

Cents Per Copy

SEPTEMBER, 1918

\$1 50 Per Year

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

Dedicated to the Cause of Voluntary Motherhood

LARGE FAMILIES AND HUMAN WASTE

By ANNA E BLOUNT, M D

HOW NATURE GETS EVEN

**THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW
ON BROADWAY**

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

104 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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Vol II No 8

Published monthly Subscription price \$1 50 a year, foreign countries and Canada \$1 75, postpaid
Bundle rates ten copies for a dollar, \$9 50 per hundred

Owned and Published by
THE NEW YORK WOMEN'S PUBLISHING CO Inc
104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y

Entered at the Post Office at New York N Y as mail matter of the second class.

Address correspondence and make checks and money orders payable to MARGARET SANGER.

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LARGE FAMILIES AND HUMAN WASTE

By Anna E. Blount, M. D.

"SELF PRESERVATION is nature's first law," but just as surely, race preservation is nature's second law

There is no conflict, I think, between these two laws, except that each may be overworked, to the confusion of the other. People, and especially women, who are too self-centered, are apt to have no children, whereas the woman who overproduces (overworks nature's second law) is apt to die a wreck, and defeat the ends of reproduction by leaving an infant family to the mercies of the world.

There are two points of view, then, from which to observe the question of large families, first, that of personal welfare, and second, that of the public, the State or of humanity, as you like to put it.

Can fine people, of splendid heredity, and ample means for sustenance and education, have too many children, short of actually destroying the mother's life during the infancy of the children? Was Luther right concerning any class when he said, "Let your women bear children without ceasing, and if a woman die bearing, what matters it? She is there to do it?"

If he was right at all, of what class of people was he right, and of what class was he not right? Was he right from the personal, or from the social point of view, or from both, or from neither? Do large families, *per se*, mean weakened children, or only when poverty and ignorance are factors?

There is no more hotly disputed question in the world than the relation between large families and mental and physical ability. Roosevelt is proclaiming loudly on the one hand that fine families cannot be too large, and that degenerate ones can not be too small, while most of us are willing to admit that women are entitled to choose how many children they will bear, and not, like a salmon, spawn as copiously as possible, and then die.

THE READERS OF THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW are already in possession of the fact that a high birth rate in any nation is always correlated with a high death rate, suggesting that even when numbers alone are desired, the efficient number of births per mother is never the greatest possible. Thus Russia, with its huge birth rate (sometimes as great as 50 per 1,000), has a lower rate of increase of population than New South Wales or Queensland, both of which have very low birth rates. The birth rate is then only one of two factors in the increase of population, the death rate being even more variable and hence more important. If the death rate is 100 per cent, as it is in stricken Poland now, the greatest possible birth rate will produce no increase in population. This seems very elemental, but it is not unnecessary to mention, when such men as Roosevelt and Beale speak of birth rate, as though it were synonymous with increase of population.

In line with this correlation of national high birth rates with high death rates, Ploetz of Saxony shows that the twelfth child has about 2½ times as many chances of death in infancy as the second, and that the infant death rate increases progres-

sively from the second child on, rapidly after the fourth. Clearly then there is a point in these families when further expenditure of time and raw material in the production of children produces diminishing returns. Conversely, of course, "Limiting the family would increase the family."

You might object that Ploetz's Saxon statistics concern only the poor, likewise that Russia is poor, while Australia is rich. Perhaps the child mortality which we ascribe to large families is really due to poverty. But poverty itself is due very often to large families. From the time when too early paternity stops a man's training or education, and compels him to take a poor job to keep the pot boiling, to the time when the hungry faces of six little ones at home makes a man into a strike breaker, or puts him into his employer's power through fear to change his job, the number of children is the all important factor in poverty.

But Ploetz made an attempt to distinguish between the effects of poverty, *per se*, and of over production, by collecting statistics of 3,319 children of the nobility. He classified them as 1st born, 2nd born, etc., and then reckoned what per cent. of each died before attaining the age of five years. He found that 26.4 per cent. of first born, and 24.9 per cent. of second born died before this age, and that 34.4 per cent. of 9th to 19th born died before this age. That looks as though in very large families, even with ample means, the later ones have a poor chance. It is perhaps fair to attribute this lack of vitality to over production.

AN ANALYSIS OF Alexander Graham Bell's tables of the Hyde Family, published in the *Journal of Heredity* for July, 1917, showing the relation between the length of life of the individual and the number of his brothers and sisters, seems to show that up to ten children the longer lived individuals come from the larger families. Above ten children the infant death rate was so high as markedly to lower the average duration of life.

That seemed at first astonishing, a poser indeed for birth controllers, that the proportion of children who lived to old age should increase with the size of the family up to ten children.

But these figures concerned children born for the most part before birth control days, in a family of marked hereditary ability, and for the most part with ample means.

Now in such a clan, where reproduction is allowed to go to the limit, small families will be those where death terminates the marriage early, or where invalidism terminates the reproductive career. Bell was, therefore, comparing small families of debilitated or weak people, with large families of healthy people and good heredity, of course to the disadvantage of the former class.

The only fair comparison would be the longevity of unlimited with that of voluntarily limited families, other things, such as wealth, heredity, etc., being approximately equal.

Unfortunately, we live in a generation too early to deal

with this phase of the question Children of birth-controlled families have not yet reached three-score years and ten, and we can have no statistics of their longevity, except the striking statistics so often given of their low infant mortality, as compared with that of unlimited families I refer to the Johnstown statistics, Miss Hamilton's statistics, and Ploetz's figures, which prove that as a matter of practical fact, large families are correlated with frightful infant mortality

If it later prove true that a small class of people, who have ample means during the period when their children are young, do not deteriorate their stock by their large numbers, then we must concede that from the point of view of good stock, such mothers have a right to as large a family as they wish, up to ten If we concede the question from the point of view of eugenics, it becomes an individual question, whether so large a family is good for the mother, whether it is her duty, or even her right to devote herself to reproduction alone, or whether she has human duties, aside from those of motherhood, whether so large a production is consistent with those acts of companionship and education which we designate as the higher motherhood These questions are perhaps to be decided by each mother, who can offer her child both excellent heredity and excellent environment Let her, however, remember the words of Emerson "A child is better unborn than untaught, certainly he is"

But alas, alas! It is exactly among this class of people that birth control is now practiced They have means, and can find methods They alone are unaffected by our Draconian postal laws, and our monstrous state prohibitions for the dissemination of this most necessary knowledge.

OF THE NEEDS of the vast majority of our population there can be no doubt. Too many children endanger somewhat the life, and very much more the opportunities, of those already born This has been so amply proven, from so many angles, that further effort is useless

As to the people who are really poor, they need family limitation clinics more than any other enterprise Therefore, let the women demand them where the laws permit them, and demand the repeal of all laws which forbid them in other States

I have touched the question of family limitation where heredity is good and means are ample, and where heredity is good and means are limited There remains to be discussed the problem of those of defective heredity, with or without means This is frankly the most difficult class to handle or influence. And yet the numbers of such people must be limited.

