

April 1931

Twenty Cents

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Federal Council of Churches Holds
Birth Control Morally Justified



Birth Control Among Primitive People

Articles by L. Lloyd Warner, Herbert Aptekar



Minority Rule in Massachusetts

On the Connecticut Firing Line

Rhode Island Organizes

Birth Control Review

VOL XV

APRIL, 1931

No 4

THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE, INC
152 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY
Telephones—Bogardus 0286 0287

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MRS F ROBERTSON JONES *President*
MRS RICHARD BILLINGS
MRS DEXTER BLAGDEN } *Vice Presidents*
MRS LEWIS L DELAFIELD
MRS ANNIE G PORRITT *Secretary*
MRS WARREN THORPE *Treasurer*

MRS FRANCIS N BANGS
MRS BENJAMIN CARPENTER
MRS GEORGE A DUNNING
MRS CHAUNCEY J HAMLIN
MRS THOMAS W LAMONT
STUART MUDD MD
H ADYE PRICHARD DD
BENJAMIN T TILTON MD
MRS LESLIE J TOMPKINS
IRA S WILE MD

MRS ROGER HOWSON *Executive Secretary*
JAMES F COOPER MD *Medical Director*

BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

(Copyright 1931 American Birth Control League Inc)

STELLA HANAU *Editor*

Editorial Board

ANNIE G PORRITT *Chairman*
JAMES H S BOSSARD PH D
MARY SUMNER BOYD
FRANK H HANKINS PH D
C C LITTLE Sc D
KENNETH MACGOWAN
E A ROSS PH D

*Published on the first of the month by
The American Birth Control League, Inc*

Single Copies, 20 cents, \$2 per year, \$3.50 two years,
Canada and Foreign add 25 cents postage per year

Entered as Second Class Matter March 11 1918 at the Post
office at New York N Y under the Act of March 3 1879

CONTENTS

PROTESTANT CHURCHES ENDORSE BIRTH CONTROL	101
HEYWOOD BROWN EXPLAINS	104
BIRTH CONTROL IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY By W Lloyd Warner	105
DOES A MINORITY RULE MASSACHUSETTS?	
The Senate Hearing By Norman E Himes	108
A Grave and Present Danger By Blanche Ames Ames	110
PRIMITIVE PSYCHOLOGY AND BIRTH CONTROL By Herbert Aptekar	112
ON THE CONNECTICUT FIRING-LINE	
The Hearing By Annie G Porritt	115
The Doctor's Petition, One of the Letters	116
POPULATION SECTION	
EUGENIC BIRTH CONTROL By Guy Irving Burch	118
ILLUSTRATIONS AND PROOFS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF POPULATION	
BOOK REVIEW, by H G Duncan	119
BOOK REVIEWS By Margaret Mead, Roswell Johnson, Leslie A White	120
RHODE ISLAND LEAGUE ORGANIZES	123
NEWS NOTES	124
LETTERS FROM READERS By Taraknath Das, Matheus P De Freitas, Kate Crane Gartz, C V Roman, MD	126

Editorial

THE Protestant Churches of America have spoken. Through its Committee on Marriage and the Home, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing the major Protestant evangelical bodies, has issued a comprehensive survey of the birth control situation, and come to reasoned and fearless conclusions. The committee, whose personnel is representative of far-flung interests and commands unqualified respect, is unanimous in its recognition of the twofold function of marriage, in its realization of the need for some sort of control of births, and in its belief that such control is morally justified. It is unanimous in its opinion that the Church should not seek to impress its point of view as to the use of contraceptives upon the public by legislation or by any other form of coercion, it is unanimous in its insistence that the Church should not seek to prohibit physicians from imparting such information to those who "in the judgment of the medical profession are entitled to receive it." If the Pope's Encyclical was an answer to the Lambeth Conference resolution, this report sounds the clarion in reply. Point for point it answers the Catholic pronouncement. The Committee divides as to methods of control, a minority of three recommending abstinence, three remaining neutral and the remainder of the twenty-eight members advocating modern contraceptive methods, but it reunites in affirming the divinity and beauty and nobleness of a happy marriage relationship.



"I speak for 5,000, 50,000, or 500,000 voters. Be careful." We do not know how many people are represented by the twenty-eight members of the Committee on Marriage and the Home which has pronounced birth control morally justified, or how many votes stand behind the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. We cannot yet sum up the arithmetics of the situation, but the open endorsement of this large inter-denominational group will have a profound effect on the various legislatures and on the mores of the country.

LET IT BE remembered that it is the Catholics, not the non-Catholics, who have drawn the religious issue, and forced us to pit numbers against numbers. The Federal Council's stand against coercion represents fairly, we think, the "live-and-let-live" attitude which all non-Catholics would gladly maintain, were they permitted to do so. There is now, however, no choice but to answer strength with strength, and organization with organization. The recent formation of the Rhode Island Birth Control League is a step in the right direction. When there are forty-eight state leagues under National League leadership, then indeed, "the walls of Jericho will come tumbling down."

IT IS NOT hyperbole to call this report epoch-making. In its light we can read of the recent Massachusetts and Connecticut hearings, as described in this issue, with greater equanimity, and plan for the future with optimism. At both these hearings coercion was thinly veiled with bombast. In effect, the representative of the Knights of Columbus or the Catholic Daughters of America stepped before the Legislative Committees and said

WE HOPE that the minority in the Federal Council Committee which recommends abstinence will read the two articles on "Birth Control in Primitive Society," published in this issue. Professor Warner and Dr. Aptekar discuss primitive methods of population control—abortion, infanticide, taboo, perversion—and discuss, too, primitive man's understanding of the relation between intercourse, conception and birth. At the risk of censure from our scholarly contributors, who have presented data and viewpoints *per se*, and not for the sake of morals to be drawn therefrom, we cannot refrain from suggesting an inescapable lesson. Primitive popula-

tion, without the benefit of modern contraceptive methods, is controlled in ways abhorrently crude, or psychologically incomprehensible. Shall we who have been vouchsafed the blessings of knowledge and science stop our ears and close our eyes and walk in darkness?

RECENT studies in differential fertility, described in the Population Section this month, show clearly the constructive effect of birth control, when it is properly used—that is when reliable contraceptive information is available for all classes. Birth Control advocates can do no better than to quote the case of Sweden, where the higher income groups are now producing more children than the lower income groups, of Germany, where the birth-rate is increasing in the so-called upper classes and of Holland, the classic example of eugenic birth control. Through the intelligent use of birth control, Holland has lowered both its infant mortality and its maternal mortality rates. Fewer avoidable deaths and less sickness are some of the results of a wide-spread use of birth control. A population breeding from the top, not from the bottom, children of good heritage born to parents able to give them adequate upbringing, are some of the results of birth control. That the birth-rate has fallen during the last half century—coincident with the discovery of birth control—is conceded. That the dysgenic factors in this decrease are eliminated wherever a comprehensive birth control program is in effect, is evident.

As we go to press (March 25th) word comes that the Connecticut Legislative Judiciary Committee has voted to make a favorable report to the Legislature on the birth control bill. The bill will come before the Connecticut House for adoption some time during the first week in April.

WE ANNOUNCE with sorrow the death of Dr James Freyer Cooper on March 27th. The birth control movement has lost one of its staunchest friends and ablest allies. As a young medical instructor in the obstetrical department of Boston University Medical School over fifteen years ago, Dr Cooper's insight into slum conditions roused his interest in birth control and started him on the work to which he devoted the rest of his life. During five years residence in China as Professor in Fukien Union University at Foochow, the population problems of the Orient strengthened this interest. Dr Cooper was Medical Director of the American Birth Control League from 1924 to the present time, and in this capacity he served as a connecting link between the medical profession and the lay organization which he represented. He saw clearly that progress depended on enlisting the support of the physician, and to this end he traveled up and down the country for many years, addressing State and County Medical Societies, medical schools, hospital staffs, and other groups of doctors. He had an ideal background and personality for his work, and was able to win the confidence of his colleagues and open to them this much neglected side of medical practice. In addition to his comprehensive book on birth control methods, "The Technique of Contraception," published in 1928, Dr Cooper wrote many valuable pamphlets and brochures on the subject, in which his direct approach, his sincere facing of facts and desire to help suffering humanity were clearly shown. Dr Cooper's service to the movement was inestimable, and his many friends and admirers will mourn a valuable worker and a sympathetic comrade.

Delaware State League to be Organized Delaware Readers Please Note

The American Birth Control League will hold a conference in Wilmington, Delaware, (Dupont Biltmore Hotel) on April 17th. Speakers are

REV H ADYE PRICHARD, DD—*Morality and Birth Control*

PROF ROSWELL H JOHNSON—*The Need for Birth Control*

DR JAY F SCHAMBERG—*Birth Control from the Physician's Standpoint*

MRS F ROBERTSON JONES—*Birth Control, Today and Tomorrow*

MRS ALLYNE C MARTIN—*Some Problems in Organizing for Birth Control*

Protestants Endorse Birth Control

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America issues a report on Birth Control—the first declaration on the subject by an interdenominational body made up of representatives of many different churches. The report is signed by the members of the Committee on Marriage and the Home, and approved by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council.

BIRTH CONTROL is nearing the status of a recognized procedure in preventive and curative medicine. Knowledge of contraceptives is also widely disseminated, and the question of their use has become one of great social importance. The public therefore has a right to expect guidance from the Church on the moral aspects.

The moral problems of birth control have to do with two functions of sex. They arise in connection with the spacing of children, the limitation of the number of offspring, the safeguarding of the health and oftentimes of the lives of mother and child, on the one hand, and, on the other, they arise in considering the rightfulness of intercourse in itself without the purpose of children, and consequently the rightfulness of the use of contraceptives.

SOME FORM OF CONTROL NEEDED

Physicians have long known that under certain physical conditions of the mother, pregnancy is hazardous to mother and child, and that large numbers of women are so imperilled. Although there are few women who do not desire children, the fear of untimely pregnancy rests as a recurring anxiety upon most married women for two decades after their marriage. Even with a healthy mother and a sound inheritance of bodily and mental vigor on both sides, too frequent and too numerous pregnancies are to be avoided, as undermining the mother's health and as taking her from the care of her living children. When the mother is not entirely well and the endowment is not of the best, spacing and limitations are the more necessary.

Economic considerations also enter into most cases, and in families where the mother must work outside the home the question of the number of children and of the intervals between them is most acute. Very large families tend to produce poverty, to endanger the health and stability of the family, to limit the educational opportunities of the children, to overstrain the mother and to take from her her own chance for a life larger than the routine of her home.

The problems of over-population are also involved in the consideration of birth control. While over-population, with its consequent lowering of living standards and provocation of war, is not likely to become a general condition in this country for a considerable period, and, with the development of science and of more Christian standards of production and distribution, may never become so acute as in many countries of the Old World, it is nevertheless now pressing upon great numbers of homes in which the family is too large or the income inadequate.

SOME FORM OF CONTROL NEEDED

As to the necessity, therefore, for some form of effective control of the size of the family and spacing of children, and consequently of control of conception, there can be no question. It is recognized by all churches and all physicians.

There is general agreement also that sex union between husbands and wives as an expression of mutual affection, without relation to procreation, is right. This is recognized by the Scriptures, by all branches of the Christian Church, by social and medical science, and by the good sense and idealism of mankind.

CONTRACEPTIVES OR ABSTINENCE

As to the method of control of conception, two ways are possible. One is the use of contraceptives, or methods other than abstinence, which may be classified as such. The other is self-control or abstinence for longer or shorter periods of time. Both may be considered as forms of birth control.

As to the rightfulness of the use of contraceptives, Christian opinion is not united. The problem in its present form is a new one. The Scriptures and the ecumenical councils of the Christian Church are silent upon the subject. The Church of Rome inflexibly opposes the use of contraceptives as contrary to Christian morals. In the Anglican communion opinion is sharply divided, as indicated by the fact that at the Lambeth Con-

ference of 1930 the resolution approving birth control under certain conditions was the only vote during the conference which indicated division of opinion upon a question of fundamental importance. It is known that opinion in the churches of the United States is divided, as is also the medical profession, but nobody knows as yet the prevailing opinion. Under the circumstances, the problem requires unprejudiced study, and guidance should be sought from the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life. It should be expected that guidance will find expression through the researches and experience of physicians and men of science as well as through the corporate conscience of the Church.

Whatever the final conclusions may be, the Committee is strongly of the opinion that the Church should not seek to impose its point of view as to the use of contraceptives upon the public by legislation or any other form of coercion, and especially should not seek to prohibit physicians from imparting such information to those who in the judgment of the medical profession are entitled to receive it.

A DIVISION OF OPINION

So far, the Committee on Marriage and the Home is in agreement. But at this point it has been found necessary to express divergent views. Perhaps such honest differences, frankly expressed, may have compensating value in helping Christian people to face the issues involved, especially since they mirror also the perplexity in the public mind.

