

November, 1921

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BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

IS
BIRTH CONTROL
MORAL?

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Town Hall

NEW YORK

Mass Meeting

November 13th, 1921

AT EIGHT P. M.

BIRTH CONTROL ORGANIZATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Federation of Neo Malthusian Leagues—DR ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY, *President*

- ENGLAND—Malthusian League, 96 Victoria St., London, S W 1
- HOLLAND (1885)—De Nieuw Malthusiaansche Bond Secretary, Dr J Rutgers, 9 Verhulststraat, Den Haag Periodical, *Het Gellukkig Huisgezin*
- GERMANY (1889)—Sozial Harmonische Verein Secretary, Herr M Hausmeister Stuttgart Periodical *Die Soziale Harmonie*
- FRANCE (1895)—G Hardy, 29 Rue Pixerecourt, Paris Periodical, *Generation Consciente*
- SPAIN (1904)—Liga Espanola de Regeneracion Humana Secretary, Senor Luis Bulfi, Calle Provenza, 177, Pral la Barcelona Periodical, *Salu y Fuerza*
- BELGIUM (1906)—Ligue Neo Malthusienne Secretary, Dr Fernand Mascaux, Echevin, Courcelles
- SWITZERLAND (1908)—Groupe Malthusien Secretary, Valentin Grandjean 106 Rue des Eaux Vives, Geneva Periodical, *La Vie Intime*
- BOHEMIA AUSTRIA (1901)—Secretary, Michael Kacha 1164 Zizhov Prague Periodical *Zadruhy*
- AUSTRIA—Secretary Rudolf Grossman (Pierre Ramus) Klosterneuberg (bei Wien) Nied Ost Periodical, *Erkenntnis Und Befreiung*
- PORTUGAL—E Silva, Junior, L da Memoria, 46 r/2, Lisbon Periodical, *Paz e Liberdade*
- BRAZIL (1905)—Seccion Brasilena de Propaganda Secretaries, Manuel Moscova Rua d Bento Pires 29, San Pablo Antonio Dominguez, Rue Vizcande de Moranguapez 25, Rio de Janeiro
- CUBA AVTIJGQ—Seccion de Propaganda Secretary, Jose Guardiola, Empedrado 14 Havana
- SWEDEN (1911)—Sällskapet for Humanitar Barnalstring President Mr Hinke Bergegren, Vanadisvagen 15 Stockholm Va
- ITALY (1913)—Lega Neomalthusiana Italiana Via Lamarmora 22 Turin Periodical *L Educazione Sessuale*
- AFRICA—Ligue Neo Malthusienne Maison du Peuple, 10 Rampe Magenta Alger
- MEXICO (1918)—Mexican Birth Control League, Secretaries Mr and Mrs Linn A E Gale P O Box 518, Mexico, D F, Mexico Periodicals *Gales* (English) and *El Comunista* (Spanish)

NOTICE

The new and final list of organizations has been left out until the Conference meets when the various leagues will be reorganized

An Appeal

In order to make the coming American Birth Control Conference—November 11th—13th, a success, we need your help!

Could you send a donation toward the expenses? If you have \$100 00 send us that If you have \$50 00 or \$25 00 to help insure success, send it, or even a smaller amount—send that!

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

DEDICATED TO VOLUNTARY MOTHERHOOD

MARGARET SANGER, Editor

Vol. V

NOVEMBER, 1921

No 11

Birth Control To create a race of thoroughbreds

Unity!

FROM THE VERY beginning of human history, programs for progress and regeneration have been characterized by internal conflicts and discords. Usually, in their first stages, such movements are forced to withstand only attacks from external enemies. But as soon as the group or movement demonstrates its value and vitality by surviving these attacks, it finds itself confronted by another problem. This is the growing complexity of the social organism or body, by the appearance of internal differences, by the appearance of conflicting issues. The moment any movement begins to grow "wings"—left wing, right wing, and centre, these are usually termed—it begins to exhibit something closely approaching the phenomenon of cell division in biology.

The Birth Control movement is no exception to this great historical and biological fact. It is showing signs of this radiant vitality, this life, this growth. But instead of being moaning this polarization of thought, this division of effort, we delight in it as one of the surest signs of strength, of the invincible and conquering power of the parent cell. No vigorous social movement ever remains in the single-cell state. Vigorous growth means that it is sending its roots deep into the social consciousness, and that with this growth, it must develop internal differentiation.

The unity of the Birth Control movement is not, and should not be, the dead unity of unthinking unanimity, but the living unity of differentiated activity, the unity, in short, of the healthy organism. If our idea is to be of any practical influence upon humanity, it must exert its appeal to every shade of thought. It must awaken interest and discussion. It must come to men and women with all the freshness and splendor of a new discovery. They must assimilate all that they can of its stimulating truth. So that each novice in turn, may himself, by word of mouth, arouse fresh interest, stir latent thoughts into keen activity.

ON THE OTHER hand, the most detrimental thing that could happen to the movement would be a flat, monotonous, lifeless agreement—the unthinking and unhealthful submission to a fixed idea like a band of narrow sectarians or religious fanatics. Fortunately for the Birth Control movement, it is not made up of a servile, submissive, passive body of unthinking followers, who having parrot-like learnt a few elementary truths, might feel that their duty ended there. No, our movement is made up in all countries of the finest, the

most fearless and independent minds of the age. It is this self-reliance, this glorious freedom and independence of thought, that keeps the movement, unlike modern reforms, from sinking to the state of innocuous lethargy and living death.

We do not desire the unity of death or hypocrisy.

Our unity is the unity of life. It is the great central truth, the glowing vision, that holds us, despite all our differences and disagreements, together. This unity is great enough to hold us together despite conflicts, despite all our variance, despite the clashing contrast in the colors of our thought.

Having recognized, early in the history of the Birth Control movement, that controversies and dissension would be inevitable concerning the aims and objects of the movement, the editor decided, due to the need for a strict economy of time and space, to refrain from editorial participation in the exchange of personal opinion or discussion with agitated adherents of the same cause or leaders of subsidiary agencies. It has been her fundamental conviction that it would be disastrous if not fatal to such a young and rapidly growing movement to deviate from the straightforward path toward liberation. We must move neither to left nor right, but straight ahead. In this directness, this unflinching purpose, lies our great strength. It would be fatal for us to step aside into the morass of controversy. Impelled by the dynamic truth of our fundamental conviction, it is our bounden duty to move, slowly and surely, forward. We must conserve all our strength and grit for our real enemies, the forces of corruption and reaction. Nothing could be, we honestly believe, more debilitating to our concerted effort than to engage in or publish petty discussions, acrimonious debates, generated by those who disagree with ways and means. To those who, while sharing our convictions concerning the necessity for universal education in Birth Control, and yet who are in disagreement with the means and methods we use, we have never advised a servile submission nor suggested a retirement from activity. Those who have watched the birth, rise and downfall of other social movements,—downfalls due to internecine strife, must agree with us in the wisdom of this policy.