There they are, a motley group, from the gay, light hearted moron, who cannot make an intelligent plan, even to do mischief, to the doddering idiot, the crafty paranoiac, the wretched epileptic, the moral imbecile, the chronic criminal with hereditary taint, and even the village ne'er do well

What do they cost us, in wealth, in labor and in misery?

They must be eliminated

Eugenics makes birth control imperative

Defectives may be segregated, they may be sterilized, and the brighter ones of them may learn methods of contraception Their marriages should be forbidden, as an expression of the public will that their children are not wanted But whatever the means this stream of human waste must be deflected from the melting pot.

The best authorities in the various countries all reckon the present average families of defectives as much larger than those of the general population They average from 6 to 8 per mother in the various countries, as against a general average of four plus or minus

Until this question is carefully dealt with by public opinion and the law, we shall continue as of old, breeding most largely from our human waste.

It was Darwin who said "Except in the case of man himself, hardly anyone is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed"

AS A DOCTOR SEES IT

By B Liber, M D

"**Y**OU HAVE TO GIVE it to me! You have to give it to me, doctor! You told him not to go to the shop, and now I must work instead I know you are not allowed to give it to me, but I don't care and, doctor, don't be afraid—no body'll ever find it out. I have got two children, that is enough!"

I am not certain whether the most law abiding physician could have resisted her pleas

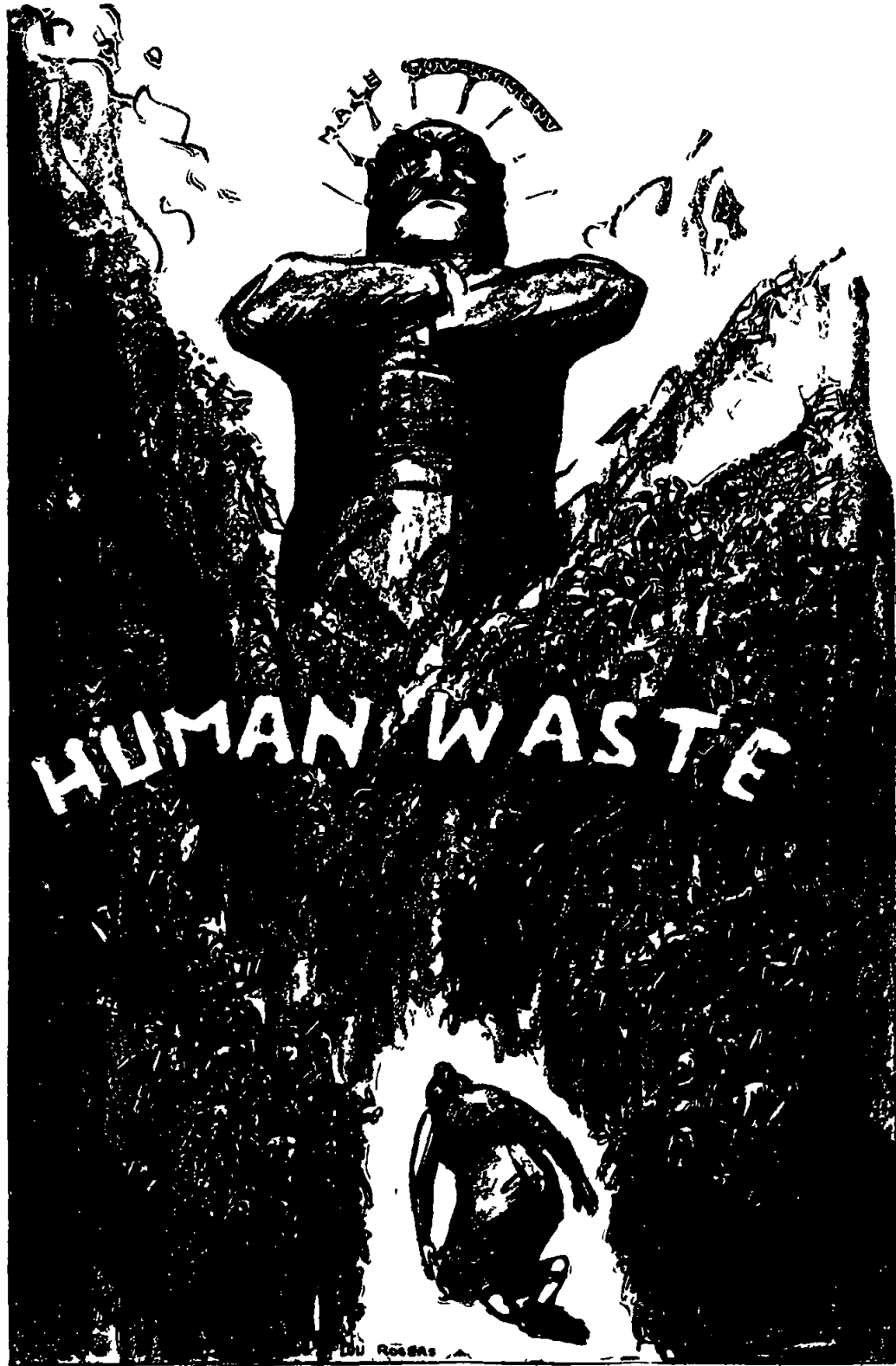
For months her husband had been without work and they were both happy when he found an occupation, which although not in his line, paid him more than they had expected They were overjoyed. They calculated all their needs and decided how much they must spend, so that a part of the salary could go for paying their debts They promised themselves to live strictly according to this plan, and so they did until he became ill

At first it was only for a few days, later he had to stay away from the shop for a longer time and it happened more frequently

At last I had to advise him not to return to his new trade, which was very dusty, and to look for some outside work, I wanted him to be as much out in the air as possible. And such a job was difficult to find.

With a broken heart, his pride vanquished, deceived in his hopes, he was forced to permit her to go to earn a living for the family, something against which he had resisted until now with all his might

That was the reason why she came and asked so energetically for a means to prevent her from becoming pregnant again



WHY WE NEED BIRTH CONTROL!

THE SUICIDAL BIRTH RATE

(We had occasion in a recent issue to criticise an unfair attack on the birth control movement, which had appeared in THE MEDICAL TIMES. It gives us great pleasure to find in the same magazine an excellent article on "The Law of Economic Determination of the Birth Rate," and to reprint it in full, as follows—EDITORS.)

THE BIRTH RATE of a country represents the effect of economic laws. Where the standard of living is high, the birth rate is low.

