 50 a day and that is all we have I am not able to take in washings or anything to make a little more Only help me and tell me what I can do for you Oh, I would be so thankful.

"We can't give those we have proper care"

Nebraska

I was left motherless at the age of twelve, the oldest of six I am the mother of three, the oldest will be four in August We can't give the three we got the proper care they should have When the last child was born in February, it was a month and half before I put my feet on the floor The doctor told me the next time, I would need an undertaker not a doctor Not wanting to leave my three babies motherless, I am writing to you, if you have helped others it would be a Godsend if you would help me

"At the Age of 26, I look 40"

Pennsylvania.

After seven years of married life, I have had six children At the age of 26, I look 40, just through ignorance of Birth Control Being poor, I have no way of enjoying myself It's the wash-tub one day, the sewing machine the next You can picture two young people and the children we have

Not Able to Care for So Many

West Virginia

Please tell me how to keep from having so many children and so close together for I am a poor woman and not able to care for so many I am of a family of eleven children and I know how hard times was for us I have one baby now and the thought of having another so soon again nearly sets me crazy My mother before me was married young just like myself and at 37 years old she gave birth to a baby boy and died with child-bed fever Oh, I don't have the strength to care for so many and I want you to write and tell me how to keep from it, and a safe way, so I won't have more than I am able to care for

The Mother of Eight

Oklahoma

I am the mother of eight children and in the family way again We are poor people and my husband works hard My oldest child is fourteen years old, the youngest two years and there will be another in four months I have more children than I can care for I have a copy of "Woman and the New Race," and you are just right if people can't take care of their children, they hadn't ought to bring them into the world I don't get straight after one child before I have to have another I am thirty years old April, 1925

A Poor Family

New Hampshire I'm from an awful poor family where my mother had sixteen children and I'm the oldest and I'm 24 years old If you only knew what I suffered and all my sisters and

If you only knew what I suffered and all my sisters and brothers and mother also, because she had a new baby almost every year of her married life She had such hard times with every baby She didn't want all them babies but she didn't know how to prevent it If you only knew how we had to sleep in bed-six of us in one bed because father couldn't afford to buy another bed It would take hours and hours to tell you what we all went through Now, Mrs Sanger, I want to tell you that I married and now I've got a baby boy four months old and I'm one of them unlucky women just like my mother I'm nervous and rundown from my first baby and I'm expecting the second one in a few more months I wanted another baby but not as soon as this But it happens that way, so let it be I'll try to be brave and bring the baby to this world But please advise me and tell me what to use or what to do so I won't have any more after this second baby comes I don't want to bring babies by the dozen into this world and make them suffer like I suffered when there was 16 of us in one famıly I rather bring two babies to this world and give them health, good education and good home and good feed and everything that a baby should have My husband makes only \$23 00 a week and it would be awful hard to support a big family He don't work steady, only half of the time now because there's no work Oh, please don't refuse me

"I Have Seen My Mother Go In Rags"

Kansas

We have been to all the doctors around here and they tell us there is no sure preventive The one that I've doctored with all my life tells me that there is only nine days that there is any danger but that don't apply to me We would want children if we were financially able but my husband went bankrupt about a year ago and we can't take care of a child yet If you can't help me out perhaps you can tell me where I can obtain aid I am one of eleven children and the struggle for existence has almost been more than we could stand at times I've seen my mother go in rags in order that we children could have an education and enough to eat I've seen her in the very depths of despair over our condition I don't want my children to see me suffer as she did So please do what you can for me

"We Can Hardly Make a Living"

Ohio

I sure was well pleased with "Woman and the New Race" Is there any safe way in which a woman can keep from raising children? When I was but seventeen I married a man eighteen and in ten months I gave birth to a five-pound baby girl and in twelve months and ten days another five-pound baby girl was born and in twelve months and fourteen days a big nine-pound baby boy was born Now he is only fifteen months old and I am to become a mother again any time now So if any one needs advice I think it is me for no one knows what I have to suffer I am trying to do my part, for my husband is a hard working man and living is so high we can hardly make a living Other women around I know of have taken drugs and poison dope to get rid of the babies in the womb but I don't want to do that So if there is any safe way of prevention please tell me

"There Is Always Fear"

I am thirty-eight years old, have a family of six living children, also lost two in infancy Our baby now is just past two years Our lives and home is happy, husband does everything to avoid more family But there is always fear and nothing sure except what is injurious to him I am not one that would die before I would have more babies, but we are not able to raise any more family I have to work hard every day to keep the family going Husband has not been able to work now for eighteen months He has back trouble, has doctored all this time for it but gets no better He does a little about the house and takes care of the baby He can be on his feet only a short time and doctor don't give him much encouragement of being any better

A Cripple's Story

I have five children, a girl and four boys, my oldest seven years and baby ten months Our family is so large and my husband gets such small pay we can hardly live We could not send our little boy to school because we could not buy shoes for him I am a cripple, was almost burned to death when a child, which makes caring for the little tots and house work hard for me I had to get up when baby was eight days old because we could not pay for help and I haven't been well since Could you tell me some way to prevent having more? I will do everything I can to help your good work along

"Not a Healthy Child in the Bunch"

Ohio

I am a poor farmer's wife aged 37, and have had eight children I am in poor health most of the time, but when pregnant much worse I can't hardly cook what is absolutely necessary for husband and children to eat, in fact I can't hardly get my work done at all Some of my children is getting good size, but the older ones are boys, and they all take lots of mother's care

I am consumptive and so much worse at them times, it is awful how I cough and spit I also have varicose veins and can't be on my feet the last few months at all. I haven't got a stout healthy child in the bunch Do you wonder at me writing to you?

Indiana

Montana

Birth Control Before Two Legislatures

Connecticut

By ANNIE G PORRITT

MARGARET SANGER, Dr James F Cooper and Rev Thomas H Garth were the chief advocates to appear before the Joint Judiciary Committee of the Connecticut Legislature on March 12th, to present the case for Birth Control It was a little over two years since a similar hearing was given to a Birth Control bill, and the progress made in the meantime was clearly perceptible in the increased respect and attention given by the Representatives and Senators on the Committee, and by the evident sympathy of the large audience that crowded the old senate chamber, where the hearing was held

The law in Conecticut is unique in that it prohibits the use of contraceptives, but does not prohibit their sale or the giving of information The amendment introduced by the Connecticut Branch of the American Birth Control League was therefore aimed to make the use legal, when such use is on the prescription of a duly licensed physician The effect of the law has been that while doctors have advised their private patients, all information has been refused to poor women who have to resort to hospitals and dispensaries for treatment The amendment would put the responsibility definitely on the medical profession, and would be a challenge to the doctors to undertake this most important form of preventive medical work

Mrs Thomas N Hepburn, wife of a leading surgeon of Hartford, and member of the Board of Directors of the American Birth Control League, conducted the hearing for the advocates of the bill In a short speech she outlined the case to be presented, and the support it had secured from physicians in the State She then asked Mrs George H Day, President of the Connecticut Branch to hand to the committee the letters of endorsement that had been received Mrs Day also gave to each of the thirteen members a copy of the March issue of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW It was interesting to see the interest shown by the men in this Public The Senate Chairman gave it Health number close study and asked numerous questions of the speakers based on the articles in the REVIEW Most of the members had also brought with them copies of "Great Thought on Birth Control," the pamphlet recently issued by the League, which had been mailed to them a day or two previously These they used as handbooks during the hearing