TO THOSE WHO cannot bring themselves into agreement with our methods and principles, let us repeat what we have before pointed out in these pages: there is always room for independent and autonomous activity along independent lines, in a rich and varied field of endeavor. Such activity

might possess the great and invaluable merit of being constructive and positive, instead of tending to hinder the progress and forward march of the great central, historical movement

Thus, while we welcome difference and differentiation in idea and policy, as the finest and surest sign of health and growth, we have always tried, and we shall continue in our attempt, never to lose sight of the great central truth of Birth Control. It is this spirit that should unite us, rather than an artificial organization—the great unifying truth that should bind scientists, thinkers, idealists—so that we may carry the torch of truth toward the goal of human freedom and happiness

Conference Delegates

ALREADY DELEGATES representing the following States have written that they would attend the Conference—California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont

The following organizations and their respective delegates have announced their co-operation and representation at the various sessions

Connecticut Bridgeport Council of Jewish Women, Mrs F H Levy, Mrs S Capitman, Mrs H Walder New Haven Section Council of Jewish Women, Mrs Jacob N Wolodarsky

New Jersey Monday Afternoon Club, Passaic, N J, Mrs W M Barclay Montclair Federation of Women's Organizations, Mrs Alfred W Diller, Mrs Louis Hinrichs, Mrs Viola Warin Newark Council of Jewish Women, Mrs Freda Blumenthal, Mrs Wm Finger, Mrs Leo Stein Woman's Club of Cliffside Park, Grantwood, N J, Mrs James A Mileham Woman's League of North Hudson, Mrs H W Wahlert

New York Albany County Section of Jewish Women, Mrs Wm G Lewi, American Society of Reconstruction, Mrs David Lopes Cardoza Bronx Woman's Club, Mrs M Bowen, Mrs Alfred H Hausrath, Mrs William W Niles Council of Jewish Women, Mrs H M Stark Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs Chas H Chapman Monticello Suffrage Club, Mrs Elisabeth Worth Muller Philemon, E Evans Rutgers Alumnae Ass'n of N Y, Mrs Clara C Kennedy Syracuse Woman's Congress, Mrs W W Knapp Urban League of Brooklyn, Mrs Fred Z Lewis, Mrs John Brant

Illinois Chicago Woman's Aid, Frances Taussing, (New York City)

The principle of Birth Control offers
A New Approach
A New Diagnosis
A Fundamental Solution

The First American Birth Control Conference will aim to show that the conclusions attained by scientists and social authorities indicate Birth Control is the first and fundamental step toward
National and Racial Health
The Abolition of Poverty
Disarmament and World Peace

THE BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW

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THE VOLUNTARY Parenthood League announces that Dr Marie C Stopes, of London, is coming to America for the purpose of delivering an address on the social and human values of Birth Control, as expressed in her Motherhood Clinic, recently established in London. The meeting will be held in the Town Hall, New York City, at 8 20, on the evening of October 27th. Dr Stopes is the author of "Married Love," "Radiant Motherhood," "Wise Parenthood." Beside these works on marriage and parenthood, Dr Stopes has written various notable books and articles on biological subjects, as well as several plays and poems.

Birth Control and Child Welfare

By Mrs How Martyn

MARRIAGE and sex relations are at the root of the woman's movement, and until we find courage to deal with them frankly, fully, and openly, "the world's attitude towards sex relations" will continue to be "wrong" Until women face the problems involved, and solve them, we shall only be tinkering with the problem of how to establish "a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women"

If men and women were hermaphrodite like the earth worms, and the consequence of sexual intercourse was motherhood for both partners, does anyone imagine for a moment that there would be any need for a struggle to obtain equality? It would not have been possible to establish masculine dominance but for the handicap which uncontrolled motherhood has imposed on women

Mr Harold Cox has stated clearly and conclusively the intimate and inevitable connection between Birth Control and woman's liberty, and from my experience on County Council Committees for Child Welfare, for Mental Defectives, for the Insane, for the Tubercular, I am astonished at the stupidity and the prudery which have prevented the teaching of Birth Control to poor mothers worn out with repeated pregnancies, to persons discharged from mental hospitals, to those suffering from tuberculosis, epilepsy, venereal and other diseases so miserable for the sufferer and so weakening for the race

THE WELFARE of the child is also to be considered, and to the nation this aspect is of supreme importance In 1859 John Stuart Mill, writing on the applications of liberty, said "It still remains unrecognized, that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime both against the unfortunate offspring and against society" The upper and middle classes are, to day, rarely guilty of this moral crime, and again and again parents of one or two children state quite frankly that it is impossible to educate properly more than two or three children

In the sixty two years since John Stuart Mill enunciated this fundamental right of the child, something has been done towards securing proper nurture to every child, but we are still far from the goal What has been achieved is the result of the steadily declining birth rate, and is largely due to the fear that, if the decline be allowed to continue, England will fail to retain her important world position I am firmly convinced that the birth rate must continue to fall if all children are to obtain their birth right, no other spur will be effective in pressing their claims on the attention of the public and the politicians

It was soon recognized as hopeless to urge people to produce plenty of children when once Birth Control measures had become even partially known to them, and attention was

concentrated on attempts to save the lives of the hundreds of thousands of babies who would otherwise perish in the first five years of life Such efforts can only be successful when the births do not exceed the number that the resources of the parents can feed, clothe, educate, and train

INDIVIDUAL Parents have been acknowledging this more and more, until in the better off classes parental prudence based on the highest ideals for the welfare of their children, is almost universal in this country It is now our duty to extend an understanding of these high ideals of parenthood to those less fortunately placed Mrs Margaret Sanger, in the United States, and here Dr Marie Stopes, by her books, and now by her Mothers' Clinic, have given us a lead which makes the task a comparatively easy one

It is significant, and very promising, that these outspoken and high souled leaders are women, are married women, and are mothers We have become accustomed to the statistician's view of rates per thousand, but we have not yet learned to think of the problem from the point of view of the individual baby In the words of Walt Whitman—"it is also good to reduce the whole matter to the consideration of a single self

Even for the treatment of the universal, in politics, metaphysics, or anything, sooner or later we come down to one single, solitary soul"

What consolation is it to a poor mother who has lost the ardently desired baby to know that the infant death rate is lower than ever, if through ignorance on her part her particular baby died? What consolation can it be to a young man or woman, blind from birth, to learn that the parents, through lack of knowledge and mental vision, thoughtlessly contracted one of the venereal diseases which caused blindness in their child?