Bertillon has shown that "the order of size of the family is invariably the reverse of the order of the economic condition."

Since economic status is definitely related to efficiency and social worth we must expect to find a low birth rate in the best equipped groups.

A high standard of living makes for good hygiene and sanitation, longevity and the salvation of the children in small families.

There has been no biological deterioration in France, whose birth rate increased only 2,000,000 between 1860 and 1900, whereas poverty stricken Russia, with her low standard of living and very high birth rate, has not successfully withstood trial by fire and blood and iron as has France.

All highly civilized countries, with proper standards of living, show low birth rates, for example, New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, Holland and Sweden.

A generally low birth rate would tend to prevent war. The human rabbit hutch known as China is a menace because of her vast and increasing population. In 1800 Germany had a population of 23,000,000. In 1900 her population had grown to 65,000,000. Her imperialistic dreams and her industrial and military program have been based upon numbers. Had she ordered her affairs like the intelligent Dutch, instead of accepting the guidance of a criminally ambitious group, the world would have been spared its blood bath.

Overzealous advocacy of a high birth rate suggests a lack of information or frank furtherance of essentially vicious social and economic conditions, upon which progress is fatuously supposed to depend. The industrial slave driver, imperialist and militarist represents a breed by no means peculiar to Germany. His desires with respect to the world's birth rate must be frustrated if ever the world is to have peace.

There is now a strong movement in the United States looking to improvement in housing conditions for the working class. It is realized that the environment of men goes far toward determining their efficiency. The dwellers must have better and more food, more air and sunlight and greater prosperity. All this attention arises out of the facts that there is a labor shortage due largely to interrupted immigration, and that the backbone of an army consists of workers who, if they are to be fit, must have had decent childhoods. It is seen that the saviors of France are the sons of the poor.

The propagandists of reform ignore the law to which we have called attention, namely, that in proportion as economic conditions are improved the birth rate is lowered.

England furnished an interesting object lesson when she gave up the foreign slave trade and enslaved instead her own yeomanry industrially. Merrie England had had a rational birth rate, but the brutalized workers soon achieved a high one.

So sensitively does society react to the law of economic determination of the birth rate that the efforts of the reformers to whom we have alluded must seem hazardous and ill advised to reactionaries with a glimmer of intelligence.

You cannot have really decent conditions of life for all and at the same time maintain industrial and military armies.

Let Faust cogitate this problem, while Mephistopheles leers.

THE SCRUB WOMAN

By William E. Williams

I SAW HER cleaning endless stairs,
A figure lean and gaunt and old,
I read a thousand black despairs
In one quick glance of hers that told
More than an epic's fatuous lore,
More than a laureate's unctuous lay,
One bitter, patient glance, no more!
The while she scrubbed the dirt away

I saw behind her in a cloud
Rise up like myriad forms of Fate,
The women whom the yoke had bowed,
Who learned like her to hate—and wait!
Lean, haglike forms with sunken eyes
And withered breasts and caving flanks,
Poor cheated things, I saw them rise
In ghastly ranks on ghastly ranks!

That night I dreamed that Toil arose
And like a giant long in pain
Shook off his puny little joes
And choked the roads with masters slain,
The stair whereon the woman drooped
Dropped clotting red from the affray,
Her thin laugh crackled as she stooped
To wash the stain away!

Ignorance, poverty and vice must stop populating the world. To accomplish this, there is but one way. Science must make woman the owner of herself, the mistress of her person. Science, the only savior of mankind, must put it in the power of woman to decide for herself whether she will, or will not, become a mother.—Robert Ingersoll

While there is a lower class, I am for it
While there is a criminal element, I am of it
While there is a soul in jail, I am not free

—Eugene V. Debs

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW ON BROADWAY

KITTY MARION, English actress and suffragette, has become a Broadway institution. Not as a theatrical star, but as something vastly more important to humanity—a Birth Control propagandist. A fighter of the good fight in the woman suffrage movement across the water, the habit of working for the freedom of her sisters has fastened itself upon her and the allurements of the agitator's role has proved stronger than that of any part behind the footlights. That is why, rain or shine, sleet or gloom, work days, Sundays and holidays finds *The Birth Control Review* on sale on Broadway.

It is work—hard work, good work, indispensable work for the cause, but Kitty Marion has taken a leaf from her experience as a London suffragette and goes joyously about the business of making converts by personal contact with *The Review* as a letter of introduction. And while the Broadway crowds wonder why this distinguished looking woman is selling magazines, afternoon and nights, on what in times of peace is the Great White Way, Miss Marion, to use her own words, is enjoying “the most fascinating, the most comic, the most tragic, living, breathing movie in the world.”

It is well that she gets fun out of it, well that her interest in the movement is so satisfyingly thorough to transmute into entertainment the slings and arrows of an otherwise outrageous fortune that is inevitably the lot of so extraordinary a newsie. Those who have grown in spirit and in deed from one cause to another and another, know what sort of consecration to duty is necessary to extract laughter from that chorus of “You Ought's” which greet Kitty Marion when she encounters some of the varieties of Broadway types.

“**I** BELIEVE I HAVE met them all,” says she. “And many of them had a ‘you ought’ for me that was intended to have a sting in its tail! You ought—to be ashamed,—to be arrested,—to be in jail,—to be shot,—to be hanged, or, maybe, what I ought to suffer was just ostracism. At least, according to my good sisters, my action in selling *The Review* and advocating birth control, was disgraceful, disgusting, scandalous, outrageous, villainous, criminal, and—and—unladylike! The poor dears!”

“Some of them, however—the big, farseeing women who know that suffrage is only a beginning and that the real fight for the emancipation of womanhood lies deeper, had things to say that renewed hope and courage, things that brought joy to the work and inspiration to greater effort. ‘Good for you—good luck!’ they would cry when they caught sight of me at my unusual task, ‘I admire your pluck. Takes courage to do this, but keep it up!’ Sensible, I say! Bravo!”

“Somehow, it is these greetings from the big souls I have encountered in the other movement that linger longest in my memory and the fine glow of them shuts out the mocking sting of the words of my former comrades who have not yet come to understand that motherhood must be voluntary.”

One of the men who understood was a young naval officer. He had passed me in company with a lieutenant of infantry,

but turned back, despite an effort upon the part of his companion to dissuade him.

“Is your friend an ‘anti’ or is he just shy?” inquired Miss Marion.

“Oh, he’s an unbeliever!” replied the naval officer, “but personally I prefer birth control to a lot of weaklings.”

If Miss Marion’s experience on Broadway is an indication of the growth of the movement for intelligent birth control—and she believes that it is—the propaganda has made astonishing strides in the past year. Particularly has the fact that birth control means a better, stronger, more capable race impressed itself upon a considerable proportion of the public.