The first speaker was a Hartford physician, Dr H F Stoll, who showed the absurd position of the Connecticut doctors They can perform an abortion, when, after consultation, this is deemed necessary, but if they advise prevention of conception, they are inciting their patients to commit a crime Dr Stoll stood for the increasing number of physicians who desire to make abortion unnecessary

A most respectful and attentive hearing was then given to Mrs Sanger, who in her masterly way laid the case for Birth Control before the committee She was frequently interrupted by questions, but for the most part these seemed to be dictated by a real desire to know the facts and to understand the purpose of the advocates of Birth Control She spoke for about twenty minutes, and whenever she made an especially telling point, she was interrupted by the applause of the audience

Dr James F Cooper followed Mrs Sanger and made the argument from a medical point of view His thorough grasp of the question and his intimate knowledge of the practical problems of Birth Control evidently impressed the committee, and he also was called upon to answer numerous questions After he had concluded, the case for the morality of Birth Control was presented by Rev Thomas H Garth Dr Garth enlivened proceedings to start with by telling two or three very apt stories, but quickly showed that he considered Birth Control a matter of very serious importance, and of high value from a moral and religious point of view

The only person to appear against the bill was Mrs Fisher, the President of the Connecticut Council of Catholic Women Her short and ineffective speech began most inappropriately by the assertion that the advocates of the bill had neglected entirely the moral and ethical sides of the question She ignored altogether the fact that Dr Garth had just treated this aspect of Birth Control After she had finished, as no one else desired to speak against the bill, the remainder of the time was given to Mrs Sanger, who had the easy task of rebutting Mrs Fisher's arguments She had also to answer a large number more questions put by members of the Committee-all of which she accomplished with the ease and appropriateness which always characterize her methods of meeting opposition or heckling

After the hearing, the committee asked those in favor of the measure to rise Almost the whole audience stood up A scattering few waited for the request that those in opposition should show their stand The poor showing of the opposition brought out a laugh from some member of the audience "There's nothing to laugh at," said one of the opponents pettishly, a response which brought out not

one single laugh as before, but a general chorus If the Committee report were based in any degree on the strength shown by advocates and opponents, respectively, at the hearing, there is little doubt that it would be favorable The vote on the measure will probably not be taken in time for publication in the April Review, but will be announced in the May issue

New Jersey

By EVERETT R MEVES

A BIRTH CONTROL bill was introduced in the House of Assembly of the New Jersey Legislature on January 27th, 1925, by Assemblyman E Frank Pine, of Camden County, at the request of the Camden Birth Control League The bill was referred to the Committee on Miscellaneous Business, of which Assemblyman John B Stratton, of Gloucester County, is Chairman He first refused to grant a public hearing on the ground that the bill was not of sufficient importance, but later changed his mind and announced a hearing for Monday afternoon, February 23rd, in the Assembly Chamber

The custom of the New Jersey Legislature is to hear the opposition first The only opposition to appear was from the Roman Catholic Church They had two main speakers, Mr Joseph F S Fitzpatrick, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Newark Diocesan Federation of the Holy Name Society, and Miss Mary G Hawks, President of the Diocesan Council of New Jersey of the National Council of Catholic Women They were aided by Mrs Helen Kellenberger, President of the German Catholic Women's Society, and Mr Louis Seiz, President of the German-American Catholic Society of New Jersey

Mr Fitzpatrick tried unsuccessfully to have the Chairman of the Committee change the rules so that those supporting the bill would speak first, giving his side final word It was the usual argument from such sources Birth Control is contrary to the Divine Law and the Natural Law, it is immoral, will destroy marriage and the home and lead to "free love", that it is a legalization of sex gluttony ,that we need "self-control" and not Birth Control, and so on ad nauseam and ad infinitum

The speakers for the bill were under my chairmanship as Secretary of the Camden League Mrs Sanger was the first speaker She called attention to the beneficial results of Birth Control on the health of the mother and the child, and to the fact that those who need the information the most are those whom the law deprives of it Dr James F Cooper, Medical Director of the American Birth Control League, spoke from the standpoint of the physician, saying that Birth Control will place in the hands of the doctor another means of alleviating human suffering The Rev William H Garth, D D, dwelt upon the beneficial moral effects D1 Hannah M Stone, physician in charge of the Clinical Research Department of the American Birth Control League, in the best speech at the hearing, told about the work of the clinic, driving home her points with citations of actual cases, and ended with an eloquent plea for the passage of the law as something necessary for the welfare of the race At least one member of the Assembly was converted by her address, and many were given a new idea of what Birth Control really means

Each side had twenty minutes to present its argument and then five minutes for rebuttal Mr Fitzpatrick appeared to have a difficult time during this five minutes, being forced to read copiously from the writings of various Roman Catholic priests against Birth Control, as he had to do during his original speech Even at this he could take up only three minutes of his time, and was forced to call upon Miss Hawkes to help him out

The first part of the rebuttal for the advocates of the bill was taken up in presenting people who were present supporting the measure Among these were Mrs Mabel C North, former Assemblywoman from Essex County, Mrs William Klaber and other prominent club women from Montclair, and the Executive of the Millburn Township, Essex County, League of Women Voters headed by Mrs A S Ross There were also delegations present from Newark, Princeton and other places throughout the state Endorsements were presented from the Princeton Parents' Association, Professor Edwin Grant Conklin, of Princeton University, and the Joint Health Legislative Conference, comprising the New Jersey Sanitary Association, the New Jersev Health Officers Association and the Essex County Health Officers Association

(Continued on page 124)

Book Reviews

A Review by Lothrop Stoddard

THE NEW DECALOGUE OF SCIENCE By Albert Edward Wiggam The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis

EVERY thinking man and woman must be aware, in a general way, of the momentous changes which science is effecting in our modern would Specific problems and our general philosophy of life are alike involved, necessitating nothing less than a thorough reexamination of all questions and a revaluation of all values

The difficulty for the average layman, absorbed in his profession and immersed in the busy round of his daily affairs, is to get a sound general survey of what science is doing and how it is altering our outlook on life and its problems This Mr Wiggam has attempted in The Taking for his theme the New Decalogue of Science broad field of the biological sciences best described by the term "Eugenics"-the science of race-betterment, Mr Wiggam surveys clearly and brilliantly the relation of this new biological knowledge to every phase of human life, from politics and social relations to education, art, morals, and religion Mr Wiggam rightly emphasizes the necessity of bringing scientific knowledge out of the laboratory to the people, so that the average man and woman may truly understand what scientific progress means to them in their daily lives And Mr Wiggam has practiced what he preaches, for from this volume the reader will get such an understanding, so clearly and so interestingly has Mr Wiggam handled his subject on every page

Of special interest to readers of this Review will be Mr Wiggam's remarks on Birth Control Trenchantly and forcefully, Mr Wiggam asks

"Do you know that Birth Control is the most momentous fact in the history of mankind, that if wisely used to increase the birth-rate of the superiors it is the most effective instrument for race improvement within the power of man, but if wrongly used to decrease the superiors, while the inferiors continue to breed with undiminished vigor, it will wreck the race that tries it?