A majority of the Committee holds that the careful and restrained use of contraceptives by married people is valid and moral. They take this position because they believe that it is important to provide for the proper spacing of children, the control of the size of the family, and the protection of mothers and children, and because intercourse between the mates, when an expression of their spiritual union and affection, is right in itself. They are of the opinion that abstinence within marriage, except for the few, cannot be relied upon to meet these problems, and under ordinary conditions is not desirable in itself.

But they cannot leave this statement without further comment. They feel obliged to point out that present knowledge of birth control is incomplete, and that an element of uncertainty, although it is small, still remains. More serious is the fact that all methods are as yet more or less

subject to personal factors for their effectiveness. Married couples should keep these facts in mind and welcome children, should they come.

The public should be warned also against advertised nostrums, which are beginning to appear in thinly disguised forms in reputable periodicals, and so-called "boot-legged" devices at drug stores, for which there is no guarantee of safety against injury or of suitability for individual cases. It is essential to consult the family physician or to go to established clinics or health centers for information or assistance.

That serious evils, such as extra-marital sex relations, may be increased by a general knowledge of contraceptives must be recognized. Such knowledge, however, is already widely disseminated, often in unfortunate ways, and will soon be universally known. Guided by the past experience of the race as to the effects of scientific discovery upon human welfare, we should expect that so revolutionary a discovery as control of conception would carry dangers as well as benefits. Society faces a new problem of control with each fresh advance of knowledge. If men generally cannot properly use the knowledge they acquire, there is no safety and no guarantee of the future. These members of the Committee believe that the undesirable use of contraceptives will not be indulged in by most people, and that if the influence of religion and education is properly developed the progress of knowledge will not outrun the capacity of mankind for self-control. But if the sex impulse and the use of contraceptives are to be kept under moral control, the Church and society, including parents, must give greater attention to the education and character-building of youth, and to the continued education of adult opinion.

THREE MEMBERS RECOMMEND ABSTINENCE

A minority of the Committee believes that sufficient stress has not been laid upon the idealistic character of the teachings of Jesus concerning marriage and its obligations. The command governing all cases of conflicting duties is the command of the absolute: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect."

In view of the widespread doubt among Christian people of the morality of the use of contraceptives, and the scruples experienced by many in making use of them, it appears to these members of the Committee to be the plain duty of the Christian Church, when control of conception is neces-

sary, to uphold the standard of abstinence as the ideal, recognizing it as a counsel of perfection, and that Christian morals are much more exalted than is generally supposed. But they would point out that the Grace of God is sufficient for those who are conscious of a difficult and high vocation, and that we have as yet but touched the fringes of spiritual power which is all about us like God's gifts of air and sunshine. Those who adventure and trust are rewarded, and they know the joy and strength which accompany all victories of the spirit.

The method of abstinence is therefore to be used to meet conditions and situations in which otherwise contraceptives would be necessary. This does not mean that sex relations between married people as an expression of mutual affection are wrong, but they are to be denied when child-bearing is hazardous to the well-being of mother or child or the household. That this is possible is shown by the large number of unmarried people who lead chaste lives, and by the number of married couples who practice self-control at all times and abstinence when necessary.

MARRIAGE NOBLEST OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Finally, the entire committee unites in calling attention, and most earnestly, to the importance of a spiritual adjustment of the physical relations between husbands and wives. All natural desires, however sound and wholesome, must be kept within bounds. If this applies to eating and drinking, how much more to the fateful and powerful impulse of sex. If marriage centers upon sex indulgence, it is sure to result in unhappiness and usually in disaster. A high degree of self-control, especially during the early years of married life when marital habits are forming, is necessary to the happiness of the mates and the spiritual life of the home.

If marriage is recognized as a divine institution, if God is an Unseen Presence in the home, if the child has its great place in marriage, if sex experiences are kept as a mutual expression of comradeship and affection, then marriage becomes the happiest, the noblest and the most enduring of human relationships.

COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE AND THE HOME

Rev Albert W. Beaven, D.D., *President, Northern Baptist Convention, President Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.*

Rev Edwin T. Dahlberg, D.D., *Pastor, Maple Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, N. Y.*

Rev Ralph Marshall Davis, D.D., *Chairman, Committee on Marriage, Divorce and Remarriage of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., pastor, Church of the Covenant, Erie, Pa.*

Rev John W. Elliott, *Director, Division of Social Education and Young People's Work, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Mrs Jeannette W. Emrich, *former Associate Secretary, Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, Federal Council of Churches, New York City.*

Mrs John Ferguson, *President, National Council of Federated Church Women, New York City.*

Dr G. Walter Fiske, *Professor, Oberlin College Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio.*

Rt. Rev Charles K. Gilbert, D.D., *Suffragan Bishop of New York.*

Mrs Abel J. Gregg, *Executive Secretary, The Inquiry, New York City.*

Mr Abel J. Gregg, *Secretary, Home Division, National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, New York City.*

Dr Ernest R. Groves, *Professor, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.*

Mrs Orrin R. Judd, *President, Council of Women for Home Missions, New York City.*

Dr Percy G. Kammerer, *Provost, Avon Old Farms, Avon, Conn.*

Rev Ben R. Lacy, D.D., *President, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.*

Rev John W. Langdale, D.D., *Book Editor, Abingdon Press, New York City.*

Rev John A. Marquis, D.D., *Former Moderator, General*

Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., New York City.

Rev William S. Mitchell, D.D., *Pastor, Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, Worcester, Mass.*

Mrs W. A. Newell, *Chairman, Bureau of Social Service, Woman's Missionary Council, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Greensboro, N. C.*

Mrs I. H. O'Harra, *Member, Social Service Committee, Northern Baptist Convention, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Mrs J. Scott Parrish, *Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Richmond, Va.*

Very Rev Howard Chandler Robbins, D.D., *Professor, General Theological Seminary, New York City.*

Mrs John D. Rockefeller, Jr., *Member, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, New York City.*

Mrs Robert E. Speer, *President, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, New York City.*

Rev Alva W. Taylor, D.D., *Secretary, Board of Temperance and Social Welfare, Church of Christ, Disciples, Professor of Social Ethics, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.*

Rev Worth M. Tippy, D.D., *Executive Secretary, Federal Council's Commission on the Church and Social Service, New York City.*

Honorable George W. Wickersham, *Former United States Attorney General, New York City.*

Rev B. S. Winchester, D.D., *Educational Secretary, Federal Council of Churches, New York City.*

Miss Amelia Wyckoff, *Secretary, Church Conference of Social Work, New York City.*

Those who hold the minority view, emphasizing abstinence are Dr. Robbins, Mrs. Speer and Mrs. Judd. All the others (except Dr. Lacy, Mrs. Newell and Bishop Gilbert, who express no judgment as between the majority and minority positions) hold to the majority view, which regards the use of contraceptives as valid under certain conditions.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Heywood Broun Explains

WHEN the Pope's encyclical concerning birth control was issued I took the ground that non-Catholics had no logical cause for criticism. It seemed to me that here was the head of a great Church interpreting to his own parishioners the theological attitude of the Catholic Church upon the question of contraception.

Several letter-writers assailed me with the charge that this was a namby-pamby attitude for one who professed to be a fervent believer in birth control. But I still feel that there is no particular utility in arguing the matter with any whose position is based upon what they fervently believe is a direct instruction revealed in divine will.

But it seems to me that several local Catholic clergymen have attempted to make the encyclical cover too much ground. The decision of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America to give guarded approval to birth control has met bitter criticism from a number of priests.

HITTING THE NAIL ON THE ELBOW

The issue was distinctly confused by the Rev. Dr. Fulton J. Sheen, who preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and said — "The whole history of humanity testifies that there are two things which delight the heart of man, namely, the spirit which is in wine and the gayety which is in a child. Both of these they are forbidding, first by prohibiting the wine and now by prohibiting the child. They have made bootleggers out of citizens, now they will make bootleggers out of storks."

This sounds very much like a discourse written for the sake of the phrase concerning the storks. Palpably it is an unfair picture of what birth control advocates wish to do.

In the first place, I have met no one who even suggests that contraception shall be made compulsory. The most that anyone advocates is that the information should be of easy access through duly licensed physicians. It is the notion that those who want and need advice shall be permitted to obtain it. The only pertinence in the bootlegging charge lies in the present situation where the well-to-do get information from their private physicians, while that part of the public which deals with hospitals and clinics is shut off from knowledge.

Again, it might as well be pointed out for the

millionth time that birth control does not mean the end of child-bearing. It advocates hope to bring into the community the possibility of reasonable spacing and the protection of those unable to bear healthy children or to maintain them after birth. It is, to a large extent, a campaign not against life but against death. The wide dissemination of contraceptive information ought to war against the high mortality which exists always among unwanted children.

FREEDOM TO ALL OPINIONS

Voluntary parenthood is not a plan which would keep anybody from getting acquainted with the gayety of the child. If one concedes, as I do, that good Catholics have a perfect right to reject contraception on religious grounds it seems to me to follow that this Church should not undertake to interfere with the decision of other Churches which are operating under a different dogma.

To put it bluntly, the Catholic Church should find ample occupation in attending to the spiritual needs of its own. To put it still more bluntly, a great many Catholics, in many parts of the world, do practice birth control in spite of encyclicals and other commands. Let the Church, through its excellent organization and high power of disciplinary action, bring the erring brothers and sisters of its own fold into line before it undertakes to upbraid denominations which are definitely beyond the border of its theological kingdom.

The Catholic clergy may well consider the Protestant schism a tragic error. But the Catholic clergy should be realistic enough to accept it as a fact. And so it seems to me a tasteless thing for Father Cox, in a sermon at the Church of St. Ignatius Loyola, to say — "The position taken by the Protestant committee last Friday was based on poor economics, worse morality and worldliness, however unconscious."

And again I object to the sermon of the Rev. Austin Luckenbek, who said — "Divorce and birth control mean selling one's soul for selfishness—disloyalty to the great leadership of Jesus Christ. Had there been no disloyal children there would have been no Protestant Reformation and Christendom would still be united."

Courtesy of World-Telegram, March 24

Birth Control in Primitive Society

By W LLOYD WARNER

TO THE ordinary intelligent person of today, birth control is believed to be a comparatively modern practice. The social anthropologists and other students of primitive society realize, however, it is of extreme antiquity. Probably some form of it was used by our Stone Age ancestors, since many tribes who belong to this same general period of culture know and practice several forms of birth control.

This article will be divided into two parts. In the first, the concrete methods of birth control used by modern primitive tribes in the various regions of the world will be presented and their probable social functions considered.

In the second portion of the paper I wish to throw some doubt upon the present belief of most social anthropologists that primitive peoples in many areas have no knowledge of physiological fatherhood and believe in the spiritual conception of the mother. The pre-rational school of Levy-Bruhl holds tenaciously to this belief, largely because it strengthens their untenable doctrine of the pre-logical mind of all primitive men. The acceptance of these "facts" by other anthropologists is built largely, I believe, on faulty field technique of the social scientists who have investigated these areas.

True contraception in primitive society is rare. Foeticide, infanticide, and sexual abstinence are the usual controls on birth. Magic is used by many peoples to prevent conception. Warfare and infant mortality also limit population. Dr. Carleton Coon, who will shortly publish his work on the Rifian Hill Tribes of Morocco in the Harvard African series, informs me that both contraceptive and abortive herbs are sold at the public market every week, only women frequent the market, and any man caught there is severely punished. He says it is impossible at present to discover what herbs are used, as this information is kept from the men and a husband would probably kill his wife if he discovered her practicing contraception.

H. A. Junod, in his *Life of a South African Tribe*, writes, in describing the premarital relations in the warriors' kraal of the unmarried girls, "they must have sexual intercourse, but in such a

way that the woman will not become pregnant. The reasons for preventing child birth are ritualistic and institutional rather than economic, as found in many places in primitive society.

Dr. Margaret Mead, in a recent letter to me, in speaking of Samoa and the South Pacific, says, "I did not find any knowledge of contraception among the Samoans except a knowledge of *coitus interruptus*." She believes this practice is due to native knowledge rather than later white influence. "They practiced abortions by pressure," she continues, "either by rather skillful manipulation by the old masseurs or roughly by the boy placing the sole of his foot against the girl's side. Kava was also believed to be an abortifacient if chewed in large enough quantities." One informant says the method regarded as most generally efficacious is a drink made from steeping green pineapple for several days. The ideas of the Polynesians concerning such practices differ remarkably little from our own. Young girls drink the stuff when they have conceived and do not care for a baby. "Older married women do it for relief from repeated births."

True contraception is not practiced at all as far as I know.

Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who has done extensive work on the Marquesas and Madagascar in social anthropology, says, "I am under the impression that the Marquesans use no mechanical or chemical contraceptives. Children were rarely born to unmarried mothers, but I think the chances of conception were cut down mainly by the use of perversions instead of actual intercourse. The natives were extremely expert in the arts of love. Abortion was fairly common even after marriage, due to the universal practice of adoption. Many women objected to bearing children which they knew would be taken from them and reared by someone else. Herb remedies were used, although I did not learn their nature, and also mechanical abortion."