AS THIS PHASE of the great truth underlying the cause is being driven home, men and women alike are asking more and more frequently why birth control should be unlawful in America when it has not penalized in other countries. A hard-headed young Scot, who told Miss Marion that his home was in North Carolina, was and is one of the usual groups which had collected about the purveyor of *The Birth Control Review* and a warm discussion had started. The Scot and a companion, supposing that a war argument was in progress, stopped to listen just in time to hear Miss Marion explain that the *Review* is a propaganda magazine setting forth the purposes and the progress of the birth control movement.

“Birth control is lawful in England but not in America,” she was saying. “If it’s lawful in one section of the English speaking world, there’s no good reason why it shouldn’t be lawful in another,” was the Scot’s verdict, “I want a bundle of those magazines. As soon as I get home, I am going to work for birth control.”

Who buys *The Review* on Broadway? People of every kind and description. Some are attracted by the novelty of the personality of the newsie. A few are looking for something “spicy” a few are seeking the morbid, a few are merely curious, and a few are looking for anything that can be made to excuse a complaint to the police. Some buy it under the impression, perhaps, that it gives information concerning contraceptives. But the majority, having heard of the birth control movement and the work of the groups of propagandists who have fostered it in America, are seeking more light as to the real meaning of that movement. Girls of marriageable age, mothers of families, fathers, young men about to be married, social workers, ministers, physicians, reformers, revolutionists, strangers just in town—members of each of these elements stop, buy and announce their interest.

A minister usually buys without comment, a theosophist is likely to approve material means of birth control in the absence of the spiritual control which he advocates. The physician gives a word of encouragement and the social worker pours out the tale of things which she has seen, but does not yet know how to cope with adequately.

“I have always given the information on to patients who need it,” more than one physician has said to Miss Marion,

(Continued on page 10)

What Does \$10.00 Mean to You?

If for the price of a pair of shoes you could lift the burden of misery from one woman's life, would you do it?

If for the price of a new waist you could help to make life worth while to a mother, a father and one or two or three strong healthy children, could you refuse yourself that privilege?

TEN DOLLARS is the price of one full-paid, non assessable share of stock in The Woman's Publishing Company, Inc, which owns and controls this magazine. No profits are made, no salaries are paid—the one aim is the emancipation of woman through education, the establishment of the right of voluntary motherhood.

Your \$10 or \$20 or \$30, invested in stock of this company will help to solve the life problems of not one, but many mothers, of not one, but many families.

Make your money mean more to you and to American womanhood by supporting

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Mary B. Black	New York	2	Imogene B. Oakley	Pennsylvania	1
Mrs. A. A. Brown	New York	1	Mrs. H. Nussbaum	Texas	1
Mrs. Carrie L. Carleton	New York	1	M. J. McAlister	West Virginia	1
Mrs. G. M. Clark	New York	1	Christian Anderson	Washington	1
Miss C. A. Dana	New York	1	Mrs. A. D. Leiper	Wyoming	1
Miss Ella Davis	New York	1	L. E. Holland	Wyoming	1
Charlotte Delafield	New York	1	Julius F. Wiese	Michigan	1
Miss K. S. Dreier	New York	1			

EDITORIAL COMMENT

IF ANY SUBSCRIBERS to THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW failed to receive the August number of the magazine, we wish them to know that it was because that issue was ordered barred from the mails by the authorities in Washington. The reason given was, that we had printed a review and an advertisement of an important book which had been enthusiastically received in the British Empire, but which was declared to be unmailable here. Our readers know that we have been exceedingly careful to keep within the letter and the spirit of postal regulations. We did not propose to give reactionary minds in officialdom an opportunity to interfere with the work for woman's freedom to which this publication is devoted. At last, however, a cause has been found. Our answer to this attack, as to all others, is to be propaganda of the most effective kind. It will be the only answer intelligible to the type of official who is seeking to hamper the birth control movement. In the future, as in the past, we shall not intentionally violate postal regulations. But, by means of a bigger, broader, still more fearless magazine, we shall combat the spirit which led to the assault upon us. To that end we have asked our subscribers to co-operate with us in trebling the REVIEW's circulation. We intend to deal telling blows at the dark superstitions which perpetuate in America the lust of witch burning. Those who read the leading article in the suppressed number know what difficulties have been overcome in bringing out the first twelve issues of THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW. Said difficulties did not deter those who have made the publication a power for free womanhood. The barring of an edition from the mails, far from discouraging us, has moved us to new efforts. But it is possible that this first interference with the REVIEW may have more significance than now appears to be the case. The powers of reaction have recently taken away many of the reforms that American women have won in fifty years of toil, hardship and sacrifice. Yesterday, the Federal child labor legislation, such as it was, went to the scrap heap. Tomorrow, the attack may be wider in its scope. As for the advocates of birth control, they intend to battle in the first ditch, not the last one. With all that we have of inspiration, courage and resource, we shall hold fast to what we have gained. We shall not let up in our fight on the medieval intolerance, which makes it possible to deny the mails of this country to a message of woman's freedom.

THE MAYOR of New York's Committee of Women on National Defense, the Division of Child Hygiene of the same city's Department of Health, the New York Milk Committee and similar agencies have united in a "save 100,000 babies" campaign. One child in every seven born in the United States dies from malnutrition or from some disease directly traceable to poverty. So the "save 100,000 babies" movement has for its slogan "Save that seventh child!" We confess to finding this a ghastly mockery and an intolerable piece of irony. The agencies quoted appeal to the mothers to do the saving, but

why more mothers do not save their babies is indicated pretty clearly by a circular sent out by a charitable association, which says "Tired and despairing mothers with the telling mark of day in and day-out grind on their features, midnight retiring and five o'clock rising—keeping the tattered ends of the housework together, struggling with the everyday problems of sickness, poverty and widowhood—three thousand and seven hundred such mothers and children are waiting an invitation to Sea Breeze, but we must have help if we are to continue these outings." The best that Society offers the child today is occasional charity to keep it alive, the only help that has thus far been suggested for the mother is two weeks of fresh air a year, plus a few weeks of prenatal care. But what is the matter with making birth control information free and open to all, so that seventh children shall not be born in an age when food, shelter, clothing and wholesome air are at a premium? The earlier offspring might then have a chance to grow up in decency and the mother to preserve her health. If the philanthropic reformers have not thought of that solution of the problem, we call it to their attention.

THE CARE of the insane cost the State of New York \$8,320,000 last year. The total economic loss on the insane for the year is officially estimated at more than \$35,000,000. The institutions for the insane in New York are overcrowded to the extent of nearly 6,000 persons. There are already 37,069 persons in public institutions for the mentally defective and it is to be presumed that if these hospitals were not now overcrowded there would be some thousands more. And the number of insane and feeble-minded is increasing. And it is still a crime to impart to the mothers of such the information concerning birth control, which would save the state \$35,000,000 a year and the relatives of the unfortunates inestimable trouble and sorrow. The facts and figures given are those of the recent annual report of the State Hospital Commission. The commissioner recommended five means of preventing the increase of the number of the insane:

Checking the excessive use of alcohol

Checking the ravages of syphilis.