"Do you know that if your political, educational and economic conditions permit it, Birth Control will cause the patriotic, the prudent, the fatherly and motherly, those endowed by nature with rich, unselfish instincts, to beget the majority of the nation's children, causing an increase of morals, intelligence, beauty, unselfishness and all that make a sound foundation for a great human breed, but that so far your social and economic forces have pushed these most precious of all racial strains to the biological wall?

"Do you know that nothing can possibly improve the condition of the poor like decreasing their numbers through an extension among them of birth-limitation?" The paragraphs just cited are merely one aspect of a volume whose wide sweep embraces all the major problems of modern life Whether they agree or disagree with the author at every point, no thinking man or woman can afford to neglect *The New Decalogue of Science* in formulating his or her outlook on life and its problems

I A PRODUCTION ET LA POPULATION, by Dr Robert I ascaux Payot, Paris

THIS book, written in 1921, has never been translated and is far less known outside of France than are the panic fears of the French that their low birth rate will mean their extinction Dr Lascaux finds causes quite different from a low birth rate for the dwindling population of France, and until these causes are removed he shows that an increase in the birth rate will mean only a further dwindling

The destruction of France he finds in the neglect of its industries and finance The natality rate has already outrun production of necessaries Many are born, but of these a decreasing number survive to become a durable, adult population Only a population increasing after production is adequate to support the increase, and keeping within such limits as will always allow of savings for further increase of production, has a true increase in numbers

In France today capital has decreased one-fourth, owing to the fact that the savings of which capital is made have been used up in the support of families With the decrease of capital the production of necessaries has lessened, the fare of families has grown thin, more children have died, fewer grown to be adult workers Of those who have grown the strength is depleted by privations Dwindling strength and dwindling industries mean unless they are arrested, a progressively dwindling populatios

The remedy Dr Lascaux finds in reorganizing and building up French industry and capital Without savings this is impossible and he would give encouragement to saving by doing away with all government or private measures, such as bonuses and special honors or privileges, which aim to increase the birth rate Figures for 1923 show the difference between a nation whose industry is prepared to sustain new lives and one that is not In that year England had less infants born than France, but in England the survival rate was three times that of France It has not, Dr Lascaux maintains, been mere selfishness and luxury that up to now has made the French try to keep their families down It has been the desire to prevent suffering and death For it is the individual family which feels the evidence of the law that the greater the birth rate the greater the mortality In France more children die in families where there are more than three, and where there are more than six the death rate is as high as fifty per cent

Of a system which brings lives into a world unprepared for them Dr Lascaux says "If man is only great when he suffers, if it is true that the horrible spectacle of children dying without help being able to be brought them is capable of raising the moral height of humanity, do not hesitate to increase our birth rate If not, look the consequences of our acts in the face If an energetic effort does not raise the economic power of the country every child which is born in excess of the number desirable will die Let us take care not to pass laws before we have created the conditions which alone permit of their application"

This in brief is the thesis of an elaborate study, worked out with mathematical precision and supported by a wealth of facts and statistics from France and the rest of the world

Brilliant and convincing as Dr Lascaux's analysis is as far as it goes, it does not quite "follow the argument whithersoever it leadeth" Though a supporter of Birth Control as an opportunist measure, Dr Lascaux does not appear to recognize that there is a permanent and fundamental reason for limiting the birth rate For with all the savings and reorganization of industry in the world there is no country which has possibilities of unlimited production Neither France nor any other country in the world as a whole will ever be able to furnish conditions where procreation should be unrestrained

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN CHINA By James B Webster, Ph D, Department of Education, Shanghai, College E P Dutton and Company, New York City Price, \$2 50

R WEBSTER, an educator in a Christian college at Shanghai, tests the value of the educational contribution of Christian missions to the Chinese He believes that the aim of the missions should be, "by racial and cultural cross-fertilization" to create in China the "international mind" whose development throughout the world should be the object of all modern education He finds that the missions have fallen short of this ideal, have been "strongly colored by egoism and small group interest" They have been narrow classical and theological in their teaching What the Christian schools need, and what some of them are beginning to recognize that they need, is a comprehensive program "based on the fundamental laws of biology, psychology, sociology and economics," making use of all that is good in Chinese and Christian teaching, and aiming toward a perfect human society, not bounded by national boundaries or the boundaries of institutional religion The Chinese have little public education of their own so the field is open for whatever use the missions wish to make of it

One fundamental thing that Dr Webster believes the Christian missions ought to do is to co-operate with existing social forces to lower the birth rate "Does the Christian God desire his children," he asks, "to be born

and to live continually under the conditions that now exist in the dense poverty-stricken countries of the East? If it is wrong to take life, is it not as certainly wrong to put life where it is sure to be taken by slow and terrible suffering? Christian education has an opportunity to meet and answer these vital questions" No better statement of the morality of Birth Control could be made M S B

PERIODICALS

Figures from the 1921 Census of Great Britain just published are quoted in the *Woman's Leader* (London) for December 12th Of a total of 15,700,000 women and girls of over twelve years of age almost exactly one-third are, as the *Leader* expresses it, "occupied" About 70 per cent of these wage carners are between 17 and 19 years old After that more and more wage workers are taken away by marriage, though a fifth of the wage earning group are married or widows No analysis is made of the economic classes to which the ten and a half million "unoccupied" women belong Probably the vast majority, far from being unoccupied, are engaged in the heavy unpaid labor of bearing and caring for the constantly increasing families of the very poor

As long as the unfit are prevented from having access to knowledge of Birth Control taxation will continue, in the words of an editorial writer in the London Times, "to force the brain worker to become the foster parent of the manual worker's children and so compel him to reduce the number of his own children"

The January 2nd number of the Woman's Leader (London) which is devoted to review of women's progress in England during the preceding year, makes a special point of two significant events for the woman in the home One of these is the publication of Eleanor Rathbone's book, "The Disinherited Family," a plea for family bonuses which "has already made its mark on economic teaching" The second is "the spontaneous and overwhelming demand of the labor women for the diffusion of knowledge of Birth Control through the infant welfare centres" These two proposals are now being discussed as supplementary to each other

"At present," says Eden Paul in an article in the New Generation, "our most energetic women, unwilling, on the one hand to accept the economic dependence on man involved in marriage, and competent on the other, to earn their own livelihood are, by our industrial and social system, condemned to celibacy "

Dr Charles W Ehot, President Emeritus of Harvard, has no such understanding of this rapidly growing class of women In a recent address before the Harvard Dames he stated that records of Harvard graduates over many years show that they average only 17 children He fears race suicide and he lays this low average to the fact that many young women today are taking more interest in establishing their independence and carrying out their plans for a career than in marriage and maternity Curiously enough, Dr Ehot found that the college men he questioned considered marriage and the family more important than a career Possibly this is because domesticity, which generally shatters a woman's hope of her career, simply gives a man a new incentive to pursue his