HOW CAN society fail to see that our workhouses, reformatory schools, prisons, hospitals, and slums, are filled mostly by people who never enjoyed the rights of children, whom as children the community failed to protect, and who as adults are paying the penalty of that failure while also exacting a penalty from the community Now women have a voice in politics, we may hope to see a change The helpless baby citizen will assume the importance due to him He cannot protect himself, but his claim to protection will surely be the first responsibility of women citizens What are the rights of every child? As I see them they are —

To be a wanted baby, born of healthy parents

To have a home where he is loved, adequately fed, clothed, and housed

To be educated and trained for life, and for earning a livelihood according to his abilities

Thus equipped, the adult citizen can serve the community

(Continued on page 13)

Birth Control in the Press

THE CONSPIRACY OF silence has been destroyed. Even the daily press is awakening to the importance of Birth Control. Birth Control is openly and seriously discussed. It can no longer be dismissed as a mere idealistic scheme, a short cut to Utopia. At least two New York newspapers, the *Times* and the *Tribune* gave short but prominent notice to Professor Ross' address before the student body of the University of Wisconsin, in which the distinguished inventor of that worn-out catchword "race suicide" announced his mature conviction in favor of smaller families. The *Tribune* printed this dispatch:

Madison, Wis., Oct. 7—Neither the present nor future generations would benefit by an increased birth rate, E. A. Ross, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, said in an address before a students' body last night.

"Increased birth rate is accompanied without exception by an increased death rate," Professor Ross said. He asserted that the population of the United States was increasing rapidly due to reduction in the death rate rather than to an increase in the birth rate."

"Twenty years ago when I coined that grossly misused phrase 'race suicide' I believed in large families, today, with changed conditions and years of deeper study of the subject, I have changed my mind."

He declared that child labor laws, advances in medical science, and paternalistic legislation had given the white race a "longevity unequalled through the ages."

A CONSERVATIVE DAILY like the New York *Sun*, in commenting on the decreasing families of intelligent Americans, as indicated by the figures of the last Federal Census, reveals a sense of the importance of the quality of human life as opposed to mere numbers. In an editorial devoted to this subject, the *Sun* indicates some of the disastrous effects of current racial and social standards:

"In the latter half of the last century the tide turned fast from farm to manufacturing. Great cities sprang up in places that before the Civil War had been new farm land. The population passed gradually to the towns, so that by 1920 there were actually more people living in towns than on farms—for the first time in the nation's history. All this time the pressure of population on resources became greater, the country became more nearly filled, the cost of living (even before stimulated by the war) steadily rose.

"But it was not the people with the lowest incomes that reared the fewest children, it was those with the keenest desire to conform to a 'high' standard of living. To enjoy the luxury of a large family, with reasonable prospects of giving one's children an education, requires nowadays a much greater economic endowment than in our grandfathers' time. So those who value such opportunities are inclined more and more to concentrate their attention and limited possessions on fewer children. This is what sociologists have in mind when they say that the birth rate tends to decrease as the rate of individual evolution increases.

THOSE WITH EXACTING standards and good educational equipment are the very ones best fitted to be parents, and yet they themselves seem to feel that maintenance of their present level of living requires them to be content with small families.

"How much does the community really value the types which most highly embody the very ideals it has intended to materialize? It pays a single movie actor, for instance, as much in a year as it gives the entire teaching staff of a town of 50,000 people. The groups of high mentality and low income die off in unconscious, unstudied protest against a civilization that in some cases neglects the cultivation of intelligence and its works. As generations go on a nation acquires the types of humanity that it pays for."

IT IS A strange and striking coincidence that many of the press comments on the decreasing birth rate in Great Britain are made in much the same spirit—indicating that current consciousness is gradually being awakened to the central importance of Birth Control as the method for improving the quality of human life and thereby of society at large. Thus we find a writer on the London *Daily Mirror* offering the following census reflections:

On the whole, we note with satisfaction that the foolish clamor for more people to starve, and be unemployed, is fainter.

True one paper talks about the grim fact that the increase over 1911 is 'less than half the smallest increase since censuses were taken in this country'.

Why "grim"?

We cannot explain. Presumably the writer wishes to bring us to social and industrial disaster by a continual uneconomic increase in numbers which would give us a population of about 100 millions by the time of the next census.

Another utters the half truth that 'population is a national asset'.

So it may be, if the population does not outstrip the means of subsistence. So it is *not* if the population is an underfed, ill-educated and therefore dangerously discontented multitude. For the rest, many papers usually conventionally minded on this vital subject agree that the "scare" of 'race suicide' is groundless.

It is indeed! And to us it seems that the enormous figures of the latest census give cause for anxiety rather than self-satisfied congratulation.

Also it seems to us that mere figures like these tell us little about national prosperity.

What we want to know is not *how many* millions of toiling and struggling people we possess but *what sort of people* these are. Are they healthy? Are they happy? Are they able to make a living here?

These are the things that matter—not mere numbers paraded with a flourish of false pride that blinds the public to their true significance.

Likewise the *Westminster Gazette* points out the fallacy of judging human values by mere numbers, and the sinister relation of large populations to war. Let the delegates to the Disarmament Conference consider this weighty problem, as the English paper suggests:

"From the year 1870 onwards the whole of Europe has been dominated by the military theory of numbers. If compulsory military service was to be the rule and if, as the German militarists said, the wars of the future were to be wars of the peoples, then clearly there could be

no safety except in numbers. And so long as this idea prevails the Birth Control which aims at a high standard of life at the expense of numbers must be a pestilent national heresy. If our politics and our ideas of social reform are to be founded as they should be on some rational idea of the proper aim in bringing mankind to birth we must clear our ideas on this subject. It is evident that a nation like France which sets before itself a high standard of living for a comparatively small and self-contained population, and which adjusts its law of property and its way of life to that ideal can never be in a position of security if the military theory of numbers prevails. It will be pursu-

ing fatally conflicting ideas if with this theory of life it entertains military ambitions and hopes of glory. But the same question is posed, if in a less acute form for all the civilized nations. They can cultivate the quantity required for cannon fodder or the quality required for the civilized life, but they cannot do both. It is, therefore, fundamental to the question and to the whole course of the civilized life whether the nations are going to persist in the military idea of numbers or the civilized idea of quality of population, and they will have that question seriously posed for them when they go into the Disarmament Conference at Washington.

The Eugenics Congress

ON ANOTHER PAGE, in a review of "*The Racial Prospect*," Mr. William J. Fielding brings up the interesting problem of the relation of Birth Control to Eugenics. There is a good deal of confusion on this point, and it should be one of the questions of theory that should be completely cleared up in the near future. Birth Control is generally described as negative Eugenics, as opposed to positive Eugenics. We have also heard the recent use of the term "Constructive Birth Control," a descriptive term used by a group of workers in London. These expressions reveal mental confusion. We claim that Birth Control is constructive and is positive in its program. If Eugenics is to exert any beneficial influence upon racial and human health it must resort to a full and complete acceptance of Birth Control. Scientists like William Bateson, thinkers like Dean Inge, penetrating students of human nature like Havelock Ellis all see this. It is grateful to report that a strong feeling for Birth Control was made evident at the Second International Congress of Eugenics. As reported in the daily press, this was quite apparent. Thus, at one session

Birth control to prevent the transmission of disease and constitutional defects and the birth of too many children in families of small income where the latest born are likely to be neglected, was urged by speakers at the Second International Congress of Eugenics in the American Museum of Natural History. Others deplored the failure of college-bred women to raise more children.