Informing the public more fully concerning mental diseases and teaching mental hygiene

Steps to eliminate extreme poverty

Extension of out patient departments of state hospitals, etc. It did not recommend the repeal of those survivals of witch burning days, the anti birth control statutes. So far as the committee is concerned, this direct, simple and effective means of saving this huge cost of money and human agony is still criminal. And so far as the committee is concerned, it prefers \$35,000,000 worth of criminal prejudice upon the part of officials and lawmakers, to birth control.

REVIEW ON BROADWAY

(Continued from page 7)

"I had no idea that it was unlawful to do so and that fact will have no influence upon my course."

"The charge that the spreading of the knowledge of birth control will encourage immorality among girls is "groundless in the light of my experience," says Miss Marion. "The girls who buy *The Review* from me usually ask a good many questions about the publication. In nearly every case, the girl is one who expects to be married and become the mother of a small well-cared for family, or is a business woman who sees no reason why she should deny herself conjugal companionship because circumstances prevent her from giving proper attention to children. The Broadway crowd, taken by and large, is perhaps the most typically American of all crowds. It comes from the far corners of the country as well as from Manhattan, Harlem, The Bronx, Brooklyn and Staten Island. And the Broadway crowd, which might, two years ago, have been ready to chase anything labelled "Birth Control" off the Great White Way, displays a serious, intelligent interest in the movement.

"But under it all and through it all," says Miss Marion, "is the deep chorus of grief, of the breaking of mothers, the overburdening of fathers, the enslavement and the starving of children because of the lack of the knowledge of the means of preventing large families. Physicians, settlement workers, nurses, child welfare workers, young mothers, mothers who are old and broken, stop to tell the story of pain, misery, defeated ambitions, lost hope because of those laws which prevent nurses and physicians giving to mothers the information which will enable them to keep their families at a size which will permit proper care.

"I wish the legislators no harm, but if a majority of them could be with me for a few nights when the apparently care free Broadway crowd begins by ones and twos to lift the veil of its misery, the next session of the general assembly at Albany would relegate the anti birth control statutes to that limbo which holds the laws against witch craft, cooking on Sunday and other ancient monstrosities of legislation."

THE WHOLE OF TRUTH

No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and un gagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue, and remember that, in order to get the whole of truth, you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—*Wendell Phillips*

IMPROVING ON INSTINCT

AN ANSWER TO MR. LLOYD

MR J WILLIAM LLOYD offers in the June issue of *THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW*, some critical remarks on birth control that are plausible, but hardly fundamental. He does not seem to have gone far enough in his analysis of the underlying theory of Neo Malthusianism. I beg to add a few words of comment on several points made by him.

Lloyd—"Nature herself is a pretty good guide as to what is of first importance, and it is significant, is it not, that nature has made birth instinctive and almost inevitable and has not furnished instinctive knowledge of birth control?"

Comment—No, there is nothing at all significant about the facts as Mr Lloyd presents them. He is advancing a discredited teleology that is no longer ascribed to Nature. What is instinctive birth? There is instinctive union of the sexes, resulting frequently in births. People used prudishly to say "procreative instinct" when they meant "sex instinct." It is doubtful if there is such a thing as a pure "procreative instinct." The relation between sexual union and procreation, as we understand it, is the result of intelligent observation, not of instinctive or intuitive knowledge.

Mr Lloyd forgets that man's directive power corrects Nature's blind mistakes and immeasurably improves her results. For detailed proof of this read Lester F Ward's "Applied Sociology." To prevent the birth of syphilitic or other kinds of diseased and defective children, for instance, is certainly an improvement on Nature's inevitable tendency to produce them. Because there is no "instinctive knowledge of birth control" is no reason for our neglecting to use intelligence. Such neglect of intelligence is what Mr Lloyd tacitly asks of us. There is no "instinctive knowledge" of a good many things necessary today to the life of man. Why urge us to rely only on instinct and discard intelligence? We use intelligence in production. Society would crumble if it depended only on instinct to provide food. Why not use a little intelligence in reproduction? Our failure to do this is one trouble with the world today, as Neo Malthusians constantly insist. In the basic business of procreation too much is left to instinct.

LLOYD—"The need of children after the war will be world wide and tremendous. Universal co operation to exploit the undeveloped resources of the earth and seas, destroy disease, drain marshes, irrigate deserts, terrace mountains, build sea walls, create islands—these are vastly more important than birth control."

Comment—Here is a fundamental oversight in all utopian socialist schemes. The projects suggested by Mr Lloyd are often highly desirable and feasible. But let us not forget that first of all, especially under democracy, it takes time to induce people to co operate. After you have succeeded in convincing them that they would gain by working together, it takes time to carry out plans, assuming that those agreed upon are really wise and from an engineering standpoint, not visionary. Between the budding of the first idea of vast social enterprise and its actual creation as an external fact,

(Continued on page 12)

A JUDGE ON BIRTH CONTROL

J C RUPPENTHAL is judge of the twenty third judicial district, one of the largest in the state of Kansas. He is also a member of a state commission on the feeble-minded. Remember his name and the positions he holds. He is one of the first judges to come out courageously and unequivocally for birth control. He takes this step partly because of the birth control agitation and partly because of incontrovertible facts which have come to his attention in the course of his public duties.

Not only is Judge Ruppenthal interested in the birth control movement, but he has thought it worth his while to devote much time to the investigation of laws on the subject in the United States and in Canada. It is his apparent intention to seek to educate some of his contemporaries.

Judge Ruppenthal is no theorist. His is the judicial mind that one would expect in his position. Being a judge he will hardly be accused of advocating a cause that is "freakish," "dangerous" or "obscene" or any of the other things that the prejudiced and unenlightened are fond of calling this movement.

The fight for birth control will not be won by doctors, judges, college professors or lawmakers. Before they get out into the ranks, the battle will be over. It will have been won—as all battles for fundamental rights are won—by the elements of the working class most interested. In this case, it will be wives and mothers of workers who have brought the victory. It is highly significant of progress, nevertheless, that judges are beginning to come fearlessly and uncompromisingly into the open in favor of birth control. It means that a good many obstacles have been overcome, that many of the barriers have been blasted away. It means that we are beginning to break through into the opposition's last line of defense.

Here, in a nutshell, is Judge Ruppenthal's position.

"Undoubtedly we are producing too many human beings who are congenitally defective, mentally and physically, and it seems to me that this should be stopped by wise legislation and both by contraception and by the sterilization of the very unfit."