Dr M Victor Safford, writing in a recent number of the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, frankly states his behef that public and private health measures at present used are reaching the limit of their usefulness in safeguarding the public health The problem is now, he believes, a biological problem, such as leads the animal breeder to "kill off his animals and start with a new stock" American Medicine, commenting editorially on Dr Safford's article, points out that health measures, while they may keep alive the unfit, also tend to save the fit This is rather cold comfort Of more radical, eugenic, measures suggested by the reference to the stock breeder the editorial says "These are illegal and undesired from every standpoint Biologic law, in so far as it is involved in propagation of the species, is seriously hampered by civilization and its ideals" In the sense of killing off the unfit this is true, but preventing the birth of the unfit is a eugenic measure quite in harmony with civilization and its ideals

To a recent issue of the American Weekly (Philadelphia), Professor Hornell Hart contributes a feature page, "Permits Required Before You Can Have Children" He contends that the state, which safeguards our homes, our health and our lives after we come into the world, should provide, by the terms of the marriage license against the coming into the world of individuals who are to be a menace to our homes, our health and our lives

There were 108 fathers who descrited their children as against 19 mothers Only 77 children were full orphans, 290 half orphans

There were 422 children whose parents were married, 98 recorded as unmarried, and there were 63 cases where the relationship of the parents was not known

This means that 763 percent of the children were legitimate, only 146 percent illegitimate, and 91 percent unknown

There is a small percent of babies born to girls from the upper classes This is not nearly so high a rate as in Europe The Association always tries to have the unmarried mother keep her baby, for one-half of the babies separated from their mothers die

Almost half of the cases studied had been abandoned children, of these 217 were foundlings picked up from park benches, or dark alleys —Figures from State Charities Aid Society (N Y) Placing-Out Department, quoted in Success Magazine

Birth Control Review

Our Correspondents Column A FRENCH DOCTOR ON THE POPULATION PROBLEM AT HOME

Poitiers, France

Editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

I expect to come to New York for the Conference I am always glad to return to America and to contribute to the amelioration of the condition of the American people, who are the only nation on whom we dare still to base our hopes for the future

In France, a country whose position is critical and one suffering from depopulation, the question of birth limitation is not in favor. It is only discussed at all from the point of view of limiting the risks of maternity in those cases where for medical reasons, pleasure must be looked upon as the main reason for sexual intercourse The French do not understand that reproduction is a social function, a duty toward the race and the state and that the multiplication of those whose environment and heredity is good ought to be encouraged as far as the economic condition permits On the other hand, it is necessary to vigorously oppose the reproduction of unsocial persons whose children are a charge on the state and a danger to civilization America has arrived at a clearer understanding of the danger of unrestricted increase of population and it is for that reason that she must assume the leadership of other peoples Each people is destined to grow weaker which considers births an accidental result of sexual intercourse Either, on the one extreme it, like France, moves toward extinction and has no plan for maintaining itself except by immigration, or else it moves like other European peoples toward enormous increase of the inferior elements who crowd out the superior as weeds crowd out cultivated plants

G O DE LAPOUGE

BIRTH CONTROL-THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Editor, BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

When reading the accounts of the efforts of statesmen of practically all countries of the world to avoid the possibility of another war I see no reference made in the public print, or in the accounts of their meetings, to Birth Control, it saddens me

Is there not some way of getting this movement before the world in general through the League of Nations? I look at the photographs of these intelligent gatherings and realize with a feeling of sadness that they are entirely missing the point

Men will find a way to go to war as long as countries are overcrowded Sitting on the safety valve will not avert the explosion It will only delay it and make it all the more severe when it does come

Yours for the good of the cause,

V M BENNETT

Press Clippings

PREPARED PARENTHOOD

I N a San Francisco address last week Archbishop Hanna stressed the importance of American women preparing for motherhood, stating, "a child is as his environment, as his home, as his mother, his teachers, the world make him"

The Most Reverend Archbishop neglected, however, to endorse by name the woman who, for many years, has consistently pled for a prepared motherhood, the woman who has pointed the way for this preparation, the woman who has led the crusade against the laws which state (in effect) that women shall not prepare for a child but, rather, bear children by accident—Margaret Sanger, President of the American Birth Control League

The tens of thousands of members of the American Birth Control League believe not only in a prepared mother, but a prepared father as well, they believe that every woman should have the right to welcome her children as and when she feels that her health and strength are adequate for their care and attention, and when the father is financially able to provide the creature comforts and educational facilities which all true parents desire for their offspring

Birth control will insure the mother the time necessary to recover her strength in case of physical or nervous exhaustion, and guarantee to the father that children will not arrive faster than he can provide the means to care for them

Preparing for motherhood with a knowledge of birth control means consciously wanted children who would be healthy, sturdy, well cared for, educated and given the best opportunities for development and citizenship

-W F JUDSON IN Oakland Advance

FURTHER COMMENT ON DR PINTO

There may be dozens of reasons why Phil and Phyllis should not have a baby within the two years set by Dr Pinto of Omaha, Nebraska, or ever, outside the physical reasons They may be in such desperate financial straits that it would be the rankest injustice to the child to inflict their poverty upon it They may be as yet too poorly adjusted to each other to have progeny They may be too old or too oung They may be temperamentally unfit to ever become parents, yet be ideally fitted to be companions and home makers

Marriage is a physical and industrial union But it is also more than that—far more than that It is the highest spiritual compact which men and women can enter together It is the most intimate, sacred, beautiful, important and difficult form of human partnership Its value to the community and the world is infinitely diverse No man can reckon in how many ways marriage may serve the state

Children are not the only aim in marriage, nor the only

reason for a home Friendship is produced in homes, good citizenship is upheld by homes, happiness and culture, rest and inspiration, comfort and healing all center there Whenever a man and woman unite their lives with sincere and kindly intent to make a beautiful adventure of that union they have added something strong and rare to the treasure of humanity And even though they never have children, nor ever desire them, their union is justified by the ideals they uphold and the example they set

Often, indeed, certain couples would serve the race better by not having children than by producing them Nor does this apply to the physically unfit There are spirits which are unfit to be parents, as well as bodies which are unfit Those spirits may be honest, conscientious, decent and energetic They may make excellent wives and husbands, friends, business associates and citizens, yet be absolucely unfitted for the high calling of fatherhood and motherhood We have no more right to inflict the government of an unfit mind upon a child than we would have to inflict the awful heritage from an unfit body upon him

Moreover, before any couple undertake such a tremendous responsibility they should undergo a certain period of adjustment to each other Spiritual harmony, as well as physical union, is necessary, if the child is to be born into health and happiness

-ELSIE ROBINSON IN San Francisco Call-Post

The Denver American quotes from a sermon by the Reverend G S Lackland of Grace Community Church of that city His subject was "The Ten Commandments for Motherhood" Two of these commandments read

2--- "Thou shalt not attempt home making or motherhood unless prepared for it

3---"Thou shalt not bring into the world more children than thou canst take care of adequately and intellectually develop "

In his comment Dr Lackland is quoted as saying

"Any attempt to evade the problem presented by Birth Control is foolhardy We have girls under twenty-four years of age pleading for information about Birth Control so that their lives may be more bearable Many girls that age and younger have families of five and six children whom they are unable to support properly, who will be thrown upon their resources prematurely, unprepared to face life intelligently