The subject of Birth Control has been kept in the background but among the scientists who met, speaker after speaker attacked the laws forbidding physicians to impart information on this subject, and urged family limitation meant that additional children would have to grow up in sickness or squalor.

Dr. Harriette A. Dilla of Smith College was applauded when she reproached the medical profession for submitting passively to laws of this kind. She said that the denial of scientific information resulted in crimes and tragedies where women, turned away by medical men, resorted to expedients suggested by despair.

Dr. Irving Fisher of Yale, who was presiding, said that care had been taken to avoid identifying the congress with "protagonists of Birth Control," but that the subject was one which could not be ignored.

"I think that without question," he said, Birth Control is today the great new factor affecting the future character of the human race. Birth Control has in its power the determination of the future of the human race.

Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf, whose subject was 'Eugenics in its Relation to the Tuberculosis Problem,' discussed Birth Control as a means of preventing the transmission of the disease or of a strong predisposition to it

Dr. Knopf said that the healthiest children as a rule were those of a young couple who married at a comparatively early age, so that family limitation by postponement of marriage was not a good solution. He urged early marriages and a limitation of families to the number for which the parents could well provide.

Even in our well-to-do and healthy families, considered our best American stock," he continued, "and where larger families would be no burden, early marriages are unfortunately not encouraged. The opponents of Birth Control love to dwell on the theme of so-called race suicide. If this is applicable, it should only be spoken of in such instances where health, wealth and culture abound and still family limitation is practised to a very appreciable and deplorable degree.

Dr. Knopf favored the establishment of public Birth Control clinics in this country, as in Holland and England.

WE ARE GLAD to report that the influential weekly the *Nation* has editorially recognized that the science of Eugenics must be dismissed as vague and Victorian in spirit if it fails to recognize the central and fundamental importance of Birth Control.

"From the proceedings of the Second International Congress of Eugenics the newspaper reading public gathers chiefly that the American 'melting pot' is a failure, and the differentiation between 'superior' and 'inferior' racial stocks immutable and unsurmountable. Eugenics," declares the *Nation* "being still young as a field for research and offering delightful speculative possibilities, has attracted to itself both scientists and propagandists. The propagandists plead that families of better stock must procreate more to save the race from deterioration. They overlook, these protagonists of the 'Nordic' school of anthropology, that the so-called 'better people' have largely attained their eminence through economic emancipation. Subject them for a few generations to the disintegrating pressure under which nine tenths of the world labors, and many of them will be scarce distinguishable in the submerged mass. This truth may be painful to those to whom eugenics is not science but cult or dogma. The fact remains that the path to a better human race lies through fewer and better children. The First American Birth Control Conference which is to be held in New York next month should do much to make clear the relationship between family limitation and a healthier and happier humanity. Over few subjects has the veil of obscurantism and prejudice been more closely drawn—many even of the eugenists, while tacitly approving the doctrine, shy a bit from endorsing it publicly."

Birth Control in Relation to Poverty

By Edward G Punke

Fellow and Assistant in Sociology, University of Michigan

(Continued from last issue)

IN MORE RECENT times the practices have shifted in a large degree from infanticide and exposure to abortion. It is extremely difficult to get figures as to the number of criminal abortions performed annually. To get accurate data is impossible, altho some idea of the extent of these vices in modern times can be obtained by the consideration of various estimates.

With regard to abortions Dr Max Hirsch placed the number at 2,000,000 annually in the United States, 80 per cent of which were of criminal origin. Dr William J Robinson estimated the number at 1,000,000 yearly in this country. Dr Molus found that 19.2 per cent of the pregnancies of 2,000 patients ended in abortion, Dr Franz states that abortion occurred in 15.4 per cent of the cases admitted to the lying in hospital in Halle, Germany, while Tausig calculated that one abortion occurs in every 2.3 labors, and says further that one fourth of all abortions are criminally induced. Dr J W Williams, Professor of Obstetrics at Johns Hopkins University, believes that every fifth or sixth pregnancy in private practice ends in abortion, and the percentage would be increased considerably were the very early cases taken into account. He says further, "it is generally admitted that the practice is becoming more frequent in all strata of civilized society thruout the civilized world."

In modern Hungary abortion is indulged in by women of all the varied nationalities. Women rejoice to be barren, and it is not thought creditable to have an infant within two or three years of marriage, according to Temesvary. Says Westermarck

Among the Hindus and Mohammedans artificial abortion is extremely common. In Persia every illegitimate pregnancy ends with abortion. In Turkey, both among the rich and the poor, even married women very commonly procure abortion after they have given birth to two children, one of which is a boy."

In 1872 in Constantinople more than 3,000 cases of criminal feticide were brought before the courts in a period of ten months. In Germany the following number of persons were convicted of criminal abortion. From 1882 to 1886, 389, from 1897 to 1901, 1902, and from 1902 to 1906, 22,236.

THE UNITED STATES, however, it seems, holds first place for abortions among modern nations. August Bebel places the United States and Turkey foremost in this vice, giving our country the "palm."

"In all the large cities of the union," remarks Bebel, "institutions exist where women and girls can go to bring about premature birth. Many American newspapers contain advertisements of such places."

Dr Ira B Hopkins gives the following figures for abortion in New York to population during the first three quarters of

the nineteenth century 1805, 1 to 1663, 1849, 1 to 340, 1856, 1 to 10, and 1870, 1 to 4. It is probable that the figures of Dr Hopkins are somewhat high. However, various indications show there are plenty of places in the United States where women, married and single, may get rid of unwanted children in strict secrecy. Undoubtedly most American cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants have institutions where children may be delivered secretly and prematurely.

LITTLE EFFORT WOULD be required to adduce much more evidence of the prevalence of abortion in the modern world. It is felt, however, that the foregoing will be sufficient to indicate the wide extent and international character of this present day vice. Feticide is to be looked upon, in part at least, as the more modern, more refined method of family limitation, displacing infanticide and child exposure of primitive, ancient and medieval peoples.

DIFFERING FROM THE urban, the rural population of this country has heretofore indulged in family limitation but little. In recent years, however, especially among the native born and older immigrant portions of the rural inhabitants, there has been a marked tendency to limit the size of the families. This is attributable to several factors, some of the most important of which are the raising of the educational standards for the children, higher status of women, spread of knowledge and increased facilities for travel and communication, a desire not to divide up the property too much, the increases in land values and therewith the greater difficulty of young people becoming independent landowners, and finally a general elevation of the plans of life among country folk. Notwithstanding this recent tendency, it must be observed that the rural population practice less family limitation than does the urban.