In speaking of Madagascar he says, "I believe that no contraceptive measures were practiced—although my information is not complete for all tribes. Population was limited somewhat by the universal rule that a husband must abstain from

cohabitating with his wife during a period of from three to six months after birth. This is still rigidly observed. Abortion was practiced by unmarried mothers.

It seems very unlikely that there is a deliberate, conscious, motive to limit population as a general practice in any primitive tribe of the present day, although many of their practices had this effect. Sexual abstinence before marriage, as well as at certain taboo periods after marriage, is also found in almost all the major regions of the world and has had a considerable effect upon limitation of population.

Male, as well as female, homosexual practices have also contributed to the limitation of population. These practices are rather common in all the major regions, including Siberia, North America, Polynesia, and certain regions in west Australia. It seems likely, too, that polygyny also limits the size of the family. It is apparent that polyandry, as practiced by certain Esquimaux tribes, the Tibetans and the Wahuma of East Africa, has a limiting effect upon the population of these peoples. As Lowie points out in *Primitive Society*, there seems some correlation between infanticide amongst some of them and polyandrous practices, but it is not the only reason for this form of marriage.

Among all primitive tribes throughout the world there is a strong feeling against child birth outside of wedlock. Most of the practices articulated with birth control are connected with this feeling. It is probable that the various sentiments which are included in this generalized feeling against having children outside wedlock are due to an unconscious desire to protect the family organization. Nearly all the tribes are dependent upon the family and the kinship organization which is built out of the family for their social stability. It is absolutely necessary to guard it from any influence that might upset its equilibrium, since all the other institutions of a social order are based upon the stability of the family. A great number of the social practices surrounding birth control after marriage in primitive society are due to this same desire on the part of the peoples to guard the family stability. When the Australian woman practices foeticide or infanticide it is because she already has too many children and the family cannot take care of them without depriving the rest of the members of its group of the necessities of life. Although this is partly economic the needs of the family organiza-

tion also cause these practices.

It must be remembered, however, that the average primitive man and woman are very keen on having children. A barren woman is usually looked upon with extreme repugnance by the other members of the group. An extreme limitation on population would create a family system which, in all likelihood would produce badly adjusted individuals who would find it difficult to stabilize their lives in the larger community. A completely symmetrical family demands at least six individuals in it. They are the two parents, and, in the younger generation, two males and two females. That is to say, if all the possible social relationships are present in the family group, it is necessary to have these individuals within the institution. In savage society this is usually made possible either by the classificatory system of kinship or by the ordinary biosocial situation which exists in our own society's families. In societies, therefore, where a great part of the social organization and all the fundamentals of it are composed of familial institutions, birth control, to the degree that it is practiced in modern society, would be dangerous, and likely to destroy the social fabric. The unconscious social control, therefore, in most primitive societies, demands a large sized family, birth control and other such practices are used generally when situations arise which are likely to disturb the equilibrium of familial institutions.

CONFLICTING EVIDENCE

The problem of birth control in primitive society is confused and frequently contradictory, due partly to the difficulties of obtaining such intimate information from native informants and also to the prudery, either conscious or unconscious, on the part of the white investigator. Usually the anthropological field worker is a male, and does not come in contact with the women of the tribe, who ordinarily possess the contraceptive information if it is a part of the tribal law. It is only recently that we have come into possession of information that has been of any great value in a study of this kind.

I should like to discuss one other element that has contributed to this confusion and lack of exact knowledge.

In 1898 Spencer and Gillen published their book, "Native Tribes of Central Australia," in which they declare, "We have amongst the Arunta, Luritcha, and Ilparra tribes, and probably also among

others, such as the Warramunga, the idea firmly held that the child is not the direct result of intercourse, that it may come without this, which merely, as it were, prepares the mother for the reception and birth also of an already formed spirit child who inhabits one of the local totem centers. Time after time we have questioned them on this point and always received the reply that the child was not the direct result of intercourse." This is in reference to the belief among the natives of central and northern Australia, that there is no physiological conception and that the impregnation of a woman is entirely due to spiritual causes. Spencer and Gillen rather insisted on this fact, because it is believed by many of the whites of Australia who have come in contact with the natives that the rite of subincision is due to the natives' attempting to prevent conception by the woman. This operation is found throughout the greater part of Australia. Spencer and Gillen rightly point out that it has nothing to do with birth control practices.

I have spent some time with the northern tribes of Australia in two different field expeditions. I was in very intimate contact with the natives of the region. During the first eight or nine months while I was there I was firmly convinced that the people had no understanding of physiological conception and that they believed in the spiritual impregnation of a woman by a totemic child spirit. All the fathers told me their children had come to them in dreams as totemic souls or in some extra-mundane experience and had asked that their mothers be pointed out to them. They had complied with the children's requests and they had entered the vaginas of the mothers. During all this time, although I was in constant relationship with a large number of the men and, although there was practically no taboo in our conversations and the latter were of the most intimate nature, I could find no indication of any knowledge whatsoever about physiological conception, yet in the functional study I was making of the people, and looking at the problem from the point of view of the "total situation," that is, a consideration of the whole of the culture, there were strong indications that there was an understanding of the true nature of the physical function of the father.

The second time I entered the area I determined to go into this matter further, since the people I studied were but a continuation of the central tribes on which Spencer and Gillen had reported. An occasion arose in which I could inquire directly

of certain old men just what the semen did when it entered the uterus of a woman. They all looked at me with much contempt for being so ignorant and informed me that "that was what made babies." The reason I had not been able to obtain this information earlier was because the ordinary savage is far more interested in the spiritual conception of the child, which determines its place in the social life of the people, than he is in the physiological mechanism of conception. He had far rather talk about ritual and myth than he would the ordinary mundane affairs of life. The relationship existing between the primitive men of northeastern Arnhem Land and me as a field worker would be the same as that of the traditional visitor from Mars who might have come to study the Puritans of Massachusetts in colonial days. Had he asked Cotton Mather or any other member of the community "where babies came from," he would have discovered that they came from heaven and that God sent them and that it was the special duty of the church to look out for them. He might be told that the stork brought them and discover totemic "spiritual conception." He would have been told this for exactly the same reason that the ordinary anthropological field investigator is informed by the natives that the totemic spirit is what causes impregnation.

MORE RESEARCH NEEDED

I know it is dangerous to make the assumption that because the tribes I studied had a knowledge of physiological conception the people Spencer and Gillen investigated also had a similar knowledge. I do feel, though, the necessity of throwing doubt upon the validity of the conclusions made by Spencer and Gillen and other such writers who claim there is no knowledge of physiological conception among certain savage tribes. I think there is a possibility that this knowledge does exist among the people but is not considered important and that the spiritual conception of the child looms so large in their thinking that the field worker obtains nothing but these facts when he investigates primitive peoples.

This point has been, perhaps, overly labored by me but a large number of sociological and anthropological theories have been built out of the idea that there are many savage peoples who are ignorant of the facts of procreation. It is time some check be placed upon such speculation until further proof is accumulated by field workers.

Does a Minority Rule Massachusetts ?

The Senate Hearing

By NORMAN E HIMES

WHILE the women of Massachusetts die unnecessarily in child-bed of complications in their pregnancies owing to active tuberculosis, nephritis, or uncompensated heart condition, while the mentally defective strains in the state reproduce at a greater rate than the normal and super-normal strains, while these conditions dangerous to the public health and the general well-being of the community persist, the legislative committee on public health permitted itself recently to be bamboozled on the merits of conception control by the most tumultuous flood of Irish oratory and Catholic demagoguery that has ever been heard on Beacon Hill since organized government began in Massachusetts. Anyone who doubts whether the Pope or the people run Massachusetts should have been at the hearing before the Public Health Committee on February 18th when more than one thousand people, mostly Catholics or representatives of Catholic organizations, jammed Gardner Auditorium, to confuse, cajole, and browbeat the committee into killing the birth control bill.

Senate Bill No. 43, introduced on the petition of fifteen leading Massachusetts physicians, and endorsed by 1,500 others, provides that the Massachusetts law on contraception (Sections 20 and 21 of Chapter 272 of the General Laws) be clarified and liberalized in order that the physicians may be more certain of their rights in giving contraceptive advice for the cure and prevention of disease. In the opinion of three recognized legal authorities, these statutes do not at present prohibit the giving of oral advice, they prohibit rather the sale, loan or gift of drugs which are essential to the carrying out of this advice. The bill, the most conservative of its kind ever introduced into any state legislature, exempts physicians, medical schools, journals and books, as well as chartered hospitals from the sweeping provisions of the old law. There is nothing revolutionary in it. Massachusetts has one of the most reactionary laws of any of the several states. By all rational standards of thought, therefore, the bill deserves to be reported out favorably, but it is

quite certain that it will not be. The women of Massachusetts will continue to suffer because the well-organized Catholic opposition succeeded in striking fear into the legislative committee.

The proponents of the bill had one hour in the morning of the appointed day. Testimony was heard from such leading physicians as Dr. Walter P. Bowers, editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, Dr. John B. Hawes, 2nd, internationally known authority on tuberculosis, Dr. Alice Hamilton of the Harvard Medical School, an authority on industrial hygiene and public health, Dr. George Gilbert Smith, urologist for the Massachusetts General and Palmer Memorial hospitals and surgeon of the Huntington Memorial Hospital. Other proponents were representatives of the Massachusetts Division of the National Civic Federation, and the Massachusetts Federation of Churches.

The rest of the full day session was given over to hearing the opposition. Representatives of St. Luke's Guild of Catholic Physicians, the League of Catholic Women, the Knights of Columbus, Cardinal O'Connell and Mayor Curley.

THE OPPONENTS' ARGUMENTS

The arguments of the proponents were straightforward, dignified, restrained and devoid of ballyhoo, cajolery and insinuation. There was no oratory, no super-patriotism, no demagoguery, no reference to Russia, atheism, vice or prostitution. The case of the opponents of the bill was the antithesis of this. There were many arguments both irrelevant or immaterial. (1) The bill, if passed, would give power to osteopaths, and third-rate medical schools. (2) Women having diseases rendering pregnancy or parturition dangerous should, whether Protestant or Catholic, be forced, through inability to get the necessary information legally through the proper channels, to abstain from sexual intercourse. If they are too sick to bear children, they are too sick to have sex relations. Protestant women should be coerced by law to accept the dictates of the canon law and of Catholic medieval philosophy. (3) The bill would legalize abortion, self-abuse, etc.

Demagoguery permeated even the rational arguments of the opposition, a few quotations may be given. "If this bill were passed," said Mr. Hugh

Carney, counsel for the League of Catholic Women, "it would open the flood gates to the sort of things that are happening in Moscow—public clinics (for contraception), abortion, etc." One speaker said there were three kinds of legislation just, unjust, and fanatical. This bill belonged in the last category. "It would be a good thing," he continued, "if Roosevelt could walk into this auditorium with his big stick, and, with one swoop, clear out of it all the fanatics in favor of this bill." To Dr. Murphy, chief of the section of obstetrics at St. John's Hospital, Massachusetts was "a rising, shining star among the states, renowned for her just and moral laws." The bill, on the other hand, was "the essence and order that comes from that putrid and diseased river that has its headquarters in Russia." Contraception was practised only in a "depraved state of society." We should avoid "the abyss of contraception," for it would corrupt the morals of youth. Mayor Curley's personal representative said that birth control caused cancer and increased nervous and mental disorders. This statement is often deliberately circulated by many Catholics here and abroad. It is, of course, totally without scientific foundation. If women practised contraception, urged this savant, no great men would be born in the future. Another speaker described the "infamous cult of birth control" as a "crime against nature" comparable to murder, arson and vice. The fact that the Civil Liberties Union supported the bill was sufficient reason, in his view, for opposing it.

The prize misleader of the Committee and of the people was, however, Father Jones I. Corrigan, S. J., professor of ethics and sociology at Boston College. Birth control was "brutal, indecent, degenerate," it was sheer "animality" and "reciprocal vice." It was "nauseous, disgusting, obnoxious and hideous." "Healthy people," he averred, "don't want it because they love their children." He accused the proponents of the bill of lobbying, though he must have known that representatives of the Catholic Church had all day been corraling members of the legislature to appear before the Committee against the bill. There is reason to believe that the pressure brought to bear on these men was considerable. It was Father Corrigan who dragged in the Allison case to cajole the Committee by all the skilled art of medieval sophistry. The real backers of the bill were, in his opinion, Margaret Sanger, Judge Lindsey and the Massachusetts Birth Control League. Therefore, it was not

worthy of adoption. Had not the Holy Father condemned birth control in his last Encyclical? Father Corrigan began to quote Dr. C. P. Blacker, then discovered that he favored birth control, whereupon he suppressed that evidence. Birth control was dangerous both to mind and body. The bill was really an anti-baby bill. He cited well-known historical figures who had come from large families—all of them born when families were almost universally large. He said nothing of the large families of morons. For the Catholic Church is not interested in the quality of the population, it wants to breed more Catholics at all costs. Moreover, of the twenty great figures Corrigan mentioned as issuing from large families not less than five were first born, three were second born, two were third born, and one fourth born. Thus over half (eleven) were of an early birth order, although the size of family ran in some cases to fourteen or fifteen children. Thus his own figures, not to mention plenty of other evidence available, show that he was distorting the facts when he said that gifted children are usually born in large families. The contrary is the fact.