"Parenthood should be voluntary Information relative to Birth Control should be available so that everyone may obtain it The rich may go to their family physicians and avert children, if they wish, but the poor must depend upon what knowledge they glean fortuitously

"Women cry for freedom nowadays, but they cannot have it until they are biologically free—and they certainly cannot be biologically free until they know how to control the birth of children" I I were asked what is the greatest scientific achievement in the whole history of man, I slould, without a moment's hestation, say the discovery of Birth Control, the discovery of the power actually to control the whole trend of his own species 'I hink of what it means' Hay any plant or animal ever had such a power placed in its hinds. By no means From the first Amæba to man every species of animal and plant has been perfectly helpless to escape the bloody gauntlet of brute nature which forced it to multiply until the limits of its food supply had been reached, and then the grim warfare of plant against plant, animal against animal, brother against brother, mother against daughter and father against son asserted its unabated and unabating fury

And now comes a new fact upon the stage of evolution -the control of his own reproduction Parenthood is made voluntary I ask the reader to point to any triumph of science of equal importance Think of what it means to be able to suspend the long, long warfare of all the ages, and bring peace into this vast maelstrom of blood¹ One would think that the statesmen of the world would have gathered the moment it was announced and said "Here is the great instrument of human peace and human improvement We can now keep our population under We can now adjust our population to food control supply We can reduce the unfit and create economic and social conditions that will lead the fit to reproduce their own fitness The fit can now do this with joy and freedom, because their children are not placed in competition with swarming hordes of the unfit We can improve the condition of the poor by leading them to reduce the numbers of the mouths they have to feed There will thus be food enough left for the fit so that parenthood among them will not be a hardship but the natural joy nature intended it to be "-A E WIGGAM, from Strength. Philadelphia

GIRLS-A MARKETABLE COMMODITY?

I S slave trade really at an end? Actual offering of men for sale and barter by others like cattle has no doubt ceased But, what can be said of the shameless trade in girls that still flourishes in this land? We do not refer to the class of people who induce girls to take to prostitution or force it on them That is heinous enough, and law can prevent at least some of the abuses in that trade We refer to those who pride on their loyalty to the sacred Hindu Scriptures, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas who sanction the sale of girls Girls are actually given in consideration of money and the priest and the matrimonial ritual and the necessary witnesses are there to declare the maringe valid according to Dharmashastric injunctions The tragedy is all the more bitter if such girls are sold to persons who are old, infirm or insane Docs it not constitute a legal offence, in which so many people are accomplices? We have lately noticed three such cases in

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newspapers and we are sure this will not fail to set athinking any one who has the best interest of society at his heart. Is it simply greed of money or economic pressure that drives a man to sell his child? The question on the side of the bride-groom can be answered—it is only lust But, the parent or guardian of a girl on sale may have a case to make, before we pass our denunciation on him as a cruel, heartless or greedy person. We are inclined to believe that it is more often than not, economic pressure than the merest greed that brings about these cases. Can we not imagine a parent claiming half-a-dozen children and in dire want who will advertise his girls for sale, if forced to do so? We think, within the experience of every reader of ours, such an instance will not be a rare thing—Bombay Socialist

It is quite true, also, that as Dean Inge points out, we are breeding at the wrong end of the scale The birth rate in the slums is much higher than in the residential districts and one wonders whether the indigent can ever be persuaded to think The gentleman who has been out of work for three years, father of four children, whose wife gave birth to four more a week or two ago may be a national asset or he may not Perhaps he is merely one whose faith in the paternal generosity of a dolegiving government is bland But what of the girl of 20 with "the mentality of a child of 12" who murdered her baby and was sentenced to be hanged? Such cases as these should give us furiously to think —The Queen,

They say Birth Control is un-Christian How so? We, in this little community, have tasted the bitterness of lack of knowledge to the extent of burying three mothers in as many years

The first was 35 years old and died with her thirteenth baby The second, at 26, died with her fifth baby, she was married six years The third was 42 and died with her twelfth baby

The doctor said that all three deaths were due to the fact that their vitality was all gone, due to excessive child-bearing ---News Bee, Toledo, Ohio

It is not safe to leave the question of numbers unregulated, in the more hope that we may be rescued by one of these concervable, but as yet unrealized improvements And even if we do realize them, is it not discouraging that they should only operate to compensate an increase of numbers, when they might, if there had been no increase, have availed to improve the lot of the average man?— Newcastle Sun, England April, 1925

THE DEBT OF SCIENCE TO MALTHUS

WITHOUT Malthusianism it is at least probable that Darwinism would not have arisen to play its part in our modern controversies over evolutionary doctime A conclusion of this kind is adumbrated by Darwin's footnote in his "Descent of Man" "See the ever memorable Essay on the Principle of Population by the Rev T R Malthus"

For still stronger evidence turn to Darwin's account of what led him to formulate the theory of natural selection, for he tells us how, after reading the Malthus essay, as one long convinced of the struggle for existence, it at once struck him "that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavorable ones to be destroyed The result of this would be the formation of new species Here, then, I had a theory by which to work" But even if Darwin had not gone thus far what of Alfred Russell Wallace, for it was also his good fortune to hit upon the theory of natural selection? The evidence is just as conclusive in the one case as in the other Wallace, in describing his journey to the tropics, states that while suffering from fever in the Moluccas he began to think of Malthus's Essay on Population, and that there suddenly flashed upon him "the idea of the survival of the fittest" He wrote out his views, sent them to Darwin, and Darwin at once recognized his own theory in the manuscript essay thus received from a young and almost unknown naturalist -EDMUND NOBLE in the Boston Evening Transcript

BIRTH UNCONTROLLED

Scene Office of a public school

- Characters Attendance Officer, Assistant Principal, Clerk, Father and Daughter
- Father I want to take my girl out of school. She is above age and I need her help
- Assisant Principal Has the matter been investigated?
- Attendance Officer Yes Her help is needed How is the new baby?
- Father Fine Oh, she's not very big, and crics a lot, but she will be all right
- Attendance Officer Let's see, how many children have you?
- Father We have had twelve
- Assistant Principal My, you must have lots more money than I have All I can afford is one so far
- Father Oh no, I can't afford so many It's pretty hard But it's not so bad *Five are dead*

(The above is an actual occurrence of which the undersigned was an eye-witness)

H V HORNUNG

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

- Kattı Anker Maller is the Norwegian pioneer for Birth Control
- Iso Abe is Professor at the University of Waseda, Tokio
- J Swinburne is by profession an engineer, a student of population problems by avocation
- Basanta Koomar Roy is an East Indian writer and student of political and social conditions
- Bessne I Drysdale is an active worker in the New Generation League (England) and wife of Dr Charles V Drysdale, President of the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference
- Dora Russell is a writer and lecturer on labor and other subjects and wife of Bertrand Russell
- Annue G Porrutt is a writer She was an active worker for suffrage and a former editor of the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
- Everett R Meves is secretary of the Camden Birth Control League and organizer for southern New Jersey
- Lothrop Stoddard is a publicist, writer and lecturer on eugenics and social problems
- Jessica Smith went to Russia with the reconstruction expedition of Friends and is now working to improve Russian agricultural conditions with the Ukranian Farming and Implement Corporation