In Europe, both urban and rural, family limitation is in vogue much the same as in the United States, but is more openly discussed. Certain countries, however, indulge in it much more widely than others. In France, for instance, nearly all classes have practiced family limitation for at least half a century. In England it has been much in use since the famous Bradlaugh trial in 1876, when it was decided that the dissemination to 1888 Birth Control clinics have given free instruction in family limitation to all people desiring it. Thruout the remainder of Europe the dissemination of voluntary parent hood knowledge is legal, but religious, moral and military sentiments have prevented such information from being widely used by the great mass of the population. Nonetheless, the upper classes in all European countries use family limitation almost universally. An important cause of this is the emancipation of women and their effective protest against the labors and pains of giving birth to and rearing of numerous progeny.

Alice Drysdale Vickery on Disarmament

[The valiant veteran of feminism and Birth Control, late president of the Malthusian League, has sent the following letter to the chairman of the Disarmament Committee, Woodward Building, Washington, D C So clearly does this letter state the relation of Birth Control to Disarmament that it should be read with care by everyone]

Dear Madam

I am, indeed, glad to know that a Disarmament Committee has been formed, and I trust that this Committee will make an earnest and reasoned investigation of those underlying causes of war as well as of those which are more superficial

Unhappily, it is an indisputable fact that women themselves, through their fertility as race mothers are the principal, though hitherto unrecognized, cause of war It is the undue increase of populations, struggling for possession of the most desirable portions of the earth's surface, that has been the cause of war from time immemorial

The underlying causes of the late disastrous war was the enormous increase of the German people during the last fifty years Indeed, the Kaiser in a speech made on the eve of the Declaration of War declared its imperative necessity on that ground alone He said "You are now sixty million people In twenty five years you will have doubled your numbers You will then be one hundred and twenty millions Can one hundred and twenty million people obtain the necessaries and comforts of life within German borders? You know that is not possible You must therefore pass beyond your own borders and take possession of the lands beyond" This speech is on record, and its consequences we know Could the German mothers have foreseen the horrible consequences of the war—the consequence of their large families—is it believable that they would have been thus blindly and passively submissive? I cannot believe it

Women, in future, must exercise their own judgment on these matters Nature and Science have given them the power to regulate conception, and the responsibility of the rational exercise of that power rests with them

They must realize that the number of inhabitants any coun-

try can support depends on its agricultural and mineral resources, and the possibility of exchanging the produce of their industries for food produced in other countries

Then when women have collectively qualified themselves to be judges and regulators of the next generation, they can say to the governments of the globe "There is no longer any need to make provision for the destruction of an overplus of human beings, since women will no longer consent to produce that overplus"

The time is ripe Birth Control, that is, the regulation of conception is now practicable and is being practised It is therefore, now the duty of the world's inhabitants to insist on disarmament, and on the settlement of such minor disputes as may arise, by an organized League of Nations

Human labor, then, being no longer needed to produce instruments of destruction, can be utilized to contribute to a more ample supply of necessaries and comforts for humanity The slums of great cities will disappear Human life will be come more beautiful, more elevated, more noble

Art, literature, and science will flourish Sympathy and kindness will take the place of the rancour and jealousies of the past and present

But all this depends upon woman

Will they refuse to remain longer ignorant of the greatest instrument of human welfare, the Regulation of Conception, which ought to govern the reproduction of succeeding generations? if the world is to be freed from the three great evils of War, Disease and Poverty

Very sincerely yours,

DR ALICE DRYSDALE VICKERY,

Late President of the Malthusian League

124 Victoria Street, London, S W

Immigration and Birth Control

By Herbert R Simonds

WHATEVER ONE'S VIEWS on the immigration question it is doubtful if any intelligent person would advocate letting the whole matter slide and trusting to luck Yet that is in effect what we have been doing If it is to the best interests of this country to have an unrestricted open door policy, then by all means we should achieve this condition with our eyes open and constructively rather than through neglect If we are to restrict immigration we should do so in consequence of a well studied plan for world betterment and not because of the immediate advantage accruing to manufacturers

In approaching any question it is necessary to have some basis to work on—some preconceived idea of the results desired Thus with the immigration question we must know

what we are ultimately after or our attempts at solving the problem are absurd Do we want to raise the average physical and mental status of the people of the United States? Certainly there are few who will deny that we do Yet how strongly do we desire it and is this the result to be aimed at in considering our immigration policy or any other public question?

For years legislation aiming at general mental and physical improvement has been defeated in almost every case where it has come up The big movements toward betterment are, education, Birth Control, eugenics, selective immigration and selective child raising But what progress has been made in

(Continued on page 14)

Is It Moral?

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION?

They say that Birth Control is immoral. The conservatives, the reactionaries, the militarists, as well as a number of other men and women. This is the one aspect of the most burning economic and social problem of the day that has aroused the bitterest and most persistent objections.

Many of our opponents agree that the universal practice of Birth Control would be a good thing for the health of the individual and of the race. They agree that it seems necessary to solve the problems of disarmament and labor troubles. But they claim—*it is immoral!*

What is your opinion? Your honest, frank, personal opinion, uninfluenced by the newspapers, the preachers, the movies.

Would the practice of Birth Control lead to general promiscuity?

Will it change the whole attitude of men and women toward the marriage relation?

Will it lessen self control and self restraint which is said to be imposed by the fear of pregnancy in cases when Birth Control is not practiced?

Would it lower the moral standards of the youth of the country?

Our opponents answer these questions in the affirmative. "Yes," they say. "Birth Control would bring about moral and spiritual decay."

HELP US TO find out what the honest men and women of the country really believe. Help us to clear away the clouds of moral confusion by a little honest thinking and open speaking.

Give us *your* opinion. Write down your own fearless, honest thoughts on this great moral issue.

Write us briefly, concisely to the point. Write in as clear and certain a manner as possible—if possible not more than three hundred words.

Our great First American Birth Control Conferences are to close with a great mass meeting at Town Hall, Sunday, November 13, 8 p. m., at which the morality of Birth Control is to be discussed. If you cannot attend, send in your answer as early as possible. If you can, bring it to this meeting.

Take part in this great historic meeting. It may be the turning of the tide in our civilization.

Read this before you write your opinion!

It throws a new light on the relation of Birth Control to human happiness. The following dispatch, indicating that the greatest authorities are giving thought to Birth Control, was recently published in the *New York World*, a cablegram from London.

Frankly sensational remarks on "sex love" by Baron Bertrand Dawson, at the Church Congress in Birmingham has set the whole medical and clerical world to talking on this controversial subject. Not only Lord Dawson's professional standing in the medical world but also his social position as physician in ordinary to King George, gives more than ordinary prominence and importance to his views.

Salient points in his address at the Congress were: Sex love between husband and wife—apart from parenthood—is something to prize and cherish for its own sake. Reciprocity in it is a physical counterpart of intellectual sympathy. Romance and deliberate self control don't rhyme very well together. It is as important to give sex love its place in life as to avoid its over emphasis.