We wonder how many other judges would announce similar views if they dared take a stand against a masculine puritanism that manifests itself in a determination to forbid woman the knowledge of her womanly rights and functions? We wonder, too, if the fact that the women of Kansas are voters does not make it easier for Judge Ruppenthal than for some other judges to take this stand.

Judge Ruppenthal outlines his position in the following letter to Margaret Sanger

July 10, 1918

Dear Mrs Sanger

I write now to assure you of my continued interest in the whole subject of birth control in all fields—eugenic, hygienic, ethical, moral, religious, legal, etc. Your letter in the *Medical World* last November gave my mind a new impulse upon the subject. The result was that I sought to test your statement in the *Medical World* as to the universality of laws

against instructing, etc., on birth control. I went through all the statute law of the United States and all our states and possessions, and Ontario, and embodied the matter in an article which has just been published in the July number of the *Medical World*. I assume that this article of mine will be of value in your birth control propaganda.

It hardly seems to me that you and Roosevelt differ irreconcilably on birth control. He wants families to be large and strong—just how large I do not know. You want families to be strong and healthy—just how small, I do not know. Certainly America is far from overpopulation on the whole, though there is deplorable congestion in certain areas. Undoubtedly we are producing too many human beings who are congenitally defective, mentally and physically, and it seems to me that this should be stopped by wise legislation both by contraception and by sterilization of the very unfit so that their kind shall not be born.

IN MY WORK as judge, I come into contact with all these problems in a great variety of phases. For some time I have been member of a special committee to study the feeble-minded, appointed by the Governor of Kansas.

My very thorough inquiry in divorce cases leads me to conclude that quite an amount of domestic infelicity comes by reason of the ills that flow from uninvited motherhood. Without doubt, great numbers of women do not enjoy the sexual act as they should, if at all, because of wrought up nervous condition in apprehension of possible pregnancy under conditions—financial and otherwise—that hampers them in rearing children. And out of this grows bitterness at the husband who gets all the enjoyment and suffers nothing. I have repeatedly found this state of mind in divorce cases and all physicians know of such conditions.

Evidently the discussion you and others are arousing will have good effect in the long run in making people think about these matters. The editor of the *Medical World* is commenting upon my article approves of changing the statutes from their present restrictive form.

I read with keen interest the brief in your case on appeal to the New York Court of Appeals and I wish I knew the outcome of that case. If it has been decided by the highest court of New York, I would like to know in what volume of the New York reports it is published. It is not often that anyone cares to test unsatisfactory laws by risking fine and imprisonment, but you did so, and as a consequence many should know more about these laws and the theory on which they have been enacted.

It is not easy to obtain a fair consideration and discussion of this subject in any legislature, or committee, because of our prudishness as a people, and the mock modesty that professes a lofty ignoring of all that relates to sexuality in any form or relation or attribute, as if problems would not exist if you refuse to discuss them.

Hoping for good to civilization through these discussions.

Very truly yours,

J C RUPPENTHAL

IMPROVING ON INSTINCT

(Continued from page 10)

much time is likely to elapse. Meanwhile, there is this urgent sexual instinct in human beings. It does not wait until engineers "terrace mountains." Any intelligent farmer will tell you it is easier to breed stock than to raise food to bring it to maturity. Similarly, human fecundity constantly outruns the capacity of mankind to apply, co-operatively or otherwise, their labor power to natural resources. It is the sexual instinct pitted against all the other powers of the human mind, plus that great sluggish thing, social inertia. So far, the sexual instinct has always had its way. It is simple, constant and direct in its operation, while social changes are very complex and slow. This idea ought to be perfectly apparent to any thinking person who has outlived the unreflecting enthusiasm falsely engendered in youth by the fascinating dreams of utopians. The co-operative proposals to feed the world made by Mr Lloyd involve great problems of engineering and fertilization, as well as questions of crop selection and cultivation. Let Mr Lloyd frankly ask himself how long it will take before his schemes are accepted, applied and at work. Does he think fifty years or twenty years or even ten? At any rate, his practical judgment must tell him it will take a long, long time. Meanwhile, children are born every minute. It is easy to produce children compared with the difficult and complex work of carrying out the elaborate schemes proposed by Mr Lloyd.

In view of this certain lack of balance between getting children and providing food for them—a fact which ought never to be overlooked—the birth control movement presents the plan of regulating blind human fecundity by bringing it into harmony with the inevitably slower process of economic and social change. As far as I know, in the present state of man's control over natural forces and social institutions, limitation of population is the only way to establish immediately that necessary correlation. The old injunction was, "Multiply and replenish the earth." The new code says, "If you would avoid much misery on earth, never multiply beyond limits set by your physical and social environment." We may look for no great improvement in social conditions until this principle is understood by the leaders of men and widely acted upon. Birth control is therefore not a cult but an essential element in progress.

LLOYD—"It is negative, it is more a stopping of doing than a doing."

Comment—This is a specious distinction, indeed. A thing is either negative or positive according to the point of view. In the same way as preventing typhoid, small pox, cholera and other epidemics is negative, birth control is negative. It prevents the evils of congestion and over population, reduces disease, impedes the coming of war, and avoids famine and the ruthless competition for jobs. By preventing overbreeding, poverty and wretchedness, it makes possible conditions under which the citizens of a nation will have leisure to enjoy life and have energy left to carry out constructive work for future generations.

Lloyd—"Make motherhood a specially trained and most honored profession, surrounded with all social support and assistance."

Comment—Nothing will hasten the day when maternity becomes a profession like controlled fecundity. With prolific breeding no professional feeling or attitude can possibly develop. Woman is ignorant and degraded where she has no control over her own body. Human life is cheap, as in China. The professional idea regarding any sort of activity is based on purposive control and limitation. Once birth control is sufficiently widespread, motherhood will come to be looked upon as a trained profession. It never will be so long as reproduction remains purely instinctive.

Lloyd—"Observation shows an overwhelming tendency among women of beauty, culture, ability and wealth to avoid motherhood wholly or in part. Women who do need birth control, the diseased, drunken, degenerate, irresponsible ones, are the ones least likely of any to use it."