BOOKS RECEIVED

From Eugene Alban, Sweden BIRTH CONTROL, THEO-BETICAL AND PRACTICAL ADVICE

- From Women's Press Women's Physical Freedom, N Y, by Clelia Duel Mosher \$100
- From Maccaulay Company, N Y ONE HOUE AND FOREVER, by T Everett Harre

From Funk and Wagnalls, N Y A WOMAN OF FIFTY, by Rheta Childe Dorr \$250

From Dollar Book House, San Francisco How TO HOLD YOUR HUSBAND, by Simon Louis Katzoff \$100

From Fishers Medecin Buchhandlung, H Kornfeld, Berlin Vorlesungen uber das Gesammte Geslechtsleben des Menschen, von Dr Med Hermann Rohleder

From Zeitschrift fur Hygiene und Infectionskrankheiten, Berlin Die Bekampfung der Geslechtskrankheiten in Danemark, von Friedel und Hans Haustein

From J B Lippincott, Philadelphia WOMAN'S SHARE IN SOCIAL CULTURE, by Anna Garlin Spencer \$250

From John Bale, Sons and Danielson, London THE FIRST FIVE THOUSAND, by Marie Stopes 2 sh 6 d

More Light On Birth Control In Russia

By JESSICA SMITH

TN your issues of December and January, you publish an article on Birth Control in Russia, by E Gertrude Beasley, which does not seem to me to be a fair statement of the situation I have spent three years in Russia living both in the villages and cities, and while I had perhaps even more occasion than Miss Beasley to observe how great the need is for an extensive birth control movement in Russia, I do not by any means share her entirely pessimistic attitude as to the possibilities for progress along this line It is quite true, as she points out, that the problem is made particularly difficult by the fact that Russian women are semi-Asiatic in their backwardness, because of lack of education, religious prejudices and the mixture of races But it is not true that the average member of the Communist party is either indifferent or opposed, or considers that family limitation by means of contraceptives is a bourgeois idea, or that a large family is an economic asset As for the backwardness of the Russian women, this is one of the main concerns of the Soviet government They are doing everything they can to educate the women of Russia, to remove their age-old superstitions and thus prepare them for an intelligent attitude on the question of family limitation

As for every Russian Communist Miss Beasley quotes as being against birth control, I could quote you a dozen in favor of it I have met a few cases of indifference-none of opposition The economic situation in Russia has been so grave that it is absurd to say that the Communists consider a large family an economic asset The mothers and babies exhibit in Moscow display posters showing the relation of large families to high infant mortality A little Communist doctor miles from the railroad holds daily consultations for the peasant women to help them to avoid large families Lebedeva, head of the Mothers and Babies Division of the Department of Health, would welcome a visit to Russia from Margaret Sanger, as would many other Russian doctors with whom I have talked

Miss Beasley reports that Russia at present exhibits every phase of the history of human efforts to control their numbers, namely, first, infanticide and parenticide, second, abortions and third, contraceptives She makes a particular point of the fact that infanticide and parenticide still exist in Russia In support of this statement she relates that when she visited Chita, over a year ago, she found that within three or four months, more than forty babies had been picked up from the streets by the nurses from the creches But considering the fact that an article from Russia must necessarily have been written some time before publication, this was probably about two years ago when famine conditions still existed, and it must be remembered that many conditions that existed during that abnormal period have since then been vastly improved

As for the second phase, it is true that an appalling number of abortions take place monthly This is a problem which is absorbing the medical profession, and which they are doing their best to solve Abortions have been legalized since the revolution The doctors argue that since they are bound to take place, it is far better that they be performed by trained physicians, scientifically, and in clean surroundings, (they are free to working women—who are cared for in hospitals) than crudely and often fatally by the working women themselves The medical profession and the more enlightened members of the population generally are well aware of the harmful effect on the health of the women and are looking to the spread of scientific methods of birth control as the solution

A special commission of doctors has during the past year been studying the most advanced methods practiced in other countries, and the movement is gaining strength (see article by J C Coleman in the issue of November, 1924) The ignorance of scientific methods has been so great in Russia that the medical profession is quite rightly approaching the matter with caution They feel that as yet widespread dissemination of such information as they had would be useless, because, except in the cities, materials are not available But their caution does not mean opposition

As for the statement that the use of contraceptives is scarcely known in Russia, there is certainly not as much truth in that statement as there was two years ago Contraceptive appliances are displayed prominently in drug store windows in Moscow and other large cities, and booklets describing their use he on the counters True, they have not yet penetrated into the villages, but neither have tooth brushes or fireless cookers, or electric lights and it may be assumed that with the advance of civilization into the villages, these things will follow

Quotations from a few prominent women and other members of the Communist Party showing that there is a conflict of opinion on this matter in Russia prove nothing except that some members of the Communist Party are intelligent and that some

(Continued on page 124)

A pril, 1925

News No⁺es UNITED STATES

New York

THE great event of March was the Sixth International held during the last week, and much of the work within and outside of the office in the weeks preceding was preliminary work for the conference Mrs Sanger's lectures in Massachusetts and the meeting at the Community Church, New York, of which John Haynes Holmes is pastor, were however, on the regular program of the winter's work At the Community Church on March 8th, an intelligent audience of 1,500 listened to Mrs Sanger's address and many others had to be turned away

Of his recent talk to a group of clergymen the Reverend William H Garth writes "At a luncheon given in Browne's Chop House, by the New York 'Clericus' I addressed some forty clergymen on Birth Control This is noteworthy as it is the first occasion in that church when Birth Control was formally made the topic for the consideration of a clerical club and when an opportunity was given one of our council to present the cause Considerable interest was manifested in my talk and, on the whole the discussion which followed the address was distinctly favorable "

A good audience of legislators and citizens of Albany listened with respectful attention to the hearing on the Birth Control Bill on March 17th



Courtesy of Pos in Ad er iser

MRS SANGER WITH PROFESSOR CARVER AND STUDENTS OF HARVARD While Roman Catholic politicians bar Mrs Senger from Boston, scholars of Harvard University organize a Birth Control League at Cambridge

Almost two hours discussion and questions followed the lecture and the audience staved to the very end On March 15th she had a different sort of audience, when she spoke to the Freethinkers' Society of New York

Among the groups addressed by Mrs Grew this month was the Kipps Bay Neighborhood Association Forty-four of the forty-five mothers who make up this association came to hear her talk on Birth Control The chairman, a Roman Catholic, who came to disapprove, stayed to congratulate her on her statement, which she said had convinced her of the need of Birth Control

A full account of the hearing will be given in the May Review

Colorado

IN Denver one of the strongest supporters of Birth Control and a member of the American Birth Control League, is under attack by the Ku Klux Klan Judge Ben B Lindsey who twenty-five years ago founded the Juvenile Court, which has since become the Juvenile and Family Court of Denver, made himself unpopular with the Klan by not only refusing his endorsement, but by attacking it from the platform A strong fight was made to defeat him at the polls This failing, the Klan has attacked in other directions It is demanding a contest on the election and in case it is impossible to oust Judge Lindsey by this means, it is planning to introduce a bill into the legislature to abolish the court This is by no means the first time that corrupt politics has tried to oust Judge Lindsey and abolish his court, but the strength of the Klan is so great both in legislature and courts as to make this attack particularly menacing In both public and private utterances Judge Lindsey has been an ardent supporter of Birth Control, as a means of doing away with poverty and crime