LIBERALISM MUST ORGANIZE

The spectacle of this hearing was not a pleasing thing to behold. It made one despair of the future of American democracy. With a rising Catholic vote, with the irresponsible and less intelligent entering into a cradle competition with the responsible and thoughtful, one wonders how long it will be before Catholicism will be dominant in this country—with all that implies for the future decadence of freedom and intellectual honesty.

Moreover, what will be the effect upon the conduct of the medical profession in Massachusetts? Will physicians become more timid than ever in asserting their legal right to give contraceptive information orally? Will the *New England Journal of Medicine*, which has lately printed several articles on contraception, three from the pen of this writer alone, become more cautious? Will scientific advance accordingly suffer? Will someone lose patience and challenge the constitutionality of the present statute by opening a clinic in Boston—even as Margaret Sanger did in New York City? One wonders.

One proposition seems to me valid. Unless the forces of liberalism can organize themselves sufficiently to curb the demagoguery, intimidation, misrepresentation, and open threats of the Catholic

opposition we shall soon have the iron heel of Romanism stamped upon our throats even as it treads upon the freedom of Italian citizens today. If the process of outbreeding the liberals continues, as seems not impossible, it will become increasingly difficult to change our antiquated legislation. Nullification, as at present, or open defiance of the law to gain more favorable or qualifying judicial interpretations will alone remain. But what then? As soon as the Catholic Church gets enough of its adherents into legislative halls nullification will cease, the antiquated laws will be enforced, as they are in Italy. A knowledge of what has happened in other countries leads inevitably to such a conclusion. If organized medievalism is to be outwitted in America it must be in the next few crucial decades. After that it will be too late.

A Grave and Present Danger

By BLANCHE AMES AMES*

THE hearing on Senate Bill No. 43 held at the State House on February 18th, 1931, has disclosed that we have reached a crisis in the political and legislative activities of the state of Massachusetts.

It is of no use to shut our eyes and to deny that the opposition to the bill is actuated by religious motives. I deeply regret having to deal with the religious aspects of this matter, but where health and life itself are at stake and the seriousness of conditions and the proper remedies have been attested by the best medical opinion, it is useless to try to avoid the issue any longer. I also am well aware of the gravity of raising the religious issue in a community like ours of many religions, but there is no choice in this case, because the Catholic Church has itself injected the religious issue here. It is exerting pressure which threatens our existing statutes and institutions. It prevents freedom of conscience in establishing laws in conformity with advance in knowledge and moral responsibility. The long arm of the Catholic Church is reaching into our legislative halls and is directing our legislators to act according to its will.

*Part of an open letter addressed by Mrs. Ames to her *Fellow Citizens*, with the following postscript: "This letter is entirely unofficial as far as my position as President of the Massachusetts Birth Control League is concerned. What ever criticism may develop from this analysis of the challenge of the Roman Catholic Church should not extend to any of the people with whom I have been working. I alone am responsible for statements here made."

We have all been troubled by the fear that this Catholic threat to our free institutions would materialize if Catholics were given positions of power in our government, but never before in so short a time have events developed in such irrefutable sequence as in this case of opposition to the Doctors' Bill. The following events show these steps:

- 1 The filing of the Doctors' Bill, embodying the recommendations resulting from research and scientific opinion of the highest medical authority in the world in both the fields of the specialist and general practitioner.

- 2 The issuing of the Pope's Encyclical.

- 3 The withdrawal of names of Catholics from the endorsement blanks they had signed.

- 4 Official appearance at the hearing of the Catholic Church as represented by Father Corrigan announcing himself as "the personal representative of His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell" to oppose this bill on the ground of decency as opposed to degeneracy," and by other Catholic bodies.

The opportunity was there to read this bill with understanding of its *medical* nature, but the Roman Church chose to consider it a birth control measure and condemn it on the grounds of degeneracy. This is pure hypocrisy when it is known that certain articles for the prevention of disease are legally sold in Massachusetts at the rate of over 6,000,000 a year, all of which by their nature are preventatives of conception and whenever used are a form of birth control, and when it is known further that Catholics in their private lives, in contrast to their official and organized expression patronize the birth control clinics in proportion to the number of Catholics in the general population.

If Catholic theology is going to be the guiding spirit of our legislation then very soon the laws concerning the use of therapeutic abortion and the laws allowing divorce will disappear from our statute books and later on, the laws concerning religious education in the public schools will also be wiped away. We who are not members of the Catholic Church cannot submit to its domination in this case without sacrificing the lives and health of married women and their babies. Four hundred and fifty-three women died of childbirth in 1929, and there were 2,540 stillbirths in Massachusetts (see also statements of the Petitioners).

We have no quarrel with the Catholic Church and as long as it teaches its doctrines and enforces

its laws through its spiritual and moral penalties upon its own followers we, respectful as we are for all religious liberties, would not criticize it. But in the name of the same religious liberty which makes us respectful of their prejudices, we resent and protest against the use of their ecclesiastical and political influence in matters of state legislation which are not mandatory on Catholic believers. This measure is for the protection of the population as a whole which in the state of Massachusetts is still Protestant by a considerable majority.

Church Support

AT THE public hearing of the Massachusetts Senate bill No. 43 before the legislative committee on public health, the writer reported that the Moral Welfare Committee, the Legislative Committee and the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Federation of Churches unanimously approved the bill. The Federation represents, through officially appointed delegates, fifteen of the leading Protestant denominations and includes ninety per cent of the Protestant church members of the state. The Very Rev. John McGann, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Springfield, was recorded in favor of the measure, as was Dr. Robert Watson, formerly President of the Federation, and now President of the Lord's Day League.

In opposition Mrs. Charles Feehan, who stated that she represented 400,000 organized Catholic women in the Archdiocese of Boston, expressed the *strongest antagonism to the measure*. Jones I. J. Corrigan, S. J., professor of ethics and sociology at Boston College, brought in the official intervention of the Roman Catholic Church, speaking in the name of Cardinal O'Connell. He indulged in extreme language about the bill, stigmatizing it as indecent and degenerate, a direct means of increasing impurity and unchastity. He suggested that the whole measure was due to a high-pressure, commercial campaign to sell contraceptives, and denounced those in favor of it as persons who were trying to commercialize animalism.

It is unfortunate that the religious issue should be drawn so sharply, but apparently the Pope's recent encyclical, interpreted by many as the answer to the Lambeth Conference last summer, has caused the Catholics to range themselves in vigorous opposition to a measure favored by physicians and, in general, by the progressive elements in the

Protestant churches. The Catholics are better organized than the Protestants, who have been for centuries divided. The whole trend, however, at present is toward Protestant unity, or, at least, at much closer form of cooperation. Our Massachusetts Federation comprises in its ranks Protestants from Adventists to Unitarians in theological point of view. It seems to me wise for the birth control people to continue to cultivate the Protestant church sentiment which is already pretty favorable.

In the hearing on this legislation nothing was said about the economic, eugenic, and war preventive aspects of birth control, but apparently even on the conservative ground of health, it is well-nigh impossible to get legislators to adopt a measure which may cause them to lose the votes of people whose thinking is dominated by the Catholic Church. Yet the aged celibate in the Vatican reminds one of Mrs. Partington trying to sweep back the Atlantic ocean with a broom, for birth control has come to be accepted as a normal part of married life among educated people.

REV. KENNETH C. MACARTHUR

Establish Clinics

HERE in Massachusetts we appear to have underestimated the strength of the Catholic opposition. Perhaps our inevitable end would be attained more quickly by leaving laws as they are and developing birth control service through clinics and private practice to the fullest extent possible, where they do not bind too stringently.

If every city and larger town of New York state, for example, were equipped to aid the poor it is certain that no artificial legal barrier of Massachusetts and Connecticut could stop the flow of life-saving information. So, too, when the ultra-conservative physician finds his former patients flocking for advice to his younger colleague with larger ideas of service, he will doubtless swing into line, if only to preserve his income.

Every clinic established in the country, makes the proposal to establish another seem less revolutionary. When we can point to 1,000 operating in New York state, and 5,000 in the nation, Massachusetts will have to acknowledge its backwardness.

PAUL S. WALCOTT

Primitive Psychology and Birth Control

By HERBERT APTEKAR

DO SAVAGES practice birth control? If so, to what extent? Ready answers to these questions have appeared in birth control literature in two antithetical forms. The first of these is a complete denial that primitives employ contraception because, it is said, they are altogether ignorant of the way conception takes place. If savages do not even know the connection between intercourse and the birth of a child, how, it is argued, do they practice birth control?

In striking contrast to this view are the statements of certain writers on modern contraception to the effect that the hoary antiquity of birth control cannot be doubted because contraception is used to such a great extent by primitives of today. This latter fact, it has been maintained, indicates that our pre-historic ancestors of, say, fifty thousand years ago employed birth control.

It is the purpose of this article* to demonstrate the speciousness of the first of these lines of reasoning.

Let us begin by inquiring: What do primitive peoples know about conception? Those who hold that nescience of the way conception takes place is characteristic of primitives, do so on widely varying grounds. There is, first of all, the stock-in-trade notion that savages do not have any idea of the connection between intercourse and the birth of a child because their mental development is entirely too rude. Savage minds, it is claimed, are little above animal minds. Certainly animals do not recognize the connection between the sex act and the birth of offspring. Why then, suppose that savages are able to see the nexus between two events occurring nine months apart?

A certain group of writers, of whom Professor E. S. Hartland is exemplary, entertain a similar opinion, but on much more scholarly grounds. These writers hold that, although many primitive peoples now know the connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of a child, there is abundant evidence that ignorance of this matter was formerly universal. Ignorance of conception, Mr. Hartland thinks, is coexistent with the matrilineal

system, that is, the system of reckoning descent through the female side.¹ And this, according to the evolutionary school of which he is a member, was universal until the development in comparatively recent times of the patrilineal system, reckoning of descent through the male side.

Arguments on the priority of the matrilineal system, and of the validity of the evolutionary theory of society, are irrelevant to the present discussion. We may, however, briefly consider the evidence pointing to a previous state of universal ignorance of the connection between sexual intercourse and birth.

EVIDENCE OF MYTHS

First of all, there are myths and tales found among practically all primitive peoples, which indicate little knowledge of the nature of conception. The following tradition, for example, accounts for the origin of birth among the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay:

"Akkolookjo and his wife Omerneeto established the laws which the Eskimo have to obey now. Omerneeto used to wear her husband's boots. She did not fasten the upper strings properly, but allowed the bootleg to sag down and the boot strings to drag over the ground. One day the soul of an infant that was on the ground crept up the boot-string and up into her womb. Up to that time children had been found in the snow. The child grew in the womb and finally was born."

The practices of many peoples for making barren women fertile corroborate this view. Among the Yukaghur of Siberia,² a barren woman asks the help of a shaman, who descends to the world of the deceased and persuades the soul of a relative to enter the woman's body. In northern India,³ a barren woman is cured by the ceremonial killing of a male child, whose soul enters her body.