Comment—These facts are sound enough, but Mr Lloyd's use of them is not. Contrary to what he supposes, they are a powerful argument in favor of birth control. Can Mr Lloyd's writing or preaching stop the "higher types" of women from practising family limitation? No more than the Pope or Colonel Roosevelt can stop it. The custom has grown beyond control of an individual or group. A whole sequence of scientific discoveries and industrial processes has made birth control a reality in the modern world. It is a social phenomenon, this declining birth rate. It may be regrettable that the better strains do not have more children, but sermons and moral lectures are going to have little effect upon them as long as science furnishes the means for restricting offspring. Surely Mr Lloyd must have a sense of his own helplessness when it comes to compelling or persuading what he calls the "higher types," in the interest of eugenics, to be more prolific. For reasons of their own, they will not heed his jeremiads. Such is the real situation. Both Mr Lloyd and Colonel Roosevelt, being practical men, very much concerned about the future of the race, ought not to waste time trying to scold away such obstinate things as facts, but to adapt their teachings to the world as it is. The eminently sensible thing to do is to help Margaret Sanger and others to give family limitation knowledge to the lower types. They will then multiply less rapidly, and so there is bound to come about a better numerical balance between the superior and inferior stocks in the human family. All opponents of birth control are really encouraging dysgenics. It is not the slow breeding of the intelligent and strong that is a menace so much as the fecundity of the foolish and the weak. By all means, let us create an environment which leads people to take joy in having more and better babies. But until we can succeed in doing that—and it will take some time—let us not force unlimited proliferation of inferior types by withholding information from them which a birth control clinic could so well supply.

Lloyd—"All (contraceptives) are likely to injure the sensitive organs of woman and shock her nervous system, all undependable and treacherously unsafe for the purpose designed,

(Concluded on page 16)

HOW NATURE GETS EVEN

By Margaret Sanger

WHEN YOU HAVE READ this page, tear it out and put it into your handbag Show it to the next crank who denounces birth control as "criminal" or "against nature"

Out of the Queens County (New York) Penitentiary comes a startling reply to the constant question What has Nature to say about birth control?

Nature's answer is just this

Control your birth rate in a sane, scientific way in this generation, or in the next I will control it no less effectively, but at an untold cost of money and misery

Look for a moment at the tragic table printed below In it you will find summed up in cold figures the misery of several hundred lives

Thirty-one of those lives are those of women in the Queens County penitentiary What existence must mean to them is readily guessed by the fact that they have been in prison

Note that by far the larger proportion of this number came from families that were too large—families denied the knowledge of birth control

Note that the mothers of the unfortunate thirty-one gave birth to 217 children Now note also that the thirty-one gave birth to 53 children Of these 53, only 38 survive Fourteen of the thirty one women prisoners have no children

While the mothers of the thirty-one women prisoners averaged seven children each, the prisoners themselves averaged one and a fraction

The two generations of these thirty one families had this choice

They could control births in the first generation or Nature would control them in the second, while society would send at least one child of each family to the penitentiary in the process

That is Nature's answer to the argument that birth control is "unnatural" Incidentally, the crime that society committed in preventing the overburdened mothers from avoiding their load of misery, comes home hard to that same society in the cost of taking care of the unfortunate offspring in prisons and in hospitals for the insane That sordid fact stands out like a frightful signpost from this table

Freda	None
Sadie	None
Annie	Single
Ruth	Single
Josephine	3—(all dead)
Violet	2—(1 dead)
Agnes	None
Elizabeth	5—(2 dead)
Elsie	1
Minnie	11—(4 living)
Ida	1
Olie	1
Minnie	1
Dora	None
Tessie	None
Annie	4
Eleanor	None
Irene	None
Rose	None
Ethel	None
Bessie	None
Pearl	1
Ruth	1
Lily	None
Alice	6—(1 dead)
Total	53

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	
MOTHER HAD	8
5, 1 miscarriage	13, 2 or 3 miscarriages ..
9, 7 living, 2 dead	3 (in 3 years), died
1	in childbirth
5	15, 10 living
1	6, 2 or 3 miscarriages ..
1 died	7
11, 7 living	6, 5 living
4	2
8	13, 8 living
4	4
11, 3 miscarriages	1
1	1
17	13, 4 living
8, 4 miscarriages	11, 8 living
4	10
14
TOTAL	217

NAME	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
Mary	None
Rose	2
May	2—(1 dead)
Clara	9
Rose	2 living
Mary	1 son

It still remains unrecognized that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a *moral crime* both against the unfortunate offspring and against society.—*John Stuart Mill*

THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE TODAY

By C V Drysdale, D Sc

(Continued from the July issue)

ACCORDING to the Registrar General's reports the population of England and Wales in 1801 was 9 156,000, or in round numbers nine millions. Had there been no restraint upon marriage or families, no premature deaths and no migration, this should have doubled to sixteen millions by the middle of the year 1818, again to thirty two millions in 1836, and become fifty times as great, or four hundred millions in 1901. As a matter of actual fact, the population of England and Wales only reached 32 612,022 in 1901 and the very much slower increase has been held by many sapient individuals to be a disproof of the Malthusian law.

Of course the population of a country can rarely, if ever increase at the full rate. If it could there would be little economic basis for a neo-Malthusian propaganda. But why does it not do so? Because it is held in check either by actual want or by the fear of want both of which it is the object of every humane sociologist to remove.

If we take the present century, we started in England and Wales with a population of thirty two and a half millions which should increase as shown by the upper line to six hundred millions by the end of the century so that the population of England and Wales should by the year 2001 be equal to the population of the entire world in 1901. Can any rational person imagine that we shall be able to support even a tenth of this number with any progress in agriculture or food production which is even remotely in sight.

This, then is the crux of the neo-Malthusian position. Our examination having shown that unchecked population increases at a far more rapid rate than that at which we can possibly expect to increase the food supply, it follows absolutely that in order to avoid a continual shortage of food each year with the starvation and disease which results from it the output of children must be greatly restricted either by celibacy or late marriage or by prudence within marriage. Neo-Malthusians, having recognized that sex starvation is as painful as food starvation reject the solution of abstention from marriage and they are therefore forced to claim that the only possible means of escape from misery and disease lies in the restriction of families within marriage, by contraceptive devices. No scheme whatsoever of redistribution or of social reform will ever get rid of the absolute necessity for birth control, it can only affect the extent to which it will be required. A country with good and progressive institutions and food opportunities may at present increase by about one and a half per cent per year, or at about one third of its unrestrained rate, while older or less favored countries can only increase by a quarter of this amount or less.

BEFORE LEAVING this part of the subject it may be well to consider how large families should be on an average in this country in order to keep up its present rate of increase without economic pressure and premature death. Our present rate of increase is about ten per thousand per annum (birth rate twenty four death rate fourteen) which means a doubling in each seventy years. Let us suppose that all young people marry and have three children to each couple when the mother reaches the ages of twenty five twenty eight and thirty one years. This is roughly equivalent to having the three children together at the age of twenty eight. If we start with one thousand people or five hundred couples, we shall have the following table

Year	0	28	56	84	112
First generation...	1 000	1 000	1 000	—	—
Second generation	—	1 500	1 500	1 500	—
Third generation	—	—	2 250	2 250	2,250
Fourth generation	—	—	—	3,375	3,375
					5 063
TOTAL	1 000	2 500	4 750	7 125	10 688
					etc

When this has been going on for some time, it results simply in an

increase of population from two to three, or one and a half fold increase, in each twenty eight years. Hence in fifty six years it would increase $1\frac{1}{2}$ times $1\frac{1}{2}$, or two and a quarter fold, so that it evidently doubles in about fifty years—a much more rapid increase than at present. However if we deduct about one third for celibacy, sterility and infantile mortality, we shall get the doubling in seventy years. We may, therefore, lay it down that an average family of three children coming at the ages of twenty five twenty eight, and thirty one is amply sufficient to maintain the increase of population of this country at more than its present rate even allowing a very considerable margin for accidents. Or, to put it more definitely, if every three couples had on an average eight children between them surviving and reproducing at the same rate, our present rate of increase would be maintained.