"Birth Control by abstinence is either ineffective or if effective is pernicious to health and happiness. Excessive birth control is an evil because maternity gives to woman her most beautiful attributes."

Lord Dawson's general attitude was in opposition to the resolution passed at the last Lambeth conference—the triennial convocation of the Anglican communion throughout the world—which condemned sex love except for the procreation of children.

Several leading specialists in Harley and Wimpole Streets—the centre of Great Britain's medical experts—endorsed Lord Dawson's opinions.

"I cordially agree with every word," said Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, one of the greatest surgeons in the country. I congratulate Dawson on telling truths that badly needed telling in the open, although all reasonable people have accepted them in private. The times are favorable for such a pronouncement, as since the war the public has become much more broadminded and more and more the veil of hypocrisy is being rent. I do not think, however, that the average man realizes even yet how vast a part is played by sex in everyday life.

"There will be, of course, much opposition to recognition of birth control. It will come from many who honestly but wrongly do not believe in such recognition from many to whom humbug has become almost instinctive from men who are sexually subnormal—remember civilization tends to destroy natural impulses—and from men who have forgotten earlier vitality."

Dr. Bernard Hollander, one of the leading British specialists in mental and nervous diseases, is also in sympathy with Dawson's speech saying "where there is true love union is not actively sought but follows naturally. Nature has so ordained it. Conditions must depend very much on individual health and temperament. The husband and wife must study each other for when one partner thinks only of his or her gratification the other is sometimes consigned to an early grave. Our knowledge of sex is still very limited but both excess and deficiency of its fulfilment affects the mentality of the individual. As for birth control, it is an economic necessity. The church is out of date on this subject."

Mass Meeting

Sunday, November 13

8 00 P M

AT TOWN HALL

"BIRTH CONTROL IS IT MORAL?"

Discussion led by Margaret Sanger and
Harold Cox, of London, England

(Former Member of Parliament and Editor of
Edinburgh Review)

Impressions of the Amsterdam Conference

By Margaret Sanger

THE FIRST great truth that I bring home from the international congress on contraceptives, held in Amsterdam August 29-30, is this: that our movement in the theoretical aspects is far in advance of the practical phase. There was unanimous agreement upon principles,—upon the economic, the social and the hygienic, the political and international necessity for Birth Control. But the practical methods and devices offered by the various delegates from practically every country in Europe were new and untried by other delegates, and questioned by them. Each country offered its individual method which was unknown to the rest of the delegates.

One of the most instructive and enlightening phases of the conference was the opportunity it offered to delegates to visit the clinics, where demonstrations of the various methods were given under the auspices of the Dutch League and proved of practical value. They vindicate our claim for clinics in all countries.

The conference took place in the Hotel Hollandia, in Amsterdam, on Aug 29th and 30th, and was attended by Dr and Mrs Drysdale and Dr Haire (England), Mme de Beer Meijers, Mynheer and Mme Kiersch de Jung, Mr de Vries, Mr S Ten Cate and Dr Russelada (Holland), and Dr E Goldstein (Germany). Mr G Hardy (France, treasurer of the Bureau, and Dr Rutgers (late hon sec.), wrote expressing regret at being unable to come, and others were prevented from doing so by various engagements.

A VERY useful and full discussion on all the best known preventive devices took place, and decisions were arrived

at concerning the most effective devices and the technique connected with them. Demonstrations were kindly given by Mme Kiersch de Jung and Mme van Huevel, two of the ladies trained by Dr Rutgers and on the Dutch League's list of helpers, to the medical and lady members of the conference on the fitting of certain preventive devices. A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mme de Beer Meijers at the conclusion of the conference, for her greatly appreciated arrangements, and it was decided that a full International Neo Malthusian Congress should be held in the last week of August in next year.

The following resolution was unanimously passed at the conference, at the instance of M G Hardy:

This Conference of the International Neo Malthusian Bureau of Correspondence and Defence wishes to register a strong protest against the laws and measures repressing neo Malthusian or Birth Control propaganda which have existed or recently been enacted in various countries, and against the prosecutions which have been instituted against such propagandists. It wishes to point out that such propaganda, provided that it is carried out with due regard to public decency and on eugenic lines, is of the utmost value to every nation as a means of reducing poverty and social unrest and of improving the quality and virility of the race.

It was felt that the conclusions arrived at would be of great service in the preparation of practical handbooks or leaflets, but that several points needed further study and settlement, and various members undertook to obtain information on these points with the view of bringing them before a committee on contraceptive devices, which it was decided should meet at the time of the International Congress.

Living for Posterity

THE RACIAL PROSPECT By Seth K Humphrey New York Charles Scribner's Sons

The present volume deals with the problems and prospects of the race from the viewpoint of a eugenist. Notwithstanding that the proponents of eugenics, and the followers of Galton generally, have rendered a valuable service in their contributions to the racial question in certain of its phases, there is almost invariably a one-sidedness in their attitude that is exasperating to the student who is not a simple follower of any school or cult. Mr Humphrey exemplifies the usual lack of balance that is characteristic of this group of writers.

The first part of the book, giving an anthropological sketch and outline of the race's heritage, conforms to the findings of the recognized authorities Osborn, Grant, Conklin, Jordan, Goddard, Bateson, and others well known in this field. It is however, when the author comes down to a discussion of present day genetic problems and their relation to the individual's life and to social conditions that we find so much lamentable short-sightedness.

Mr Humphrey states that controversies over the relative importance of heredity and environment are pointless, since the two factors are so essentially unlike that comparison is impossible. This may be true. But apparently he thinks that this settles the whole question of environment, because, for all practical purposes, there is no consideration given

to environmental problems. He not only minimizes them, but disposes of them by the magic of this utterance: "A mentally strong man in an unfortunate environment is self-impelled to get out of it and into one which matches his powers."

If a "strong mind" were some disembodied mechanism, there might be some merit to this contention. But may we not remind Mr Humphrey that a strong, brilliant mind makes its advent into this world in a mortal body that is subject to all the warping, twisting and degrading influences of a pernicious environment. And as the mind is no less a part of the human organism than the "body," they are equally influenced, for good or bad, by environmental factors. The mind that is most responsive to sensory stimuli and capable of higher development is a plastic material that may also be worked upon by the blighting agencies of a perverse environment. Prof Lester Ward had this in mind when he said that the master criminal and clever crook were the geniuses of the slums.