Highly varied beliefs of many peoples also seem to confirm the fact that most primitives know little of the generative processes of life. In Western Australia,⁴ for example, the birth of a child is believed to be due to the agency of a man who is not the father. This man is the *woruru* of the child when

*Excerpts from a chapter of a forthcoming book, *The Control of Births—An Anthropological Study*, by Herbert Aptekar.

it is born There are three accounts of how the *wororu* causes conception First, the man gives some food to the woman, either animal or vegetable, she eats it and becomes pregnant Second, a man on the hunt kills an animal, preferably a kangaroo or an emu, and as it is dying he tells its spirit to go to a particular woman, the spirit of the dead animal goes into the woman and is born as a child The third method is for a hunter who had killed a kangaroo or an emu to take some fat of the dead animal and place it on one side The fat turns into a spirit-baby and follows the man to his camp When the man is asleep at night the spirit-baby comes to him and he bids it enter a certain woman who becomes pregnant

Evidence of this character has convinced Professor Hartland and others of a previous state of universal ignorance of the link between intercourse and childbirth All scholars, however, do not consider this evidence conclusive For while a great deal of primitive belief and custom might be interpreted as indicating nescience of conception, there is also much else that it might mean As Dr Goldenweiser puts it

"It is not at all obvious that these customs and myths are based on an ignorance of the natural connection between the sexual act and conception These myths and customs are rooted in the belief in magical power, which in turn is correlated with absence of a view of nature as a nexus of uniform causal relations A child may be produced in the normal way, but there are also many other means to the end The savage builds his hut or canoe and is perfectly familiar with the process involved, but this does not prevent him from believing that the hut or canoe may arise out of nothing, by power of magic"

Certain investigations by ethnographers have pointed to ignorance of paternity among present-day primitive peoples Spencer and Gillen while observing the Arunta, Luritja, and Llipirra tribes of Central Australia found the idea firmly held that the child is not the result of intercourse

Recent research by Dr Malinowski among the Trobriand Islanders furnishes similar evidence These people, he reports, do not have any idea of the fertilizing value of the semen They hold a firm belief that if a female animal were cut off from the male of the species, it would not interfere with her power to reproduce When it was suggested that conception was the result of intercourse, they

argued that this could not be so, because they observed many women who had intercourse frequently, but who did not have children There are several versions among these people of how the spirit-child enters the mother According to one account it enters through the head

OTHER FACTORS AFFECT ATTITUDE

That even ethnographic observation may be misleading is shown, however, by the case of the Arunta, whose beliefs concerning conception led Spencer and Gillen to suppose that they were entirely ignorant of its nature It became obvious that the psychology of the Arunta obfuscates their physiology (to use Andrew Lang's phrase) when Strehlow noted that the old men of this tribe know, but take care not to enlighten young men and women Even children among the Arunta are acquainted with the nature of reproduction so far as the animal world is concerned As Lang pointed out, the Arunta possess a highly complicated animistic philosophy, and there can be little doubt that their beliefs concerning conception were largely influenced by other phases of this philosophy

Dr Malinowski's evidence given above concerning the nescience of the Trobrianders seems to be conclusive Yet to interpret it as pointing to *complete* ignorance of conception would be dangerous indeed This has been done, but Dr Malinowski himself, if I read him rightly, claims no such thing

"One distinction must be made at the outset the distinction between impregnation, that is the idea of the father having a share in building up the body of the child on the one hand, and the purely physical action of sexual intercourse on the other Concerning the latter, the view held by the natives may be formulated thus it is necessary for the woman to have gone through sexual life before she can have a child The state of knowledge in Kiririna (The Trobriand Islands) is just at the point where there is a vague idea as to some *nexus* between sexual connection and pregnancy, whereas there is no idea whatever concerning the man's contribution towards the new life which is being formed in the mother's body"

In any interpretation of this Trobriand data, it ought to be remembered that the Trobrianders are a matrilineal people and that their beliefs are likely to bolster up the matrilineal system Further, it should be remembered that the fact that they do not know "the father's contribution to the new

life" does not necessarily indicate that they were always completely ignorant of it. The disappearance of certain types of knowledge which previously existed among primitive peoples is a fact well-known to present-day anthropologists. Dr Malinowski elsewhere points out a significant fact:

"Among the Trobrianders if two brothers look identical, no one will admit it. In spite of all evidence, they will deny that similarity can exist between matrilineal kinsmen. You simply irritate and insult a Trobriander if you point out striking instances, exactly as you irritate your neighbor in our own society if you bring before him a glaring truth which contradicts some of his cherished opinions, political, religious, or moral."

Clearly a distinction must be made between what these people *know* and what they *believe*, or profess to believe. While they may earnestly *believe* that two brothers cannot look alike, one would hesitate to say that they do not *know* the truth.

Altogether there have been too few investigations on this point. In the absence of such research, however, a view as to the degree of knowledge of conception possessed by most primitive peoples may be formulated from what we know of other phases of primitive psychology.

If one goes back far enough into man's dim past—a period perhaps contemporaneous with the origin of language—certainly complete ignorance of conception must be admitted. But the primitive man, of whom the anthropologist speaks, whether he belongs to a matrilineal or a patrilineal society, is removed from such an age by many thousands of years. In view of this fact we cannot postulate as a trait of primitive psychology, complete ignorance of the facts of procreation. There are other cogent reasons, too, for supposing that complete ignorance of the nature of conception never existed universally except at a very remote period, and that wherever an actual state of ignorance concerning this matter is found, it must be interpreted with a consideration of historical factors and the remainder of the cultural background in which it exists. It is certain, however, that elaborate knowledge of the nature of conception exists nowhere among primitive peoples.

I have suggested that the state of knowledge concerning conception possessed by most primitive peoples may be deduced from what we know of other phases of primitive psychology. If primitive peoples in general do not possess elaborate knowledge of conception, and if, on the other hand, they are

not completely ignorant of its nature, there remains only one other possible state of mind, namely, that of *uncertainty*. This conclusion is confirmed by what we know of other phases of primitive psychology.

A belief in imitative magic, that a desired result may be accomplished by imitating the act which would normally bring it about, is characteristic of all primitive peoples. Likewise, primitive man is always conscious of supernatural powers of various sorts. For example, in Torres Straits, women who desire to give birth to boys, eat male pigeons, and those who want girls eat female pigeons; Hottentot women eat lion or leopard meat, etc.

SUBCONSCIOUS KNOWLEDGE EXISTS

These beliefs call for the simultaneous existence of psychological entities that to us appear highly paradoxical. *Conception may take place through the eating of food, through the entrance of a spirit into the mother's body, and at the same time, there is an association in the minds of those who believe this, between intercourse and the birth of a child.* Prof. A. R. Brown found such a case in Western Australia. Here in the Kariera tribe, a number of edible objects are totems, as well as *wanangura*, whirlwind, *kambuda*, baby, and sexual desire. In this group, when more children are desired, a ceremony is performed for the increase of sexual desire, after it, and *only after it*, the ceremony of the baby totem is performed. When it is remembered that these people by their *wororu* custom, associate conception with the partaking of food, the validity of the statement that conflicting psychological entities exist side by side in primitive psychology becomes apparent.

Other evidence substantiating this view is furnished by the widespread existence of magico-religious rites for augmenting food supplies. Hunting peoples, in order to increase the number of available animals, are known to dress up like these animals and imitate them in coitus. Likewise, agricultural peoples are known to perform symbolic intercourse in their fields at planting time, in order to secure a plentiful crop. That peoples among whom such rites exist have a sub-conscious knowledge of the connection between sexual intercourse and birth, even though they may consciously deny this or affirm that conception may take place otherwise, can hardly be doubted.

It is obvious, therefore, that there are insufficient

(Continued on page 127)

On the Connecticut Firing-Line

The Hearing

By ANNIE G. PORRITT

IT CANNOT be said that the Judiciary Committee of the Connecticut Legislature acted hastily on the birth control bill. The Hearing was held on February 24th, and on the 24th of March we are still waiting for the report. Dr. James R. Miller presented the medical arguments, stressing the facts that repeated abortions on account of illness were allowed by the State but birth control information in the same case would be denied, and that the regular practicing physician could be trusted with control over this information. Dr. David Lyman of Gaylord Farm Sanatorium in Wallingford spoke very convincingly of the necessity for birth control information as a temporary control in tuberculosis. Dr. Arthur B. Dayton of the Yale School of Medicine read some interesting case histories bearing on the need for birth control information. Dr. Henry F. Stoll of Hartford also spoke.

It was the plan of the Connecticut Birth Control League to make the hearing entirely a doctor's hearing. But the Committee asked for other supporters, and the first to speak was a well-known Roman Catholic woman who pleaded for some "clean, honorable way for women to space their children." She herself was the mother of six living children and a grandmother, and personally and from long observation she felt that there was a vital need for birth control.

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, wife of a prominent Hartford physician, made a brief but eloquent plea, urging that fear and ignorance had never sufficed to safeguard morality, and that true morality must be based on knowledge. She also touched on the economic reasons for the limitation of families. Mrs. Adelene Pomeroy, who a few years ago left a position in city probation work to marry, and is now an unpaid but very active social worker, spoke of the need of birth control to check the numerous abortions which follow vain efforts of ignorant women to find effective contraceptives, and also of the tremendous burden on the state of the unchecked multiplication of defectives. Two women members of the Legislature followed with short pleas for the bill. It had been expected that

time would be allowed for rebuttals and two speakers had been selected for this purpose. These speakers however were given no opportunity to summarize the case, and the last word on the bill was left with the opponents.

There were four speakers against the bill. Mr. Francis Jones, who stated that he had been asked to represent Bishop Nolan and the Roman Catholic diocese of Connecticut, Dr. Daniel E. Shea, one of the physicians in charge at St. Francis Hospital in Hartford (Catholic), Mrs. William Finn, of the Roman Catholic Diocesan Bureau of Social Service, and Mrs. T. M. Sullivan, who had evidently been coached in her part, but who several times lost the thread of the argument. She urged that "if this bill goes into effect, twenty-five years from now Connecticut will be a mass of crumbling ruins." Why or how this is to come about she did not try to explain.

The attitude of the women at the hearing was plainly shown when Mr. Jones in a fit of generosity admitted "that childbearing may be attended with some inconveniences"—a statement that evoked a long indrawn breath so unanimous as to sound like the sighing of the wind. He insisted, however, that it was to the interest of the state that there should be plenty of children, and asked if this bill had been law years ago "who of us would be here now?" "Possibly none of us," he replied to his own question. Dr. Shea centered his objections to the bill on the lack of limits to the discretion of the physicians, but when asked by a friendly member of the Committee whether he would still oppose the bill if it were strictly limited to the cases of women with tuberculosis, who would be in danger of death in case of pregnancy, he was frank enough to reply that he would oppose even so limited a measure.

The Committee gave no indication of its attitude on the bill. It listened with courtesy, but this was expected, as the bill was introduced by Judge Peck, one of its own members. Two bills had been introduced—largely for strategic purposes—and one was reported unfavorably at once, showing that the Committee was concentrating on the bill introduced by Judge Peck.

More than 400 doctors have openly come out in favor of birth control by signing the petition (see below) presented to the Legislature. It should be

borne in mind that the total registration of physicians in Connecticut is between 1800 and 1900, and that nearly half the towns of the state having resident doctors are represented on the petition. A few of these doctors had long been favorable. Many of the others had never thought much about the matter until it was presented to them in the form of the doctors' petition. As Connecticut is a state where, so far it has been impossible to open a clinic, due to the unwillingness of the medical profession to sanction a practice forbidden by the law, this tremendous advance in medical opinion can hardly be overestimated.

Since the hearing, individual advocates of birth control, local committees and the Connecticut Birth Control League have all addressed letters to every member of the Legislature including, of course, the Judiciary Committee, and our friends in the Legislature have been busy campaigning among their colleagues. The result in any case will be an enormous impetus to the cause of birth control in Connecticut. Whether Legislative hearings are worth while in all states is a matter for local consideration. That such a campaign as we have gone through in Connecticut has been worth while is not a matter of doubt with anyone who has had any part in it.

Support from the Press

Editorial, New Haven Journal-Courier, Feb 24th

IN PROFOUND scientific significance no hearing at the capitol this session will eclipse that on birth control today. Such matters as prohibition, judgeships, etc., have great bearing on the present scene, birth control may alter the whole future biological constitution of the race. No one, indeed, knows just exactly what its effects may be. It is perhaps the single greatest unknown quantity in contemporary politics. Connecticut has the most drastic law against it of the states—as well as the most unenforceable for it prohibits even the practice. The hearing today is on an attempt to liberalize this law.

It is on religious grounds, of course, that birth control is most combatted. Yet it is significant that where in the past the religious opposition was unanimous, now it is scattered. Some communions are neutral, some are openly in favor, some still actively opposed. Other nations, faced with this diversity of religious attitude have taken what seems the

logical step have simply relaxed legal inhibitions and permitted the various communions to regulate their own people in accordance with their own formal views. This is the course adopted by American governments on other matters of grave religious controversy.

Still another aspect of the question is to be considered. It is not as though action at Hartford today would decide between the alternatives of birth control or no birth control. It is recognized that the practice is general today in western civilization. We may very well consider how soon we intend aligning the law with the fact. We think no one can seriously believe the fact alterable by purely legal means.

The Doctors' Petition

SIGNED BY 400 CONNECTICUT PHYSICIANS

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives

The undersigned citizens who are practicing physicians of Connecticut, respectfully petition for legislation, in the form of the bill appended hereto, for the purpose of removing what we consider to be harmful restrictions placed upon us in the practice of our profession. We petition for the legal right to give treatment, prescriptions and instruction for the protection of health and the prevention of disease.

There exists in Connecticut a very urgent need for provision, under proper auspices, of effective contraceptive advice and treatment of all cases who are suffering from organic diseases of the heart, lungs or kidneys, or from other physical weakness, and to whom a further pregnancy is likely to be fatal, or at least permanently injurious. We feel that the discretion of the registered physician can be trusted in this matter and that we should not be limited as under the present statute.

One of the Letters

To the Members of the Connecticut Legislature

The purpose of the measure (House Bill 156) is not primarily to promote birth control but to free the medical profession from a limitation on its work which brings the responsibility for the welfare of their patients into direct conflict. The health of unfortunate women is today often

wrecked and their lives jeopardized because physicians are not permitted to give the advice indicated by their conscientious professional judgment

Patients suffering from tuberculosis, syphilis, cancer, kidney disease and other grave disorders certainly in many instances should not bear children. For the physician merely to warn the patient does not free him from proper responsibility. In certain conditions—particularly tuberculosis—contraception may be at times a most useful temporary measure. We know that most cases of early tuberculosis are curable, and we also know that pregnancy in these cases has a most deleterious influence. The same is true of other conditions, particularly certain forms of kidney disease. If contraceptive advice may be given for the period of cure, much misery and many lives will be saved.