AS MALTHUS STATED, it is by no means so easy to find out how fast food can actually be increased. Nowadays we have an enormous amount of information concerning food production and distribution but it is not as reliable as the figures concerning population, and we are met with two serious difficulties which Malthus had not to face. We can no longer consider a single country by itself, as the transport of food is now so enormous. It is therefore, necessary to tackle the problem as a world question and we are then in difficulties concerning some of the primitive countries. We are also confronted with the question of the food values of the various agricultural products, and of the amounts used for feeding animals etc. We shall go into this matter more fully later mainly by the help of the excellent work of M G Hardy, but there is one way in which we can get an immediate idea of the increase of subsistence, and which shows how close to the facts Malthus's much derided illustration of the steady or arithmetical increase of food seems to have been.

If population is always trying to increase faster than food it is evident that the excess is always dying off and that the actual increase of population really represents the increase of food. Now as we have just said the figures as to population are more easy to arrive at than those as to food and from time to time estimates of the world's total population have been made by various authorities. In Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics a table of these estimates has been given. It will be noticed that these estimates of population lie almost exactly along a straight line, showing that if they are correct, the world's population has actually gone on increasing almost exactly in an arithmetical or simple interest manner, which confirms Malthus's suggestion that food might increase in this way. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of these earlier estimates but it is most remarkable how closely they confirm the arithmetical increase suggested by Malthus and no one certainly has a right to sneer at his illustration in the face of such a remarkable confirmation by the only evidence available to us.

It will be seen that the present rate of increase is not more than about five per thousand per annum which means a doubling in one hundred and forty years. An average family of only just over two children is therefore all that can be supported.

(To be continued)

We are of a race of women that of old knew no fear and feared no death, and lived great lives and hoped great hopes, and if today some of us have fallen on evil and degenerate times, there moves in us yet the throb of the old blood—*Olive Schreiner*

* * *

Nothing will permanently affect pauperism while the present reckless increase of population continues—*Milcent Garrett Faucett*

THE NATIONAL BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Max Heidelberg Chairman
 Jessie Ashley
 Augusta Cary
 Mrs. Walter Chambers
 Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett
 Mrs. William H. Greene
 Dr. A. L. Goldwater
 Max Heidelberg

OBJECTS

(From the by laws)

The objects of this association are
 1 To secure the repeal or amendment of all laws prohibiting the giving out of information concerning methods of birth control through the prevention of conception
 2 To collect and distribute facts in regard to the legal status of birth control education in the United States and other countries

200 Fifth Avenue New York City, Telephone Gramercy 3139

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Paul Kennedy
 Louise Keesland
 Mrs. Woodruff Leeming
 Mrs. Ames Pinchet
 Marlen Nicholl Sawson
 Mrs. Lillian R. Sire
 Mrs. John H. Williams

WHAT TO DO NEXT? First, sign the legislative blanks if you have not already done so. Many readers of the REVIEW have done it, but by no means all. Remember it does no good to want the laws changed unless you say so to the government. Signing these blanks takes your opinion to Washington and to your state legislature, where it will count.

If you do not already know how your own physician stands on the subject of birth control, find out. It will be a valuable and interesting addition to the data being collected in our office.

Of forty seven physicians recently questioned on birth control by a well known medical journal, about one quarter of them answered that *they knew too little of the subject to warrant the expression of an opinion*. This is an amazing proportion of ignorance, and yet we cannot be too severe in blaming the physicians, because there is no instruction in contraception included in the training given in the medical colleges. There never will be until it is legal for the doctors to give information. This is one of the great reasons for getting the laws changed as quickly as possible.

In a few states it is legal for a physician to give the information verbally, but in not a single state is a physician free to publish his information, no matter how scientific and reliable it may be, and mail it to anyone, no matter how desperately it may be needed.

Since it is so regrettably true that only relatively few

physicians are equipped with adequate contraceptive information at present, it is all the more necessary that those few should be allowed to publish what they know for the benefit of their fellow physicians and for the parents who want to use at least the same intelligence in "spacing" their children that they do in spacing the vegetables in their war gardens.

Ask your own doctor if he feels that he has sufficient knowledge on this subject to help his patients, provided the law did not forbid it. Ask him if he does not wish the law changed so he can act freely in the matter. Ask him to sign the legislative slip.

Send to our office for the questionnaire which we send out to physicians and health officials and get your doctor to answer it.

Write us the result of the talk with your doctor, giving us his name and address or not, according to his wishes and your own judgment. Just in proportion as the doctors realize that people are in earnest about having birth control information and insist on having it removed from its wretched legal connection with abortion and obscenity, just so will their indifference and prejudice disappear. Fortunately for our movement there are many physicians whose attitude is all that could be desired and to them we give constant and hearty appreciation.

MARY WARE DENNETT,

Executive Secretary

TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE

As a voter of this state, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the penal law, so that giving information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this state.

Name

Address

Sign and return to

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue New York City

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

As a voter, I hereby urge you to secure the amendment of the Federal Penal Code so that the transportation of information concerning methods of birth control by the avoidance of conception may no longer be classed as a crime in the laws of this country.

Name

Address

Sign and return to

The National Birth Control League
 200 Fifth Avenue New York City



CHEER UP! IT'S MELTING FAST!

IMPROVING ON INSTINCT

(Continued from page 12)

all hideously interfere with the poetry and romance of the relation."

Comment—Thousands of women could assure Mr Lloyd from experience that certain preventives, intelligently used, are not injurious either to membranes or nerves. By spreading knowledge of harmless means the use of injurious means will be discontinued.

As to being unreliable, there must be means that are effective enough to have caused Mr Lloyd to be anxious about the declining birth rate.

The relation between romance and contraceptives is a matter of taste, about which there is no disputing.

H C DEKKER

THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCH

The churches of the various religions have been for thousands of years propagating the idea of peace on earth. They have failed to bring it about despite the tremendous wealth and power at their disposal. Birth control can bring universal peace to us, in fifty years, if labor would include the advocacy of the practice, in its march for emancipation.