Massachusetts

THE early days of March Mrs Sanger spent in the neighborhood of Boston, where on March 1st she addressed an audience of several hundred at the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Roxbury on Rational Parenthood

At Summerville the next day a group of 400 men and women students and professors of Tufts College, heard her speak on Birth Control On the fourth she was entertained at luncheon by the Liberal Club of Harvard, an organization before which such men as Einstein have recently spoken A luncheon of about fifty was planned, but the number grew to a hundred and fifty and a hundred more had to be turned away The talk lasted half an hour, but the questions and discussion which followed lasted two hours After the luncheon steps were taken toward forming a Birth Control organization in Cambridge

In Boston itself Mrs Sanger spoke only to a small group in a private house A public lecture was to have been arranged for her, but Mavor Curley of that predominantly Roman Catholic city, in the words of the Boston Telegram "declared war on Birth Control" and threatened to revoke the license of any hall which gave its platform for her lecture The American Civil Liberties Union has taken up the case and its Boston Committee will hold a meeting on March 22nd at Old South Meeting House to protest against the mayor's action Meanwhile the Roman Catholics are putting on an anti-Birth Control meeting before that date

New Jersey

THE most important event of the winter has been the legislative hearing on the Birth Control bill which is reported on another page of this issue Another New Jersey bill of interest is the Williams' Bill for eugenic sterilization of the chronic insane, the feeble-minded and the habitual criminal of defective mentality, which has passed the senate by a

vote of 11 to 3 If it passes the house New Jersey will be the fourteenth state to have a sterilization law

On February 24th, the day after the hearing on the Birth Control bill, Mrs Sanger addressed the Contemporary Club of Newark, a picked group of women representing the clubs and welfare organizations of New Jersey gathered to hear discussion of bills in their field before the legislature On the same day Mr Meves spoke to the Legislative Conference of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and to the Philomathean Society of Camden

Remarkable growth is reported in Riverside Since its founding not more than two months ago, the Riverside Birth Control League, of which Mrs Laura Winklespecht is president, has reached a membership of more than seventy

Rhode Island

ON March 4th, Mrs Sanger spoke before the Osteopathic Society of Providence on the Health Aspect of Birth Control

ENGLAND

I HE church commission which has been studying the birth rate and taking testimony for and against Birth Control is reported to be bringing together its material for a report Clippings from England still comment on the birth rate statistics given out at the end of 1924 The Royal Statistical Society has discussed the subject at length, tracing the fall of the birth and death rates in England and other European countries In the discussion of the papers presented by the president, G Udny Yule and others, Dr T H C Stevenson, of the General Register Office gave prominence to Birth Control as one important cause

The British Medical Journal, commenting on this, says "Even if Birth Control is a determining factor those who attack it waste their labor A man may be induced to die for his country, but hardly to procreate children for her unless he is convinced that those children will find places to fill at least as good as that he occupies"

The *Times* points out that thanks to the falling death rate England is still adding 300,000 a year to her numbers Sir Robert Blair, late chief education officer of the London County Council, points to the effect of the lowered birth rate in the numbers in the lower grades of the schools, and the Bishop of Gloucester, returning from a visit to the colonies is alarmed over the reduction of births in these places To him and other alarmists Dean Inge and an editorial writer in the *Times* reply that the real danger to the state, the real population problem, lies in the fact that not all classes are able to lower their birth rates The poor are still forced to have all the children that nature gives and are multiplying to their own sorrow and at the expense of the other classes

The Bishop of Birmingham shares Dean Inge's view "I am not one of those," he is quoted as saying, "who view the fall in the birth rate with alarm The population of this country is as large as it can be with safety I believe we need a smaller but a better population What is unsatisfactory at the present time is that the less valuable stocks in the community are the more prolific The birth rate in the slums is far higher than it is among teachers, ministers, or clergy, and so long as this state of affairs continues none can view the future of the race without serious misgiving"

Everywhere, even in scare headlines, is noted the almost spectacular lowering of infant mortality "Birth Rate Never Worse," reads the headline in the *Daily Chronicle*, but adds, "Healthy Babies," and records an infant mortality of 69 per thousand, the lowest ever recorded in England

What over-population and unemployment mean to the taxpayers and to local government officials is brought home by the plight of the Poor Law Guardians of West Ham, one of the working class boroughs of London At their last financial report the debt of the Guardians, incurred through the maintenance of the unemployed and their families, amounted to nearly six hundred thousand dollars The money was loaned by the Health Department of the National Governmentthe only source whence money could be had It was impossible to refuse it, as in that case all relief of sickness and of poverty would have come to an end and tens of thousands of people would have been in immediate danger of death from starvation Local taxation had been put as high as possible, but the working class character of the borough and the immense number of its unemployed formed a problem which the local government could not solve The grant to the unemployed is at the rate of five dollars a week for man and wife and an extra dollar for each child A man and wife and five children receive a weekly income of ten dollars, which is barely sufficient to feed and house such a family Very few of these people would fill the qualifications for immigrants into the British Colonies, even if they were willing to emigrate The problem increases day by day, as West Ham has a much higher birthrate than the wealthier borough of London, and yet the Ministry of Health obstinately refuses to permit Birth Control advice to be given at the Health Centers, even when the women are frantically eager to obtain it

FRANCE

UN our cover this month we show a French cartoon of the militarist pointing proudly to the result of his efforts to produce cannon fodder for the state The whole trend in France is backward, toward a high birth rate and deterioration, as Dr de Lapouge's letter and the review of Dr Lascaux's book, on other pages of the REVIEW, show Worse still, in its panic the government has turned to methods of persecution, strangely out of keeping with the traditions of the great republic Nevertheless, though a false industrial policy is threatening the vitality of the race, the French birth rate still exceeds the death rate and the latest figures show a substantial advance The survival rate for 1922, as given in the New Generation was 70,579, for 1923 it was 94,871-a gain of more than 24,000 lives

RUSSIA

I HE Nation of February 4th publishes a digest of the code of laws relating to marriage, family relations and guardianship adopted by the Russia Department of Justice and submitted to the Council of the Peoples Commissars No couple is forced to register a marriage in Russia Whether or not they register the marriage each may retain his or her name, and each retains citizenship of his or her native or adopted country Each member of the partnership, unless disabled, must be self-supporting While marriage relationships are thus free, special protection is thrown around children Each parent must contribute to the child's support An unmarried mother may register the father's name and claim his part support for the child Children are further protected by a provision that courts may take them away from neglectful parents Parents may have the decision as to what schools to send their children to, but may not arrange for their employment for wages without their own consent This leaving the decision to the child is a unique feature

SCANDINAVIA

FRU THIT JENSEN, delegate from Denmark to the Sixth International Birth Control Conference, who is already in New York, reports that in all three Scandinavian countries the "Free Motherhood" movement is making headway, and is steadily winning support from physicians Besides the clinic in Copenhagen for members of the league, a clinic for very poor mothers has been opened by Dr Leunbach in a working class district. Dr Alice Nielson has opened a clinic in Stockholin, Sweden