Even those whose religious convictions condemn birth control may and do conscientiously oppose state dictation to physicians in a matter of their individual conscience.

The argument for this measure is so clear and the sentiment in favor of it so determined that it must ultimately pass. We urge that advantage be taken of the present opportunity to settle this matter rightly and to remove it from the field of future controversy.

Respectfully yours,

*New Haven Executive Committee,
Connecticut Birth Control League*

The Federal Hearing

IREGARD the hearing on the Federal "Doctors' Bill" at Washington as a very valuable accomplishment, for the following reasons:

1 It provided an opportunity to set forth the facts on both sides of the question before influential members of Congress, through whom the action of Congress itself will be influenced.

2 It provided the means for putting on official record the opinions and arguments in the case, which will be printed and available for wide circulation and future reference.

3 Through the presence of those who attended the hearing and the large publicity given to it, there was created a significant impression on the public mind not only in Washington but elsewhere.

4 From the point of view of the advocates of birth control, it helped to clarify our own think-

ing, and to organize the arguments and evidence in the case.

5 The opportunity afforded to hear the best efforts of the opposition enabled us to improve our campaign in preparation for the support of the next bill, as well as to meet this opposition wherever it presents itself.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

Catholic Position Illogical

THE official campus newspaper of the Catholic University, in Washington, D. C., recently published an editorial expressing a point of view which is common in organs of that faith. Commenting on those who have spoken and written in opposition to the Pope's recent encyclical on birth control and marriage, the college paper observes: "The encyclical was meant for the Catholics of the world and for no other persons, unless they contemplated (sic) acceptance of the dogmas and the principles of that religion. Why must other bodies of individuals concern themselves with an edict which has nothing to do with them, their conduct, their morals and their creeds?" The answer is that the Pope's position on birth control, which is also that of the Church in general, has everything to do with non-Catholics. Only a few days ago, representatives of Catholicism appeared in Washington to protest, as strongly as they knew how, against the Gillett bill, which proposes to permit doctors to impart birth control information under certain circumstances. The laws which at present make the sale of contraceptives a bootleg trade, and forbid the open distribution of information on the subject, have been kept on the statute books for fifty years largely because of Catholic insistence. The Church does not trust its communicants to obey its spiritual strictures, it asks for, and obtains, laws which affect not only the Catholics, but the whole population. Under these circumstances, to argue that the Catholic position on birth control "has nothing to do with" the conduct of non-Catholics is simply to ignore the facts.

New Republic, March 4th

Statesmen are awakening to the fact that breeding a race is as important—nay, is more important—than the accumulation of national wealth.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH

POPULATION SECTION

Edited by Guy Irving Burch

Eugenic Birth Control

THAT knowledge of contraception will improve the race is shown, in part, by the fact that in certain cities in northern and western Europe where contraceptive information has reached the lower classes, and where statistics of the differential birth-rate are available, fertility has righted itself and the birth-rate of the lower classes is decreasing more rapidly than that of the upper classes "It would be interesting to have a study, for the years after the war, of the fertility in different social strata, in large towns, known as practicing birth control," says Dr Karl Edin "I have made such a study of Stockholm The principle result of my examination, for groups standardized according to age, has been

"That fertility in marriage for these years was about twenty-five percent lower amongst industrial workers than among the upper classes (considering only couples where the wife was under thirty in 1920, it was thirty-five percent lower) At the same time the infant death-rate among children born during these years was twenty-six percent higher,

"That the fertility of the upper classes has increased with the income declared in the census couples having an income of at least 10,000 Swedish crowns in 1920 had a birth-rate fifty percent above the rate for couples with an income less than 4,000 crowns, and yet even the last mentioned group had a birth-rate perceptibly higher than that of the working class, especially among young couples At the same time we see that, as income increases, the infantile death-rate decreases" (*Proceedings, World Population Conference, 1927, p 205-6*)

"The numbers demonstrate clearly," says Dr Alfred Grotjahn, professor of social hygiene, University of Berlin, concerning fecundity in Bremen, "first, the general steep decline of the birthrate and then the remarkable fact that even the laboring classes, who were called the proletariat because of their productivity, in towns have now just as few children as the upper strata, because of the custom of contraception which has spread here

also" (*Proceedings, World Population Conference, 1927, pp 153-4*)

Figures from the Minister of Health of England for London show a large, steady decline in the birth-rate since 1921 The average for four poor boroughs is about 16%, for four corresponding rich boroughs the decrease is no greater, and in recent years, the birth-rates in these show an actual upward climb

What birth control can do for the health of a country is shown by the recent history of vital statistics in Holland Since Holland took the lead in the instruction of eugenic birth control, she has made a progress in vital statistics which no other country can approach For the decade 1871-80, before the first birth control clinic in the world was established in Holland, the Dutch had a death-rate ninth from the lowest in Europe, for the period 1919-24, when contraceptive information was widespread, Holland had the lowest death-rate in Europe, her infant mortality rate was third from the lowest, and her maternal mortality rate second from the lowest in the world

"Of special importance, both internationally and from the German point of view, is the so-called differential fertility, which above all concerns the qualitative aspect of the population problem," said Dr Friedrich Burgdofer, German Delegate to the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problem in 1930 "The declining birth-rate in Germany, as elsewhere, began in the upper classes, the socially and intelligently superior portions of the population While, at least in the period before the war, the number of children was always relatively large among the lower classes, birth control has been practiced in the upper classes already for decades After the World War, however, the lower classes took radical steps to lower their birth-rate, and brought about an effectual reduction The proletariat ceased more and more to produce in a 'proletarian' manner, the masses reduced the number of their children, at

least in the large German cities, even more sharply than the upper and middle classes

"On the basis of statistics taken from the income tax I have recently been able to prove that today—in contradistinction to earlier observations on which was based the so-called 'well-being' theory—the number of children of families with large incomes is not diminishing but increasing. At least this is so in large cities. While on the average, in large cities, up to every 100 married taxpayers in the income group of 'under 1500 R M' there belong only 96 children, this number increased from income group to income group, until the largest value was reached at the highest income group (over 50,000 R M) with 140 children to every 100 married taxpayers." *Bulletin, International Population Union*, Sept 1930, p 12

G I B

ILLUSTRATIONS AND PROOFS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION, including an examination of the proposed remedies of Mr Malthus and a reply to the objections of Mr Godwin and others, by Francis Place. Now Reproduced with an Introduction Demonstrating Francis Place as the Founder of the Modern Birth Control Movement. Together with Unpublished Letters of Place on Birth Control, Coleridge's Criticism of Malthus' View on Birth Control and Critical and Textual Notes. BY NORMAN HIMES. *Houghton, Mifflin Co., New York* \$4.50

PLACE'S book is important for three chief reasons (1) it is the first book in English recommending birth control, (2) it gives a keen insight into the population controversy raging between Malthus, Godwin, and others, (3) it is a contribution to social theory. Place disagreed with both Malthus and Godwin, but favored Malthus. By skillfully quoting from Godwin's works he shows how contradictory, inconsistent, and unscientific he was. Place disagreed with Malthus in regard to his idea of the postponement of marriage. Growing up in the slums and becoming besmirched therein, marrying and being reformed by his wife, and becoming the father of fifteen children between 1792 and 1817, gave him practical experiences which Malthus, Godwin, Condorcet, and others had not had. Place's views are set forth in his *Principle of Population*.

In editing and reproducing Place's book Professor Himes has rendered a notable service. The first fifty pages of introduction by Professor Himes, America's outstanding authority on the early birth control movement, give a scholarly orientation into the population controversy raging in 1822, when Place's book was published. Himes shows that it was Place who founded the modern birth control movement in both England and America, and played an important role in reshaping English political institutions. "There is not in the chronicle of cultural change during the nineteenth century a more singular example of the far-reaching social influence of a comparably small group of relatively obscure men than that of Place and his disciples. All the English social reforms of the nineteenth century that were successful were accomplished in the end by an active group that eventually grew to considerable proportions, whereas birth control, considering the magnitude of the task, was for many years championed only by a few."

H G DUNCAN

STATISTICS on the future of European population, compiled by Vladimir Woytinsky and recently published by *Europa-Wirtschaft*, are highly interesting, in that they show Europe to be at the beginning of a new era.

During the middle ages Europe's population was fairly static, a high death-rate being balanced by a high birth-rate. At the end of the 17th Century Europe had a population of about 110 million—not much greater than the estimated population 400 years earlier—at the close of the Crusades. As a result of numerous economic and cultural factors, the opening of the 19th Century saw a tremendous increase. In the middle of the 18th Century Europe had about 140 million inhabitants, in 1800 there were 187 million, in 1850—267 million, and fifty years later—406 million. In the first decades of the 20th Century this increase continued. Even the World War could not stop it. The turning point came after the war.

On the basis of estimates independently arrived at by Professor Bowley and by the German *Institut für Konjunkturforschung*, it is evident that "in most European states, beginning with 1940, the appearance of a proper balance can be expected, and that this balance will quite possibly be followed by an absolute decline in population."

—*Die Neue Zeit, Vienna*

Book Reviews

THE MODERN ATTITUDE TO THE SEX PROBLEM, by Kenneth Ingram *Frederick A Stokes, New York \$2 00*

THE SEX FACTOR IN MARRIAGE A book for those who are or who are about to be married, by Helena Wright *Noel Douglas London 3/6*

THESE two little books differ fundamentally in subject matter, the first deals with a general rationale of sex attitudes, the second with the specific details of sex activity. Nevertheless, in one respect they are alike, they both employ the romantico-religious phraseology in which the late 19th century cloaked its early attempts to look at sex intelligently. Mr Ingram's book is filled with the conventional terminology about perversity, moral turpitude, and the like, Miss Wright's equally bespattered with the phrases which are only the other side of the same shield—flaming with ecstasy, spiritual satisfaction, golden rewards, and what-not. Yet both books embody straight forward radical thinking beneath their superficial verbal wrappings. This discrepancy between manner and matter is likely to give mixed results. It is possible that the frightened, inhibited, hide-bound descendants of the 19th century attitudes will not be lulled into accepting the radical point-of-view, even when it is presented to them in words in which their cherished prejudices are duly recognized. On the other hand the young people of this generation have acquired a habit of rebellion against the smug sentimentalities of this vocabulary and so may fling away from the books without giving them their due. A word of warning against permitting oneself to be prejudiced by the vocabulary is therefore necessary, while those who wish to recommend Miss Wright's book to persons who prefer to receive their sex information decorously sugar-coated may feel safe in doing so.

With this initial warning, always important in discussions of sex, towards which our attitudes are so heavily conditioned by words, it is possible to turn to the subject matter of these books. Mr Ingram's raises the more interesting points, its prime concern being the various reorientations and re-channeling of sex feeling, somewhat carelessly lumped under the heading of "sublimation" by contemporary psychologists. Mr. Ingram's plea,

is for less specific sexual activity and for more of the by-products of sex feeling as expressed in a variety of warm and vivid human relationships. He believes that since the war, the tendency to emphasize secondary sex differences is becoming less pronounced, with a resulting tendency to regard individuals in terms of personality rather than in terms of sex. Although the change in women's dress, and the parallel change in feminine tactics in the last year or so, will perhaps give the lie to Mr Ingram's optimism, there is a great deal to be said for the desirability and even the possibility of such an outcome as he describes, where young people will utilize their free-floating emotion in interesting inter-play of personality rather than in more deeply channeled love affairs. He makes a special plea for such a course on the grounds that thus youth is preserved, that the members of the working class in England, forced to a precocious heterosexual adjustment in youth, age much faster than do the youth of the upper classes who are permitted a longer period of diffuse emotional life in the public schools and universities.

Personality is a very new discovery, one in which a very limited number of sophisticated people share. The majority in any modern society, like the majority of primitive peoples, tend to regard individuals as inevitably pigeon-holed in categories of age and sex and status, differentiated one from another by hair color, warts on their noses, ability to bake a cake or inability to carry their drinks—to the complete neglect of all the subtler differences upon which personality depends. Where personality is unrecognized and unregarded, sex choice and sex activity tend to be as regimented as are all other human relationships within a fixed social scheme. This was conspicuously so in Samoa, where small children were taught to divide all members of their own generation but of opposite sex into tabu relatives and possible lovers. The tabu "brothers" and "sisters"—which included cousins also—could not speak to each other or even join in the same social group. The future lovers, formed an opposite-sex gang with whom one engaged in friendly contests now, from whom one would choose lovers when one was grown. The concept of personality is lost in a socially defined response to all the members of a group. Yet mar-

riage in Samoa, a marriage of convenience after several years of casual love making, is successful, because the Samoans, disregarding completely Mr Ingram's prescriptions for more personality and less sex activity, have taken Miss Wright's insistence upon the importance of a knowledge of technique, upon the need of intelligence and imagination in love making, very much to heart. Samoan marriage is based upon a diffused general affection, similar social status, and proficiency in the art of love-making—and a very stable, peaceful kind of marriage it is.