The writer of this book is fearful for the future and clamors for a survival of racial strength by the dual method of stimulating the birth rate of the fit and ending the propagation of the "unfit." There are two practical things that Mr Humphrey can do to accomplish something toward this aim of racial improvement. In the first place it will mean

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The Church Changes

THERE WAS NOT long ago a tremendous outcry against Birth Control and the voluntary restriction of families on religious grounds. A book on this subject was published with a prefatory letter from a Roman Catholic priest, setting forth the view of the church that for parents to refuse to give life as often as nature permitted was a course of conduct almost blasphemous, says the London *Spectator*, one of the most conservative of British weeklies, in a recent number. "It did not apparently strike the writer that the whole argument came a little oddly, in the first place from a man, from whom the agony of bringing forth could never be demanded, and, secondly, from a celibate, who did not undertake even the lesser responsibilities and anxieties of fatherhood. The question of Birth Control is not an easy one, the knowledge of its possibility is, no doubt, like many of man's increases of power over his own destiny, a two edged weapon, but we have most of us begun to realize from what horrors of unwanted life it can save the world, from what a horrible waste of human energy, from what nightmares or futile and abortive effort it can save women. Even when it is used for what we must call, for lack of space to refine our meaning, a bad purpose, we have probably begun to realize that it at last takes away one of the worst of the old evils of vice—*i. e.*, the production of innocent, unwanted children, infected perhaps from their birth, and in any case brought up in surroundings so bad as almost to preclude a virtuous adult life."

The following article, written by C. V. Drysdale, which we reprint from the *Malthusian*, indicates an interesting and significant change of front on the part of a certain section of the Roman Catholic clergy.

By Dr C. V. Drysdale

ALL WORKERS IN the Birth Control cause have had good occasion to be aware of the implacable hostility which the Roman Catholic Church has always shown towards it, and although there have been signs that a change was to be expected, notably by the concession made by the Rev. Monsignor Brown at the Birth Rate Commission, to the effect that the Roman Catholic Church now recognizes the right of married couples to avoid parenthood either by recourse to continence or to a supposed "safe period," the latter of which really concedes the whole principle of gratification of the sex impulse when its consequences are not desired. The rank and file of the Romish priests have, still continued to denounce family limitation as being subversive of the whole ideal of marriage and the family, and a characteristic denunciation of this type recently appeared in the *Catholic Herald*.

But now a new note has been struck. The Church, while continuing to denounce, is beginning to admit its futility. In the South London Roman Catholic paper, *Blackfriars*, the Rev. Father McNabb, in writing of "The Crime of Birth Control," makes the following significant statements:

The Church's teaching on Birth Control may be summarized thus—'The only Birth Control which is not sinful is that in which both husband and wife willingly agree to abstain from marital intercourse. This voluntary and agreed abstention may be temporary, as in so many wedded lives of today, or it may be perpetual as in the case of St. Edward the Confessor.'

The Church does not teach that all wedded folk must beget children nor that all must beget as many as possible. She wisely leaves this matter to be decided by the mutual agreement of husband and wife who by their wedlock have given to their partner power over their body. But she promulgates as a divine law, the absolute prohibition of any intercourse which is voluntarily robbed of its relationship to begetting offspring.

THIS STATEMENT OF COURSE, hides the fact that until about ten years ago all abstention from parenthood by continence or otherwise was denounced by the Church as grievously sinful and it also conceals the permission to employ the so called "safe period" mentioned by the Rev. Monsignor Brown at the Birth Rate Commission. But now comes the note of surrender.

The present writer is amongst those who feel that in this land for the moment the victory is, and for some time will be, with the neo Malthusians. Birth Control is not a passing fashion. It has come to stay and it will stay until it has brought upon the country some great national hurt which will arouse the nation to a sense of national sin.

Father McNabb then gives the reasons for thinking that Birth Control has come to stay. First, because the richer classes having adopted it for themselves became alarmed at the high birth rate of other classes and therefore began to promulgate their neo Malthusianism. (This is, of course, untrue, as the movement has been carried on by people of very moderate means.) Secondly, because "the intellectual propaganda is almost irresistibly recommended by modern conditions. Under modern town conditions, birth control seems the one thing possible and necessary."

The breakdown of the housing system in the modern town is making it impossible for even the middle classes to find room for a large family. Birth Control comes to such people almost with the call and sanctity of a gospel.

Moreover under modern town conditions the confinements of poor mothers are almost impossible in the one two or three rooms which are called a home. To a degree, which has now become a national danger the mothers of the poor have their confinements in an institution. Under the steady well directed and heavily financed propaganda of the eugenists, these institutions are becoming more and more open in their profession of neo Malthusianism. This spirit is seen in the following quotation from the monthly periodical *Maternity and Child Welfare*: "A resolution has recently been passed by the Herefordshire County War Pensions Committee to prevent the issue of treatment allowances for the children of neurasthenic or tuberculous pensioners if the children are born during the time when the parents are undergoing a prolonged course of treatment. So, evidently, Hereford does not believe in the survival of the unfit." (March, p. 92)

The modern growth of Medical Centers for the poor is likely to make neo Malthusian Birth Control stable. The ruin wrought in France, where there was nothing but personal propagation behind the movement has become a length of national concern. But almost everything in England points to the fact that what in France was individual propaganda will be with us a national concern through the network of Maternity Centers Infant Welfare Centers Infants Clinics etc. which are now so powerful amongst the poor by their doles of medicine and baby foods.

Father McNabb's words are of good omen. May they be speedily fulfilled.

Conference Letters

My Dear Mrs Sanger

I herewith send you a check of \$25, towards the plan of a conference concerning Birth Control. The problem is so involved that I should like to see it made clear that the movement is not merely one of propaganda for contraceptive sex relations. On the other hand, it is of importance to emphasize that every educated adult considers it a matter of conscience to see that pregnancies are not merely a matter of chance and that a frank and free discussion of the problem should be one of the privileges in a democratic country. It should, moreover, be the duty of any movement in this direction to collect facts of the actual status of things and the results of such movements in various communities. It also should be the goal to implant more and more a conviction that a sensible restriction of fecundity was largely opposed by *mutualism*, but would be a great step towards the solution of the problems of such nations as the Japanese, Chinese, etc., where numbers make necessary and furnish the excuse for a policy of expansion and encroachment upon neighbors. On the other hand, there also should be a frank and outspoken demonstration that the movement is thoughtful of means to obviate the fostering of sex license and active in the study of a less sensualistic policy in human life and of an approach to a sensibly conceived monogamous organization of human existence. We may safely state that the haphazard type of monogamy of the past and present may well be open to very much safer and constructive advantageous standards.

It may be too bad to have so many clauses and conditions to a movement of propaganda, but I feel that a great deal of harm can be avoided and many unnecessary obstacles overcome by a frank and comprehensive statement. Of course, if the movement should evade the constructive part of the program, one's attitude towards it would necessarily be changed, but it would be, to my mind, just this goal of arriving at a broadly acceptable program that would justify the getting together of the thoughtful elements of the community.

Believe me

Very truly yours,

ADOLF MEYFR

Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md

September 30, 1921

Dear Mrs Sanger

I am much obliged to you for your courteous invitation to attend the Birth Control Conference. It will, however, be impossible for me to attend as I am returning to England next week.