MORE LIGHT ON BIRTH CONTROL IN RUSSIA

(Continued from page 120)

are not Miss Beasley herself states that the most intelligent members of the Communist Party understand the need for scientific means of control of the population Implicit in that statement is the proof that Russia has a better chance than any other country in the world for progress along this line, because the control of the Communist Party is so widespread, that whatever it advocates is sooner or later executed The statement that "American Exiles" in Russia are opposed to birth control is particularly interesting to me in the light of the fact that several such exiles whom I happen to know are carrying on active birth control propaganda and explaining to the Russian comrades the various methods employed in the western world

Most of all I take issue with Miss Beasley over her statement that the main trouble with the Russian Communist Party is that they care no more about their women than other political parties do for meirs They care more and more for them women than any other political party in the world The revolution emancipated women legally and economically Her social liberation can come only with the new generations, when the inheritance of superstition and ignorance fostered under Czarist rule in Russia have been overcome by education There are better laws for the protection of women in industry in Russia than in any other country in the world and the state takes a real responsibility in safeguarding the working mother in particular The principle of equal pay for equal work has been firmly established A "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" department of the government is always on the job ferreting out all infringements of the labor laws, and they do not deal gently with those who fail to carry out the statutes regarding the protection of women in industry It must also be borne in mind that the women as a whole are the most backward of the workers, that they have always been given the less skilled jobs, because it was even harder for women to get education under the Czar than for men, and the percentage of illiteracy is much higher among women Every factory now has its classes for the "liquidation of illiteracy" and its technical schools where the unskilled can learn greater skill at their job and thus get higher wages, and many women attend these schools

The laws regarding pregnant women are strictly enforced The mother is released from her work two months before and two months after the childbirth, with full pay She is cared for at the state's expense in a lying-in home After the baby passes the months' mark, and the mother returns to work, the child is cared for in a creche while the mother is at work During the nursing period the mothers take time off during the day to nurse the baby and the working day is shortened by two hours, the mother still receiving full pay The month the baby is born the mother receives double wages

As for the information vouchsafed by one of the members of the Communist Party that men and women in Russia can have as many husbands and wives as they like, I can only quote from a newspaper I saw just before I left Russia, where it was recorded that of the recent expulsions from the Communist Party, there were several put out because they took advantage too frequently of the simple method of divorce There is a growing feeling in Russia against looseness in sexual relations A new code of morals is growing up based on a new ethic of social efficiency, which in its essence requires the same degree of integrity in personal relationships that all other social philosophies require The right or wrong of any given action is determined on the basis of whether or not this action is harmful to society, and the communists feel that the highest social efficiency can only be attained as a result of the highest individual efficiency With an approach of this kind it is inevitable that birth control should be considered as a prerequisite of social efficiency in Russia, and a great field for work lies before the movement there

NEW JERSEY HEARING (Continued from page 113)

In my summing up I called attention to the fact that the amendment is permissive No one's rights are to be interfered with, and no one need have anything to do with Birth Control if it is against his religious or moral principles The law as it now stands is really class legislation in favor of the better situated classes, while the less fortunate are deprived of the knowledge The bill is necessary to give this class its rights Birth Control is moral, for anything that works for the best interests of the race is moral There is no danger of race suicide, as the growth of the race depends upon the survival rate, not the birth rate Even if the birth rate does decline a little, the death rate declines faster, giving a greater survival rate

The Assembly Chamber was crowded for the hearing and a very favorable impression was made for Birth Control Wide publicity was secured not only in the papers of the state, but in New York and Philadelphia A strong impression was also made on members of the Legislature who were present or had representatives present, in large numbers The feeling is general that, although it may take two or three years of work, the Birth Control bill is bound to become law

THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

(Continued from page 102)

nearly all the methods of birth control used all over the world was given to those only who pay a member's fee, since neither a book nor a pamphlet which deals with practical methods is allowed in Japan for sale But the Metropolitan Police Board interfered with the new movement

There seem to have been two points in which Ogawa was not in strict accordance with the law Our Publications Law requires that any book or pamphlet must be submitted to the government before its publication whether it is to be sold to the public or to be distributed only among the members of an association Another point was the manufacturing of pills It was not enough for Ogawa to employ a pharmaceutist, but he had to obtain a license from the government himself as a druggist if he wants to make pills at all We do not know yet whether the government will punish Ogawa for this offence or not, but there are proper reasons to believe that only a small fine will be imposed on him Before this incident several police used to come to the Ogawa's office and had intimate talks with him on the subject There is no doubt that most of them were personally in favor of birth control, and, moreover, they understood well the motives with which Ogawa is actively engaging in the movement

From what I have mentioned you may easily understand that the Japanese government stands in a rather difficult position now, because the government is doubtless controlled much by the imperialistic ideas of today, demanding more fodder for cannons, while the need of solving the problem of population is increasing year by year Although it may be true that a considerable number of our statesmen entertain progressive ideas, yet it is also a fact that a majority of them are still ruled by the jingoistic spirit and are naturally antagonistic to birth control How long this condition will continue is a question Japan proper, excluding Korea, Formosa and Saghahen, has now about 60 millions of people and its annual increase is from 600,000 to 700,000 As a rule, emigrants always move toward the countries where they can get better wages, but how can the Japanese emigrants go out to Korea and Manchuria, where they have to compete with cheap labor? Formosa became a part of our empire almost thirty years ago A part of Manchuria came under our influence about twenty years ago It was about fifteen years ago that the annexation of Korea took place But what has been the result of our colonial policy during those long years? The

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number of Japanese people now residing in these three colonies hardly exceeds 720,000, which is a little more than one year's increase of our population The United States has closed her doors almost entirely against us Whether South America would welcome us or not in future is quite uncertain It is entirely out of the question that Japan should try to expand herself by military force Since military success depends a great deal on wealth, there is no hope for Japan to dream of the conquest of America or Australia I think the time will come soon when Japan will be compelled to consider the problem of population so seriously that she will see the need of looking on birth control with a more generous and sympathetic attitude

THE MOTHER-HYGIENE OFFICE IN NORWAY

(Continued from page 101)

Birth Control, when necessary, has changed in our favor

Our office is open from 9 00 to 3 00 every day A married nurse is present, she explains and sells As I live far away in the country (I am not a doctor, alas) I can only be present a few days every fortnight I have the responsibility of the office this first year From April, 1925, the Labour Party will have it in their charge

On the whole we are content with our work We have from two to twelve mothers every day and send books and parcels all over Norway

In the beginning we had a little trouble on account of the misunderstanding of our work, some people believed we practiced abortion This is now clearing up We have had one case of failure, but we say beforehand that none of the present contraceptional means are absolutely sure We want to get better information and better clinical instruments from the International Headquarters, which we hope will soon come into being Our office is considered a central office We are going to have local offices in more parts of Norway One is already planned for Bergen Yesterday, I got information that the Labour Party is going to prepare a propaganda for Birth Control all over the country to restrict the families to a reasonable proportion and to help the overburdened mother

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