For us, however, such a generic concept of human relations appears to be a most inadequate use of human potentialities. With Mr Ingram we would stress more and more the importance of personality, the need for sophistication and experience in personal relations such as must be obtained through years of companionship, such as can not be obtained in any free love sequence, or in a purely conventional marriage where the element of friendship is lacking. And by a paradox, a refinement of sex technique is no less, possibly more, important where the element of personality is stressed, as among the intelligentsia in Europe and America, than in Samoa, or in the Orient, the home of the manual of the arts of love, where women are regarded not as personalities but rather as instruments of passion. For in marriages based upon a complicated inter-locking of points-of-view, preferences, temperamental biases and emphases, there are a hundred possibilities for strain, for maladjustment, which are lacking in the more regimented systems of human relations which obtain in most primitive and oriental societies, which obtained until very recently among ourselves. If the marriage of genuine congeniality is to outlast the dangers inherent in the interplay of two complex individuals, it must have a firm physical basis, a far firmer physical basis than members of our contemporary society are equipped to give it. We still suffer from the outworn Victorian tradition that virtue should be ugly and dull, vice brilliant and alluring, and the stupid notion that to bring to the legal marriage the imagination and free flow of emotion which were lavished upon occasional illicit relationships would be to defile the marriage. Miss Wright's book is an excellent little guide book for those who find such a creed of dullness not only incredible but wrong, she charts the more usual pitfalls, answers the numberless questions which many people wish to ask but are afraid to voice. At the

same time it does not confuse the issue by any discussion of abnormalities or of case histories, both of which tend to intimidate or repel many young or inexperienced readers. Nevertheless, it is, for this reason, far less exhaustive than a book like Robie's *Art of Love*, which might well be recommended to those married couples who have first reached comparative adjustment through a direct, simplified manual of the type of which Miss Wright's is a conspicuously successful example.

MARGARET MEAD

STERILIZATION FOR HUMAN BETTERMENT, by E S Gosney and Paul Popenoe
The Macmillan Company, New York \$2 00

EUGENICS as well as Euthenics may be said to be divided into three fields: the science which involves the actual facts of how control is being effected, the social philosophy as to what control would be desirable, and finally the social engineering as to what should be done granting that something should be done. It is in this field of social engineering that we have such a scarcity of adequate studies.

It is therefore very gratifying to have the subject of sterilization laws studied from the standpoint of just how they work in the state in which they have had the most extensive and long continued use, namely California. The book under review seems to have accomplished its purpose admirably. One can only hope that a second edition will include some of the other valuable studies made by the authors in articles since the appearance of this book. Let us also hope that a second edition will incorporate the model bill the authors have since proposed with Mr Castle to expedite the wider realization of the recommendation of this book in actual legislation.

We are especially impressed by the statement that a great deal of sterilization can be done if we have law authorizing individuals to come to the institutions for that purpose and to be discharged thereafter, and also authorizing sterilization in private practice. To those especially interested in birth control it is gratifying that the sterilization policy pursued in California has been so successful. The proper relation between sterilization and segregation and birth control seems to be as follows: Segregation to be employed where the case is so helpless or so dangerous as to require it, sterilization to be employed where the danger or helplessness is less, and the individual can live with-

out public care, yet should not be permitted to reproduce, birth control to help reduce the progeny of individuals from whom it is desirable to have few children, but whose inferiority is not of such an order that society would be willing to use any coercion in the matter. We have here three very valuable tools for use in reducing the reproduction of inferior genes.

The book deserves a very wide circulation. We wish a copy could be given to every legislator.

ROSSELL H. JOHNSON

GROWING UP IN NEW GUINEA, by Margaret Mead. William Morrow & Co., New York \$3.50

THE MANUS are a brown, frizzly haired people living in the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea. They live in thatched huts built on stilts in broad, shallow lagoons. The adults lead a very busy life. To sustain life is not difficult, for nature is generous with them. But great quantities of food, dog-tooth and shell money, bead-work and other commodities, are necessary for all important social occasions. All day long the adults busy themselves with fishing, working taro, making bead-work, travelling from group to group borrowing, buying, collecting money and property to use at a marriage or a death ceremony. Social standing is determined almost entirely by wealth. "The ideal Manus man has no leisure, he is ever up and about his business turning five strings of shell money into ten."

But the children lead a free, happy-go-lucky existence. All day long they play about on the beach or in the shallow lagoons. Adult matters such as economic transactions and the activities of the spirits do not interest them at all and they know nothing about them. The infant-child's education consists in teaching him to take care of himself in the somewhat precarious houses, in the canoes, and in the water, teaching him to leave other peoples' belongings strictly alone, and implanting in him a deep shame for matters of sex and excretion. Beyond this parental discipline does not go. The children are free to play all day long and as they please. They have neither respect nor consideration for their elders. They are selfish and demanding little tyrants, and their parents, especially the fathers, are willing and abject servants.

The husband-wife relationship is never a happy one. It is strained, tinged with shame, and not infrequently marked with brutality on the husband's

part. Father and mother compete for the attentions of the children. And the father always wins, for the mother is hopelessly handicapped by custom and taboo. The growing children associate much with the father and pattern their personalities faithfully after his (this is true of adopted children as well). The adolescent girl experiences a painful break in this emotional attachment when she is betrothed and married. She is unable to re-attach herself to her mother, and she invariably hates the women in her husband's family with whom she lives. The young man is spared this emotional strain. But in a few years, when he marries, he is plunged into a world of business and spirit activities, helpless and ignorant. Moreover, he is saddled with a huge debt, for some relative has bought his wife for him. The idyllic world of childhood has given way to one of labor and wrangling and spirit-wrath. And so life goes.

But this book is not merely the story of a quaint and primitive people, it is an illuminating study in social psychology as well. Studies such as this will throw much light on many a problem of sociology and social psychology. Here, in this tiny culture, as in a chemist's laboratory, we see human nature expressing itself in ways strange to our own culture. Many things which we are wont to regard as "natural" in children, such as make-believe games, fairy tales, and a predilection for ghosts and goblins, are quite absent among Manus children. And new light is thrown upon certain "complexes," too, they appear to be determined almost entirely by the social pattern of the group.

Dr. Mead has accomplished much in this brilliant analysis of this exotic, but very human, people. But the value of the book greatly exceeds its actual harvest. As a guide to further work, as a stimulus for new types of research, and as a catalysis for the re-examination of current concepts and assumptions, her work will be of immense value. *Growing Up In New Guinea* is the kind of book that all sociologists, psychologists, social workers, and educators, as well as anthropologists, need.

LESLIE A. WHITE



Rhode Island League Organizes

THE newly organized Rhode Island Birth Control League got off to a flying start at the luncheon held by the parent organization, the American Birth Control League, on March 4th at the Providence Plantation Club, Providence. The speakers were Dr C C Little, of the Roscoe B Jackson Foundation for Cancer Research, Mrs F Robertson Jones, President of the American Birth Control League, and Rev Robert W Jones, of the Bulfinch Place Church of Boston. Rev W Appleton Lawrence, rector of the Providence Grace Church presided. The wide-spread interest of the community is shown by those present at the speakers' table. They included, besides those mentioned above: Dr Arthur Ruggles, superintendent of Butler Hospital, Dr Arthur Harrington, former head of the State Hospital for Mental Diseases, Dr Paul Appleton and Dr Alexander M Buigess, Rev A E Krom of the Beneficent Congregational Church, Federal Judge Ira Lloyd Letts, Rabbi Samuel M Gup, Professor Philip H Mitchell, head of the biology department at Brown University, Mrs Henry Salomon, Mrs Alfred K Potter, president of the Providence Y W C A, and Mrs Walter A Peck.

Dr Little stressed the fact that there was no longer any great opposition to birth control, but that the problem had largely resolved itself into one of how best to help the growth of the idea and eliminate misunderstanding. The chief opposition today comes from the official Catholic church, not from the Catholic on the street. "The more you love children," Dr Little concluded, "the harder you will work for birth control, regardless of your personal salvation." Mrs Jones spoke of the great strides the movement is making, and emphasized that the poor who need contraceptive information most, both for their own good and for the good of the community, are the last to get it. "It is time," said Dr Jones, "for the human race to realize its dream of paradise on earth, and to do as much for human-kind as it has done for fruit trees, horses and cattle. We can join those who criticized Galileo and those who were against doctors using anaesthetics because the Bible said that children should be born in pain, or we can join those who want to make a contribution to mankind."

The luncheon was well attended and was followed by an organization meeting at the home of

Mrs Henry Salomon. A state league was formed and a committee was appointed to attend to having it incorporated in the state of Rhode Island.

Patronesses at the luncheon were Mrs Frederick S Peck, Mrs S Foster Hunt, Mrs Henry A Whitmarsh, Mrs Murray S Danforth, Mrs Ashbel T Wall, Jr, Mrs William Gammell, Jr, Mrs R H I Goddard, Mrs Walter A Peck, Dr Helen C Bridges, Mrs Eric Stone, Mrs John H Wells, Mrs Barnes Newberry, Mrs Robert M Lord, Mrs Henry Salomon, Mrs George B Lomas, Mrs Alfred K Potter, Mrs Gerald A Cooper, Mrs Robert H Whitmarsh, Mrs M Foster Peck, Mrs Frederick R Hazard, Jr, Mrs Mauran S Pearce, Mrs Frank Mauran, Jr, Mrs Arthur H Ruggles, Mrs Louis C Gerry, Mrs Robert George, Mrs Clarke Freeman, Mrs William E Brigham, Mrs Webster Knight, 2nd, Mrs Hovey T Freeman.

The Junior Committee

MARCH has been a month of marked activity, and the results have been most gratifying. Pursuing our plan of making contacts with welfare workers in different sections of the city, three luncheon meetings were held—on March 10th at the William Sloan House of the Y M C A, on March 17th at the Harlem Y M H A and on March 24th at the Central Y W C A.

On the basis of the neighborhood clinics sponsored by the Junior Committee, the cost of operating clinics has been estimated as follows:

ONE SESSION EACH WEEK OVER A PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS

If the organization already has equipment	
Service of nurse	\$162 00
Service of physician	375 00
Supplies	40 00
Incidentals	25 00
	—————
	\$602 00

If equipment must be furnished the additional cost is estimated at \$130 00, as follows:

1 Examining table	\$ 30 00
1 Sterilizer	30 00
Cabinet for supplies	20 00
Gloves, chemicals, etc	50 00
	—————
	\$130 00

Note: Add \$1 50 per patient for supplies for each free case.

News Notes

UNITED STATES

THE Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America through its Committee on Marriage and the Home issued a report on Birth Control on March 21st (see page 101)

The Committee on Maternal Care of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported unanimously in favor of contraception for physical reasons at a meeting held in Washington on February 19th

Despite the recent decision in Pennsylvania regarding Marie Stopes' *Married Love* this book will again go on trial within the next few weeks in the Federal District Court in New York City Commissioner of Customs F X A Eble has notified Morris L Ernst, counsel for G P Putnam's Sons, importers of *Married Love* that "it is the opinion of the bureau that the Treasury Department is not bound by the dismissal of the case by Judge Kirkpatrick in Philadelphia "

CONNECTICUT The Connecticut Birth Control League has had a busy month following up the February hearing with letters, leaflets, etc (see page 115)

Dr George Bedborough addressed the Council of Jewish Women of South Norwalk on March 2nd

ILLINOIS Dr William F Ogburn, of the University of Chicago, and president of the American Statistical Association, outlined the work of President Hoover's commission to study the trend of American civilization in a lecture on February 21st Dr Ogburn believes that the population of the United States will probably become stable at about 175,000,000 in the year 1970 He said "Birth control and the decreasing birth-rate will influence the ultimate population greatly The birth-rate is still going down, but it must stop somewhere Possibly babies will be supplied according to the laws of supply and demand which control the amounts of other products, such as potatoes " The members of the commission are Chairman, Wesley C Mitchell, director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, vice-chairman, Prof Charles E Merriam of the University

of Chicago, Shelby M Harrison of the Russell Sage Foundation, Prof Howard W Odum of the University of North Carolina, Dr Alice Hunt, and Dr Ogburn

NEW JERSEY The Orange Memorial Hospital has established a birth control service of the dispensary type through its Gynecological Department The medical and social treatment of cases will be identical with the procedure of the Maternal Health Center of the New Jersey Birth Control League The same case history records are being used and Dr Dorothy Lottridge, on the staff of the Maternal Health Center, is in charge

The New Jersey League is cooperating with other clinics in working towards the establishment of similar clinical service New Jersey Junior League members are active in the New Jersey League

Mrs Willard B King, chairman of the birth control division of the Social Hygiene Committee of the New Jersey League of Women Voters, debated with Miss Mary Hawks, president of the American Catholic Women's Association on *Birth Control*, in Nutley on February 26th

NEW YORK Recent meetings on birth control have been held as follows Dr A P Van Deusen addressed the Peekskill Rotary Club on March 5th, making a plea for a thorough analysis and understanding of birth control, Guy Irving Burch spoke at the Society for the Popularization of Modern Science on March 17th His subject was *Changes in Factors Affecting Population*, Mrs Isadora Kerr spoke on birth control at the Katie Ferguson House Settlement on March 17th, and Mrs F Robertson Jones addressed the Wednesday Afternoon Club on March 18th

NORTH CAROLINA The American Birth Control League has been invited to participate in the dedication of the Duke University School of Medicine and the Duke Hospital of Durham on April 20th This recognition of the relation between the League and a medical institution is significant

OHIO The Citizens' Committee on Maternal Health of Cincinnati held its first public meeting on March 26th. Colonel Clarence O. Sherrill presided, and Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, president of the American Eugenics Society, spoke on *Population Control and Unemployment*.