I am glad to hear that my friend, Mr Harold Cox, is coming over from England and I am sure that all he says will deserve great attention.

Again thanking you

Yours very sincerely

LEONARD DARWIN

Dear Mrs Sanger

I have carefully read and considered your interesting and courteous letter of September 16 inviting me to become a member of the Conference Committee on Birth Control.

While I sympathize very thoroughly with the objects of your movement, and firmly believe that you are doing good work and deserve every encouragement, it is physically beyond my power to join in as an active worker.

Regretting the circumstances that compel me to pass your call for co-operation, and wishing you unlimited success, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

WM T HORNADAY, Sc D,

Director New York Zoological Park

My dear Mrs Sanger

I shall be very glad to have my name used in connection with the call for a National Conference on Birth Control which you plan to hold in New York City in November. I am, as you know, in entire sympathy with the cause in whose behalf the meeting is to be held.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE HAMILTON

BIRTH CONTROL AND CHILD WELFARE

(Continued from page 5)

with whole hearted devotion and repay in a noble life and work the services of the community to him when he was unable to look after himself.

FORTUNATELY AN ENLIGHTENED public opinion will secure these necessary preliminaries to a full life in the large majority of cases, and society will have little to do but to co-operate with the parents where needed. Public opinion has still to be enlightened, and the need for Birth Control to be properly taught. Then, and not before, can we expect all parents to fulfil the conditions of what Dr Marie Stopes has so happily termed "radiant" parenthood. Again, to quote Walt Whitman, it is only on these lines that we can expect "to supply a race of superb men and women, cheerful, religious, ahead of any yet known"—*The Woman's Leader*.

IMMIGRATION AND BIRTH CONTROL

(Continued from page 9)

these? We still let inexperienced and underpaid teachers look after a large part of the nation's education. We still let the least fit give birth to the bulk of the nation's children. We still let syphilitics marry and still shut our eyes to the fate of the hordes of foreigners which land each day at our ports. From this it seems as if we cared but little for the betterment of the people of the United States. There are those who feel we should adopt a larger horizon than the national boundary.

in basing our opinions. We are citizens of the world and should consider equally those of all countries, they say.

This is undoubtedly an excellent theory but let's see how it works out. The unfit in Italy, Poland and the Balkans who would be eliminated by natural laws if allowed to stay in their own countries are gathered together by exploiters and brought to this country, where they are promptly forgotten. It is more than likely that those loudest in acclaiming an unrestricted open door immigration policy are the ones first to forget them.

But even though they are forgotten they do not die. They live somehow. Packed together in the tenement districts of our large cities they live long enough to bring thousands of undesired and handicapped children into the world. The immigration question of this country has changed in the last decade. Formerly we got the ambitious and adventurous element of foreign countries. Now we get a large percentage of exploited culls. We may be temporarily benefiting some countries by relieving them of these culls, but are we benefiting the culls themselves and the world at large?

The immigration question is not simple and it is not the present purpose to discuss it except in its relation to Birth Control. In this relation the question is not how many we admit but how many will those who we admit reproduce?

THE BIRTH RATE among immigrants is very much higher than the average birth rate of the country as a whole so that we magnify in succeeding generations whatever results of immigration we get today.

It comes back to the question of "what do we want?" There seems little doubt but that continuing along present lines will mean a gradual lowering of the physical and mental average of the country. This is principally because of two things—blindness toward the Birth Control movement which results in an increase of the drunken, shiftless, and feeble minded classes, and blindness toward the immigration question which has eventually the same result. The two subjects—immigration and Birth Control—are so closely related that our attitude toward either one must in a measure be dependent upon our attitude upon the other.

If we could have proper rural distribution of our immigrants and then could be sure of sane birth limitation among the newcomers, there is little doubt but that our open door policy could be adopted to advantage. Without these, however, we must admit only selected foreigners in an attempt to correct the evils at home.

The increases in population through births and through immigration are in their effect on future generations practically identical. We have the means of selective improvement in either case. Are we going to continue to ignore them?

LIVING FOR POSTERITY

(Continued from page 11)

abandoning an interesting career of pure theorizing and doing much hard work and meeting the rebuffs alike of the ignorant and those who hold themselves critically aloof (like the typical eugenicist).

The first suggestion that comes to our mind is to take some immediate action that will tend to assure every child that is born into the world

fit' a chance to develop into a racial asset, before agitating the proposition of bringing even one more child into a society that crushes indiscriminately the fit and unfit unless a kindly fate drops them into a favorable environment.

The second suggestion closely allied with the first is to permit the multitude of less promising subjects to have the means to accomplish the purpose which Mr Humphrey so ardently desires. From the seclusion of his sanctuary he criticizes the prolific breeding of the lower strata of society, but not once does he intimate that the popularizing of contraceptive information among the masses might do much to achieve his end. He seems to believe that the excessive birth rate among the less fortunately situated is due to carelessness or even desire. As a matter of fact, everyone who has had the least contact with this situation knows that in the overwhelming majority of cases it is helplessness which may eventually sink into the inertia of hopelessness. The burden of excessive progeny among those economically handicapped, is in itself conducive to "unfitness" and so, for this reason the evil of racial degeneration has one very material abettor in this source. Will the theoretical eugenicists show a practical frame of mind by turning some of their enthusiasm into the movement for the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge where it is so urgently needed? This is a fair question.

It cannot be that the author is too prudish to consider this means because in his Utopia (which however, he denies is a Utopia) he offers the interesting suggestion whereby certain unmarried women of good racial timber may be impregnated by some impersonal, scientific method for the glory of the race. Maybe this will appeal more strongly to Mr Humphrey than to the mateless maidens of the future.

Such a trivial matter as Love, and all the spiritual factors that are bound up in its ramifications do not deter Mr Humphrey from his main objective—the assurance of a worthy racial future. When Mark Twain asked "Why worry about posterity? What has posterity ever done for us?" we laughed at his characteristic joke. But when certain advocates of eugenics, apparently in all seriousness, demand that we go to the other extreme and sacrifice all individuality and all our human feelings in the alleged interest of the race's future, we are moved to ask "What is life for?" After all is it not possible that posterity may best be served by assuring every individual an opportunity for the fullest development and expression of his innate human qualities—spiritual, intellectual and physical?

WILLIAM J FIELDING

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT CIRCULATION ETC REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24 1912. Of The Birth Control Review published monthly at New York N Y for October 1 1921 State of New York County of New York ss

Before me a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Margaret Sanger who having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that she is the Editor of the Birth Control Review and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership management etc of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of August 24 1912 embodied in section 443 Postal Laws and Regulations printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1 That the names and addresses of the publisher editor managing editor and business managers are Publisher New York Women's Publishing Co 104 Fifth Avenue New York City Editor Margaret Sanger 104 Fifth Avenue New York City Managing Editor Harold Hersey 104 Fifth Avenue New York City Business Manager Anne Kennedy 104 Fifth Avenue New York City

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