PENNSYLVANIA Professor Neil Carothers lectured at Packard Auditorium in Bethlehem on March 2nd on *Poverty and Population* and pointed out that the immense pressure of breeding population forces on the world the continual existence of poverty. Controlled fecundity, according to Dr. Carothers, is perhaps the only solution of the evils of the present economic and social conditions.

The Maternal Health Center at 6800 Market Street, Philadelphia, is now receiving patients sent for birth control advice by workers in 73 welfare organizations. The treasurer, Mrs. Stuart Mudd, raises a yearly budget of \$9,000 efficiently and quietly. Ably assisted by Mrs. Jay Schamberg, Mrs. Mudd has this clinic on the road towards real financial stability.

The Bethlehem Birth Control League, meeting on March 6th, was addressed by Dr. H. O. Rohrbach. The Alleghany County Birth Control League met on March 14th and heard Florence Fisher Parry, of the Pittsburgh Press, speak on *I Dare Say What I Think About Birth Control*. Dr. George A. Lundberg, Dr. Florence M. Teagarden also spoke.

The Pennsylvania Birth Control Federation held its annual meeting on March 18. *The Prevention of Dependency* was the general topic for discussion. Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Clinch Calkins and Dr. G. Victor Janvier were among the speakers.

INDIA

ACCORDING to a March 16th Associated Press report a census just completed shows that India's population has increased more than 32,000,000 in the past decade. The total population is now 351,000,000.

PORTO RICO

DR. JOSE PADIN, Commissioner of Education, addressed a group of visiting American students on March 7th and described the Porto Rican situation as follows: "The Malthusian doc-

trine seems to have found complete justification in Porto Rico. The population has grown about 1,000 percent in the last century and a quarter, without a corresponding increase in the means of subsistence. The Malthusian checks, such as war, pestilence and birth control have proved ineffective. Our average income is about \$150 a year. We have more than 600,000 children under fourteen years, practically all dependent, and one-third of them undernourished."

ENGLAND

THE National Birth Control Council of 26 Eccleston Street, London, reports considerable activity among Local Authorities with regard to the Ministry of Health Memorandum of July, 1930. Already several Councils have adopted schemes for providing contraceptive advice within the terms of the Memorandum and many others are considering the matter.

Three Metropolitan Boroughs in London have passed schemes and one of these, the Borough of Shoreditch, is establishing a Women's hospital at which birth control advice will be given. A plan on somewhat similar lines has been accepted by Manchester City Council. Birmingham has refused to take any action. Bath, Brighton, Leicester, Lincoln, Rotherham and Worthing are among the towns which will provide advice at special sessions of the Maternity and Child Welfare centres for cases which fall within the terms of the Memorandum.

The National Birth Control Council has been concentrating mainly on work in this connection and is in touch with many Local Authorities. The Council has been able to suggest methods of organization, explain difficult points and arrange for the training of doctors and nurses who will do the work, while also acting as a source of information as to what is being done throughout the country.

In nearly all cases special sessions for contraceptive advice will be held, the frequency of these to depend on the demand. Wherever possible, the premises and equipment of the ante-natal clinic will be used. In one case the information will be given at ordinary sessions of the Welfare Centre, but not in such a way as to interfere with the normal work of the Centre. In many cases private doctors are being notified by the Medical Officer of Health of the establishment of the clinic and Health Visitors and Midwives are instructed to tell women about it.

Letters from Readers

SELF CONTROL PLUS BIRTH CONTROL—AN EASTERN VIEW

TO THE EDITOR

I am interested in population problems as a factor in world politics and world peace, and am thus indirectly interested in birth control. In my opinion, most of the wise leaders of the West—Bertrand Russell, Havelock Ellis and others—place too much false emphasis on “sex” and “sexual enjoyment.” The psychological problem of “inhibition and self-control” must be understood. Life is not a machine and physical functioning in the sex field is not the most vital thing in life.

I think those who are really interested in the evolution of high types of humanity should not only think of the necessity of birth control, but try to inculcate such educational ideas as are essential for a self-controlled life.

The new awakening of women in India is a most hopeful thing. It disproves all the theories of the pseudo-social scientists who preached about the “Unchanging East,” etc. The awakening women of India will help your cause, furthermore, they will possibly bring in a new element which is lacking in the birth control movement in the West.

I am afraid youth nowadays is taught to put a premium on sex indulgence, and practice birth control to avoid certain consequences which might involve responsibility. This is ruinous. What is necessary is not undue sex indulgence and birth control, but self control in sexual life *plus* birth control.

TARAKNATH DAS

Munich, Germany

FROM THE AZORES

TO THE EDITOR

What is the attitude of the people and government of the United States about birth control?

In my island, Flores, 15 by 9 miles wide, most of the surface waste, there is a population of over 9,000 constantly increasing, without any place to immigrate. Old folks who know what life means, who know that it is impossible to live only in the grace of God, they hide their faces when they see young couples go to the altar without even a two room house of their own waiting for them.

I believe the problem of Flores is the same the world over. We would be crowded off the earth if it were not for starvation and war. Overpopulation means war, and war is the absurdest of absurdities. Unless the intelligent take the trouble to instruct the ignorant we'll march to another war, disgrace and shame.

Birth control will help to eliminate disease, promote the welfare of the individual, of the family and society. Continence may be the ideal as the Catholic Church points out, but we may leave it for the time when we become angels.

MATHEUS P. DE FREITAS

Santa Cruz, Flores, Azores

A PROGRESSIVE, NOT A MONKEY AGE

TO THE EDITOR

I think your readers will be interested in the following letter which I have sent to Mr. Ralph Burton of the National Patriotic Society.

Your protest against Margaret Sanger's appeal to save women and children from the evils of this man-made world must have taken a good deal of courage—you being a man and not a woman. Certainly woman should be the one to decide this most vital question to her and to the world. You even go so far as to say that birth control, initiated by Margaret Sanger long before the Russian revolution, is the “cat-spaw of Communism.” If it were true, Russia would have vision beyond our own.

And your Mr. Monlaven of the Catholic Welfare Association—is he thinking of the welfare of mothers and children when he misuses the word “obscene,” in speaking of women who wish to give some thought to bringing unwanted children into an indifferent world? Who is he—who are you, or any man—that you presume to lay down the law to women?

The wish for children is the only excuse for motherhood. More power to the pioneers of this crusade for woman's emancipation from man's thralldom, and for children's right to be born when, and when only, they are wanted. Never must they be accidents. The church and the state must keep hands off these most personal affairs. Human lives cannot be so lightly tossed into this vale of tears,

because some men still think it is woman's job and her only job. It is quite evident that such men never should have been born. Thank goodness, we are living in a progressive age, not in the monkey age.

KATE CRANE GARTZ

California

WHO WILL ABUSE KNOWLEDGE?

TO THE EDITOR

Let us meet the issue squarely. The opponents of birth control assert that if contraceptive knowledge becomes general, it will be abused. This is a truism that should be accepted without argument. Let us grant this point to the reactionaries, and ask who will commit the offense?

There is but one answer: those who now resort to abortion, infanticide and desertion will be the only offenders. These crimes will disappear *ipso facto*, with contraceptive knowledge. Morality, common sense and religion are all on the side of the reformers. The population-need of the world today is better people, not more people. Desired children will not only be prepared for but will be cared for. This means human betterment.

C V ROMAN, M D

Nashville, Tenn

BOOKS RECEIVED

MORALS OF TOMORROW, by Ralph W. Sockman
Harper and Bros., New York \$2.50

A NEW THEORY OF HEREDITY, by G. A. Gaskell
C. W. Daniel Co., London 2s 6d

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM, A Life of Annie Besant,
by Gertrude Marvin Williams *Coward-McCann, New York* \$3.50

SOCIAL CONTROL OF SEX EXPRESSION, by Geoffrey May
William Morrow, New York \$3.00

POPULATION AND BIRTH CONTROL IN INDIA, by
Murari S. Krishnamurthi Ayyar *Published by the Author, Madras, India*

THE PARABLE OF THE VIRGINS, by Mary Lapsley
Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York \$2.50

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE FAMILY, by Edgar Schmiedeler
The Century Co., New York

ANNOUNCEMENT

Owing to the death of Dr. James Freyer Cooper on March 27th, his private office at 33 Madison Avenue, New York, has been discontinued.

PRIMITIVE PSYCHOLOGY AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 114)

reasons for supposing that a state of complete ignorance of the connection between sexual intercourse and birth ever existed universally, except at a very remote or primeval period. A state of necience may be found in isolated instances, but must be interpreted as the result of particular historical factors, and may conceivably supersede a state of knowledge. The nature of primitive psychology, however, is such that it readily permits numerous *beliefs* concerning conception to exist simultaneously with *knowledge* of an association between intercourse and birth.

But what bearing does all of this have upon birth control in primitive society? As suggested at the beginning of this article, there have been many denials that birth control exists at all among primitive peoples. These are based upon the assumption that primitive ignorance of conception makes such a practice impossible. From the fore-

going evidence it will be clearly seen that this assumption is a false one, and that the existence of birth control in primitive society cannot be disproved on such a basis.

As a matter of fact, concrete data have been unearthed within the last few years which disclose actual instances of primitive contraception. How numerous these are, how effective they are, and how often they occur in comparison with other population controls, I shall discuss in a subsequent article.

¹ See E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*.

² Franz Boas, *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*.

³ Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*.

⁴ W. Cooke, *The Natives of Northern India*.

⁵ A. R. Brown, *Beliefs Concerning Childbirth*, Man 1912.

⁶ A. A. Goldenweiser, review of *Hartland's Primitive Paternity*, *American Anthropologist*, N S 13, 1911.

⁷ B. Malinowski, *The Father in Primitive Psychology*.

⁸ Malinowski, *The Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands*, *Journal Anthropological Institute*, Vol 46, p. 407.

⁹ *The Father in Primitive Psychology*.

SEVENTY BIRTH CONTROL CLINICS

A DETAILED survey and analysis by Caroline H. Robinson, issued by the National Committee on Maternal Health Tells of 71,845 patients treated, medical personnel and scientific standing, percentage of success, fees charged, laws, eugenic effect. Recommended as a Directory to parents desiring professional advice, a handbook for use in the movement and for birth rate students.

\$4.00

Published by

WILLIAMS & WILKINS

BALTIMORE, MD

*Order from the
PUBLISHER*

*Or from the
BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*

PHYSICIANS' MANUAL OF BIRTH CONTROL

By

Antoinette F. Konikow, M.D.

Author of "Voluntary Motherhood"

The Technique, The Merits, and The Demerits of Every Birth Control Method
Now Generally Advocated or Practiced

Emphasis on Practical Procedure

Follows the Patient, step by step, from her entrance into the Physician's Office to her departure adequately instructed

245 PAGES Illustrated \$4.00, express prepaid
Statistical Review of Over 1000 Cases

SOLD TO PHYSICIANS ONLY



Order from

BUCHHOLZ PUBLISHING COMPANY

1440 Broadway, New York City

*Please use letter head or prescription blank in ordering.
Remittance should accompany order.*

To Promote the General Practice of Birth Control THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

plans:

- 1 TO ESTABLISH, IN EVERY CENTER OF POPULATION, CLINICS where the poor may receive contraceptive advice from physicians
- 2 TO ACQUAINT PHYSICIANS throughout the United States with the most approved methods of contraception
- 3 TO WORK FOR THE AMENDMENT of such laws as interfere with the prescription of contraception by physicians
- 4 TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE PUBLIC, by means of lectures, pamphlets and the BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW, the importance of birth control to the family, the community and the race

To carry out this program and finance it, THE LEAGUE NEEDS THE HELP of everyone who believes in it

ANNUAL DUES ARE \$2 TO \$500 DUES OF \$3 OR OVER INCLUDE ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION
TO THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Read the Review Join the League Send your Check TODAY